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The Art of Crafting Useful Citizens: Disability, Charity and the State (1870-1970)

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Abstract

During the period 1870 to 1970 popular conceptions of disabled children and adults changed significantly, and the practices and policies established to understand, reform and manage the disruptive disabled body evolved accordingly. Beginning in 1870, when the introduction of compulsory schooling provided the impetus for the development of charitable schools for ‘crippled’ children, this thesis examines key pieces of educational and employment legislation directed towards disabled adults and children, as well as a number of charitable interventions, over a period of a hundred years. It analyses the shifting relationship between disabled people, charity and the state, and the role played by arts and crafts in different educational, therapeutic and occupational contexts, to consider how these worked to extend, or deny, the rights of citizenship to disabled people throughout this period.

It analyses practices associated with arts and crafts, as well as a number of case studies which include: Chailey Heritage Craft School for Crippled Children, The National Spastics Society and the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists Association. It uses these to chart the variable charitable, educational, political frameworks which have redefined, or reaffirmed, the expectations established for disabled children and adults, particularly in areas concerned with their education and employment. The study focuses principally upon disabled children to argue that the early institutions established on their behalf situated the ‘crippled’ child within the productive realm of adulthood through a work-based approach to education which affirmed their responsibility to be active, productive citizens. It demonstrates how this gradually changed through increased state intervention which progressively worked to redefine the boundaries of disabled children’s childhoods and establish their dependency upon the state.

Key to these developments were the evolving attitudes and values assigned to disabled people, education and work. Whilst the adult cripple of the nineteenth century was understood to be work-shy, weak and physically unproductive, the working contributions of disabled citizens during the Second World War were acknowledged via the passage of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944) which affirmed their status as workers. Concurrently, educational policy gradually included more significantly impaired children, which meant educational practice, including arts and crafts, necessarily evolved to consider more holistically the individual needs and development of the disabled child. This thesis argues that this established a broader distinction between the disabled adult and the disabled child, and that this is evident in the educational and occupational expectations established for both following the Second World War.

Ultimately this thesis demonstrates how and why ‘The Art of Crafting Useful Citizens’ came to be an enterprise taken up both by charities and the state at different times, and in different ways. It argues that these approaches reflected the cultural anxieties and values of the time, and thus changed in meaning, form and intended recipient. The frameworks, practices and policies established by charities and the state successively worked to reexamine, recategorise and reform the disabled body, which this thesis argues worked to affirm the dependency of the disabled child, whilst simultaneously reasserting the expectations and rights of disabled adults to engage more completely in their own embodied citizenship through work.

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Undertaking a PhD is by no means a solo endeavour, and I am incredibly grateful to the many people who have provided help, their expertise and guidance, and unwavering support throughout this process. I hope these acknowledgements go some way in demonstrating how grateful I am to to every single person who has contributed their time, knowledge and care in supporting me to complete this project.

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Particular thanks must also go to the staff at the numerous archives and institutions on which this work is based. These include the staff at the British Library, Wellcome Collection, the Institute of Education Archives, Hampshire Records Office, the Leonard Cheshire Archive, and The Keep, Brighton.

This thesis would not have been possible without the guidance and wisdom of Julie Anderson, whose advice, patience and kindness extends far beyond that expected of a supervisor. Thank you for introducing me to disability history, for the many coffees, beers and excellent chats; for having the foresight to establish a virtual-writing group over the last year which has provided much-needed motivation and laughter when I've felt most isolated and disconnected from my work, for reminding me to be kinder to myself, and most importantly, for encouraging me to do a PhD in the first place. I will be forever grateful.

I am incredibly fortunate to be surrounded by a brilliant network of individuals who have supported me intellectually and emotionally throughout this process. My friends and colleagues at Wellcome Collection have been consistently interested and supportive of my work and have shown great kindness and understanding when I've needed to take a step back from my job in these last few weeks. My undergraduate friends, Barbara Richardson, Nick Emerson, Ellie Hendrie, Emily Bullen, Tom O'Neill, Tiago Luzio and Mehdi Ghazemizadeh have cheered me on and tolerated being dragged round museums for hours (provided there was a pub at the end!) Jack Davies and Ranald Nisbet have offered hugs, taken me on walks to clear my head, and generally provided much-needed respite when PhD life became too much. Sophie Kelly and Rebecca Andrews kept me going during lockdown with 'kitchen discos' and the occasional cocktail, and their unwavering friendship during an incredibly difficult year has been fundamental to me completing this project. Emily Bartlett (provider of secret cigarettes and entirely necessary rants) has shown unbelievable patience and generosity, taking the time to read chapters, make suggestions and talk me down when I was convinced I couldn't do it. Lastly, my immense gratitude goes to Peter Keeling who, in these last few days has patiently been on the end of the phone to answer stupid formatting questions, provide reassurance, and get me over the finish line.

Finally, and most importantly, huge thanks must go to my family. There are too many of you to mention individually by name, but everyone needs a team backing them to get through a PhD and team Trainor is the very best one I could ask for. I love you all so much!

This thesis is dedicated to my parents. To my Dad, Michael Trainor, who has always encouraged me to pursue my interests, and my Mum, Debbie Trainor, the kindest, strongest, most incredible woman I know. I hope this thesis makes you proud.

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List of Illustrations

Glossary of Terms

BAAT – British Association of Art Therapists

BCWS – British Council for the Welfare of Spastics

COS – Charity Organisation Society

DIG – Disablement Income Group

DRO – Disablement Resettlement Officer

DRRO – District Disabled Resettlement Officers

ESN – Educationally Subnormal

ICAA – Invalid Children's Aid Association

IRU – Industrial Rehabilitation Unit

LEA – Local Education Authority

MFPA – Mouth and Foot Painting Artists Association

NHS – National Health Service

NUWT – National Union of Women Teachers

SET – Special Educational Treatment

TUC – Trade Union Congress

Introduction

On the 15th June 1907 the *Sussex Agricultural Express* described the work of Chailey Heritage Schools of Arts and Crafts for crippled boys and girls as follows:

> In the Pioneer Craft Schools at Chailey there is supplied for the crippled inmates an all-round social training side by side with the learning of a craft. Received useless they are returned skilled labourers, and no one who visits the schools, who sees the scholars' happy faces and listens to their intelligent answers, can doubt but what the movement with which the name Mrs C. W. Kimmins (the founder) is so honourably associated, is meeting a long-felt want.[1]

Founded in 1903, Chailey Heritage was one of a number of charitable schools established for 'cripple' children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which also included the Lord Mayor Treloar College and Hospital, established in 1908.[2] Motivated in part by the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1870, such institutions were founded explicitly for the purposes of enabling 'cripple children' to 'learn how to live without being a burden to themselves and others', delivering a programme of education and training which centred arts, crafts and trades as a means of transforming the disabled child into a productive worker and active citizen.[3] In so doing, educational institutions like Chailey sought to counter widespread ideas about disabled people according to dominant contemporary notions of active citizenship and work.

Notions of what it meant to be a 'good citizen' in this period were equated with the 'desirable physical-moral type' – the healthy, productive and otherwise 'normal' body.[4] This was situated in opposition to its 'abnormal', deformed or disabled counterpart, which, in different times and contexts aroused significant anxiety and solicited variable responses for its

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[1] 'Brave Poor Things. Lord Llangatock Helps a Good Cause. Magnificent Gift for Chailey Cripple Schools', *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 15 June 1907, p.9.

[2] G.S.E Moynihan, *The Lord Mayor Treloar Hospital and College* (Southampton: Paul Cave Publications Ltd., 1988), p.7.

[3] 'Crippled Children Learn How to Live without Being a Burden to Themselves and Others at the Heritage Craft Schools', *Women's Own*, February 10, 1934, press cutting related to Chailey Heritage, HB261/1, The Keep archives, Brighton, UK.

[4] Waltraud Ernst, 'The Normal and the Abnormal. Reflections on Norms and Normativity', in Waltraud Ernst (ed.), *Histories of the Normal and Abnormal. Social and Cultural Histories of Norms and Normativity* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.1-25 (p.12).

management and 'control.'[5] In the Victorian period, for instance, perceptions of 'able-bodiedness' and the capacity to perform 'productive and self-supporting work' identified disabled people as a significant and potential burden to the state.[6] Expectations of citizenship that were tied to the ability to work often relegated disabled people to poverty and second-class citizenship, and, in a capitalist economy 'increasingly structured around a rigid division of labour', notions of productivity established '"crippledom" as 'a serious social and economic problem.'[7] Disabled people were perceived physically unable – or unwilling – to participate in productive work.[8] Indeed, the term 'cripple' - applied to a broad range of medically-defined conditions, such as tubercular hip or polio - evoked the 'crippling' financial and social threat of disability.

At the same time, popular images of 'cripple' children - and in particular those presented by literary characters such as Charles Dickens' 'Tiny Tim' - were significant in shaping 'contemporary and current perceptions of disabilities', evoking a more sympathetic public response which identified the 'cripple' child as one who was worthy of, and required, the support of charity to transform them into active and productive members of society.[9] As scholars such as Harry Hendricks and Hugh Cunningham have shown, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century 'social constructions' of 'children and childhood gained

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[5] David M. Turner, 'Introduction: Approaching Anomalous Bodies', in David M. Turner and Kevin Stagg (eds.), *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp.1-16 (pp.1-2).

[6] Iain Hutchinson, Martin Atherton and Jaipreet Virdi, 'Introduction', in Iain Hutchinson, Martin Atherton and Jaipreet Virdi (eds.), *Disability and the Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.1.

[7] Sarah F. Rose, *No Right to Be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1930s* (Durham, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Anne Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750: A History of Exclusion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.2; Brad Byron, 'A Pupil and a Patient: Hospital-Schools in Progressive America', in Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (eds.), *The New Disability History. American Perspectives (*New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp.133- 156 (p.133).

[8] Maria H. Frawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.43; John Welshman, *Underclass. A History of the Excluded, 1880-2000*, (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), p.24.

[9] Walton O. Schalick, 'Children, disability and rehabilitation in history', *Paediatric Rehabilitation*, Vol. 4, No.2 (2001), pp.91-95 (pp.91-93); Paul K. Longmore, *Telethons: Spectacle, Disability and the Business of* Charity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.87.

currency and became widely acceptable social truths.'[10] In the 'adult imagination childhood as an idea became more separated from adulthood than it had ever been before', which was evident through the actions of numerous reformers who worked to extend the privileges of modern childhood to the poor children of the working classes. [11] Concern for the child was underpinned by 'concern for the future of the nation and of the race', as well as an expanding body of knowledge related to the processes of healthy, normal child development.[12] As a result, policies directed towards children, which provided them with compulsory schooling, gradually removed them from the labour market and worked to reform their material conditions. This recognised the need to protect and promote this essential period of a child's life on the understanding that children were key to the future prosperity of the nation, and had a profound influence on the treatment of disabled children[13]

This thesis traces educational initiatives for disabled children throughout the twentieth century, to consider how schools such as Chailey Heritage contributed to shifting ideas about disability, and the disabled child, in particular. It argues that, while widespread concerns about childhood and education contributed to shifting political and institutional approaches to disabled children, they nevertheless occupied a liminal space between the privileged and protected state of childhood and the expectations of non-disabled adulthood. This is clearly evidenced through increased charitable and state initiatives which gradually recognised disabled children as worthy recipients of care and education. At the same time, however, the permanence of their disabled status represented a potential burden to society, and thus situated them within the productive realm of adulthood with its attendant responsibilities and

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[10] Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.9.
[11] Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London: BBC Books, 2006), p.140.
[12] Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor. Representations of Childhood Since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.228-23.
[13] Steve Humphries, Joanna Mack and Robert Perks, *A Century of Childhood* (London: Sidgewick & Jackson Ltd., 1988), pp.26-27.

expectations to contribute meaningfully to society whilst their non-disabled peers were gradually removed from the labour market Indeed, Sir Robert Jones, Chairmen of the Medical Board at Chailey Heritage defined this as essential to the approach taken by institutions like Chailey Heritage, whereby ‘crippled’ children were ‘taught the joy and morality of work.’[14] Whilst the early methods of charitable schools centred a work-based approach which ‘sought to reform cultural attitudes’ towards the disabled body by affirming its productivity, this thesis identifies and examines a range of shifting charitable, political, medical and educational discourses which aimed to ‘solve the riddle of dependency’, and thus established new methods and approaches which, both socially and physically, worked to transform the ‘flaws identified in disabled people.’[15]

Sources and Approach

Disability is not static, it is a relational and value-loaded concept which reflects the cultural values and social anxieties of a given society, and which shifts in response to the attitudes, policies, practices and approaches developed for its management.[16] How a society defines disability, and the people it identifies as disabled, can reveal a great deal about the values, attitudes and expectations imposed upon the body by a given society, and the successive processes which have worked to stigmatise some bodies and not others in different temporal, cultural and geographical locations.[17] This thesis therefore examines the processes by which charities and the state worked to identify, recategorize and influence popular understandings of disability. It does not view disabled people as one homogenous group but considers how

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[14] Quoted in D.G Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped, 1760-1960* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), p.162.
[15] Byron, ‘A Pupil and a Patient’, p.133.
[16] Steven D. Edwards, *Disability: Definitions, Value and Identity (*Seattle: Radcliffe Publishing, 2005), p.7.
[17] Susan Wendell, *The Rejected Body: Feminist Philosophical Reflections on Disability* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.32.

various interest groups shifted popular concerns to focus on different medical conditions and groups of disabled people who they identified as worthy, or in need, of intervention.

This thesis adopts Emily Russell's definition of 'embodied citizenship' as a useful 'conceptual model' through which to analyse the history of disability.[18] Russell contends that it is only those 'with visible bodily difference whose political participation is read as inescapably embodied', and therefore 'the features that exclude those with anomalous bodies from full access to citizenship are the same features that make their acts of citizenship legible.'[19] 'Embodied citizenship' therefore considers the 'homology of physical, social and textual bodies as the terrain for constructing social narratives of disabled citizenship'.[20] Russell points out that the word 'body' in the common terms 'physical body', 'body politic' and 'body of the text' is not merely a neat coincidence, but a sign of the often-forgotten dependence of each category upon the others', and argues that further examination of the interconnections of these provides a more thorough 'understanding of how 'disability functions in the national imagination.'[21] This thesis therefore adopts a social and cultural methodological approach which considers these interconnections through an examination of a broad range of sources including, but not limited to: social policy, official publications and reports; various charitable culture; examples of pedagogic practice, educational guidance and educational journals; medical journals; newspapers and magazines.This thesis has engaged closely with material from a number of archives including collections held by The Keep, Sussex; Wellcome Collection, Leonard Cheshire Archives, the Institute of Education, and Hampshire Record Office, identifying key case studies which include Chailey Heritage, the National Spastics Society and the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists which have allowed for a more detailed

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[18] Emily Russell, *Reading Embodied Citizenship. Disability, Narrative and the Body Politic* (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2011), p.4.
[19] Russell, *Reading Embodied Citizenship*, p.4.
[20] Russell, *Reading Embodied Citizenship*, p.3.
[21] Russell, *Reading Embodied Citizenship*, p.3.

examination of the evolving relationship between disabled people, charities and the state. The rich source material which survives for organisations like Chailey Heritage and the National Spastics Society reflects both their prominent status and influence as institutions in directing approaches to the management of disability in the twentieth century. Grace Kimmins, founder of Chailey Heritage, for example was a prolific fundraiser who produced substantial promotional material about the work of the school and hospital, and likewise was reported on frequently by the press, providing invaluable insight into the public perception of charitable endeavours directed towards disabled children in this period. The inclusion of the National Spastics Society similarly reflects the prominent status of the charity in the post-war period and the rich source material held by Wellcome Collection about the Society and the experiences of people with cerebral palsy has until now been understudied. This thesis therefore consciously includes the National Spastics Society to demonstrate the enduring role played by charities in the lives of disabled adults and children, and to bring specific attention to the experiences of people with cerebral palsy, and the approaches taken to their management, care and education. Engagement with a broad range of sources has provided a more nuanced analysis of the shifting charitable, educational, medical and political discourses which have variously shaped, reaffirmed or reformed popular conceptions of the disabled body. Furthermore, interrogating a variety of discourses allows for a more detailed consideration of the body politic itself, and reveals the role played by the public, charities and the state in denying, or promoting the inclusion of disabled people, and thus enabling them to engage more actively in their own ‘embodied citizenship.’

This thesis engages with a number of accounts, memoirs and publications produced by disabled people. However, these accounts are largely taken from disabled adults reflecting back upon their experiences of education and care as children. This reflects the limitations of source material available from the perspectives of disabled children themselves which rarely survives in the historical record, and thus this thesis necessarily focuses upon social policy, and the institutional, charitable and educational structures disabled children encountered instead. As an area of scholarly research, childhood disability has received significantly less attention than other areas concerned with disability, particularly in relation to histories of work and warfare. This thesis therefore primarily focuses upon disabled children, offering a broad survey which allows for a more critical engagement with the shifting ways and means through which charitable and state initiatives have reimagined the identity of the disabled child and developed approaches for their management and control accordingly. In offering this broader survey, through a rigorous engagement with various institutional discourses, this thesis has opened up the potential for scholarly examination to interrogate further the lived experiences of disabled children themselves.

This study begins in 1870 with the introduction of mass elementary education. As Mathew Thomson has argued, the introduction of mass schooling was the 'most important trigger' in the development of the 'problem of mental deficiency' because it surfaced a population of people who could not be diagnosed as 'idiots', but who were not considered 'normal' either, and thus required special training if they were to be educated.[22] Whilst Thomson's study is primarily concerned with those considered 'mentally defective', this thesis argues that the introduction of compulsory schooling similarly provided the impetus for the development of early charitable special schools concerned with the education of children with other forms of impairment too. It examines key pieces of educational and employment legislation directed towards disabled people, as well as a number of charitable interventions over a period of a hundred years ending in 1970, when charitable and state interventions culminated in the passage of *The Chronically Sick and Disabled (Persons) Act*, which

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[22] Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency. Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain c.1870-1959*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.13

represented a significant symbolic change in the ways that disabled people were perceived and treated in Britain.[23] In doing so, this thesis analyses the shifting relationship between disabled people, charity and the state, and the role played by arts and crafts in different educational, therapeutic and occupational contexts, to consider how these worked to extend, or deny, the rights of citizenship to disabled people throughout this period.

Whilst the first half of this thesis, which covers the period c.1870-1939, is primarily concerned with disabled children, the second half extends its examination to include disabled adults, utilising this approach to offer a more nuanced analysis of the evolving values and expectations imposed upon the disabled child. It identifies a shift after the Second World War, whereby the legislative frameworks laid down via the establishment of the modern welfare state created new frameworks for understanding and managing disabled adults and children, which thus established a more distinct identity for both. In particular, this thesis addresses the impact of *The Education Act* (1944), a key piece of policy which, for the first time, principally considered the educational needs of all children under the same legislation, including disabled children.[24] More broadly, this reflected a greater concern for the welfare of children and the desire to extend 'equality of opportunity' in education to all.[25] Whilst in practice, this policy resulted in the identification and segregation of more significantly impaired children in special schools, this in itself required a reappraisal of educational aims which deviated from a concern for the disabled child's occupational status, to consider instead how education could best support their emotional and social development. Although beyond the scope of this study, the publication of the report of the Warnock Committee of Enquiry into the Education of

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[23] See Carol Underwood, 'The Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, 1970', *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Vol.44, No.7 (1981), pp.216-218. Notably, the Act was largely ineffective, and has been much criticised in the fifty years since it passed. See for example Jameel Hampton, The 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act – fifty years on', *Disability and Society*, Vol.5, No.3 (2020), pp.831-836.

[24] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped*, p.209.

[25] Martin Francis, 'A socialist policy for education? Labour and the secondary school, 1945-1951', *History of Education*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1995), pp.319-335 (p.319).

Handicapped Children (1978) drew attention to the limited success in integrating disabled children into special classes in mainstream schools. It highlighted the need to prepare some young people to transition from school to 'significant living without work' which spoke to the acknowledged dependence of such young people upon statutory forms of support.[26] Of equal significance was *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944), enacted in response to disabled adults working contributions during the Second World War, through which the state assumed a responsibility for delivering employment to disabled civilians, and affirmed their status as 'valued workers'.[27]

This thesis argues that through these key policies, the state played a fundamental role in 'defining and redefining the boundaries of dependency', establishing categories which promoted a 'culturally legitimate rationale for non-participation in the labour system.'[28] Thus, whilst the state's assertion of the rights and responsibilities of disabled adults to be workers was deemed essential for 'the productive side of the economy', the educational frameworks established via *The Education Act* (1944) affirmed the 'dependency' of disabled children which thus promoted a broader distinction, in terms of expectations and perceptions, of disabled adults and children.[29]

Alongside state policy and educational reform, this thesis also draws attention to the role of charity in shaping understandings of, and approaches to, disability in the twentieth century. During the period examined in this thesis, charities were central to the lives of many disabled people, and disabled children, particularly. Philanthropists and organisations established voluntary schools for disabled children, as well as hospitals and sanatoria to treat

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[26] Sonali Shah and Mark Priestley, *Disability and Social Change. Private Lives and Public Policies,* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2011), pp.141-142

[27] Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation' (*Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.91.

[28] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.13, Deborah Stone, *The Disabled State (*Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), pp.21-28

[29] Stone, *Disabled State*, pp.21-28.

crippling diseases like tuberculosis, and organisations like the Royal Surgical Aid Society provided specialist equipment to carter to disabled people's medical and access needs before the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948.[30] A variety of charities also provided recreational activities for disabled children and adults via schemes such as the Guild of the Brave Poor Things and Guild of Play, which recognised the value of 'games and fairy tales' in 'training body, imagination and heart', and a number of charitable schemes and sheltered workshops offered 'various forms of training to disabled civilians', such as John Grooms' Crippleage which trained 'cripple' girls in artificial flower-making, with the aim of reabsorbing them into employment and making them useful to society.[31]

As Jane Lewis has outlined, in this period, the state and charity operated in conjunction with one another to cater to the needs of British people, and charitable approaches to disability were therefore inextricably shaped in response to government concerns.[32] Throughout the twentieth century, the relationship between charitable organisations and disabled people shifted in form and scale and in response to increased state intervention and shifting national ideas about efficiency and citizenship. At the same time, charitable action and discourses were essential in shaping broader notions of disability through publicity materials and appeals.[33] This thesis therefore draws attention to the shifting relationship between disabled people, charities and the state, and accords a prominent role to charities concerned with the education,

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[30] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* pp.94-98 and p.108; Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* pp.63-69; Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* p.23, Jameel Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain. Changes in perception and policy 1948-79* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), p.36.

[31] 'Account of The Guild of Play, Bermondsey, 1914', HB130/1, The Keep, Brighton, UK; Madeline Rooff, *Voluntary Societies and Social Policy (*London: Routledge, 2002[1957]), pp.13-14; Emily Bartlett, 'Re-assembling Disabled Identities: Employment, Ex-Servicemen and the Poppy Factory', *Journal of Social History*, Vol.4, No.1 (Fall 2020): 210-236 (p.214.)

[32] Lewis' account charts the development of The Charity Organisation Society which became the Family Welfare Association in 1946. In doing so, she identifies a more complementary partnership between voluntary services and the state which emerged particularly in the early twentieth century. Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain. The Charity Organisation Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1995).

[33] Julie Anderson, for example, argues that St Dunstan's home for blind ex-servicemen played a fundamental role in shaping for the public the 'stoic' identity of the blind soldier, which, in turn, assured its success as a charitable organisation. Julie Anderson, 'Stoics: Creating Identities at St Dunstan's 1914-19120', in Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (eds.), *Men After War* (New York, Routledge, 2013) pp.79-91.

training and employment of disabled children and adults. Specifically, it examines how charities responded to, and influenced, popular conceptions of disabled people, shaping their activities in response to the evolving role of the state in disabled peoples' lives. It does this through an examination of specific case studies, which include Chailey Heritage and The National Spastics Society, which, through their charitable action, achieved a particularly prominent status in the public conscience, and thus provide significant insight into broader ideas about disability in this period.

In particular, the example of Chailey Heritage is illustrative of the ways in which charitable discourse responded to social anxieties related to the unproductive disabled body, and this thesis argues that this coalesced with a number of physiological, educational and cultural frameworks concerned with childhood which, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, worked to establish the disabled child as one whose access to education was contingent upon their capacity to be useful. The later example of the National Spastics Society, established in 1952, is illustrative of the ways in which charities in the post-war period evolved in response to specific sets of needs identified through the expansion of the modern welfare state. Whilst the education and employment of children and adults with cerebral palsy was not a focus of charitable or statutory support prior to the Second World War, this thesis demonstrates how the legislative frameworks established via *The Education Act* (1944) and *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* brought a particular focus to specific groups, such as those with cerebral palsy. The implementation of these key policies revealed the continued limitations of statutory support for certain disabled people, and thus defined new roles for charities operating in the post-war period, such as the National Spastics Society, which played an integral role in materially providing for, and metaphorically shaping, the educational and occupational expectations and experiences of people with cerebral palsy in the post-war period.

To borrow from Percy Sykes (Chailey Heritage's first Master Craftsmen and Headmaster) this thesis utilises the 'pivot' of arts and crafts to address 'a web of allied information' concerned with the charitable, political, educational and medial framing and reforming of disabled people during the period c.1870-1970.[34] Through an examination of the charitable practices at institutions like Chailey Heritage, this thesis presents craft as a mechanism established to socially transform disabled children. It argues that the craft objects created by disabled children provided material evidence of the efficacy of charitable works, whilst simultaneously constructing for the public a more acceptable identity for the disabled child through the affirmation of their capacity to work. It then examines the role of arts and crafts in special education after the Second World War, identifying a shift in approach through which such practices came to be more therapeutically defined. As this thesis demonstrates, this resulted in part from the inclusion of higher numbers of more significantly impaired children in special educational settings as a result of the *Education Act* (1944). Whilst the vocational agendas of early charitable schools used arts and crafts to communicate with the public, in this new context art was understood as a medium which enabled special educators to communicate with, examine and assess disabled children, which reflected more broadly an educational commitment to understanding and supporting the individual needs of children.

Finally, this thesis analyses the role of art in relation to disabled people's employment in the post-war period, through an examination of the activities of the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists (MFPA), an organisation founded by, and for, disabled artists in 1957. In this context, art-making reflected the professional aspirations of disabled people which, it is argued, were promoted through *The Disabled Peoples (Employment) Act* (1944) which affirmed their right

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[34] Percy R. Sykes, first Master appointed to the Heritage Craft Schools in 1903, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage from the Perspective of the Craftsmen, and the Craft Schools' (1926), HB274/2, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

to be recognised as workers. Mouth and Foot Painting Artists, however, wanted to move beyond the occupational status of ‘worker’ to engage in creative practices which provided more, both materially and emotionally, than some of the opportunities for employment delivered via statutory schemes. It is argued, therefore, that the shifting values assigned to arts practices, as they were used with and by disabled people throughout the period under study, reflected more broadly conceptions of disabled people’s educability and employability, and thus developed alongside, and in response to, charitable schemes and state provision which aimed to promote and facilitate these. Examining these creative practices within these different educational, therapeutic and occupational contexts thus provides a richer understanding of the shifting attitudes, values, motivations and practices which have shaped both public perceptions of disability, and the educational and employment experiences of disabled people during the period c.1870-1970. Broadly, this thesis examines the evolving ways in which disabled bodies have been culturally codified and enacted upon by a range of different political, educational, medical and charitable actors. This necessarily requires an engagement with historicised terms which are offensive by modern standards. However, these culturally and temporally specific labels – including ‘cripple’, ‘feebleminded’ and ‘idiot’ - often reveal much more about the attitudes of individuals and institutions that used them than those they were applied to. This thesis thus consciously engages with such terms because they provide valuable insight into a broad range of attitudes, approaches and practices associated with disabled people, their education and their employment. Indeed, in certain respects these labels often represented an attempt to remove the stigma associated with older terminology. For example, in the 1950s the National Spastics Society consciously used the term ‘spastic’ instead of ‘cerebral palsy’, which it believed invited associations with mental defect.[35]

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[35] Richard Dimbleby with the assistance of Mary Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours. The Story of the Spastics Society*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton,1964), p.25.

In so doing, this thesis expands on existing scholarship by interrogating the intersections between ideas about disability and childhood in the twentieth century. Although, as the next section of this introduction shows, the history of disability is now a well-established topic of enquiry, comparatively little attention has been paid to the histories of disabled children. Likewise, although numerous scholars have investigated the histories of education, this thesis adopts a novel approach by specifically focussing upon the role of arts and crafts in the education of disabled children, and later the work of disabled adults, to argue that the changing values applied to these practices reflected more broadly shifting approaches to understanding and managing disability in the twentieth century.

Literature Review

This research is informed by existing scholarship in areas including, but not limited to, disability studies and disability history, the history of the body, histories of childhood and education, the history of work, as well as histories associated with the role of art as a therapeutic and professional practice. The following introduction offers a broad overview of existing scholarship in these areas, and outlines the ways in which this thesis utilises, and builds upon, these areas of historical enquiry. It begins with a discussion of the emergence of disability history as an area of academic enquiry which evolved out of the related field of disability studies, and thus situates this thesis within research broadly concerned with examining the variable ways in which different cultures and societies have understood the disabled body.

As Mitchell and Snyder explain, the 'socially defined experience of organismic contamination' situates the disabled person as one 'who harbours more than just a physical/cognitive limitation or difference: disability infuses every aspect of his or her social being'.[36] This has meant , according to David M. Turner, that 'deformed, disabled, or otherwise anomalous bodies have been subject to a variety of interpretations and responses throughout history'.[37] Variously understood as monsters and freaks, sources of entertainment, or as deformed and diseased bodies in need of medical management; the numerous 'cultural locations of disability' have contributed to an understanding of disability which views it as 'an undesirable deviation from normative existence.'[38]

Within this context disability studies emerged as 'an interdisciplinary field' which invited scholars to consider disability 'not as an individual, medical pathology but instead as a key defining social category on a par with race, class and gender.'[39] Scholars including Michael Oliver, Vik Finkelstein, Colin Barnes and Paul K. Longmore challenged the prevailing 'medical model' which 'locate[d] the problem of disability in the [individual] bodies of "afflicted" persons', and understood disability as a medical condition which required 'cure, correction, or elimination'.[40] Their critique was rooted in the 'social model of disability' which stemmed from the work of British disability activists associated with the Union for the Physically Impaired Against Segregation in the late 1970s - namely Oliver and Finkelstein - who defined disability as 'the restriction of activity caused by contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes

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[36] David T Mitchell and Sharon L Snyder, *The Body and Physical Difference. Discourses on Physical Difference (*United States: University of Michigan Press, 1997), p.3.

[37] Turner, 'Approaching Anomalous Bodies', p.1.

[38] Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, 'Introduction: From Wonder to Error – A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity', in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, Rosemary Garland-Thomson (ed.) (London: New York University Press, 1996), pp.1-22; Sharon L. Snyder and David T. Mitchell, *Cultural Locations of Disability (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.3.

[39] Catherine J. Kudlick, 'Disability History: Why We Need Another ''Other'', *The American Historical Review*, Vol.108, No.3, pp.764-793 (p.764).

[40] 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); Vic Finkelstein, '"We" Are Not Disabled "You" Are', in *Constructing Deafness*, Susan Gregory and Gillian M.Hartley (eds.) (Milton Keynes: Continuum, 2002), pp.265-271; 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).

them from the mainstream of social activities.'[41] Thus, it was not a person's impairment which made them disabled, but the constraints placed upon such individuals by a disabling society.[42] As Carla Rice notes, the social model has been celebrated for 'its simplicity in its call for change' and 'its radicalism in shifting the meaning from the bodies of individuals to a product of the social world', whilst at the same time enabling disabled people to 'claim a proud cultural identity' for the first time in history.[43] The understanding that disability was not located in bodily difference, but was an 'artificially created' condition formed upon the basis of culturally and temporally specific conceptions of bodies allowed disability scholars and activists to 'examine the roots of their disenfranchisement' as part of a broader attempt to advance the civil rights of disabled people.[44] The 'social model' subsequently became the dominant 'structural analysis of disabled people's social exclusion' in Britain.[45]

Whilst it has more typically been used to address contemporary issues surrounding disabled peoples' continued marginalisation, scholars such as Michael Oliver, Colin Barnes and Vik Finkelstein have engaged with the social model to address aspects of disability history, arguing in particular that industrial capitalism played a fundamental role in excluding disabled people from the labour market.[46] However, certain historians have argued that this interpretation relies heavily upon generalised assumptions which have lacked the robust

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[41] Tom Shakespeare, 'The Social Model of Disability', in Lennard J. Davis (ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* 4th Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.214-221(p.215); Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement (*Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1990), p.11.

[42] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* pp.4-7.

[43] Carla Rice et al., 'Project Re-Vision: disability at the edges of representation', *Disability and Society*, Vol. 30, No.4, pp.513-527 (p.517).

[44] Longmore, *Why*, p.21; Finkelstein, pp.266-267; Turner, 'Approaching Anomalous Bodies', pp.2-3. For a comprehensive account of the 'disability movement' which considers both the significance of state infrastructure established after the Second World War, as well as the prevailing influence of charity in the lives of disabled people in Britain see Jane Campbell and Mike Oliver, *Disability Politics. Understanding our past, changing our future* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.28-45 (p.28).

[45] Shakespeare, 'Social Model of Disability' p.215.

[46] Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement*,(Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp.25-42; Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, *Disabled People and Social Policy: From Exclusion to Inclusion (*London: Longman, 1998),pp.138-154; Finkelstein, pp.265-271.

analysis of historical enquiry.[47] Julie Anderson, for example, has argued that the 'the strong political overtones of the social model' have 'limited its use as a historical framework.'[48] Moreover, more recent debates within the field of disability studies itself have questioned a strong adherence to the social model. Tom Shakespeare, for example, has argued that the 'radical analysis' which shifted to seeing 'disability as nothing to do with individual bodies and brains' had ramifications which were politically damaging, as it failed to engage with the ways in which different types of people with various forms of impairment experienced disability, whilst Carla Rice has criticised disability politics more generally for primarily presenting from the perspective of 'white, westernised, middle-class, physically disabled men.'[49] Margrit Shildrick has similarly argued that the application of 'disability as a universal category' tends to overlook the multiple differences and variations which exist for embodied experience, in this way building upon feminist approaches to the body which aimed to place corporeal experiences at the centre of academic analysis.[50]

According to Susan Crutchfield and Marcy Epstein, it was within this context that the associated disability arts movement emerged as part of an effort to 'create a space for a disabled subject who has, for centuries, been the object of culture.'[51] Disability arts was, therefore, understood as medium through which disabled people could define their own culture which reflected a 'shared way of life', although this in itself has been challenged by Dennis Casling

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[47] B.J. Gleeson, 'Disability Studies: a historical materialist view', *Disability & Society,* Vol.12, No.2 (1997), pp.179-202; Jameel Hampton, 'Discovering Disability: The General Classes of Disabled People and the Classic Welfare State, 1948-1964, *The Historian,* Vol.75, No.1 (2013), pp.69-73 (p.72); Julie Anderson & Ana Carden Coyne, 'Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in the History of Disability', *European Review of History,* Vol.14, No.4 (2007), pp.447-457 (p.447).

[48] Julie Anderson, 'Voices in the Dark: Representations of Disability in Historical Research', *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 44, No.1 (2009), pp.107-116 (p.108).

[49] Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs (*Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p.31; Rice et al., 'Project Re-Vision', p.514.

[50] Margrit Shildrick, *Dangerous Discourses of Disability, Subjectivity and Sexuality (*New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.18. See also Jenny Morris, *Pride Against Prejudice: A Personal Politics of Disability (*London: The Women's Press, 1991).

[51] Susan Crutchfield and Marcy Epstein (eds.), 'Introduction', *Points of Contact. Disability, Art and Culture,* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp.1-20 (p.5).

who argues that the notion of a disability culture is something which has been used by the disability movement 'from time to time' to make its political point.[52] Tensions have subsequently arisen from the need to politicise disabled people, and thus identify ‘what it means to be disabled person’ whilst still acknowledging and recognising the nuanced and subjective experience of disabled individuals who - operating within different temporal, geographical and cultural locations – may present with multiple and shifting identities.[53]In spite of these critiques, disability studies has inspired a number of historical works, which were initially primarily focussed in the United States under the umbrella ‘New Disability History’. Historians associated with New Disability History, including Lauri Umansky, Paul K. Longmore, and Catherine Kudlick have argued that disability should be considered a ‘standard analytical tool’ of historical analysis with the potential to allow historians ‘to reconsider virtually every concept, every event, every ‘“given’’ we take for granted.’[54] Scholars therefore began to interrogate historical concepts of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ bodies across a variety of temporal and cultural locations, considering both the attitudes and behaviours directed towards those deemed unusual or ‘out of the ordinary.’[55] Included amongst these are Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, Sander L. Gilman, David Hevey, David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder who have argued that ‘analyses in art, popular media and history have much to teach us about the role of disability in culture’, and have thus engaged in a range of representational discourses, including film, television, art and photography in order to understand ‘social perceptions of disability and

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[52] Colin Barnes and Geoff Mercer 'Disability Culture. Assimilation of Inclusion?', in Gary L. Albrecht. Katherine Seelman & Michael Bury (eds.), *Handbook of Disability Studies* (London: SAGE, 2001), pp.515-535 (pp.516-517); Dennis Casling, 'Art for Whose Sake?', *Disability and Society,* Vol 9, No.3 (1994), pp.384-394 (p.390).

[53] Barnes and Mercer, 'Disability Culture. Assimilation of Inclusion?’, pp.516-517.

[54] Paul. K Longmore and Lauri Umansky, ‘Introduction: Disability History: From the Margins to the Mainstream’, in Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (eds.), *The New Disability History. American Perspectives,* pp.1-32 (p.15); Catherine Kudlick, ‘Disability History: Why We Need Another “Other’’, *The American Historical Review,* Vol.108, No.3 (2003), pp.763-793 (p.767).

[55] Henri-Jacques Stiker, *A History of Disability,* trans. by William Sayers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp.1-19.

the subjectivities of the disabled alike.'[56] In doing so, they have significantly enhanced our understanding of the impact of these various cultural mediums upon perceptions of the 'normal' and 'abnormal'. Sander Gilman, for example, has demonstrated how the visual frameworks established within medical imagery and artworks depicting madness contributed to the construction of oppositional cultures through which those considered 'normal' were able to identify in relation to what they were not, whilst Garland-Thomson argues that since the introduction of anti-disability discrimination legislation in the United Kingdom and the United States disability imagery no longer appears as peripheral or sensationalist, thus demonstrating how representational cultures both influenced, and were influenced by, shifting historical conceptions of disabled bodies.[57]

Significantly for this thesis, which considers the representational discourses deployed by a number of charities which worked with disabled adults and children, the work of Longmore and Hevey have provided invaluable insights into the numerous ways in which charities have perpetuated 'pity and notions of dependency' through their construction of disabled people as spectacles, symbols of overcoming or the 'the deserving poor'.[58] This thesis therefore builds upon this analysis, to consider the ways in which charitable discourse intersected with educational, medical and political frameworks which variously worked to affirm or deny the educability and employability of disabled people during the period under study.

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[56] Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary*; Sander L. Gilman, *Seeing the Insane (*Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), David Hevey, *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability* (London: Routledge, 1992); 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).

[57] Sander L. Gilman, 'Preface', *Seeing the Insane (*Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, 'The Politics of Staring: Visual Rhetorics of Disability in Popular Photography' in Sharon L. Snyder, Brenda Jo Brueggemann, and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (eds.), *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities (*New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2002), pp.56-75 (p.72).

[58] Paul K. Longmore, *Telethons: Spectacle, Disability and the Business of Charity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.84-120; *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.22-24.

Although developments in disability history in the United Kingdom were initially slower, it has since become a flourishing field of historic enquiry. The first major study came with the publication of Anne Borsay's *Disability and Social Policy in Britain* in 2005 which focussed upon the impact of social policy, particularly in areas concerned with disabled people's education and employment, which, she argues, perpetuated both their physical and social segregation.[59] A growing interest in the field was evident in the organisation of the first major disability history conference in Britain in 2005, which was followed by three substantial edited volumes which considered disability within a British context across a broad range of themes and periods: *Mental Illness and Learning Disability since 1850; Social Histories of Disability and Deformity* and *Histories of the Normal and Abnormal.*[60] Julie Anderson's *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* examined 'the nature of injured and disabled bodies in relation to the rehabilitative practices established in Britain' after the Second World War, and thus made a substantial contribution to scholarly understandings of rehabilitation which had focussed primarily upon the First World War.[61] In spite of the expansion of state welfare after the Second World War, Anderson identified an ongoing role for charities and voluntary associations for the war disabled in areas where 'the State's provision was lacking.'[62] Whilst the war wounded were well established objects of charity, this thesis expands upon this analysis to consider the ways in which the shifting frontier of the state identified new objects of charity, drawing specific attention to the employment programmes developed by The National Spastics Society for people with cerebral palsy in the 1950s. In her book, Anderson called for historians to undertake 'more work on disabled people, their

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[59] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* p.1.

[60] Neil Pemberton, 'Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in the History of Disability', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol.61, No.1 (2006), pp.292-295 (p.292);Pamela Dale and Joseph Melling (eds.), *Mental Illness and Learning Disability since 1850: Finding a Place for Mental Disorder in the United Kingdom* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006); D.M Turner and Kevin Stagg (eds.), *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006); Waltraud Ernst (ed.), *Histories of the Normal and Abnormal* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[61] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* pp.5-7

[62] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* pp.5-7

experiences and their history' utilising a broad range of sources and methodological approaches.[63] Since then a number of significant studies have been published including Mathias Reiss' *Blind Workers Against Charity The National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland, 1893-1970;* Jameel Hampton's, *Disability and the Welfare State: Changes in perception and policy 1948-79,* and David M. Turner and Daniel Blackie's *Disability in the Industrial Revolution.*[64] This thesis therefore draws upon existing scholarship which addresses the various and shifting representational tropes assigned to the disabled body, as well as extending the work of studies which consider the social and political contexts of disability in areas concerned with work, welfare and education. By examining the relational aspects of these various cultural, social and political processes it offers a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which charitable and state provision have worked to deny, or advance, the civil rights of disabled people.

Simultaneous to these developments in disability history has been a growing interest in the body as an area of historical enquiry. Indeed, in 2001 Roy Porter described 'body' history as the 'historiographical dish of the day.'[65] The 'historicized body', as defined by Roger Cooter, has subsequently drawn attention to the importance of 'an *non*- purely biological view of the body', which has led historians to far more extensively consider the various and shifting processes through which the body has been socially constructed.[66] As Jacqueline Urla and Jennifer Tarry argue '[b]odies do not exist in terms of an a priori essence, anterior to techniques and practices that are imposed upon them. They are neither transhistorical sets of needs and desires nor natural objects pre-existing cultural (and, indeed, scientific) representation. They

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[63] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* pp.215-216.
[64] Matthias Reiss, *Blind Workers against Charity. The National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland, 1893-1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain*; David M. Turner and Daniel Blackie, *Disability in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).
[65] Roy Porter, 'History of the Body', in Peter Burke (ed.), New Perspectives on Historical Writing, Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), pp.206-232 (p.236)
[66] Roger Cooter, 'The Turn of the Body: History and the Politics of the Corporeal', *Arbor*, 186.743 (2010), pp.393-405.

are effects, products or symptoms of specific techniques and regulatory practices', and thus their meaning shifts over time in response to the various cultural processes and regulatory practices which have been imposed them.[67] Michel Foucault, for example, described institutions like hospitals as 'heterotopias of deviance, occupied by individuals whose behaviour deviates from the current average or standard', and thus demonstrated the ways through which identities were formed and imposed upon bodies through their interactions with a number of institutional structures.[68] As Mathew Thomson's influential study, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency*, outlines, the 19th and 20th century saw a substantial increase in the numbers receiving treatment and training in institutional settings, which Thomson attributes to a number of factors. In the 1840s, the influence of Edouard Séguin's research into the identification and treatment of 'idiots' saw a number of private asylums open, although as Thomson explains the majority of those receiving residential care did so in Poor Law Institutions where care was typically of a lower quality.[69] The establishment of the Metropolitan Asylums Board in 1867 made further expansions to asylum provision; however with the passage of the Idiots Act in 1886, which made it possible to certify 'Idiots' as distinct from 'Lunatics', significant pressure was placed upon asylum resources because, as Thomson argues, family members were more likely to come forward to certify their family members as 'Idiots'.[70] Thomson explains that by the end of the 19th century charitable asylums were at risk of being overwhelmed by 'chronic cases in need of long-term care', rather than treatable patients. Coupled with the rising influence of eugenics at the start of the 20th century, Thomson argues that this worked to establish mental deficiency as a 'management problem' which

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[67] Jaqueline Urla and Jennifer Tarry, 'Introduction: Mapping Embodied Deviance', in Jennifer Tarry and Jacqueline Urla (eds.) *Deviant Bodies. Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp.1-18 (p.3).

[68] Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, Vol.16, No.1 (Spring 1986), pp.22-27 (p.25)

[69] Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency. Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain c.1870-1959*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.11

[70] Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency*, p.13

increasingly overlapped with a wide range of institutional settings, which included asylums, prisons for the inebriate, workhouses and increasingly special schools, which provided further impetus for their establishment into the 20th century.[71]

Studies of institutions are, according to Dana Arnold, therefore important for recognising the body as the 'nexus through which power is produced through action and resistance' as they allow for a consideration of the ways in which modes of discipline are external to and inscribed within the body, as well recognising the body's potential to establish 'contested and multiple spatial identities' through its interaction with the various actors and environments it encounters.[72] Thus, as Doreen Massey argues, failure to acknowledge spatial multiplicity 'reduces simultaneous coexistence to place in the historical queue', in effect assuming a universal narrative of space which denies the embodied experience of those who inhabit it.[73] Whilst Shildrick argues that the body is 'relatively unimportant' because the 'disembodied mind' is often taken to be the 'marker of the sovereign subject', both, in fact, are inextricably linked because cognitive lived experiences are enacted through the body.[74] However, the interplay between the material body and embodied experience invariably mean that when the body is deemed to fall short it 'becomes the locus of a devaluation that extends far beyond the materiality of any real or perceived deficit.'[75] For the disabled subjects considered within this research this holds particular resonance, and this research therefore addresses the shifting parameters of bodily disqualification defined through processes of medical, educational and legislative categorisation which, it is argued, worked to manage, and often limit, the embodied experiences of disabled individuals.

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[71] Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency,* p.13

[72] Dana Arnold, *The Spaces of the Hospital: Spatiality and Urban Change in London, 1860-1820 (*Abingdon: Routledge,2013), p.6; Alice Street and Simon Coleman, 'Introduction: Real and Imagined Spaces', *Space and Culture*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2012),pp.4-17 (p.5).

[73] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: SAGE, 2005), p.5.

[74] Shildrick, *Dangerous Discourses,* p.19.

[75] Shildrick, *Dangerous Discourses,* p.19.

Whilst disability is ‘socially produced by systems of classification and professional labels’ Bryan Turner argues that it also has profound significance for the self because who we are is necessarily constituted by our embodiment [….]. The day to day difficulties of mobility and autonomy are not, as it were, merely accidental features of everyday life of the chronically ill, the disabled, or the elderly; they actually constitute selfhood by transforming the complex relationships between the self, the body and the environment.’[76] Indeed, as Katherine Ott has demonstrated, disability is distinct from other forms of segregation because it often requires that certain accommodations be made to overcome material barriers; disability is therefore unique in ‘the extent to which it is bonded to technology, tools, and machines as a medium of social interaction’ which has implications for conceptions of the self.[77] Rob Imrie has similarly demonstrated how theories and practices underpinning twentieth century architecture were premised upon an understanding of the body as ‘inert, passive and pliable', giving rise to the ‘production of 'standard-fit' design’, in which planning for non-normative bodies was largely absent.[78] Ott describes the impact of this as a form of ‘situational disability’, whereby different spaces make people feel more or less disabled depending upon the extent to which consideration in design has been given to the various ways in which non-normative bodies need to move and work through space.[79]

Thus, as Hester Parr has asserted, understanding the ways in which disabled and impaired people negotiate space requires an acknowledgement that 'there is a dialectical relationship between the individual and society- a constant reciprocity between subjective

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[76] Bryan S. Turner, ‘Disability and the Sociology of the Body’, in Gary L. Albrecht, Katherine D. Seelman and Michael Bury (eds.), *Handbook of Disability Studies* (California: SAGE, 2001), pp.252 -266 (p.258).

[77] Katherine Ott, 'Disability Things: Material Culture and American Disability History, 1700-2010', in Susan Burch and Michael Rembris (eds.), *Disability Histories (*Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014) pp.119-135 (p.120).

[78] Rob Imrie, 'The Body, Disability and Le Corbusier Conception of the Radiant Environment', in Hester Parr and Ruth Butler (eds.), *Mind and Body Spaces. Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability (*London: Routledge, 1999),pp.25-44 (pp.26-27).

[79] Ott, pp.119-135 (p.128).

experience and the intersubjective milieu of everyday life.'[80] He argues that this allows for a combined study of both the structural and material foci of earlier disability studies, whilst also maintaining an 'interpretive focus on ill and impaired experience', which provides a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which disabled individuals have mediated structural challenges across different 'spatial scales of the body, home, region, national and global.[81] Turner similarly argues that an approach which considers the 'complex interplay between the objectified body of medical discourse, the phenomenal body of everyday experience, and the body image that, as it were, negotiates the social spaces between identity, experience and social relationships' is necessary to reach a fuller comprehension of the experience of disability.[82]

This is especially relevant to this thesis which considers not just how meaning has been inscribed upon disabled bodies, but extends this analysis to the bodies of disabled children who, as Harry Hendrick's reminds us are neither in a position to 'write their own history or to ask awkward questions of those who exercise power over them.'[83] Moreover, as Theresa Richardson explains, childhood is a 'liminal state' which is neither absolute 'either in terms of psychology or biology' but is, rather, a social construct itself to which shifting and variable meanings have been attached in different epochs, cultures and locations.[84] In his seminal text, *Centuries of Childhood*, Phillippe Ariès argues that 'the idea of childhood did not exist' in the medieval period, evidencing this through a detailed examination of medieval art in which children were presented in the same form as adults, but smaller.[85] He identifies a fundamental role for education in the seventeenth century, which, he argues, 'inspired new feelings, a new

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[80] Hester Parr and Ruth Butler, 'New Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability', in Hester Parr and Ruth Butler (eds.), *Mind and Body Spaces. Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability,*(London: Routledge, 1999),pp.1-24(p.5)

[81] Parr and Butler pp.1-24 (pp.4-5)

[82] Turner, 'Disability and the Sociology of the Body' , p.254.

[83] Harry Hendrick, 'Children and Childhood', *ReFresh*, Vol.15, No.4 (Autumn 1992), pp.1-4 (p.4)

[84] Theresa Richardson, 'The Establishment and Disestablishment of Childhood: The Mental Hygiene Movement, Education and Social Change from a Post-Modern Perspective', *Paedagogica Historica International Journal of the History of Education*, Vol.34, No.2 (1998), pp.151-177 (p.151).

[85] Phillippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, translated from the French *L'Enfant et la famililiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960), (London: Pimlico, 1996), p.30, p.125.

emotional' conception of childhood which 'gradually removed the child from adult society.'[86] This shift was evident in the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau who, in the eighteenth century, said of childhood that it 'has its own way of seeing, thinking, and feeling, and nothing is more foolish than to try to substitute ours for theirs.'[87]Consequently historians of childhood, including Christine Piper, have looked to the Enlightenment as a period in which concepts of childhood gradually shifted towards an understanding which embodied notions of 'innocence and malleability'.[88]

However, scholars such as Ivy Pinchback, Margaret Hewitt and Peter Kirkbeck have provided compelling accounts of the role of child workers in industrial Britain, and it was only through the introduction of child labour laws that the 'new non-productive world of childhood' was gradually established, according to Viviana Zelizer.[89] Roger Cooter similarly identifies the end of the nineteenth century as the period in which concepts of 'childhood became far more socially homogenous', although he primarily attributes this to its 'reconstruction in psycho-medical terms', arguing that further research was required to properly understand the 'how, where and why of this process.'[90] Subsequently, whilst historians are not necessarily in agreement about when 'this 'modern' sense of childhood emerged' it has, according to Steven King and Steven Taylor, since become the subject of much scholarly attention as historians have worked to further understand the 'socio-cultural and socio-medical experiences of those who people these childhoods.'[91] Hendrick, for example, has argued that concepts of childhood,

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[86] Phillippe Ariès, pp.396-397.
[87] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *E´mile: Or on Education* (London: Basic Books, 1979) originally published in 1763, p.189.
[88] Christine Piper, 'Moral Campaigns in Children's Welfare in the Nineteenth Century', in Harry Hendrick (ed.), *Child Welfare and Social Policy (*Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005), pp.13-30 (p.15).
[89] Margaret Hewitt and Ivy Pinchbeck, *Children in English Society, vol. II* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); Peter Kirby, *Child Labour in Britain, 1750–1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.6
[90] Roger Cooter, 'Introduction', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *In the Name of the Child. Health and Welfare, 1880-1940* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.1-18 (p.2).
[91] Stephen King and Stephen J. Taylor, '"Imperfect Children" in Historical Perspective', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 30, No.4 (2017), pp.718-726 (p.720).

and the subsequent policies applied to children, have been negotiated via three dualisms: ‘minds/bodies’, ‘victims/threats’ and ‘normal/abnormal’, which served as ‘ordering categories’ for the imposition of adult will upon the bodies of children.[92] King and Taylor similarly argue that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries these approaches have been ‘inextricably tied up with the emergence of normative ‘standards’ and wider narratives of (adult and child) perfectibility.’[93] This was especially evident within educational contexts, and as Kate Rousmaniere and Noah Sobe note, examinations of the body in the history of education necessarily invite attention ‘to questions of regulation’ and the ways in which bodies have been ‘reformed in educational institutions’, which, as this thesis demonstrates were evident in the process of ‘medicalisation’ which occurred in wider educational discourse and practice in the early twentieth century.[94]

Whilst histories of childhood are extensive, the ‘distinctive voice of the disabled child’, has received far less scholarly attention.[95] According to Anne Borsay and Pamela Dale, this has resulted both from the ‘historical marginalisation of disabled people and the focus of the disability rights movement upon adults priorities.’[96] Their transnational volume, *Disabled Children: Contested Caring:1850-1979* considers a range of services advanced for the benefit of disabled children, making a significant contribution to our understanding of the roles they’ve played in shaping ‘experiences of childhood disability.’[97] The particular focus upon disabled children in this thesis thus recognises their experiences as requiring far more scholarly attention. It builds upon existing studies, using arts and crafts as a lens through which to examine the shifting discourses, approaches and practices which evolved to meet the

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[92] Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare. Historical Dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2003), pp.1-16.

[93] King and Taylor, ‘Imperfect Children’, pp.718-726 (p.720).

[94] Kate Rousmaniere and Noah W. Sobe, ‘Education and the body: introduction’, *Paedogogica Historica,* Vol. 54, Nos. 1-2 (2018), pp.1-4 (p.1)

[95] Anne Borsay and Pamela Dale, ‘Introduction: Disabled Children’, in Anne Borsay and Pamela Dale (eds.), *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850-1979* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), pp.1-14 (p.2)

[96] Borsay and Dale, ‘Disabled Children’, p.2

[97] Borsay and Dale, ‘Disabled Children’, p.2.

educational needs of disabled children as they have variously been identified through charity and the state.

This thesis particularly examines the educational experiences of disabled children and the development of special educational provision in the late 19th and 20th centuries. According to Ted Cole the idea that the Victorians and Edwardians were committed to the concept of segregated schooling was not entirely true and that in every age 'many special educators have sought to minimise the degree of segregation' of disabled children.[98] Seth Koven likewise observes that the issue of integrating or segregating crippled children from their peers was 'hotly debated from the 1890s onwards and was closely linked to perceptions of 'cripples' as similar but also different from normal people.'[99] Nevertheless, as this thesis demonstrates, the pattern of development of special education was one which saw more disabled children receiving their education in segregated special schools, and this was especially true after the Second World War. As Cole observes, the 1944 Education Act reversed the 1921 Education Act's stipulation that 'special education was to take place in special schools [.….] a continuum of need was thus recognised which logically required close cooperation between special schools within the mainstream of education. However, most contemporaries complained that this close relationship could not be achieved and, therefore, special education continued to be viewed in terms of special school provision'.[100] As this thesis outlines, the identification of increased numbers of disabled children with more complex forms of impairment placed substantial pressure upon existing special school provision, and this coupled with the identification of their dependence shifted the focus of special schools from a preoccupation with creating workers.

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[98] Ted Cole, *Apart or A Part? Integration and the Growth of British Special Education*, (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), p.2

[99] Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain', *The American Historical Review*, Vol.99, No. 4 (October 1994), pp.1167-1202 (p.1176)

[100] Ted Cole, *Apart or A Part?* p.100

Disabled children's experiences of schooling have, according to Jane Read, raised important questions concerning 'whose voices can be heard and whose definitions of what [was] best' survive in the historical record, as it has often not been deemed necessary to consider or collect the opinions of disabled children.[101] Similarly, Dorothy Atkinson and Jan Walmsley note a tendency within institutional histories to prioritise 'policy and practice' over the lived experience of disabled people, identifying life histories as a valuable way of ensuring that disabled individuals are not 'passive subjects in the accounts of others.'[102] Notable contributions which have worked to capture and document the lived experience of disabled children and adults include: Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon's, *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability 1900-1950*; Maggie Potts and Rebecca Fido's *A Fit Person to be Removed: Personal Accounts of Life in a Mental Deficiency Institution*, and Sonali Shah and Mark *Priestley's Disability and Social Change: Private Lives and Public Policies* which argued that the examination of historical change through the connections between private lives and public policies provided an opportunity to 'understand more about the ways in which people negotiate, resist and subvert the life transitions that are thrown up by public policies.'[103] Whilst this research does not rely substantially upon oral testimony, it recognises the value of this approach and where possible has worked to include the perspectives of disabled people themselves where they are presented in sources, including memoirs, magazines and journals, oral testimony and film.

In addition to examining the role of education in disabled children's lives, this thesis addresses the role of charities and the state in extending opportunities to work to disabled adults

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[101] Jane Read, 'Fit for What? Special Education in London, 1890-1914', Vol.33, No.3 (2004), pp.283-298 (p.287).

[102] Dorothy Atkinson and Jan Walmsley, 'History from the Inside: Towards an Inclusive History of Intellectual Disability', *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*, Vol.12, No.4 (2010), pp.273-286 (pp.274-275).

[103] Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon, *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability 1900-1950* (Plymouth: Northcote House Publishers Ltd., 1992); Maggie Potts and Rebecca Fido, *A Fit Person to be Removed: Personal Accounts of Life in a Mental Deficiency Institution* (Plymouth: Northcote House Publishers Ltd., 1991); Sonali Shah and Mark Priestley, *Disability and Social Change: Private Lives and Public Policies* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2011), p.2.

as an acknowledgement of their capacity, rights, and responsibility to perform active citizenship. The importance of work has been discussed by numerous social theorists. Russell Muirhead states that ‘we are working people’ which he identifies ‘in our beliefs, such as the work ethic; in our self-understanding, which cause us to identify with work; in our policies, which encourage and even compel us to work; in our behaviour, for we work a lot, often beyond the dictate of need; and in our values which ally the working life with human dignity.’[104] He therefore situates work as fundamental to our understanding of what it means to be a citizen, and for those marginalised from work this has implications, in terms of limiting status and access to the full remit of rights which come with being properly acknowledged as a contributory citizen. For Carol Wolkowitz, 'what distinguishes work from non-work’ has ‘depended upon the social context within which an activity is undertaken and the value it is given in particular societies’, Paul Ransome similarly observes that ‘the perception of the activity itself, and the status of those who perform it’ can shift considerably without any change in the ‘substance of the activity itself’ but through the renewed recognition of its value through payment.[105] Work therefore is a contested concept and one which, according to Paul Blyton and Jean Jenkins ‘generates both satisfaction and anxiety, fulfilment and frustration.’[106] The ‘contradictory nature of the work experience’ is therefore one which raises a number of questions.[107] Moreover, ‘work is a problematic activity’ because many of the activities which involve work, such as domestic work and child-rearing, are often overlooked because they are unpaid which has historically accorded a ‘lower significance to the work’ which has taken up a large proportion of many women’s lives.[108]Paul Ransome identifies the root of this distinction in the eighteenth century when ‘work’ came to be ‘associated with activities which [were]

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[104] Russell Muirhead, *Just Work* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), p.20.

[105] Carol Wolkowitz, *Bodies at Work* (London: SAGE, 2006), p.9; Paul Ransome, *The Work Paradigm. A Theoretical Investigation of Concepts of Work* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1996), pp.20-21.

[106] Paul Blyton and Jean Jenkins, *Key Concepts in Work (*London: SAGE, 2007), p.1.

[107] Blyton and Jenkins, *Key concepts in Work,* p.1.

[108] Blyton and Jenkins, *Key Concepts in Work,* pp.1-2.

performed *outside* the home' which characterised work as a '*public* rather than a *private* realm of activity', reducing the status of work undertaken in the private sphere.[109] Moreover, as Gorz argues, through its association with public life, work came to be understood as the true means to access freedoms; indeed '*the right to accede to the public, economic sphere through one's work [was] a necessary part of the right to citizenship*.'[110]

As this literature review has already outlined, disability scholars have argued that this has contributed substantially to the economic, social and cultural marginalisation of disabled people because 'work became almost exclusively associated with wage labour and an employment infrastructure geared to the needs of those capable of engaging in this type of activity'. The division of labour fundamentally altered how the majority of the working classes earned their living, and these changes were subject to much debate and criticism. The economist Adam Smith, for example, argued that whilst the division of labour had increased output, this had come at 'expense of [the workers] intellectual, social and martial virtues', because the work became so repetitive and familiar as to never require the worker to 'exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur.'[111] These ideas were expressed with even greater fervour by Karl Marx; his criticism of industrial capitalist societies being fundamentally connected to the ways in which he understood the modes of production of workers to be a 'definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part.'[112] For Marx, it was through this expression that people became who they were; their identity was shaped by 'their production, both with *what* they produce and with *how* they produce it.'[113] He argued that workers were limited by the 'nature

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[109] Paul Ransome, *The Work Paradigm*, p.21.

[110] André Gorz, *Critique of Economic Reason*, translated by G. Handyside and C. Turner (London: Verso, 1989), p.141.

[111] Lars Svendsen, *Work (*Oxon: Routledge, 2014), pp.34-35.

[112] Karl Marx, 'The German Ideology' in Robert C. Tucker (ed.) *The Marx- Engels Reader (*New York: W.W Norton & Co, 1978), p.150.

[113] Karl Marx, 'The German Ideology', p.150.

of the actual means of subsistence they find in existence', as industrial forms of work offered limited scope for personal development.[114] For the purposes of this thesis, such ideas are particularly pertinent as they found expression in the work and socialist agendas of those associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement, such as William Morris, and it is argued that these values were influential in shaping the programme of education and training delivered by institutions like Chailey Heritage.

The language associated with work also impacts upon how it is valued, and the way in which we identify or relate to it. Many terms have existed for what has been broadly categorised as work, and definitional distinctions indicate that these terms have their own histories which impact upon how they were valued by society. Gorz, for example, makes the distinction between 'work' and 'labour' which, he argues, denotes a degree of toil, being work which was generally undertaken to ensure survival.[115] Until the eighteenth century, labourers were paid for their 'labours', whilst craftsmen were paid for their 'works', indicating that work was something to which an attribution of skill was made.[116] Ransome argues that terms such as 'profession' or 'vocation' indicate 'that the work skills and credentials a person has carry over into their life more generally', representing a form of work which is not considered to be just a job, but is associated more closely with a person's identity and status.[117] Whilst terms such as 'job', 'occupation' and 'employment' have generally been used interchangeably to describe formal employment which provides regular payment, Ransome argues that 'occupation' has been the preferred term used 'amongst the middle-class' to describe the professional status of their work.[118] However, as Reed, Hocking and Smythe demonstrate 'occupation' is also a term which encapsulates notions of 'self-care, productivity and leisure', and thus denotes a form of

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[114] Karl Marx, 'The German Ideology', p.150.
[115] André Gorz, *Critique of Economic Reason,* p.16
[116] André Gorz, *Critique of Economic Reason,* p.16.
[117] Paul Ransome, p.19.
[118] Paul Ransome, p.19

work which may be completed without the expectation of payment, but potentially for physical and spiritual restoration' or personal interest.[119]

Work also holds particular significance within the history of institutions, and Waltraud Ernst's introduction in the edited volume *Work, Psychology and Society*, likewise points to the fact that work is a contested concept 'subject to varied definitions' which include work, labour and activity.[120] As Ernst explains, work has been closely connected throughout history to notions of citizenship which are complicated by 'issues of power that frame labour, work and political action. This underlies the complexity of dealing with the subject of work in relation to particular historical and cultural contexts and alerts us to the varied ways in which human activities have been classified.'[121] This is especially pertinent to the essays included within this volume which consider the work activities of patients in institutions which, Ernst argues, are expressly designed to inhibit the free expression and full range of their inmates' physical, mental and emotional inclinations.'[122] The labour of patients was often fundamental to the successful running of institutions, which is notable in the some of the examples included within this thesis, but as Ernst points out, such work was often valued differently. For example, records indicate that domestic work and work undertaken for the benefits of patients was not considered 'productive' because it did not generate profit for the institution.[123] According to Foucault, places like workhouses established the 'ethical consciousness of labour', turning it into a moral symbol which affirmed the value of work and made it a central tenet of many institutions, including special schools like Chailey Heritage.[124] The use of patient labour was, therefore, a

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[119] Ransome, p.19; Kirk D. Reed, Clare S. Hocking and Liz A. Smythe, 'Exploring the Meaning of Occupation: The Case for Phenomenology', *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy,* Vol.78, No.5 (2011), pp.303-310 (p.304).

[120] Waltraud Ernst, 'Introduction: Therapy and empowerment, coercion and punishment. Historical and contemporary perspectives on work, psychiatry and society', in Waltraud Ernst (ed.), *Work, Psychology and Society,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp.1-30 (p.1)

[121] Waltraud Ernst, 'Introduction: Therapy and empowerment, coercion and punishment. Historical and contemporary perspectives on work, psychiatry and society', pp.1-30 (p.2)

[122] Waltraud Ernst, 'Introduction: Therapy and empowerment, coercion and punishment', pp.1-30 (p.2)

[123] Waltraud Ernst, 'Introduction: Therapy and empowerment, coercion and punishment', pp.1-30 (p.3)

[124] Waltraud Ernst, 'Introduction: Therapy and empowerment, coercion and punishment', pp.1-30 (p.6)

feature of many 19th and 20th century institutions around the world. Daphne Rozenblatt's study of the Royal Insane asylum in Italy, for example, discusses thee political, psychological and medical tensions which coexisted with the emergence of 'traumatic neuroses' as a recognised condition which arose from industrial industry, and its treatment by methods of 'ergotherapy' (work therapy) which simultaneously exploited patient labour to finance 'the expansion of the asylum.'[125] Whilst patient labour was often exploitative, James Moran's study of a nineteenth century New Jersey asylum argues that for those admitted to the asylum their work on the 'farm, garden and some domestic work may have been the most familiar element' to patients existing in an otherwise alien environment, demonstrating the variable values applied to, and taken from, the labour of patients in institutions.[126]

In the context of this thesis, 'occupation' is a term with particular resonance because of its historic association with therapeutic practices and assisted schemes of work for disabled people, which, it argues, have variously inscribed, and prioritised, alternative values to the work undertaken by disabled people. As Robert Witton and Edward Hall note, whilst sheltered employment schemes may have provided a 'sense of self-worth, secure work and meaningful activity' for disabled people, the low status and low wages they deliver 'fail[ed] to provide a route out of poverty for disabled workers'.[127] This thesis thus builds upon this to consider the ways in which planned opportunities for disabled people to work, by both charitable and state intervention, have prioritised factors such as feelings of self-worth and social inclusion over other material concerns, such as achieving a decent income. Moreover, engagement with the language associated with work is important because it has implications for the ways in which

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[125] Daphne Rozenblatt, 'Work: Disease, Cure and National Ethos in Italy', *Social History of Medicine,* Vol.31, No.2, pp.348-372 (pp.349-350)

[126] James Moran, 'Travails of Madness: New Jersey, 1800-1870', in Waltraud Ernst (ed.), *Work, Psychology and Society,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp.77-98 (p.95)

[127] Edward Hall and Robert Witton, 'Alternative Spaces of 'Work' and Inclusion for Disabled People', *Disability and Society*, Vol. 26, No.7 (2011), pp.867-880 (pp.873-874.).

disabled people have related to the work they undertook, and the extent to which they understood themselves and others as making a valuable contribution to society. Indeed, Robert Leidner argues that much self-discipline and cultivation is directed towards making ourselves appear desirable on the job market, which means work has had a considerable impact upon the kinds of characteristics or personality traits which are deemed desirable.[128] In this respect, therefore, the devaluing of certain forms of work, failure to secure a job, or the type of job an individual aspires to, have the potential to engender a lack of self-worth which have broader implications for an individual's quality of life.

Arts and crafts are a particular focus of this thesis, and thus Critchley's study of the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists (MFPA) provides some valuable insight into the motivations which have compelled disabled people to become involved in the arts. Of the artists she interviewed she observed that most had 'developed similar aims and motivations' borne out of a 'shared experience' of disability and 'risk of frank rejection' in other areas of employment, which varied depending upon the nature, degree and point at which an individual became disabled.[129] According to Critchley, the 'diverse backgrounds' of mouth and foot painters, in terms of their 'innate ability', education and 'initial prospects', as well as the 'varied aetiologies of their handicap', had significant implications for the form their work took, the materials they used, the time they could dedicate to their craft and the types of tools they used as aids in their work.[130] Katherine Sherwood, similarly recounts how her artistic practice altered substantially after she experienced a brain haemorrhage as she had to move to working on larger horizontal canvasses which didn't require as much 'meticulous detail.'[131] Similarly, another artist

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[128] Robert Leidner 'Work and identity', in Marek Korczynski, Randy Hodgson, and Paul Edwards (eds.), *Social Theory at Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.431.

[129] E. M. R Critchley, 'The Motivations and Shared Experience of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 87, No.8 (1994), pp.457-460 (p.458).

[130] Critchley 'The Motivations and Shared Experience of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists', pp.457-460, (pp.458-460).

[131] Katherine Sherwood, 'How a Cerebral Hemorrhage Altered my Art', *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, Vol.6, article 55 (2012), pp.1-5 (p.1)

interviewed by Critchley intimated that although they preferred the accuracy of working by mouth, he used his feet when drawing with charcoal because 'it [did] not taste nice', demonstrating a close association between the bodily work of disabled artists, the environments and materials they encounter, and the stylistic choices they subsequently make.[132]

Sherwood, for example, notes that through having to learn to paint with her left hand she discovered she was much more skilled as a left-handed painter.[133]Moreover, painting also allowed her to retain her independence and continue her vocation 'by merely changing hands' when other forms of work become inaccessible.[134] For disabled artist, Lucy Jones, her interest in becoming an artist stemmed from a desire to have 'control over something' as nobody else could do her painting for her.[135] This thesis thus considers how the alternative modes of production utilised by disabled adults and children engaged in creative practices were understood in relation to contemporary understandings of disabled bodies. It argues that these worked simultaneously to amplify and disqualify the work produced by drawing attention to the bodily action required to produce arts and crafts objects, rather than demonstrating an appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of the work itself, which subsequently became another medium through which to culturally codify disabled bodies.

Gombrich suggests that the story of art is one of a 'continuous weaving and changing of traditions in which each work refers to the past and points to the future.'[136]He identifies the nineteenth and twentieth century as a period of significant change within art, discussing works which challenged the assumption that an artist should 'paint what they see', alternatively adopting more experimental approaches in form and colour which were often met with the criticism of contemporaries.[137] He observes, however, that many of the forms and colour

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[132] Critchley, 'The Motivations and Shared Experience of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists',pp.457-460 (p.459).
[133] Sherwood, 'How a Cerebral Hemorrhage Altered my Art', p.2.
[134] Sherwood, 'How a Cerebral Hemorrhage Altered my Art', p.1; Critchley pp.457-460 (p.459).
[135] Sue Hubbard, *Lucy Jones: Looking at Self* (London: Momentum, 2006), p.26.
[136] Gombrich, *The Story of Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), p.595.
[137] Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, p.561.

schemes 'developed by ultra-modern rebels in painting have now become the common stock-in-trade of commercial art', reflecting changing attitudes in what qualifies as acceptable forms of art.[138] Kemp and Wallace, for example, establish a close connection between anatomical and medical imagery of the Renaissance period with aesthetics and theology, to suggest that it was necessary for an 'artist to acquire a mastery of the body as a functional system of motion and emotion.'[139] Such an approach was predicated on the philosophical understanding directed towards visible nature 'which saw God's created order as designed for human understanding', and thus the intellectual aspiration for man to 'know thyself' and, accordingly, understand his position in the world, manifested itself in increasingly detailed artistic efforts designed to accurately represent the human form.[140] Kemp and Wallace argue that the desire to 'know thyself' has continued to resonate in more recent art history which, over time, has seen huge efforts devoted to the 'explanation and codification of the exterior manifestations of inner character, thoughts and emotions.'[141]

Indeed, according to Gombrich for each generation new methods have been added to 'an artist's means of representing the world', establishing certain conventions which meant that 'artists apply forms they have learned rather than paint what they really saw.'[142] Movements such as Impressionism and Expressionism represented efforts to challenge this established tradition, proclaiming their methods 'allowed them to render on the canvas the act of vision with scientific accuracy.' [143] The intellectual associations established within fine art thus go some way in explaining why it was craft, more so than art, which was prioritised in the education and training of disabled children in the early twentieth century, because, as this thesis

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[138] Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, p.561.
[139] Martin Kemp and Martina Wallace, *Spectacular Bodies. The Art and Science of the Human Body from Leonardo to Now (*London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2000), p.11.
[140] Kemp and Wallace, *Spectacular Bodies*, pp.13-14.
[141] Kemp and Wallace, *Spectacular Bodies*, p.16.
[142] Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, p.562.
[143] Gombrich, *The Story of Art*, p.562.

demonstrates, such approaches were substantially predicated upon an assumption of intellectual inferiority.

As Tamar Garb explains, such assumptions have denied certain aspiring artist’s access to the requisite networks and training to establish themselves. He cites the example of a nineteenth century life-drawing class which prohibited the inclusion of women on the basis that they did not possess the necessary 'training, developed powers of intellectual abstraction’ or ‘ability to see beyond the visceral experience' which would allow them to transform the 'naked into the nude.'[144] For disabled artists who did not receive formal training, issues of access and inclusion within the art world are particularly resonant, and the example provided by Garb demonstrates the continued importance of appropriate training and an association with prestigious institutions to the acceptance of one's work as an artist. Further to this, the exclusion of women based upon the presumed limitation of their intellectual faculties, demonstrates the belief that for art to qualify as good art it must be intellectual. Indeed, as Tobin Siebers states within the art world intelligence 'usually goes by the name of intention’, arguing that this has been used as a justification for the exclusion of art produced by those presumed to have impaired intelligence, such as disabled people.[145] He goes on to state that artistic intent as a measure of aesthetic quality is 'an obsolete tool for interpreting works of art because artists are not in complete control of the meaning of their works and intentions are 'variable, often forgotten, improperly executed, inscrutable to other people, and marred by accidents of aesthetic production.’[146]

Siebers' point has dual relevancy because it demonstrates that works of art, as material objects, have agency, potentially invoking multiple interpretations and relations which may be

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[144] Tamar Garb, 'The Forbidden Gaze: women artists and the male nude in late nineteenth-century France', in Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (eds.), *The Body Imaged. The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.36-49 (p.40).

[145] Tobin Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2010), p.15.

[146] Tobin Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics*, p.19.

at odds with the intention of the artist. Geppert's study of Imperial Expositions, for example, describes expositions as an attempt to 'concentrate "the world" in one place', serving as a laboratory for scrutinising the fundamental characteristics and contradictions inherent in modern society.[147] Geppert argues that closer attention needs to be paid to 'medial conditions and contexts, to the rules and principles of staging, displaying and representing as well as forms of receiving, consuming and appropriating', in order to properly understand the ways in which knowledge and meaning 'are negotiated and generated in the space between representation and consumption.'[148] This is particularly important for the purposes of this thesis which considers the ways in which charitable institutions utilised exhibitions and sales of craftwork produced by disabled children to promote their charitable mission and materially present the disabled body as one transformed through work. Moreover, this thesis argues that whilst the professional networks established by the MFPA represented an attempt to bring a renewed focus to the highly skilled work of disabled artists through exhibitions, the public discourse surrounding much of the Association's activities situated the disabled body, rather than the work it had produced, as the point of interest, which arguably undermined the status of the artist.

In reference to Frida Kahlo, for example, David Lomas argues that much of her popularity 'has taken the form of an obsession with her exotic persona' and impairment, rather than the nature or quality of her work.[149] Lomas suggests that this reduces her to 'a catalogue of misfortune', inviting an engagement with her story as an individual who has overcome adversity, rather than allowing the aesthetic quality of her work to speak for itself.[150] Lyle Rexer's study of outsider art similarly suggests that artist's, such as Richard Dadd 'would be

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[147] Alexander C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities. Impositions in Fin-de-Siecle Europe.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.2

[148] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities. Impositions in Fin-de-Siecle Europe*, pp.12-13.

[149] David Lomas, 'Body Languages: Kahlo and medical imagery', in Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (eds.), *The Body Imaged. The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.5-19 (p.5).

[150] David Lomas, 'Body Languages', pp.5-19 (p.5).

justly relegated to art historical footnotes' were it not for the interest in 'the severe mental illness that completely altered his art.'[151] While this project is not primarily concerned with mental illness, Rexer's observation is, nonetheless, important to consider as it raises questions about the types of audiences, including teachers and therapists and the charitable public who have engaged with art produced by disabled people. Most of the disabled subjects in this thesis first encountered arts and crafts as part of their education, and it is argued that the values assigned to those practices have shifted in response to evolving conceptions of disabled children and the meaning of their childhoods. Barnes and Mercer, for example, argue that 'traditional approaches to disabled people and the arts have been based on paternalism', promoting the arts for disabled individuals who were assumed to be unable to engage with other forms of productive work.[152] Whilst this goes some way in explaining the prominence of arts and crafts within special educational settings, this thesis argues that arts and crafts were initially presented as viable opportunities to work for disabled children, and that they played a significant role in presenting to the public the possibility of a productive disabled body. It identifies a shift after the Second World War, however, whereby the practice of art in special educational contexts came to be more closely associated with a form of art therapy. According to Janet Marstine, images produced in therapeutic settings are often considered to be 'intuitive rather than intellectual' and 'uncontrolled rather than deliberate', privileging the viewer with the ability to assign meaning to an image, rather than its creator.[153] In a special educational context, therefore, the prominent role of the arts reflected more broadly a growing interest in the examination and assessment of children which was intended to better support their individual, and complex, needs. However, Marstine's assessment runs counter to how many art therapy practitioners conceive of the work that they undertake, identifying an intrinsic value to the

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[151] Lyle Rexer, *How to Look at Outsider Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 2005), p.50.
[152] Barnes and Mercer, 'Disability Culture. Assimilation of Inclusion?', p.529.
[153] Janet Marstine, 'Challenging the Gendered Categories of Art and Art Therapy: The Paintings of Jane Orleman', *Feminist Studies*, Vol.28, No.3 (2002), pp.631-654 (p.632)

creative process which allows for the construction of 'mental space'.[154] In particular, scholarship concerning art therapy has focussed upon the significance of the art therapy studio which, according to Caroline Case and Tessa Dalley, is not merely a place where art materials are stored, but a place which takes on alternate symbolic meanings for patients who all negotiate it differently.[155] Chris Wood has similarly argued for the significance of studio spaces, suggesting that they allow an artist to become absorbed in their work through the adoption of rituals which transform the space into ‘a place of one's own.’[156]

While art therapists consider that their role is to facilitate this process, Dalley describes the practice of art therapy as a form of 'structured creativity', indicating that certain limitations are placed upon individuals, such as when and for how long they can access the studio, the materials available to them to work from, and the types of compositions they might be expected to produce.[157] Consequently, this potentially undermines the notion of art therapy as a form of free, unrestrained expression, and Lynn Kapitan has demonstrated a certain disparity in the ways in which practitioners and patients have understood the value of art therapy. Typically, she states, art therapists have identified the 'personal process' of art-making as central to feelings of empowerment, whereas patients acknowledged the 'supportive group processes' of art therapy which facilitate improved integration in society and social networks as an important factor in feeling empowered.[158] The inconsistency of patient and practitioner understandings of art therapy reflect more generally the variable values which can be attached to arts practices which this thesis examines in relation to the shifting charitable, educational, medical and political approaches which have been taken to manage the disabled body during the period 1870-1970.

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[154] Chris Wood, 'The Significance of Studios', *Inscape*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2000), pp.40-53 (p.41).

[155] Caroline Case and Tessa Dalley, *The Handbook of Art Therapy* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.22.

[156] Chris Wood, 'The Significance of Studios', pp.40-45 (p.41).

[157] Caroline Case and Tessa Dalley, *The Handbook of Art Therapy*, p.37.

[158] Lynn Kapitan, 'Empowerment in Art Therapy: Whose Point of View and Determination?', *Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, Vol. 31, No.1 (2014), pp.2-3 (p.2).

Thesis Outline

Chapter one of this thesis addresses the introduction of compulsory schooling 1870, to examine the shifting educational provisions established for disabled children during the period c.1870-1939. It analyses medical and educational conceptualisations of the disabled child, in particular drawing upon research undertaken by Edouard Séguin, *The Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c (1886)*, and prominent reformer, Margaret McMillan, to uncover how changing notions of the relationship between bodies and minds contributed to educational frameworks for disabled children. In doing so, it argues that these were influenced substantially by established notions of citizenship, which were fundamentally connected to the productive body.

Within this context, the chapter introduces charitable schemes, such as the Lord Mayor Treloar Hospital and College, which pioneered methods of educating and training physically impaired children through an approach which centred arts, crafts and trades. The chapter draws attention to charitably run schools for 'crippled' children, to explore how these institutions both physically shaped and culturally constructed disabled children in the public mind. It argues that this philanthropic mindset intersected with an increasingly physiological approach to understanding childhood, which opened up new possibilities for a more medicalised approach to education. The chapter ultimately establishes the charitable 'cripple' school as an institution which influenced both the character of special education more broadly during this period, as well as the identity of the disabled child. Charitable schools affirmed the expectation that disabled people should work, whilst simultaneously reinforcing assumptions about the limited roles they were able to undertake within society through an approach which centred arts and crafts as a means of transforming unproductive disabled bodies into useful citizens.

Chapter two builds on this analysis by examining the programme of education, training and treatment developed at Chailey Heritage between c.1903-1939. The chapter considers the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement upon the educational and charitable approaches of the institution and argues that Chailey Heritage built upon the practices and ideals of the movement to develop a compelling narrative for supporting its charitable works. It argues that Chailey did this by inviting parallels between the skilled craftsmanship of those associated with the movement and the craft objects produced by disabled children, utilising exhibitions and sales of work to materially evidence the transformational potential of work upon disabled bodies, which established a discourse which affirmed the capacity and responsibility of disabled children to perform active citizenship through work. The chapter argues that this established a prominent role for arts and crafts in the education delivered at Chailey, and it demonstrates how this reflected more generally the educational approaches advanced within other special schools for physically impaired children.

Broadly, this chapter argues that this approach worked to sustain the low social status of disabled pupils because arts and crafts were prioritised over other aspects of their education, reflecting contemporary attitudes which associated bodily difference with low intelligence. Moreover, whilst this approach was intended to provide students with the requisite skills to undertake certain jobs, the chapter addresses the declining popularity of the Arts and Crafts movement, to consider why it was craft continued to be promoted and practiced extensively at Chailey Heritage. It identifies a shifting culture at Chailey, influenced substantially through advances in orthopaedics and the establishment of open-air schools, to argue that approaches to managing disability came to be more explicitly medically defined. In particular, the chapter addresses Chailey's role in the First World War, during which it provided treatment and rehabilitation to the war-wounded, to argue that this attached a more psychological value to the role of arts and crafts. Thus, whilst the methods of craft pioneered at Chailey were envisaged as a means of socially transforming the disabled child through work, the chapter demonstrates how these vocational aims were supplemented by therapeutic values which reflected a more holistic approach to the management of disability.

Chapter three assesses the impact of *The Education Act* (1944) upon the educational experiences of disabled children during the period c.1939-1970. Principally, the Act acknowledged that ‘special educational treatment’ (SET) was something which could be provided within any type of school, and whilst this established the parameters for disabled children to be included in ordinary schooling, the chapter outlines the processes through which increased numbers of disabled children came to be educated in segregated special schools. It argues that the identification of children with more complex forms of impairment; the financial pressures of the post-war economy, and the subjective language of the Act , which required educational provision be established ‘so far as is practicable’, enabled Local Education Authorities to evade some of their responsibilities, which meant SET provision remained insufficient. Within this context the chapter identifies an ongoing role for charities in the provision of education for disabled children, examining the work of the National Spastics Society, which was founded in 1952, to demonstrate the evolving relationship of charities and the state in the post-war period. The charity was founded in response to the limits of specialist statutory provision for children with cerebral palsy, and went on to establish its own schools, as well as advancing methods of educating children with cerebral palsy through its educational research and charitable work.

Finally, this chapter examines the continued role of arts and crafts in special education, identifying it as a practice which came to be recognised for its role in developing the social and emotional well-being of disabled children. The chapter argues that this reflected a broader shift in special educational practice, in part precipitated by the need to educate more disabled children with complex needs, which, the chapter argues, required a reappraisal of educational aims. Within this context, arts and crafts were used widely, reflecting the influence of child psychology and the emerging practices of art therapy which the chapter ultimately concludes removed art of some of its presumed value.

Chapter four analyses the impact of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944) upon the working experiences of disabled people during the period 1944 -1970. It argues that the passage of the Act reflected not only the state's acknowledgement of disabled peoples' wartime services, but, more broadly, identified the need to maintain an active disabled workforce in peacetime to limit the financial burden associated with the government's emerging programme of expansive welfare measures. In passing the Act the state symbolically affirmed the working capabilities of disabled people, establishing key policies which aimed to provide them with lifelong jobs. The chapter examines the implementation of the Act, identifying several challenges which arose from the requirement to deliver employment to a group of people with divergent needs, skills and experiences, who variously experienced ongoing prejudices which excluded certain disabled people from the job market. However, despite this the chapter argues that in publicly affirming the capacity and rights of disabled people to work the Act represented a significant advancement. Moreover, the heighted attention given to the issue of disabled peoples' employment, coupled with the limitations of statutory provision, facilitated an ongoing role for charities to deliver opportunities to work to disabled people.

The chapter revisits the work of the National Spastics Society, analysing the programmes of training and work they developed from 1957 to support the employment needs of students leaving their schools, as well as other people with cerebral palsy. It argues that the form the Society's employment programmes took were substantially influenced by the government's approach to rehabilitation and sheltered employment, and largely focussed upon menial industrial tasks. Whilst the charity achieved some success in placing people with cerebral palsy in work, the chapter argues that its prioritisation of low-skilled work, coupled with the conventions it deployed to promote its charitable works, functioned to sustain long-held views regarding the limited roles disabled people could perform in society.

In this context the chapter introduces the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists (MFPA), an organisation run by and for disabled artists which was established in Britain in 1957. The case study demonstrates the ongoing role played by art in the lives of certain disabled people, but, more importantly, illustrates the means through which disabled people have been empowered to create new opportunities for themselves to live and work more independently. Whilst the state affirmed disabled peoples' status as workers, MFPA members aspired to move beyond this to work as professional artists. The chapter ultimately argues that this was made possible through the provisions established by the modern welfare state which empowered disabled people and organisations to move beyond a concern for the meeting of basic needs to consider instead their own creative and professional aims and ambitions.

Taken together, these four chapters demonstrate the shifting and variable roles played by charities and the state in the education and employment of disabled children and adults throughout the period 1870-1970. Utilising arts and crafts, it offers a new perspective on the evolving frameworks, approaches, practices and discourses which have re-examined, reformed, and reaffirmed the disabled body in ways which have worked to deny, or extend, the rights and expectations of citizenship to disabled people.

Crafting Crippled Childhoods: Disability, Charity and Early Special Educational Provision, 1870-1939

On October 6th, 1906, Lord Mayor Treloar received a letter from R.M. Wellsbourne, the proprietor of a handicraft business which specialised in print, hand-painted flowers and miniature reproductions.[159] The letter read as follows:

> Sir,
> A thought has come into my mind, I fancy some good fairy must have put it there; it is, that, in order to commemorate your years of office as Mayor of London, a most beautiful and practical way would be the foundation of a permanent country home with workshops for cripples; which might be established on a system that should prove a great benefit to our poor little brothers and sisters, as well as a boon and a blessing to the country at large. It is a lamentable, but at the same time an undeniable fact, that the hands of man are losing their cunning – nearly lost really – through machinery and apprenticeships being almost entirely abolished. Do you not think therefore, that these disadvantageously placed and afflicted little creatures, some of them possessing intelligence, with a properly organised institution might be instructed so as to be able to save from oblivion, the arts and crafts, for which we were once so famous and so justly proud and for the advancement of which the great city companies first had their being.[160]

Wellsbourne's ideas were representative of a more general preoccupation with productive bodies which proved instrumental in shaping the education, training and treatment disabled children received during this period. Whilst Wellsbourne himself seemed to consider his proposal the fanciful work of some 'good fairy', his letter embodied many contemporary social anxieties and interests that are 'critical' to understanding the relationship between 'disability and schooling' in the nineteenth an twentieth centuries.[161] In particular, the letter encapsulated

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[159] Sir William Treloar was elected Mayor of London in 1906, and later that year launched the Lord Mayor's Little Cripples Fund. H. Gauvain, revised by Vivienne Aldous, 'Treloar, Sir William Purdie, baronet (1843-1923), carpet manufacturer and philanthropist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), paras. 5-6.

[160] 'Letter from R.M. Wellsbourne regarding the founding of a cripples' home,1906', 47M94/A19, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[161] Margaret Winzer argues that it is essential to examine how disability and schooling relate in the 'broad structural categories of a society' which requires a consideration of: 'the emotional and intellectual climates prevailing in different periods ; the social political, and ideological factors that influenced societal perceptions, theory, and practice; and the degree to which crucial problems such as defining exceptional conditions and separating them from one another were formulated in contexts organised along moral, theological, legislative, medical and social dimensions.', Margaret A. Winzer, *From Integration to Inclusion: A History of Special Education in the 20th Century (*Washington: Gallaudet University Press, 2009), p.10.

the complex and varying social concerns that characterised provisions for disabled children, including a growing sense of state responsibility to educate all children; a concern for how industrial processes had fundamentally altered work and the bodies that performed it (evident, as Wellsbourne noted, in the lack of 'cunning' of hands relegated to unskilled work); the potential of arts and crafts to restore this, and, finally, the benefits of skilled employment not only for disabled 'poor little brothers and sisters', but to 'the country at large'.

Lord Treloar was clearly inspired by Wellsbourne's letter, and observed of his previous charitable works on behalf of 'little sufferers' that he had only been able to deliver 'a day or two of temporary happiness.'[162] A 'scheme of permanent relief' was thus deemed essential to help 'cripples to regain health, and to become useful' by removing 'tuberculosis-afflicted children to purer air, and to add to medical care and attention a course of manual training to fit them to gain a livelihood.'[163] The Lord Mayor Treloar College and Hospital was thus opened in 1908 to provide the education and treatment that was apparently necessary to both redeem disabled children, and contribute to the industrial wellbeing of the nation as a whole.[164] Treloar's was among a network of similar charitable initiatives in this period, including the Children's Orthopaedic Hospital at Baschuch, founded by Dame Agnes Hunt in 1900, and the Heritage Craft Schools and Hospital at Chailey, founded by Grace Kimmins in 1903.[165]

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[162] 'Typed Account of the History of Treloar College, author unknown (c.1946)', p.3, 8AA/1/14, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[163] 'Typed Account of the History of Treloar College, author unknown (c.1946)', p.3, 8AA/1/14, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[164] The Hospital was a former Army hospital built by public subscription in 1901 for sick and wounded soldiers returning from the Boer War. Treloar purchased it in a 'dilapidated state' in 1907 to repurpose it as a college and hospital for children affected by tuberculosis. See Moynihan, *The Lord Mayor Treloar Hospital and College*, p.7.

[165] Robert Jones and G.R Girdlestone, 'The Cure of Crippled Children. Proposed National Scheme', *British Medical Journal,* Vol.2, No.3067 (1919), pp.457-460 (p.457). In 1900 Hunt opened Baschurch which was the first open air orthopaedic hospital in England. Four years later eminent surgeon, Sir Robert Jones, became the consulting surgeon to the home. A.E. Sankey, revised by Roger Hutchins, 'Hunt, Dame Agnes Gwendoline (1866-1948), worker with physically disabled people', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), para.3; Grace Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals, Chailey, 1903-1948: being an account of the pioneer work for crippled children* (London: Baynard Press, 1948), p.7; Kimmins established the Guild of the Brave Poor Things which provided a weekly venue for disabled people to meet, and then later Chailey Heritage Craft School and Hospital in 1903. In 1898, Kimmins married the child

At the turn of the twentieth century, as the state gradually became more involved in the lives of its citizenry, and as more people were given the right to vote, questions about what it meant to be an active, participatory citizen were abound. Furthermore, where previously 'it was widely assumed that the market would deliver jobs to all who genuinely wanted to work', such assumptions were gradually undermined by the relative decline of the British economy, and the growing awareness of the potential for external factors, such as the reduction of cotton imports during the American Civil War, to cause involuntary unemployment.[166] Deficiencies in the labour market; public concern over industrial accidents in late Victorian Britain, and the 'prevalence of debilitating physiological illnesses', including tuberculosis and rickets, thus led to a desire to make disabled people employable, and it was within this context that charitable institutions, such as the training college and hospital founded by Lord Mayor Treloar were established.[167]

As Wellsbourne's letter alluded, these institutions contributed to a narrative of bodily transformation which was best demonstrated through a capacity and willingness to work. With the introduction of compulsory education in 1870, the school came to be viewed as the space in which to craft useful citizens.[168] Increasingly, disabled children were included amongst the general population of children requiring education, and, as this chapter demonstrates, this coalesced with a number of other factors which came to define the educational experiences of disabled children as being fundamentally connected to their capacity, or feared incapacity, to be future workers well into the twentieth century. The enduring legacy of this approach ,which,

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psychologist, Charles William Kimmins, and was able to use his close ties to the London County Council to make Chailey Heritage a major centre for the reception of poor disabled London schoolchildren whose costs were subsidised by municipal rates. Seth Koven, 'Kimmins [*née* Hannan], Dame Grace Thyrza (1870-1954), child welfare reformer'; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).'London Topics', *Kilmarnock Herald and North Ayrshire Gazette*, 9th October 1908, p.3.

[166] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, pp.125-126.

[167] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.126; Iain Hutchinson, Martin Atherton and Jaipreet Virdi (eds.), 'Introduction', *Disability and the Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.1-20 (p.2).

it is argued, spread beyond charitably-run schools to those managed by the state, was notable in an 1932 appeal issued by Treloar which explicitly stated that '[t]he great aim, and the true aim, of every such Institution [was] to help the sufferers to help themselves' by 'transforming little cripples into strong, healthy, useful citizens.'[169]

This chapter charts shifting educational provisions for disabled children during the period c. 1870-1939, to interrogate the varying medical, political and charitable discourses that inspired both institutional and popular conceptualisations of the disabled child in these settings. The first half of this chapter examines medical and educational conceptualisations of the disabled child, to uncover how changing notions of the relationship between bodies and minds contributed to educational frameworks for disabled children. The chapter reveals that, despite the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1870, which made disabled children far more visible within ordinary schooling, material provisions and a prescriptive curriculum 'othered' disabled children, and both physically and socially isolated them from their peers by labelling them as defective and incapable. At the same time, prevalent understandings of citizenship that were inextricably tied to the productive body had a significant influence on educational practices. As research undertaken by Edouard Séguin, *The Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c (1886),* and prominent reformer, Margaret McMillan, demonstrate; attempts to physically transform the disabled child's body through educational initiatives contributed to this broader cultural isolation, established the principle of separatism within special education, and perpetuated widely-held notions which equated bodily difference with intellectual inferiority.

The second half of this chapter addresses those charitable schemes – like Lord Treloar's – which pioneered approaches to educating physically impaired children which were

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[169] 'Lord Mayor Treloar Cripples Hospital and College appeal for donations, 1932', Disability: organisations and services ephemera: Box 3, EPH452, Wellcome Collection, London. UK.

subsequently replicated in special educational provision established by the State. In particular, it explores how nineteenth century enthusiasm for charitable giving resulted in the establishment of institutions which centred a work and craft-based approach to education (which will be discussed more extensively in chapter two). As the most prominent institutions for disabled children, this chapter draws specific attention to charitably run schools for ‘crippled’ children, to explore how these institutions both physically shaped and culturally constructed disabled children in the public mind. A function of their charitable status required that they were especially present in the conscience of the British public. This meant they were particularly influential in defining not only the character of special education, but also the identity of the disabled child during this period.

In doing so, this chapter expands on existing historical understandings of special education by Anne Borsay, Gillian Sutherland, Pamela Read and Ian Copeland, among others, to demonstrate that this philanthropic mindset intersected with an increasingly physiological approach to understanding childhood, which opened up new possibilities for a more medicalised approach to education. Moreover, it argues that such institutions simultaneously affirmed the expectation that disabled people should work, whilst reinforcing assumptions about the limited roles they were able to undertake within society. While scholars have analysed the impact of social policy, medical practice and institutional structures upon the classification and segregation of disabled children, this chapter extends this analysis further to argue that charities played a fundamental role in this process, and that through their charitable construction of disabled children they influenced an educational practice which centred arts and crafts as a means of transforming unproductive disabled bodies into useful citizens.

Disability and Charity

According to Amy Farnbach Pearson, early and mid-Victorian social reformers were relatively optimistic regarding the middle classes' ability to 'to steer Britain towards a prosperous future' as 'social action' and medical science appeared to offer the potential to improve the conditions of the working-classes.[170] However, 'the incurable', or those medical practitioners 'deemed refractory to treatment, presented a challenging barrier to this idealism and optimism.' This in turn impacted how and by what means Victorian disabled adults could access treatment and other forms of relief.[171] As Borsay notes, developments in medical science throughout the nineteenth century increasingly drew sharper distinctions between 'normal and abnormal functioning', and the cumulative effect of this was to 'lock modern medicine into a curative mode that privileged the full repair of defective organs and cells, and stigmatised patients who were unable to return into economically rational social roles.[172] The implications of this, in terms of the forms of institutional and charitable support disabled people could access, as well the ways in which they were publicly perceived to be 'deserving' or underserving' were pronounced. For example, working-class people were at a much higher risk of physical impairment due to the disabling conditions of poverty and industry which often impacted upon their capacity to undertake work, and 'risked social classification amongst the idle poor.' At the same time, their access to treatment in voluntary hospitals was often contingent upon 'adherence to middle-class standards of behaviours which, as Farnbach Pearson explains, included an expectation of 'industriousness'.[173] During the nineteenth century, disability

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[170] Amy W. Farnbach Pearson, 'Restoration to Usefulness: Victorian Middle-Class Attitudes Towards the Healthcare of the Working Poor', in Iain Hutchinson, Martin Atherton and Jairpeet Virdi (eds.), *Disability and the Victorians. Attitudes, interventions, legacies*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.22-37 (p.22)

[171] Amy W. Farnbach Pearson, 'Restoration to Usefulness: Victorian Middle-Class Attitudes Towards the Healthcare of the Working Poor', pp.22-37 (p.22)

[172] Anne Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750: A History of Exclusion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.43

[173] Amy W. Farnbach Pearson, 'Restoration to Usefulness: Victorian Middle-Class Attitudes Towards the Healthcare of the Working Poor', pp.22-37 (p.22)

intersected with a number of political, medical and eugenic concerns which likewise impacted upon public attitudes towards disabled people and their ability to access employment, treatment or support. In the later nineteenth century, for example, the temperance movement identified alcoholism as a ‘borderland’ disability, and physicians, temperance advocates and eugenicists concerned themselves with questions which connected susceptibility to heavy drinking with mental deficiency, whilst simultaneously exploring questions of how parental drinking would contribute to further race degeneration through the production of feeble-minded offspring.[174] A variety of social problems could, and indeed were, therefore imposed upon the bodies of disabled people, and by the late nineteenth century they were typically accorded a low social status: disabled civilians were considered weak, enfeebled, and physically incapable of full-time occupation.’[175] As Cooter notes, in a society whose ‘dominant ideology measured individual worth by the ability to be productive , indigent cripples were simply ‘in-valid’ as humans.’[176] The conditions of the factory work were often unsuitable for disabled people, and other opportunities for employment were limited. Support was provided via the Poor Law through a limited system of indoor and outdoor relief to disabled people, and for those who could work much of this was delivered via charitable means.[177] Consequently, disabled people were at a much higher risk of poverty than their non-disabled peers and suffered the reduced status that an inability to fully engage in public life and a lack of financial independence fostered.

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[174] Joanne Woiak, ‘Drunkenness, degeneration and disability in England’, in Iain Hutchinson, Martin Atherton and Jairpeet Virdi (eds.), *Disability and the Victorians. Attitudes, interventions, legacies,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.92-109 (pp.92-93)

[175] Bartlett. ‘Re-assembling Disabled Identities’, p.214.

[176] Roger Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War Orthopaedics and the Organisation of Modern Medicine, 1880-1948,* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1993), p.54.

[177] Iain Hutchinson, Martin Atherton and Jaipreet Virdi (eds.), ‘Introduction’, *Disability and the Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.2. As Jameel Hampton notes, the principle of ‘less eligibility’ which guided reforms to Poor Law in 1834 aimed to ‘eliminate the imposter and able-bodied pauper’, and thus reinforced notions of the deserving and undeserving poor. Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain,* pp.26-28.

Victorian England's enthusiasm for philanthropy, however, 'affected the social and cultural life of the time' in myriad ways, and this was increasingly true of disabled people who, from the mid-nineteenth century, became a concern for social reformers because of the attendant fears that their corporeal otherness aroused in relation to broader concerns about Britain's physical and social deterioration.[178] In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a number of charitable schemes for disabled peoples' training and employment were established, although much of the work on offer was piece work, seasonal, provided low pay, or was done for the financial benefit of the institution, such as at the Darenth Industrial Colony which was established for 'higher-grade medical defectives by the Metropolitan Asylums Board in 1904.[179] Disabled children were a key focus of philanthropy and social reform, and this increased with the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1870. The potential burden of adult crippledom contributed to a social aim to render the next generation of disabled people productive members of society, and social reformers therefore focused substantial attention on disabled children which, as this chapter demonstrates, was significantly motivated by the introduction of compulsory education.

Alongside political and social concerns surrounding disabled people's capacity for employment, philanthropic efforts to assist disabled children were also motivated by the notion that children were especially redeemable, and malleable. As historians of childhood have shown, during the Enlightenment, concepts of childhood gradually shifted from a preoccupation with 'original sin' to an understanding of childhood which embodied ideas of 'innocence and malleability'.[180] The literature and art of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in particular, produced images of sentimentalised childhood, where even the well-looked after child exhibited sensitivity and weakness. This was, according to Rex and Wendy

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[178] Alan J. Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the 'Social History Paradigm', *Social History*, Vol.21, No.2 (1996), pp.180-192 (p.180).

[179] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.127

[180] Piper, 'Moral Campaigns', p.15.

Stainton Rogers, significant not only in determining how society made sense of children, but also in informing and reflecting 'social and economic policies towards children', as well as shaping the aims of 'the institutions that manage[d] them.'[181] This representation conveyed a sense of fragile transience; childhood was something which could be both corrupted and crafted and thus it required management, preservation and protection.

In its apparent malleability, childhood could, according to Harry Hendrick, be framed and negotiated via three dualisms: 'minds/bodies', 'victims/threats' and 'normal/abnormal', which served as 'ordering categories' for the imposition of adult will upon the bodies of children.[182] The child 'victim' of poverty, for example, became a potential 'threat' in adulthood, and the nineteenth century therefore witnessed a 'greater focus on the role of childhood and the treatment of children.'[183] Whereas in earlier centuries the privilege of childhood was a right which extended only to the wealthier classes, legislative changes in the nineteenth century - such as the introduction of child labour laws and compulsory schooling - slowly began to change this.[184] Such changes were not unique to Britain, as Viviana Zelizer's study of the social value of children in America attests, and the gradual inclusion of 'lower class children' into the 'new non-productive world of childhood' ensured that child labour eventually became taboo.[185] Within this world, policies directed towards the health and

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[181] Rex Stainton Rogers and Wendy Stainton Rogers, *Stories of Childhood. Shifting Agendas of Child Concern* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), p.12.

[182] Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare*. *Historical dimensions, contemporary debate* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2003), pp.1-16. Hendrick expands on Bryan Turner, *The Body and Society*,(Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), in which he states that a sociology of the body must 'involve a discussion of social control and social control must consider the control of women's bodies by men under a system of patriarchy' (p.2). Turner identifies the body as 'the location for the exercise of will over desire' (p.180), which Hendrick argues is representative of the relational dynamics which have existed between adults and children, evident particularly in the development of social policy during this period.

[183] Piper, 'Moral Campaigns', p.15.

[184] Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.6. A number of Acts were introduced in Britain during the nineteenth century, which aimed to reduce, regulate and improve the working conditions of children. Earlier legislation, such as the Cotton Mills and Factories Acts (1819) only limited the working hours and ages of children working in particular industries, but these protections were extended through subsequent Acts.

[185] Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, p.6. Although this is an American study, there are many parallels with Britain. Zelizer's study clearly maps the 'complex reassessment of children's economic roles', in which the 'price of a useful wage-earning child was directly counterposed to the moral value of an economically useless

education of children were understood as a series of investments intended to 'shape, nurture and develop what was increasingly defined as the potential of the young.'[186]

The concepts of investment and potential, as they applied to children, were inextricably linked 'in thought and practice to the destiny of the nation and the responsibilities of the state.'[187] Social and welfare developments during this period, particularly in relation to education, were predicated on the notion that shaping productive bodies, in turn, rendered people useful, efficient citizens. As a result, charitable schooling for disabled children had two, interconnected aims: to mitigate future unemployment among the disabled population, while also contributing to broader efforts to ensure the nation's productive capacity for the future.

From the nineteenth century onwards, certain disabled children increasingly garnered the attention of philanthropists, who established a number of charity schools for their care. As Julie Anderson notes, 'the ways in which disablement was caused had important ramifications for its place on the hierarchy of disablement, and the public's perceptions of such disability as deserving which were related to notions of bodily wholeness and potential utility.[188]Blind and deaf children, in particular, 'appealed to Christian sympathies' because their sensorial impairment aroused fear and concern about their inability to 'access the word of God', and Christian charities sought to mitigate this risk through tailored education.[189] Broadly, institutions for disabled children were underpinned by a common goal: to direct children away from a life of 'beggary' and towards 'active and responsible citizen[ship]'.[190] Such schools opened throughout Europe from the late eighteenth century onwards. Thomas Braidwood, for

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but emotionally priceless child.'(p.57). As Zelizer notes, however, this was a gradual process which created 'conflicting and often ambiguous cultural definitions of what constituted acceptable work for children' (p.57). In the 1900s, for example, an investigation into child labour found that a quarter of children between five and thirteen were still engaged in work outside of compulsory school hours. See Humphries, Mack and Perks, *A Century of Childhood*, p.16.

[186] Theresa Richardson, 'The Establishment and Disestablishment of Childhood', p.153.

[187] Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London; Routledge, 1990), p.121.

[188] Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.41.

[189] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.94.

[190] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.86.

example, opened a school for deaf children in Edinburgh in 1764, which was later followed by an institution specifically for blind children in 1791 motivated by the desire to 'give [blind children] effectual relief by furnishing employment which might in some measure make them useful.'[191]

In the context of these schools, relief was not delivered by medical treatment or bodily transformation, but through the furnishing of skills and 'manufactory of articles which engage[d] the hands without requiring sight.'[192] It was believed that, with suitable training in handicrafts, such as basket-making, blind and deaf children could be made financially independent. In this sense, work was conceived of as the ultimate relief, as it was this which would allow disabled children to become full and participatory citizens.[193] This not only established a precedent for the model of schooling adopted by subsequent institutions for the education of other disabled children, but also became an essential tenet of publicity surrounding these organisations. Charity discourse reinforced the idea that work was a key aspect of relief, and shaped understandings of disabled children according to this notion.

By the late nineteenth century, there were fifty blind institutions in Britain outside the metropolis that were educating and employing 1113 people, as well as twenty-six institutions for deaf children that were educating 2340 pupils.[194] Whilst relatively few in number, the provision of schools for blind and deaf students far exceeded that which was provided for other disabled children, who were largely deemed ineducable. The presumed ineducability of disabled children thus substantially influenced the focus of institutions subsequently established on behalf of other disabled children, as the furnishing of practical skills over the more formal aspects of an education was understood to be the only viable means through which

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[191] Sue Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving. Disabled Children During the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.11; 'Friday's Post', *Norfolk Chronicle,* 25th February 1792, p.4

[192] 'Friday's Post', *Norfolk Chronicle,* 25th February 1792, p.4

[193] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* pp.95-97

[194] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* p.95.

to render the unproductive disabled body useful. Whilst in the early 1900s schools for most other disabled children were few and far between (and primarily established by philanthropy), legislative changes, and an approach to special education which centred upon work, ensured that by the 1920s, there were over 500 institutions for children with sensory or physical impairments in Britain, of which 78 were for 'crippled' children specifically.[195]

The 1870 Education Act: The Introduction of of Compulsory Schooling

In 1867, the enfranchisement of the urban working class doubled the electorate in England and Wales and 'propelled the British electoral system into the age of mass politics.'[196] This saw 'calls of education for democracy' gather pace, which, coupled with concerns surrounding Britain's 'imperial primacy', firmly placed improvements to schooling on the political agenda.[197] Indeed, during William Forster's first reading of the Elementary Education bill in 1870, his most resounding argument for the introduction of compulsory schooling was that:

> It [was] of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education; uneducated labourers – and many of our labourers are utterly uneducated – are, for the most part unskilled labourers, and if we leave our work folk any longer unskilled, notwithstanding their strong sinews and determined energy, they will become overmatched in the competition of the world.[198]

Forster's Education Act received Royal Assent on the 9th August 1870, and soon after a letter was circulated to 'each of the 14,000 parishes in the country' requiring them to detail the current provision for elementary education in their district.[199] Whilst attendance in schools had increased from 1850, the 'quality of schooling received was variable and regional

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[195] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.108.

[196] Robert Saunders, 'The Politics and the Making of the Second Reform Act, 1848-1867', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.50, No.3 (Sep., 2007), pp.571-591(p.571); The Second Reform Act (1867) extended the vote to all householders and lodgers who paid rent of more than £10 a year, as well as lowering the threshold which enabled landowners and tenants with very small amounts of land to vote. Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.106.

[197] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.106.

[198] WE Forster, *Hansard House of Commons Parliamentary Debates* (hereafter HC Deb.), 17 February 1870, col. 465.

[199] 'The Elementary Education Act', *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 25 August 1870, p.3.

disparities were marked', and the Act represented the first systematic action by the government to address educational inequality.[200] The terms of the Act allowed for the continuation of voluntary schools, but additionally established School Boards to build and manage schools in areas where such provision was limited. With approval from the Department of Education, the Act also granted School Boards the powers to enact bye-laws in certain instances to make 'school attendance compulsory in the case of children of a specified age between five and thirteen.[201] From its inception, compulsory schooling was presented as a determining factor in the creation of useful, productive adults. In allying the aims of education to the aims of work and the economy, Forster's Education Bill established a precedent whereby those who remained unable to access education were denied the full rights of participatory citizenship.

Significantly, certain children were exempt from these conditions, including those 'prevented from attending school by sickness or any other unavoidable cause', which effectively mandated a system in which disabled children could be excluded from attending school on the basis of their medical condition.[202] Although the legislation was later extended in 1880 to make education compulsory for all children between the ages of five and ten, the Act made no specific provision to ensure the inclusion of disabled children, who, Anne Borsay argues, continued to be 'generally regarded as incapable of education.'[203]Nevertheless, the establishment of a system of compulsory schooling dramatically increased the numbers of pupils attending elementary schools, from 1.7 million in 1870, to approximately 4.8 million in 1891.[204]This was significant to the education of disabled children for a number of reasons. As Gillian Sutherland notes:

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[200] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.106; Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.12; Ian Copeland, 'Special Educational Needs', Richard Aldrich (ed.), *Century of Education (*London: Routledge Falmer, 2002), pp.169-170.

[201] Scott Dalgleish, *A Plain Reading of the Elementary Education Act (*London: John Marshall and Co., 1870), p.6.

[202] Scott Dalgleish, *A Plain Reading of the Elementary Education Act (*London: John Marshall and Co.,1870), p.7.

[203] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.94.

[204] 'Ian Copeland, Special Educational Needs'pp.165-184 (p.170).

> The essential precondition for both a policy and any systematic provision for special education is compulsory mass education. Only when you attempt to bring all or most of the children of a country together in distinct institutions called schools, does the full variety of their needs begin to emerge. And the necessity to plan a curriculum for the group entails certain assumptions about normal ranges of performance.[205]

'[F]or a variety of reasons', many children 'were unable to keep pace with the requirements of the elementary school'; classrooms often included 'upwards of 50 children, together with learning by rote as a preparation for the annual examinations' that necessitated a teaching style which focused upon the whole class, and which was particularly ill-suited to the educational needs of many disabled children who, Sutherland states, 'constituted a considerable teaching problem.'[206] Teachers, therefore, were constrained in thought and practice 'by the very structures within which they [worked] and by the top-down prescription for their practice.'[207] These issues were further compounded by the system of payment by performance, which was introduced via Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862.[208] As Vice-President of the Privy Council on Education, Lowe proposed a system whereby government grants to a school were based, in

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[205] Gillian Sutherland, 'The Origins of Special Education', in Will Swann (ed.), *The Practice of Special Education* (London: Open University Press, 1981), pp.93-102 (p.93).

[206] Read, 'Fit for what?', p.286; Gillian Sutherland, *Ability Merit & Measurement. Mental Testing and English Education 1880-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p.18. Figures for class sizes during this period vary. Copeland, for example, states that in 1870 the ratio of pupils to teachers stood at 60:1, yet by 1891 this has reduced to 48:1. Ian Copeland, 'Special Educational Needs', p.170. Pritchard's estimate is slightly higher, and he maintains that the numbers in certain elementary classes actually reached 70 pupils. He points to the lack of qualifications amongst teachers as an additional factor which limited their ability to support the needs of disabled pupils. For example, by 1899, of the 140,000 teachers in elementary schools only 62,000 were certificated, and a further 26,000 had received no training at all. D.G. Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped*, p.146

[207] Read's discussion of the Frobelian kindergarten method is underpinned by a Foucauldian paradigm which understands educational environments and practices as sites of power in constructing the subject, both teacher and pupil. She demonstrates how the methods of 'Kindergarten Teaching' permeated the education of older pupils, and came to be understood as early forms of manual training for working-class children, deemed necessary to meet the need of industry. It is, therefore, just one example of the ways in which education could be made to serve the social, cultural and political concerns of the period. Jane Read, 'Free Play with Froebel: Use and Abuse of Progressive Pedagogy in London's Infant Schools, 1870-c.1904', *Paedogogica Historica*, Vol.42, No.3 (June 2006), pp.299-323 (p.300)

[208] Peter Gordon, 'Curriculum' in Richard Aldrich (ed.), *Century of Education (*London: Routledge Falmer, 2002), pp.185-205 (p.186); Sutherland, 'The Origins of Special Education', pp.94-95.As Alison Wolf notes, the system of payment of results ended for the bulk of elementary schools in 1897, and was instead replaced by a system of payments tied to hours of instruction. Alison Wolf, 'Qualifications and Assessments, Richard Aldrich (ed.), *Century of Education (*London: Routledge Falmer, 2002), pp.206-227 (p.210)

part, on the attendance of students, as well as pupils' yearly performance in reading, writing and arithmetic. He proposed:

> that an Inspector shall examine the children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. If a child pass on the whole, the full capitation grant [would] be given but if he fail in writing, for instance, one-third of the grant [would] be withdrawn; if he fail in both reading and writing, two-thirds [would] be withheld; while if he fail in reading, writing, and arithmetic, no portion of the grant [would] be paid.[209]

Between 1863 and the mid-1890s such grants accounted for approximately half of the income of a school, and the measures introduced by Lowe thus placed significant pressure upon teaching staff to ensure the attainment levels of their pupils adhered to 'rigid notions of normality.'[210] The introduction of compulsory education therefore created conditions which meant disabled children were not only more visible within the elementary school system, but which also framed their learning according to widespread conceptions of intellectual normality, and which consequently drew particular attention to their academic abilities. Ultimately, the legislative responsibility to educate all children brought with it a growing realisation of the complexity of an issue which extended beyond the school, and intersected with many other social, political, ideological and medical concerns.

The Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c (1886)

As a direct result of the increased visibility of disabled children within schools, the conditions of elementary education began to garner considerable attention from politicians during the 1880s. In January 1886, under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Cross (later, Lord Cross), a Royal Commission to 'inquire into the workings of the elementary Act, England and Wales', was established.[211] Several days later, another Royal Commission led by Lord Egerton

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[209] R. Lowe, HC Deb., 13 February 1862, col.251

[210] Sutherland, 'The Origins of Special Education', p.94-95.

[211] Copeland, 'Special Educational Needs', pp.165-184 (p.170).

specifically concerning the ‘blind’, ‘deaf’ and ‘dumb’ was announced, which represented the first formal attempt by the government to assess the educational needs of disabled children.[212]

This had profound implications for the overall organisation of special education. Early on in proceedings it was decided that ‘exceptional children’ (by which it was meant those requiring alternative educational provision), would solely be addressed by Lord Egerton’s Commission. This effectively established the principle of separatism which came to define the character of special education, and which also created a considerable role for charities and voluntary organisations in the provision of special education. The focus of the Commission’s, therefore, was less upon reviewing the practices within the existing system, than about creating a separate system for disabled children, based on the understanding that ‘if left uneducated [...] such young persons’ would ‘become not only a burden to themselves, but a weighty burden to the State.’ [213] *The Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c* was eventually published in 1889. The scope of its research was significantly impacted by the type of institutions which already existed. As this chapter has demonstrated, educational provision for the blind was established as early as the eighteenth century, and numerous other organisations concerned with the welfare of blind people, which included the Association for Promoting the General Welfare of the Blind (1854) and the British and Foreign Blind Association (1868), firmly established the relative privilege of blindness within a ‘hierarchy of disablement.’[214]Subsequently, the Commission was most comprehensive in its

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[212] An earlier Royal Commission had been issued on the 21st July 1885, but its remit was much narrower as the impetus came largely from those working with blind children who lobbied the government to ‘investigate and report upon the condition of the Blind in the United Kingdom, the various systems of education of the blind, elementary, technical, and professional, at home and abroad, and the existing institutions for that purpose, the employments open to, and suitable for the blind and the means by which education may be extended so as to increase the number of blind persons qualified for such employments.’ ‘Introduction’, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, &c; of the United Kingdom* (hereafter ‘*Report of the Royal Commission’),* C.5781 (London: HMSO, 1889).

[213] *Report of the Royal Commission*, para.7.

[214] As Reiss notes, blind people became the subject of ‘special measures and legislation which gave them a privileged position within the wider disabled community’ and it was partly as a result of this that blind people were able to self-organise and establish the National League of the Blind in the 1890s. Reiss, *Blind Workers against Charity*, pp.3-4. For example, under the terms of *The Ballot Act* (1872) the ‘presiding officer’ was

recommendations for 'the blind, the deaf and the dumb' when compared to those made for children deemed 'idiots', 'imbeciles' or 'feebleminded', who, despite their divergent needs and capabilities, were homogenously grouped to comprise the "&c" of the report.

Despite this, the Royal Commission can be viewed as an acknowledgement of the need to expand the school system, particularly in the area of special education, which required new forms of expertise to address the multifarious issues which arose with the responsibility to educate children from different social backgrounds and with different abilities. Educationalists, such as Édouard Séguin, were significant in determining the pedagogical approaches taken to educate disabled children, and the influence of his work is apparent in the Commission's recommendations. His most influential work, *Idiocy: and its Treatment by the Physiological Method* was popularised during a period in which 'ineducability came to be central to the identification of idiocy' as a result of the expansion of schooling which utilised a curriculum built upon a framework of 'normal' educational attainment and thus exposed and othered 'a hitherto unidentified, and statistically significant, cohort of school-aged children deemed in need of specialist training and intervention'.[215] More broadly, according to Jarrett, by the 1870s the 'idiotic person had come to be perceived as a creature of the institution, a fit object for medical care, treatment and control' which was evident through the passage of the Idiots Act (1886) which allowed for the building of specialist idiot or mental deficiency facilities, which gradually increased the numbers of children in residential care and brought a renewed focus to efforts to both identify and manage 'the idiot class.'[216] In Séguin's book, which reached a wide English-speaking audience after it was translated in 1866, he outlined a functionalist approach

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permitted to complete the ballot on behalf of a person 'incapacitated by blindness' so that their vote was still recorded. See W.A Holdsworth, *The Ballot Act, 1872, for Parliamentary and Municipal Elections* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1872), pp.85-86. Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.42

[215] Murray Simpson, 'Idiocy as a Regime of Truth. An archaeological study of intellectual disability through the work of Edouard Séguin, William Ireland, and Alfred Binet and Th. Simon' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Dundee, 2000), pp.4-5; Simon Jarrett, *Those They Called Idiots. The idea of the disabled mind from 1700 to the present day* (London: Reaktion Books, 2020), p.246.

[216] Simon Jarrett, *Those They Called Idiots. The idea of the disabled mind from 1700 to the present day* (London: Reaktion Books, 2020), p.245; Sutherland, *Ability Merit & Measurement*, pp.15-16.

which understood the structure of the organs to be ‘inseparably connected with their function. To change, improve or modify a function, the appropriate organs – the wasted hand, the unseeing eye, the gaping mouth – had to be acted upon.’[217] In adopting a ‘physiological method of education’, which in the first instance had to involve ‘proper training of the muscular system’, Séguin argued that ‘most idiots and children proximate to them’ could be ‘relieved in a more or less complete measure of their disabilities.’[218] He therefore appeared to offer a ‘theory of practice’ which, in the absence of an actual cure for idiocy, aligned pedagogy to contemporary medical theory, whilst, simultaneously, combining the limits of its practice with the ‘concerns of state, society and philanthropists.’[219] In doing so, Séguin provided a theoretical framework through which the emerging methods of special schools and institutions, which prioritised work-based training in a crafts and trades, could be perceived as valuable for their potential to, both physically and socially, transform the unproductive disabled body into something useful, thus mitigating the apparent threat deformed, disabled or ‘deviant’ bodies posed to ‘the larger social body.’[220]

According to Séguin, prioritisation of the muscular system was essential because he believed limitations in ‘motion and locomotion’ to be the most detrimental of ‘the incapacities of idiocy’; not only because they prevented the ‘development of force’, but because they prevented ‘the reaching of any instrument of knowledge.’[221] His research also considered a range of external factors, such as nutrition and environment, which could promote or inhibit

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[217] Carolyn Steedman, ‘Bodies, figures, and physiology: Margaret McMillan and the late 19th century remaking of working-class childhood’, in Roger Cooter (ed.) *In the Name of the Child. Health and Welfare, 1880-1940 (*London: Routledge, 1992), pp.19-44 (pp.27-28).

[218] Édouard Séguin, *Idiocy and its Treatment by the Physiological Method,* (New York: Willaiam Wood and Co., 1886), p.81, p.98.

[219] Murray Simpson, ‘Idiocy as a Regime of Truth’, p.154.

[220] Jacqueline Urla and Jennifer Tarry, ‘Introduction: Mapping Embodied Deviance’, in Jacqueline Urla and Jennifer Tarry (eds.), *Deviant Bodies. Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp.1-18 (p.1).

[221] Édouard Séguin, *Idiocy*, p.98.

learning and which inextricably linked children's intellectual capacity to their corporeality. According to Séguin,

> [w]e must not put an idiot to work or to study before ascertaining every morning his condition…. With idiots the questioning by palpation is the surest; ask the different organs and they will tell you how the child feels, better than himself, better than his nurse.[222]

In doing so, Séguin advocated for an approach in which bodily scrutiny became a defining feature of disabled children's educational experiences. This approach was subsequently replicated by The Royal Commission, which stated that the 'improvement of imbeciles' was to be achieved through 'improvement to their physical condition', 'development of their moral sensitivities', and school exercises based upon 'the axiom of Séguin that "The education of the senses must precede the education of the mind.'[223]These included: 'The cultivation of the perceptive faculties, and improvement of speech'; 'simple manual exercises (to overcome simple imperfections on use of fingers', and 'occupations, like those of the kindergarten, object and picture lessons.' [224]

Whilst consideration of the environment and other external factors appeared to demonstrate an acknowledgment of the potential structural barriers which made aspects of education inaccessible for disabled children, Séguin's method firmly located the responsibility to change within the body of the individual. Moreover, whilst his study focussed upon 'idiots', the preoccupation with activating the mind through the physical manipulation of the body allowed assumptions to be made more broadly about the intellectual capacities of those whose bodily action was considered abnormal, for example those with sensorial or motor impairments. As a result, Séguin's approach created the space for similar methods to be deployed amongst schools and institutions which educated children with different forms of impairment. Séguin maintained, for instance, that 'idiots' were 'best served by air of the right

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[222] Édouard Séguin, *Idiocy,* p.92.

[223] *Report of the Royal Commission,* para.673.

[224] *Report of the Royal Commission,* para.673.

chemical properties', and extolled the benefits of gardens and nature to health; an approach which was similarly observed through the development of open air schools for the treatment of physical diseases, like tuberculosis, in the early decades of the twentieth century.[225] Thus, whilst his work was specifically concerned with 'imbeciles', Séguin's focus on the physiological effectively homogenised the needs of children with different abilities. This demonstrates not only the limitations of the Royal Commission's recommendations on behalf of other groups of disabled children, but also illustrates the stronghold of the physiological method. Whilst the Commission was intended to expand educational provision for children with variable needs; in actuality it reinforced nineteenth century notions of the '*stigmata* of mental defect' which understood the physical body to be a reflection of an individual's intellectual ability.[226]This focussed attention upon the physical appearance and bodily actions of children, which therefore homogenised approaches to special education which centred methods which aimed to physically transform the 'abnormal' body.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the impact of this report was most immediately realised through legislation which targeted blind and deaf children. As a direct result of the Commission, the *Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act* was passed in 1891, which made it the duty of School Boards to provide education for blind and deaf children between the ages of seven and sixteen, as well as to inspect and improve upon the standards of institutions which already existed.[227] According to Gillian Sutherland, the Commission's recommendations broadly divided 'the idiot class' into three: 'those capable of learning to read and write; secondly those capable of benefitting in a minor degree by school instruction and discipline' and those who were considered 'ineducable', and thus the education of 'mentally defective'

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[225] Chris Philo, 'Looking into the countryside from where he had come': placing the 'idiot', the 'idiot school' and different models of educating the uneducable', *Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2015), pp.139-137 (pp.147-148).

[226] Sutherland, *Ability Merit & Measurement*, p.15.

[227] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.12.

children was subsequently addressed through the *Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act* in 1899, which divided 'mentally defective children into two groups: the educable, the feebleminded; and the ineducable, the imbeciles and the idiots.'[228] This empowered local authorities, but did not compel them, to identify 'feebleminded' children and to educate them in special schools, but made no specific provision for 'idiots' or 'imbeciles'.[229]

Based upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the parameters for feeblemindedness could, and indeed were, interpreted broadly. Understood as a 'group who were more to be pitied, and certainly a greater danger to the state than the absolute idiot' for whom there existed 'the care of the asylum', in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the 'feebleminded' aroused fear amongst the middle classes precisely because of the murky 'borderland of imbecility' they were understood to inhabit, and the potential burden this presented to society.[230] According to the Royal Commission 'feeblemindedness' included those children who were absent from school 'not because they [were] incapable of being taught, but because of some physical infirmity.'[231] Such cases included

> children who have slight epileptic fits, perhaps three or four in their lifetime, cases of slight chorea, cases of children who suffer from repeated sick headaches, especially when attending schools and who, upon that ground, are exempted; children whose nervous system is completely exhausted and appears to have been so for months or years; cases of paralysis, of defective development from birth; cases of defective development of body, with slight defect of brain (I do not mean idiots); cases of nystagmus; cases of squinting; cases of myopia; cases of rickets, specially seen about the head with frequent co-incident nervous symptoms; and cases of diseased heart and lungs; these cases seem to require an exceptional method of education.[232]

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[228] Sutherland, *Ability Merit & Measurement*, p.17; David Daniel, 'The Ineducable Children of Leeds: the operation of the defective children and mental deficiency legislation in Leeds, 1900, 29', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Vol. 29, No.2 (1997), pp.121-141 (p.121)

[229] David Daniel, 'The Ineducable Children of Leeds', pp.121-141 (p.121)

[230] Mark Jackson, *The Borderland of Imbecility. Medicine, society and the fabrication of the feeble mind in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.1-4. The notion of a 'borderland', as it related to Victorian understandings of insanity and imbecility, was pervasive. For example, in 1897 an article in the *BMJ* described the 'borderland of insanity' as one which could be inhabited by 'the unbalanced, the cranky and the eccentric', as well as those who might 'sooner or later exhibit a progressive psychical derangement' which resulted in 'actual insanity', and this concept consequently aroused considerable unease. W. Lloyd Andriezen, 'The Pathogenesis of Epileptic Idiocy and Epileptic Imbecility', *British Medical Journal* (1May 1897), pp1081-1083 (p.1082).

[231] *Report of the Royal Commission*, para.709.

[232] *Report of the Royal Commission*, para.711.

This understanding of feeblemindedness was replicated in the *Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act* (1889), which stated that children who 'not being imbecile and not merely dull or backward, are by reason of mental or physical defect incapable of receiving proper benefit from instruction in the ordinary public elementary schools' should be identified and provided for in special schools.[233] This had profound implications, not only in terms of increasing the numbers attending special schools, but in influencing the pedagogical approaches advocated for the education and development of disabled children more broadly because it established a close association between the 'physically with the mentally defective.'[234] Whilst this established parameters for certain physically impaired children to be included within institutions for the 'feebleminded', their specific educational needs were not acknowledged in legislation until 1918, creating the space for charities to assume a prominent role in their education and training instead.[235]

Margaret McMillan, Child Development and the Body of the Disabled Child

In the years after the introduction of compulsory schooling the policies and practices which evolved were representative of the ways in which the 'social body' often constrained perceptions of the physical body.[236] At the same time, the physical realities of the body worked to reinforce existing attitudes present in society: the process of including large numbers of sick and disabled children within a system of education negotiated and maintained notions of the enfeebled, unproductive disabled body within the dualistic frameworks of mind/body and

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[233] A. Dingwall Fordyce, 'Defective Children and Special Day Schools', *Archives of Disease in Childhood,* Vol. 3, No. 18 (December 1928), pp.310-322 (p.311)

[234] A. Dingwall Fordyce, 'Defective Children'pp.310-322 (p.311)

[235] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* p.107.

[236] As Mary Douglas explains in 'The Two Bodies', 'the social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived' whilst simultaneously the 'physical experience of the body […] sustains a particular view of society.' Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols (*Penguin Books, 1970), p.93. For a more in-depth discussion of the values, limits, social utility and symbolic meanings which define the physical and social, and how and why these vary in different cultural and temporal contexts see Anthony Synnott, *The Body Social. Symbolism, Self and Society* (London: Routledge, 1993).

normal/abnormal. This resulted in theories and practices which situated them as separate or oppositional, as was evident in the emergence of a system of segregated special schools considered necessary for the education of disabled children. When social scientists, philanthropists, doctors, educationalists and reformers looked at children in this period it was the 'sick, undernourished and otherwise 'defective' bodies' of working-class children, 'rather than their minds (emotions), which imposed themselves on the educational system.[237] Whilst they were not disinterested in the relationship between the body and mind, this was firmly located within a physiological approach to the body which understood the healthy and complete body to be a precondition for a healthy and active mind, as per Édouard Séguin's framework.

Physiology was also influential in shaping public health measures. Where these had 'concentrated almost entirely on the improvement of the environment and the control of infectious diseases', by the early twentieth century the 'new era' of public health was more 'directly concerned with the individual', and was evident through initiatives such as the establishment of the school medical service in 1907 which made 'medical inspection of elementary school children' the 'duty of all Local Education Authorities (LEAs).[238] As Hendrick notes, medical intervention in the general welfare of children gradually emerged in the 1880s as part of a 'sustained public discussion of the[ir] health and capacities', and was substantially motivated by the introduction of compulsory schooling which 'turned children into attractive research subjects.'[239]A growing concern for the health of children was underpinned by a growing understanding that the child's body was not 'a fixed and permanent thing, but [was] rather, in a state of change through the process of growth.'[240] The bodies of

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[237] Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, pp.2-3.

[238] Bernard Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild. A history of the school medical service in England and Wales*. (Buckingham: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.3-6; R.C Wofinden, *Health Services in England* (Bristol: John Wright & Sons Ltd., 1947), p.62.

[239] Harry Hendrick, 'Child Labour, Medical Capital and the School Medical Service, c.1890-1918', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *In the Name of the Child. Health and Welfare 1880-1940* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp.45-71 (p.47)

[240] Steedman, 'Bodies, figures, and physiology, p.31.

children were, therefore, increasingly perceived to be worthwhile investments because of their capacity to change and grow.

The new, physiological approach forwarded by the Royal Commission established a precedent for increased medical observation and intervention, and medical and therapeutic practices consequently became entangled within other institutional and theoretical frameworks because of their location outside of explicitly medically defined spaces. Educational sites such as schoolrooms and nurseries were 'transformed into a laboratory for physical and mental measuring and testing' during a period in which, Roger Cooter argues, the 'medical identity of the child was established.'[241] For disabled children, in particular, the implications of this, in terms of how the 'movement and habits' of their bodies were 'confronted, challenged, accommodated and re-formed in educational institutions and settings' was pronounced.[242] Compulsory education led to the gradual inclusion of disabled children in education, but, concurrently, the gradual process of medicalisation which took place within the school allowed for greater regulation of children's bodies, both conceptually and physically, whilst other aspects of school life continued to support normative models of what it meant to be a good citizen. As Elizabeth and Phillip Safford note, this was especially true of the services developed for children with physical impairments 'for, unlike other disabilities theirs [were] explicitly medically determined and defined', and this meant that physically impaired children were disproportionately affected by health interventions which bought them under greater medical surveillance and control.[243]

Equally, medicine held significant influence in defining both the capabilities of disabled children, and which children were considered educable or ineducable, as well as the approaches

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[241] Cooter, 'Introduction', *In the Name of the Child,* p.8.
[242] Kate Rousmaniere and Noah W. Sobe, 'Education and the body: introduction', *Paedogogica Historica,* Vol. 54, Nos. 1-2 (2018), pp.1-3 (p.2).
[243] Philip J Safford and Elizabeth J Safford, *A History of Childhood Disability* (New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1996), p.189.

taken to teaching them. This was often inconsistent, for ‘historical events have served to shift the focus of attention to successive medical conditions, influenced social policy as well as philanthropy, led to provisions for schooling, and inspired public health measures’ for some, but not all disabled children at any one time, which meant in this period conditions like tuberculosis were a particular of institution’s like Treloar College because it represented a significant public health concern.[244]

One socialist reformer who was particularly influential to contemporary understandings of children and childhood was Margaret McMillan; a prominent member of the Independent Labour Party which, from its inception in 1893,outlined a number of reforms including proposals for a 48-hour week, the abolition of child labour, and the school leaving age.[245] With her sister, Rachel, McMillan campaigned for better health and education for working class children, developed health and dental clinics in Bradford, Bow and Deptford and campaigned for the 1906 Provision of School Meals Act.[246] McMillan was a pioneer the nursery school, and developed a number of Séguin’s principles, but applied them to theories of child development more generally. These served as ‘a basis for a social policy on childhood’ by rooting ‘mental life in the material body and the material conditions of life.’[247] In this way, working class children were seen to have been robbed of their natural development, ‘their potential for health and growth lying dormant in their half-starved bodies.’[248] Whilst McMillan is primarily remembered for her educational research produced during and after the First World War, it was her work on the Bradford School Board, during which she participated in one of the first medical inspections in elementary schools in Bradford, as well as the sociological

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[244] Philip J Safford and Elizabeth J Safford, *A History of Childhood Disability* (New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1996), p.189.
[245] Carolyn Steedman, ‘Bodies, figures, and physiology, pp.19-44 (p.21).
[246] Betty Liebovich, ‘Abigail Eliot and Margaret McMillan: Bringing the Nursery School to the United States’, *YC Young Children*, Vol.71, No.2 (2016), pp.92-95 (p.92).
[247] Carolyn Steedman, ‘Bodies’, pp.19-44(p.25).
[248] Carolyn Steedman, ‘Bodies’, pp.19-44(p.25).

studies McMillan conducted within those communities, that were instrumental to many of her early theories on child development.[249] She made these explicit in her popular book, *Early Childhood,* first published in 1900.[250]

In line with contemporary physiological theory, McMillan's work described the child's body as being organised 'physiologically – that is, comprised of a collection of functions which interacted with each other and [which] were dependent on each other.'[251] In writing *Early Childhood*, she aimed to demonstrate that 'true education [was], primarily, physiological', and thus set forth her own method by which this could be achieved. [252] In focussing upon the dialectical relationship between the different functions of the body, McMillan described how the involuntary movements of infants provided evidence 'that the brain [was] active- that the nerve currents [were] already passing from the Royal Organ to the extremities.'[253] By describing how children gained gradual control of their motor skills, she explained that this movement involved 'the awakening of brain cells, and the advancement of the mind, at each essential stage of child development.[254]

McMillan's work reflected many of Séguin's assumptions about non-normative bodies and the fundamentality of bodily completeness for the proper development of the mind. For example, McMillan discussed the role of drawing in developing manual dexterity in children, stating 'that to injure the hand [was] to injure the brain.'[255] Whilst she observed that dexterity alone was not enough to 'enable anyone to be an artist', for 'it [was] the mind- the soul- that [was] expressed in Art', she viewed it as a necessary precondition for achieving the higher

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[249] Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan,1860-1931* (London: Virago, 1990), p.189; Cathy Nutbrown and Peter Clough, 'Rachel and Margaret McMillan: practice and politics', in Tricia David, Kathy Goouch and Sacha Powell (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Philosophies and Theories of Early Childhood Education and Care* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp.37-48 (p.38).
[250] Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and class in Britain,* p.3.
[251] Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and class in Britain,* p.189.
[252] Margaret McMillan, *Early Childhood* (London: Swann Sonnenschein & Co, Ltd, 1900), p.29.
[253] McMillan, *Early Childhood,* p.27.
[254] McMillan, *Early Childhood,* pp.31-32.
[255] McMillan, *Early Childhood,* p.32.

mental faculties necessary for Art.[256] Elsewhere, McMillan declared that there was 'nothing more beautiful or awe-inspiring than a great artist's hand', drawing unfavourable comparisons with the hands of a 'defective' child.[257] She outlined the methods by which a teacher might work to 'train' and transform the hands of a defective child, and through this process observe the development of mind through the material workings of the body. However, in doing so her research precluded the inclusion of a number of disabled children whose bodies resisted the kind of transformation physical manipulation and training set out to achieve, thus perpetuating the assumption that physical impairment necessarily resulted in cognitive impairment too.[258]

McMillan's work was significant in advancing child development as an academic discipline, so much so, that she was granted 'legitimate status as the founder and trustee of the "truth" of childhood.'[259] A study of childhood which centred upon the material conditions of children's bodies empowered clinicians, experts and philanthropists with the potential to effect change in the mind through manipulation of the body. In the early decades of the twentieth century this was notable via the establishment of a network of open-air schools and nurseries, which included one opened by the McMillan sisters in Deptford in March 1914 which provided care, nourishment and education in the fresh air to children and babies as young as three months old.[260] Furthermore, a greater understanding of the changeability of children's bodies opened up new possibilities for harnessing bodily potential: according to McMillan, children's bodies could be successfully acted upon – and improved - in a multitude of ways. In this context, investment in the body of the disabled child was considered worthwhile in the interests of national efficiency. At the same time, however, their lack of fixity presented a challenge, as proper management of bodies and minds was understood to be the anchoring principle which

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[256] McMillan, *Early Childhood,* p.32.
[257] McMillan, *Early Childhood,* pp.-34-35.
[258] McMillan, *Early Childhood*, p.34.
[259] Michael Wyness, *Childhood and Society (*Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 2006), p.18
[260] Margaret McMillan, *The Camp School,* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1917), p.51; Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood,* p.185.

ensured that the worthy child 'victim' did not become a social 'threat' in adulthood.[261] With the growing understanding of the ways and means through which to help or hinder child development came the need to manage and control this through an increasingly complex system of experts, institutions and charities which children encountered in their day to day lives.

In this respect, disabled children were disruptive to physiological understandings of childhood, as they held the dual status of being both 'child' and 'disabled'. They therefore occupied a 'liminal' space; both subject to wider concerns surrounding the identification and preservation of childhood, yet simultaneously 'removed from much debate by underlying narrative dichotomies of normal/abnormal or perfect/imperfect.'[262] As children, their bodies represented opportunities for intervention and transformation; however, this was at odds with the perceived reality of their experiences as disabled people and the apparent 'stasis' of their condition.[263]As Mitchell and Snyder argue 'disabled people, by definition, do not enjoy the biological luxury of recovery that informs the more transient experiences of illness, disease or disorder.'[264] In other words, disability was not a state one transitioned out of, and disabled children therefore presented a problem because their bodily trajectory differed to those of children deemed normal.

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[261] As Hendrick argues much of the social policy directed towards children understood them as victims of 'cruelty, neglect hunger, homelessness, war, illness, indifference and so on'; however, the decision to institute policy has been just as much concerned 'with their presence as threats rather than their suffering as victims'; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, p.7.

[262] Steven King, 'Constructing the Disabled Child in England, 1800-1860', *Family and Community History,* Vol. 18, No.2 (2015), pp.104-121 (p.105).

[263] As Frawley notes, during the nineteenth century 'invalidism' provided a "home" for representations of extended suffering' and in 'their embodiment of stasis' invalids expressed a range of anxieties about progress in 19th century Britain. This was especially true of 'invalid' children as 'their general status as invalids subsumed more medically specific identities', which allowed a number of social, cultural and political concerns to be applied to them. Maria H. Frawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.8, p.30.

[264] Mitchell and Snyder have pointed out that disability differs from disease because 'whatever their cause, diseases, remain processes that follow a course …[whereas] disability is the absence of ability.' Whilst this explanation is at odds with a 'social model' of disability, it is useful in demonstrating how medicalised understandings of disability often aroused greater fear and misunderstanding because the ability to intervene in order to change its 'course' is less obvious. David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *The Body and Physical Difference. Discourses on Physical Difference* (United States: University of Michigan Press, 1997), p.3.

At the same time, disability 'demand[ed] a reckoning with the messiness of bodily variety', as it was not defined as 'a set of observable, predictable traits', but 'rather as *any* departure from an unstated or functional norm.'[265] The bodies of disabled children, therefore, appeared unmappable; the cultural processes which made difference synonymous with inferiority meant that disability was nearly always understood as lack or limit, and this was at odds with materialist understandings of childhood which centred around ideas of predictable growth and transformation.[266] In its apparent fixity and immutability, the body of the disabled child was something which had to be culturally and medically codified in alternative ways to their 'normal' counterparts, and without the physiological underpinnings of normative childhood development, notions of idealised childhood were far easier to dismantle. Whilst charities and reformers were sympathetic to the plight of disabled children, the message surrounding their childhood was one in which they were required to demonstrate their usefulness in a way that was not expected of 'normal' children. This was reflected both in the special education system, as well as the identities constructed for disabled children by the charities which supported them.

The Role of Charity in the Education of Physically Impaired Children

As this chapter has indicated, alongside state education, the nineteenth century also witnessed a vast proliferation of charities and organisations concerned with the welfare of pauper children, including those who were disabled. The rise of evangelicalism from the late eighteenth century onwards brought with it 'a new and vigorous emphasis to personal sacrifice and good works', which was best demonstrated through acts of charity imbued with 'symbolic

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[265] Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies. Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.23-24.

[266] Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies,* p.31. For a more in-depth discussion of the social processes involved in the creation of stigma see Erving Goffman's seminal work, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (London: Penguin, 1963).

significance'.[267] Charitable giving in Britain was such a significant source of caregiving, that up until 1911 'the gross annual receipts of registered charities exceeded public expenditure on the poor law', and whilst this balance rapidly shifted in the twentieth century with increased state spending, the voluntary sector continued to make significant contributions within a mixed economy of welfare.[268] Middle-class women's fervent enthusiasm for charitable work was particularly notable, not least because it provided one of the very few bridges to the world beyond the home and family.'[269] An 'explosion of societies' run exclusively by women created new roles and expectations; they served as 'institutional expressions of a vital female culture', and provided a framework through which women could take up causes which felt particularly pertinent to many of them, such as a concern for the welfare of children.[270] Consequently, by the end of the nineteenth century young people were, according to Prochaska, 'richly served' by a network of charitable organisations which included: 'Sunday schools, juvenile branches of missionary or Bible societies, Bands of Hope, ragged schools, lending libraries, Bible classes, boot clubs, barefoot missions, clothing clubs, milk schemes, penny dinner societies, holiday clubs, and sewing clubs, which boys sometimes attended'[271]

In the later decades of the nineteenth century, charitable efforts extended to disabled children as organisations such as the Invalid Children's Aid Association (ICAA), founded in 1888, sought to provide 'the best and most effective help towards a restoration to health and usefulness' for the 'crippled children' of London.[272] By 1908, over 16,000 disabled children had been referred to the ICAA for support, but as the association had 'no building of its own' from which to care for them, much of its fundraising efforts went towards securing and paying

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[267] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse. Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber &Faber, 1988), p.22.
[268] Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain. The Charity Organisation Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1995), p.1.
[269] Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector,* p.6.
[270] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*. 22-23.
[271] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.42.
[272] C.W.Fremantle, 'The Invalid Children's Aid Association', *The Spectator*, No. 3858, 7th June 1902, p.14.

for beds in a slowly evolving network of homes, hospitals and schools which were established at the turn of the century.[273] The educational needs of physically impaired children were not legislatively acknowledged until 1918, and, therefore, at the turn of the century it was it was largely charitable institutions who assumed the responsibility for the education of physically impaired children otherwise unable to attend elementary schools.[274] These included institutions such as the Children's Orthopaedic Hospital at Baschuch, the Heritage Craft Schools and Hospital at Chailey, and the Lord Mayor Treloar Cripples' Home, Hospital and College. Indeed, esteemed surgeon Sir Robert Jones reflected the essential role that charities played in the lives of many disabled children when he stated: '[w]ithout voluntary effort… the plight of the crippled child would have been pathetic. The agitation for the betterment of the child has from the first depended more upon the lay worker than upon members of the medical profession.'[275] According to Jones's biographer, Frederick Watson, the 'absolute truth of that statement [was] beyond argument', particularly when consideration was given to the 'history of orthopaedics'.[276] In working to improve the quality of disabled children's lives 'the layman' had, according to Watson, carried more than his or her own weight in the cripple problem.'[277]

As Jones and Watson made clear, at the turn of the century it was charitable individuals and organisations, more so than medical men, who determined the outcomes for certain disabled children.[278] Whilst charities largely focused on improving the material conditions of

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[273] Warrington Hayward, C.W.Fremantle and M.E. Broadbent, 'Invalid Children's Aid Association', *British Medical Journal*, Vol.2, No.2495 (October 24th 1908), p.1317.

[274] Although the 1899 Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act included physically impaired children, it insisted that 'physical defect alone' was not enough to justify 'admission of a child to a special class'. Physically impaired children, therefore, were often deprived an education if they were physically unable to attend a mainstream school, or they were placed in state-run schools for 'the feebleminded', or they might attend a charitable school. In 1918, the Education Act laid down terms which made it mandatory to provide an education for physically impaired children, as it had done for blind and deaf children.

[275] Frederick Watson, *The Life of Sir Robert Jones* (London; Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p.243.

[276] Watson, *The Life of Sir Robert Jones*, p.244.

[277] Watson, *The Life of Sir Robert Jones*, p.244.

[278] Whilst the establishment of institutions like the Orthopaedic Hospital at Baschurch demonstrated an earlier interest in the field of childhood orthopaedics, because the bones of children were softer, and therefore more conducive to cure; the focus of surgeons necessarily shifted to adults with the onset of the First World War. However, the progress made in the field as a result of this positively impacted the surgical outcomes for children too in the post-war period. See Anne Borsay, 'Disciplining Disabled Bodies: The Development of Orthopaedic

the disabled child, the nature of their work meant they were also uniquely placed to influence the immaterial or imagined identity of disabled children in popular understanding. As charitable initiatives, it was vital that they ensured the ongoing support of esteemed patrons and the general public, who needed assurance of the value of their contributions. The ‘cripple problem’, therefore, was not merely a medical one; charities were concerned with the social, as well as the physical, construction of productive, useful disabled citizens during childhood.[279] ‘Childhood increasingly signified a period of expectation, of potential for development’, both in terms of ‘physical maturation’ and mental progress’, which increasingly accorded its privileged and protected status.[280] As Turmel notes, ‘[a]lmost all children apart the afflicted, could become normal […] under the supervision of professional child experts.’[281] The privilege of childhood could, therefore, be more easily be denied to disabled children whose bodies appeared resistant to transformation and growth, and charities therefore had to work to culturally codify them in alternative ways in order to demonstrate their worthiness and value. The requirement for such institutions to demonstrate their transformative potential not only impacted upon the cultural construction of such children, but, in a very real sense, affected the kinds of disabled children who were likely to attend such institutions. Whilst ‘the early nineteenth-century had spotlighted children crippled through accidents in unsafe factories, mines and workshops’, public concern waned with the restrictions placed upon the employment of children, and by the end of the century it was ‘typically the victims of disease rather than of dark satanic mills’ who became the focus of medical concern.[282] In the nineteenth and twentieth

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Medicine in Britain, c.1800-1939’, in David M. Turner and Kevin Stagg (eds.), *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp.97-116 and 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*, Vol.30, No.4 (2014), pp.227-251 (pp.230-231).

[279] Watson, *The Life of Sir Robert Jones*, p.244.

[280] Annemieke van Drenth & Kevin Myers, ‘Normalising childhood: policies and intervention concerning special children in the United States and Europe (1900-1960), *Paedogogica Historica*, Vol.46, No.6 (2012), pp.719-727 (p.722).

[281] André Turmel, *A Historical Sociology of Childhood: Developmental Thinking, Categorisation and Graphic Visualisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.153.

[282] Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War*, p.54.

century, poliomyelitus, rickets and, most significantly, tuberculosis, represented the 'greatest single medical challenge' to children's futures - being responsible for approximately one billion deaths.[283]As Bryder notes, such was the concern surrounding the high infection rate of tuberculosis amongst children that a 'new category of 'pre-tuberculous children' was invented, which meant by 1908 40,000 'delicate children predisposed to tuberculosis and other crippling and debilitating ailments' had been identified in London alone.[284]

The reasons for this were manifold: compulsory schooling, the proliferation of voluntary agencies concerned with 'cripple' children; the interest and concern aroused by eugenic thinking; improved understanding of public health, and advancements in areas such as bacteriology, physiology and, later, orthopaedics not only made children disabled by disease more conspicuous, but seemingly offered a potential solution to the 'cripple problem'. A network of 'open air schools for delicate children', 'day and residential schools for cripples, schools of rest and recovery, schools in convalescent homes, trade schools, [and] orthopaedic and tuberculosis and hospital schools' were gradually established to physically care for 'crippled' children.[285] However, despite the variety of care on offer, these provisions were insufficient for the number of disabled children who required special education, particularly outside of metropolitan centres.[286] Moreover, of the 328 education authorities in Britain in 1919 only twenty-eight provided day special schools, and according to Pritchard, many of the residential schools, like Chailey Heritage, were run by voluntary organisations.[287]

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[283] Philip J. Safford and Elizabeth J. Safford, *A History of Childhood Disability* (New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1996), p.195.

[284] Linda Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain. A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.31.

[285] D.G Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped*, p.163.

[286] As Pritchard notes, whilst many of the early institutions for physically impaired children, which included trade schools, day special schools and the orthopaedic hospital school, were established as a result of charitable efforts.It was believed that medical advancement would eventually make the day special school unnecessary. Instead, it was believed that schools of rest and recovery, such as the Swinton House School of Recovery, opened in Manchester in 1905, would allow a child to receive treatment and then return to mainstream. Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped*, pp.163-165.

[287] D.G Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* p.165.

Whilst the impetus for such schools resulted from an acknowledgement of the implications of disease and poverty, and education at these schools went some way to physically care for children and train them for employment, in their structure and approach charity schools primarily centred around demonstrating the transformative impact of philanthropy. They did this through a particular focus on arts and crafts, which were intended to demonstrate how work could harness the bodily potential of disabled children. As the detailed case study of Chailey Heritage in chapter two demonstrates, the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement, which associated work with emotional fulfilment and productive healthy lives, ensured these activities were considered particularly suitable for this purpose. Through this approach charity schools and institutions established a set of conventions and practices which were repeatedly applied in different special educational settings which applied a productive value to the lives disabled children and affirmed the expectation for them to be workers.

Charitable Identity of the Disabled Child

In 1877, renowned philanthropist and founder of Barnardo's Children Homes, Thomas Barnardo, became the subject of a case concerned with the physical mistreatment and neglect of the children in his care, as well as the misappropriation of funds.[288] Amongst the numerous charges brought against Barnardo was the accusation that he purposefully falsified the 'before' and 'after' photographs of his 'ragged' children used to 'demonstrate the transformative effect of his benevolence' in fundraising materials for his institution.[289] Barnardo sold images of poor and neglected children, easily identified through their shabby, dirty clothes, sloped shoulders and forlorn expressions, which were accompanied by images in which children were typically shown to be clean and well-fed, alert, and engaged in some purposeful activity. In doing so,

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[288] Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p.91.
[289] Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*, p.91, p.114.

the contrasting images established a dialogue through which the viewer was visually guided through the transformative process of philanthropy.[290]

Barnardo's 'artistic fictions', as they were described in the press, undermined the considerable faith placed in the photograph as a 'reliable sourc[e] of truth' which was considered a further affront because 'the interest of truth' was considered 'paramount' to the work of charities.[291] As Susan Sontag notes, photographs appear to have 'a more innocent, and, therefore, more accurate, relation to visible reality to than do other mimetic objects', and thus the corruption of this 'innocent' visual exchange for potential financial gain was considered to undermine the very notion of philanthropy itself. [292]The public outcry to the Barnardo case not only reflected a greater concern for the welfare of working class children but, more significantly, also exposed expectations surrounding charity, namely, that they were required to provide a compelling and believable narrative of transformation (which Barnardo's 'artistic fictions' seemingly undermined). This section builds on historical scholarship surrounding Barnardo's 'artistic fictions' by Seth Koven, as well various studies concerning the role of charitable marketing to consider how organisations supporting disabled children constructed their own transformational narratives through a variety of promotional mediums including text,

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[290] Mona Gleason presents a similar case in which 'before' and 'after' images were used by Canada's Department of Indian Affairs in order to demonstrate the transformation of the Native American child from 'primitive and ignorant' to 'civilised and sophisticated' through residential schooling. Once again, it was significant that these images were presented together, as they provided the viewer with a number of visual cues which attested to the transformation of needy children. In this example, the 'physical transformation' of children worked as a 'metaphor for positive social transformation'. See Mona Gleason, 'Metaphor Materiality and Method: the central role of embodiment in the history of education', *Paedogogica Historica*, Vol. 54, Nos. 1-2 (2018), pp.4-19 (pp.4-7).

[291] 'The Barnado Case', *Sheffield Independent*, 23rd October 1877, p.8; Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870- 1912* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p.38. As John A. Walker and Sarah Chaplin explain, the process of 'mediated vision', by which they mean the viewing of produced images, is a 'reciprocal relationship' whereby we see 'certain pictures as realistic portrayals of the world, and pictures can in turn influence the way we perceive reality. This, according to Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, is especially true of photography as a medium because 'we think of photographs as being closer to reality' than other visual forms as they refer to an object which exists and this obscures the 'mediation between the viewer and the viewed' and the extent to which we perceive of such images as being purposefully 'constructed'. John A. Walker & Sarah Chaplin, *Visual Culture: An Introduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp.22-23; Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, 'Seeing the Disabled: Visual Rhetorics of Disability in Popular Photography' in Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (eds.), *The New Disability History* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp.335-374 (pp.335-336).

[292] Susan Sontag, *On Photography (*London: Allen Lane, 1978), p.6.

photography and film, as well as objects made by disabled children. The representational tropes presented in charitable material culture engaged with contemporary notions of childhood which, as this chapter has demonstrated, were increasingly informed by physiological understandings of the child's body which stressed both their vulnerability and potential. This was influential in defining a commonly understood identity for the disabled child which could be made to work for different agendas. This was not only important for the successful operation and fundraising work of charities but was also influential in defining which children were included or excluded in programmes of special education during this period, as well as the expectations established for them through education and training. Amongst Victorian society the persuasive power of the sentimentalised child lay precisely in the fact that this imagined figure lacked tangible substance, and was, rather, mediated almost entirely through accounts and visual and literary representations. As a result, this disembodied concept of childhood could be made to work for different political agendas. This is particularly apparent in publicity surrounding education and work-based training for disabled children. Whilst, as this chapter has outlined, the particular focus upon work – based training in early special educational provision contributed to divergent social expectations and understandings of disabled children, compared to their non-disabled peers, the charities that supported them often deployed rhetoric which was both familiar and similar to that applied to children more generally - although it was often utilised in subtly different ways. In the nineteenth century 'the popular picture of children – even those of children who had not been neglected – [were] images of children who [were] especially sensitive and often physically weak.'[293] More explicitly, disabled children were also a popular literary trope of the period; their 'corporeal otherness' almost exclusively provided 'the interpretive schemata that [made] their worlds seem knowable and predictable', and their

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[293] Piper, 'Moral Campaigns', p.15.

unquestionably good character almost immediately discernible.[294] Indeed, as Peter Hunt has noted, such was the popularity of the romanticised disabled figure that 'serious spinal injury was a hazard of being a nineteenth century children's heroine.'[295]

Charities supporting disabled children seized upon the popularity of these literary tropes; for example, in 1897 M.F.E Hope wrote *'Little'un;* a story of the friendship between two disabled boys, one of whom eventually dies, was published for the benefit of the Invalid Children's Aid Association.[296] Organisations like the Guild of the Brave Poor Things, co-founded in 1894 by Grace Kimmins, produced promotional biographies of Guild members which deployed similarly sentimental rhetoric to that of popular literature. One such account detailed a Guild member, 'Pollie', who was said to appear younger after her attendance at Guild meetings because she had 'entered the goodly heritage of Childhood, which before was an unknown land.'[297] Another account documented the many trials and tribulations of 'Nellie' and included a letter from Nellie herself to lend credence to her new-found 'happiness'.[298] In the letter Nellie stated how 'glad' she was to have 'learnt to have [worked] at the Guild', providing the reader with a transformational narrative that centred on emotional, rather than physical change; a transformation that was fostered through access to a social circle, as well as her newfound independence through work (which allowed her to buy a 'new dress').[299]

Significantly, the 'portraits' of Guild members, as they were described by the Guild's co-founder, Ada Vachell, did not include photographs or images of the children being

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[294] Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, pp.10-11

[295] Peter Hunt, *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.234.

[296] Mary Clare Martin, 'In Market, Mansion or Mountain: Representations of Disability in Reading for the Young in Rural and Urban Contexts, 1850-1950', *Childhood in the Past*, Vol.7, No.1 (2014), pp.35-48 (p.39).

[297] Account of 'Pollie' included in 'City of Bristol Guild of the Poor Things', articles including case histories of some of its members by Ada Vachell, head of the Bristol Branch (1900s), HB/22/4/146/3, The Keep, Brighton, UK.

[298] Account of 'Nellie' included in 'City of Bristol Guild of the Poor Things', articles including case histories of some of its members by Ada Vachell, head of the Bristol Branch (1900s), HB/22/4/146/3, The Keep, Brighton, UK.

[299] Account of 'Nellie' included in 'City of Bristol Guild of the Poor Things, articles including case histories of some of its members by Ada Vachell, head of the Bristol Branch (1900s), HB/22/4/146/3, The Keep, Brighton, UK.

documented. Instead, the Guild relied solely upon text to communicate the 'pitiable' circumstances of the disabled child. This medium was arguably a less confronting way to convey a charitable message to the general public, yet one which still provided ample opportunity to reinforce public ideas about what it meant to be a disabled child, and the good work done by the Guild in restoring them to hope. The success of these accounts relied upon the construction of Guild members as both helpless, yet hopeful; the inclusion of images therefore had the potential to disrupt this dialogue, particularly in the case of the most obviously physically impaired child, because the transformational story was less easy to sell if no discernible physical change had taken place.

Whilst the educational institutions established for physically impaired children during this period were characterised by a focus upon work, the ways in which they appealed for funds from the public often also engaged with the rhetoric of sentimentalised childhood. For masterful fundraisers, such as Sir William Treloar, who, through his work as a magistrate, was said to have felt compelled to establish the 'Cripple Children's Hamper Fund', this approach proved especially effective.[300] In its first year the scheme provided 200 hampers 'to poor crippled children', which were funded through 'surplus funds subscribed for the children's banquet in the Guildhall.'[301] By 1896, just two years after the scheme began, 'this seasonable gift had been extended to 5000 applicants.'[302] Described by the press as a 'benevolent Father Christmas', press reports compared Treloar's charitable work to that of other well-known figures, such as the politician Henry Labourchere, who was said to 'delight in giving sweet pleasure to the poor hospital children by means of the multitude of *Truth* toys and dolls.'[303]

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[300] 'Wellcome from Treloar to the Opening of the Hospital, Appendix A, 1907', 8A11/1/11, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[301] 'Christmas Hampers for Crippled Children', *London Evening Standard,* 23 November 1896, p.2.

[302] 'Christmas Hampers for Crippled Children', *London Evening Standard*, 23 November 1896, p.2.

[303] 'Christmas Hampers for Cripples', *Penny Illustrated Paper,* 19th November 1898, p.11

Treloar's success as a fundraiser lay precisely in understanding the 'delight' the public took in performing acts of charity, particularly during the festive period. As Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe note, towards the end of the nineteenth century charity entrepreneurs increasingly exploited the religious calendar for charitable means, and at no time was this more apparent than at Christmas.[304] 'The connotations the festival carried of Christian compassion and, conversely, its increasing commercialisation' was used by individual's like Treloar 'to capture donors' attention, because charitable giving presented the opportunity to alleviate any associated guilt.[305] Treloar's later plans to open a training college and hospital for disabled boys and girls required £60,000, and saw him monopolise upon the public's appetite for seasonal giving through some novel fundraising approaches. This included a special publication of Charles Dicken's *A Christmas Carol* in which he wrote the preface.[306] In *A Christmas Carol* the character of Tiny Tim, who is 'widely acknowledged as Dicken's "most familiar" disabled character', perpetuated a familiar cultural iconography through his diminutive status, which understood disabled people to be pathetic, pitiable and helpless, whilst his good nature simultaneously served as an 'instructive spectacle' for the public.[307]

Drawing upon Tiny Tim as the embodiment of all that was good and deserving, Treloar was able to imbue the 'crippled' and 'tuberculosis-afflicted children' he proposed to help with

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[304] Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market and Humanitarianism in Britain, 1870- 1912* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p.35.

[305] Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market*, p.47.

[306]'Preface written by Treloar in *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.,1907)', 8A11/1/12, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[307] Julia Miele Ridas, 'Tiny Tim, Blind Bertha, and the Resistance of Miss Mowcher: Charles Dickens and the Uses of Disability', *Dickens Studies Annual,* Vol.34 (2004), pp.51-97 (pp.65-67). Shapiro similarly argues that society's association with Tiny Tim perpetuates an idea that 'disabled people are childlike, dependent and in need of charity or pity.' Joseph P.Shapiro, *No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Random House, 1993), p.14. Shalick also argues that 'the 'disabled' child always required a voice, an advocate, to champion its needs and rights', and that literary figures such as Tiny Tim were therefore significant in shaping 'contemporary and current perceptions of disabilities'. Schalick, 'Children, disability and rehabilitation in history', pp.91-93. A J. Carter similarly accords Dickens 'a significant role in ensuring 'crippled children' became a focus of philanthropic activity at the turn of the century, which resulted in the foundation of charitably-run schools and hospitals. A J. Carter, 'A Christmas Carol: Charles Dickens and the birth of orthopaedics', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine,* Vol. 86, No.1(1993), pp.45-48 (p.46) Paul K. Longmore, *Telethons: Spectacle, Disability and the Business of* Charity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.87.

those same characteristics in order to implore the public to support him in his aims to build his 'national home and college.'[308] Whilst he stated that he did not wish to dwell on 'the pathetic side of crippledom', Treloar nonetheless stressed the 'suffering' and helplessness of the children he proposed to help.[309] His primary aim, however, was to offer 'a course of manual training to fit them to earn a livelihood', and much like other charitable institutions founded on behalf of physically impaired children in this period, their inclusion in education was predicated upon the expectation of productivity in adulthood.[310] It was thus reported in the press that 'no hopeless cases' were to be admitted to the new college established by Treloar; an approach which was also taken by other special schools that meant more significantly impaired children remained isolated from education for much longer.[311]

Thus, whilst charities which supported disabled children did engage with the familiar rhetoric of sentimentalised childhood to a degree, it appeared necessary that the vulnerability of the disabled child was tempered by assurances of what they could, and indeed should, achieve in spite of their presumed limitations. Newspaper and journal articles, promotional books and pamphlets, films, exhibitions and displays of work all performed a vital function in presenting to the public a more compelling case for their support. Photography was often used; however, unlike the 'before' and 'after' approach used by Barnado, in which the child appeared to physically embody the transformative effects of philanthropy, promotional material which featured disabled children did not necessarily rely on a comparative approach which, in its focus upon physical change, invited the viewer to engage in a greater level of bodily scrutiny. Instead, a more static approach was adopted when it came to the disabled child; one which still

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[308] 'Preface written by Treloar in *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.,1907)', 8A11/1/12, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[309] 'Preface written by Treloar in *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.,1907)', 8A11/1/12, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[310] 'Preface written by Treloar in *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.,1907)', 8A11/1/12, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK. 'London Topics', *Kilmarnock Herald and North Ayrshire Gazette*, 9 October 1908, p.3.

[311] 'London Topics', p.3.

provided the viewer with the necessary visual cues through which they could learn about the tangible benefits of their donation, but which did not rely in the same way upon a narrative structure of corporeal change.

One book published to promote the work of Chailey Heritage, for example, included images of some of the earliest students admitted to the school in 1903. The two boys presented in the first photograph were shown stood in the school gymnasium, both completely unaided despite the missing limb of one boy who balances on one leg.[312] The boys appeared defiant, their muscular arms crossed as they stared directly into the camera. The decision not to conceal the nature of the boys' impairment was consistent with the overall ethos of Chailey where the school motto 'Laetus Sorte Mae' (Happy in My Lot) served as a rallying call to the disabled children in their charge that they could, and indeed should, triumph over the adversities their physical impairment presented.[313] This message was reinforced through the supporting text, which informed the viewer of the contributions both boys had made to the school through their construction, amongst other things, of the 'Great West Door of the Chapel', as well as details of their subsequent employment.[314] In essence, images like this affirmed that the success of institutions like Chailey Heritage lay in their ability to harness the transformational power of work which ensured its central place in the education of the disabled child. Chapter two will provide a more detailed account of how this worked in practice at Chailey Heritage.

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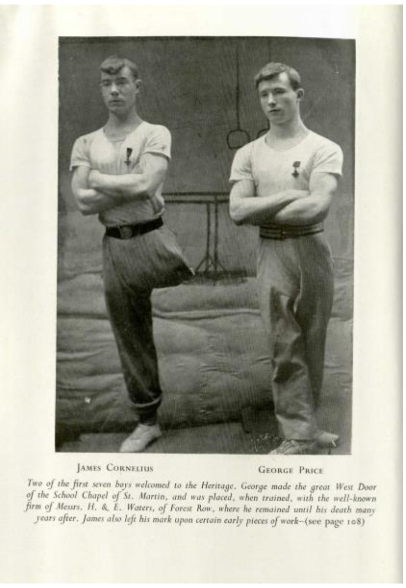
[312] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.20.
[313] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.20.
[314] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.20.



JAMES CORNELIUS GEORGE PRICE

Two of the first seven boys welcomed to the Heritage. George made the great West Door of the School Chapel of St. Martin, and was placed, when trained, with the well-known firm of Messrs. H. & E. Waters, of Forest Row, where he remained until his death many years after. James also left his mark upon certain early pieces of work–(see page 108)

Figure 1: Two of the first seven boys admitted to Chailey Heritage in 1903

A corresponding image of two of the earliest female students showed the girls busy at their needlework, their posture a little more informal and expressions less certain, as though the disruption to their industry came unexpectedly, rather than being staged for the purpose of promotional photography. The two images, presented side by side, contrasted the masculinity of the boys, made evident through their assured postures and gestures, against the more meek femininity of the girls, establishing a dialogue for the viewer which affirmed Chailey's position in shaping identities, responsibilities and roles appropriate to the genders of the children they worked with.

Harriet and Emma

The first two girls admitted to the Llangattock School of Arts and Crafts for Crippled Girls. Both boys and girls are proudly wearing the medals which in the early days were worn by all Guild members. These were designed by the late Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., who gave unstintedly of his advice, and helped to win many new friends

Figure 2: Two of the first girls admitted to the Llangattock School of Arts and Crafts in 1907

Group images of disabled children were often used to represent the daily activities of the institution, in particular those which showed them engaged in some form of purposeful work. Such images often focussed upon the environment in which an activity took place, which worked to amplify the skilled craftsmanship undertaken by disabled children in a professional workshop, or the health-giving benefits of undertaking physical work amongst nature. The candid nature of these images, in which students appeared largely unaware that their photo was being taken, subtly conveyed the industriousness and dedication of students who had benefitted from an education and training that had made work a central facet of their experiences.

Figure 3: Boys tailoring in the workshops at Treloar College, Alton. c. 1930s

Figure 4: Boys basket-weaving in the sun at Treloar College, Alton. c.1930s

Promotional films were also deployed to similar effect by institutions like Treloar College and offered the public insight into the daily workings of the college. One such film from 1923 showed a group of boys completing their morning routine, eager and alert to get ‘off to the workshops’ where, the viewer was told, ‘they [were] not confined to the manufacture of ordinary footwear but surgical boots, a highly skilled trade.’[315] In drawing attention to the manufacture of surgical boots, the film not only elevated their status as skilled craftsmen, but reassured the viewer that the disabled child was able to take responsibility for the management of their disability and not become a burden to the state, as this was equipment that was also used to treat some of the children at Treloar’s.[316] This approach was not unique to Treloar; by 1925 the Central Council for the Care of Cripples revealed that workshops for disabled children fulfilled two purposes: ‘[t]he provision of all splint appliances and boots quickly, cheaply and in accordance with the surgeon’s requirements’ and ‘facilities for the training and employment of children or adolescent cripples, both of which were considered ‘vital’ in orthopaedic

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[315] ‘Film footage documenting life at Treloar College, c.1923’, AV90/2/V1, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[316] ‘Film footage documenting life at Treloar College, c.1923’, AV90/2/V1, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

work.'[317]This was not only indicative of the increasingly medicalised approach adopted by special schools, but through their training disabled children were made explicitly responsible for their bodily transformation, in this way demonstrating the more adult expectations established for them compared to children deemed 'normal'.

The crafts and trades disabled engaged in were therefore presented as essential both to their material and social transformation. Later on in the film boys were shown completing an obstacle course considered 'easy' by the film's narrator because they were 'used to overcoming obstacles'.[318] Although the boys were engaged in play, the militaristic tone of the film reinforced the expectation for disabled children to demonstrate a more adult resilience to the many challenges it was presumed they would encounter, which, it was believed, could be overcome through the furnishing of skills in a craft or trade intended to make them self-sufficient.

The presentation of self-sufficiency to the British public was a common feature of many institutions responsible for the care and education of disabled children. A report in *The Special Schools Quarterly*, for example, provided an account of the craft work undertaken by the boys and girls at Starcross, one of the original five English voluntary idiot asylums, and noted that 'work in the Carpenters' shop [had] been turned on to the manufacture of furniture required for a new home of residence for 40 adult girls.'[319] Whilst reports such as this provided positive publicity for institutions like Starcross, the maintenance of a 'trained and disciplined patient workforce' was, according to Dale, understood as a necessary feature to ensure 'permanent care' was 'economically feasible.'[320] Indeed, local authorities were encouraged to maintain

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[317] G.R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children. The Scheme of the Central Council for the Care of Cripples (*Bristol: John Wright and Sons Ltd;1925), p.49.

[318] Film footage documenting life at Treloar College, c.1910', AV90/2/V1, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[319] Pamela Dale, 'Special Education at Starcross before 1948', *History of Education*, Vol.36, No.1 (2007), pp.17-44 (p.19); 'Western Counties Institute, Starcross', *The Special Schools Quarterly*, Vol. X, Nos.3&4 (September – December 1920), pp.39-43 (p.39)

[320] Pamela Dale, 'Special Education at Starcross before 1948' pp.17-44 (p.21). Many other institutions utilised patient and pupil labour to finance and sustain them, both in Britain and globally. For example, when the Kew

patients at Starcross because patient labour subsidised the cost of care and meant patient beds were cheaper than at most specialist institutions.[321] In effect, patients deemed too vulnerable or incapable of operating within society were simultaneously presented as responsible and capable of working to sustain the institutions which perpetuated their isolation.

Whilst the work of disabled children contributed to the daily operation of many institutions, this was not the only way that children contributed to their own care. The hand-crafted objects they made during the course of training had considerable symbolic significance as the material manifestation of their potential, and also monopolised upon the growing popularity of charitable objects to help fund the organisations that supported them. Charity objects became popular in the nineteenth century because they provided donors with a material and public expression of the charitable act. As Roddy, Strange and Taithe note: '[i]f the item was displayed- a badge on the lapel, a newspaper under the arm – it could easily accrue elements of the social capital many donors valued.'[322] At the same time, however, charity items assured the public of tangible outcomes when they parted with their money; as the bodily potential of the disabled child could readily be called into question, children's potential for citizenship was instead embodied through craft objects which were presented as material evidence of the efficacy of special education. Craft objects captured the cultural ideals of a society which was increasingly deemed more progressive whilst simultaneously upholding the principles of Victorian individualism in which participation in work was understood to be a pre-condition to the rights of full citizenship.

Idiot asylum in Australia was founded in 1887, it was 'modelled along English lines' which understood this 'unpaid labour' to form part of the training necessary to develop the 'physical, mental and moral powers' of inmates. Lee-Ann Monk, 'Exploiting Patient Labour at Kew Cottages, Australia, 1887-1950', *British Journal of Learning Disability,* Vol.38, No.2 (2010) pp.86-94 (p.87). For a further example see Matthew Thomson, *The problem of mental deficiency: eugenics, democracy and social policy in Britain c.1870-1959* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.139; Mark Jackson, *The Borderland of Imbecility. Medicine, society and the fabrication of the feeble mind in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.179; Maggie Potts and Rebecca Fido, *'A Fit Person to be Removed': Personal Accounts of Life in a Mental Deficiency Institution* (Northcote House Publishers Ltd., 1991), pp.70-79.

[321] Pamela Dale, 'Special Education at Starcross before 1948' pp.17-44 (p.23).

[322] Roddy, Strange and Taithe, *The Charity Market,* p.42.

Fundraisers like Sir William Treloar understood the importance of this message, which was reflected in his early plans for the establishment of a college. In addition to the numerous organisations he consulted with, including the Invalid Children's Aid Association, The Ragged Schools Union, The Girls Friendly Hospital, and Grace Kimmins; he was also approached by individuals experienced in working with disabled people who had ideas about how he could appeal to the general public.[323] One such person was Alfred Downes, who, in 1905, wrote to Treloar to tell of his success in fundraising on behalf of the Watercress Flower Girls Mission which '[taught] cripples to earn their living by artificial flower making.'[324] For over twenty years Downes had coordinated the exhibition and sales of artificial flowers on behalf of the Mission, and believed a similar approach would be 'profitable and helpful to [Treloar's] crippled children.'[325]

Exhibitions of work produced by disabled children were increasingly popular as more special schools were established across the country, as they were said to 'have afforded abundant evidence of the training given to the pupils.'[326] Displays in Birmingham of 'wood-working, jewellery, designing, millinery, dress-making, weaving and painting from nature' were thought by one reporter to demonstrate the 'development of the brain through the fingers', whilst in London the Deputy Chairmen of the London County Council observed the work of a Trade School for Girls and 'noticed it was the girls with the best brains who had the cleverest fingers.'[327] Quite how such conclusions were arrived at is unclear, but they speak to the influence of some of the physiological principles developed by people like Séguin and

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[323] 'Suggestions: letters to Sir William Treloar, 1906', 47M94/A19, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[324] 'The Watercress Flower Girls Christian Mission' letter from Alfred Downes to Treloar, 1905', 47M94/A19, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[325] 'The Watercress Flower Girls Christian Mission' letter from Alfred Downes to Treloar, 1905', 47M94/A19, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[326] 'Birmingham and Midland Branch', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. XVI, No.1 (March 1926), p.56.

[327] [327] 'Birmingham and Midland Branch', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. XVI, No.1 (March 1926), p.56.; 'Clever children- how brains are encouraged by handicraft', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. XII, No.3 (September 1922), p.51.

McMillan, which were evident in the curricular approaches adopted for disabled children in an increasingly medicalised system of education.

Within this system, craft and work were increasingly understood to function as part of a part of a holistic system of healthcare (which will be explored in greater detail in chapter two through the case study of Chailey Heritage). During a period of significant expansion in special education, voluntary institutions like Chailey Heritage and Treloar College played a vital role in providing education and training to physically impaired children; indeed, as was noted by the Director of Education for Wigan in 1935, much of what had been achieved 'in the work for crippled children' would not have been possible without the assistance of 'voluntary bodies and individuals'.[328] Whilst Cooter argues that the focus of these early institutions was primarily humanitarian and educational, rather than medical, the fact remained that in bringing together large numbers of physically impaired children, places like Chailey Heritage created both the need and the opportunity to consider more expansively how best to approach their treatment, education and care.[329] They understood the importance of patronage, promotion and prestige which allowed them to situate their work as both pioneering and essential to the management and treatment of childhood disability, and this in turn gradually generated more interest from the wider medical community.

Open Air Schools and the Medicalisation of Schooling

As this chapter has argued, the introduction of compulsory education foregrounded both the divergent needs and abilities of children, as well as the impact of poverty and deprivation upon the bodies of working class children which substantially influenced emerging concepts of child

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[328] Leslie R. Missen, 'The Education Authority's Point of View', *The Welfare of Cripples and Invalid Children: Joint Conference between the Invalid Children' Aid Association and the Central Council for the Care of Cripples: Papers and discussions* (1935), pp.42-47 (p.47).

[329] Cooter maintains that the failure to appoint a Medical Officer at Chailey Heritage until 1927 indicated that treatment was not an early priority. Similarly, the appointment of the relatively inexperienced Henry Gauvain as Medical Officer at Treloar's is given by Cooter as evidence of the lack of orthopaedic focus of these early institutions. Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War*, pp.59-60.

development and led to a growing 'awareness of the necessary health of the child to undertake compulsory schooling.'[330] Simultaneous to the development of early residential schools for physically impaired children was a growing interest in the idea of educating 'delicate or sickly children' in schools with plenty of exposure to the open air; a model which was adopted in Britain and other parts of the world as part of the anti-tuberculosis campaigns.[331] According to Pritchard, the findings of the *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration* first advocated for the 'establishment of a system of schools for semi-invalid children' on the understanding that 'upon the health of the school child depended the fighting strength of the nation', although the first local authority open air school was subsequently established in 1907 at Bostall Wood, Plumpstead.[332] Open-air schools were structured around general principles which were emulated in other types of special school and which included: a 'respect for order and food and sleep, love of sunny, moving air and pure water, dutiful habits, gentle manners, the power of keeping silent , the self-control of ordered play, and the concrete practical lessons which really develop brain agility in a way that books *alone* rarely could.'[333] When Lord Mayor Treloar opened the hospital and school at Alton, for example, he too adopted open air principles, building hospital wards with balconies which were designed to be 'converted to open air verandas, so that for those children whose health [was] benefited by the pure air treatment, it [was] possible to procure night and day treatment in the open air.'[334] According to a former Resident Medical Officer, nurses had to be particularly 'hardy' as 'no ward had central heating' and children were provided with 'bed sock and mittens' to mitigate

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[330] David Hughes' Just a Breath of Fresh Air in an Industrial Landscape: The Preston Open Air School in 1926', *Social History of Medicine,* Vol. 17, No.3 (2004), pp.443-461 (p.447).

[331] Margaret Tennant, 'Children's Health Camps in New Zealand: the making of a movement, 1919-1940', *Social History of Medicine,* Vol. 9, No. 1 (1996), pp.69-87 (p.75)

[332] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* p.168, p.171.

333 Linda Bryder, 'Wonderlands of buttercup, clover and daisies': Tuberculosis and the open-air school movement in Britain, 1907-39', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *In the name of the child. Health and welfare 1880-1940* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.72-95 (p.81).

[334] 'Wellcome from Treloar to the opening of the school, Appendix A, 1907', 8A11/1/11, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

against the cold as ‘most of the south-facing windows and doors were kept open, even in the winter.’[335]

Figure 6: Boys basket-weaving from their hospital beds on the veranda at Treloar Hospital, c.1920s

Figure 5: Boys lie basket-weaving on the veranda at Trealoar Hospital, c.1920s

This approach was consistent with the advice disseminated by the *National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis,* which maintained that the ‘first and most powerful enemy of germs [was] sunlight’ and that ‘moving air was essential’ in order ‘to blow germs away’.[336] However, medical opinion equally acknowledged that open-air schools were often more valuable as a ‘prophylactic than as a means of cure’, because, as Doctor Williams of the Sheffield Open-Air School observed, ‘the cases of malnutrition [were] just those which [were] likely to become tuberculous.’[337] At a practical level, a therapeutic regimen which largely prioritised taking the open air and exposure to the sun was a relatively inexpensive option, as school buildings were often adapted from existing premises or sheds, and, as Marjorie

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[335] ‘The Hospital in 1935- Recollections of a then Resident Medical Officer’, 47M94/A19/24, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, UK.

[336]‘Killing Those Germs: National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, pamphlet (no date)’, 47M94/M2/3, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.

[337] ‘Open Air Schools’, *British Medical Journal,* Vol.1, No.2631 (June 3, 1911),pp.1336-1337 (p.1337).

Cruikshank notes, most Medical Officers maintained that that 'open-air schools would more than pay for themselves in terms of a healthier population.'[338]

Whilst the virtues of being outside were extolled, in reality, the impact of good food and rest upon malnourished children was almost certainly as significant to their recovery. At Treloar Hospital, for example, it was noted that 'undernourishment and parasitical infections' were common problems when children were first admitted as 'so many [came] from poor homes.'[339] According to the Medical Officer, the prompt 'amelioration of these conditions' with the help of 'toys and food the type of which they had not seen before' so altered 'children's appearance and physical health' that parents sometimes struggled to recognise their own children, and on one occasion came and visited with the wrong child.[340]

The environment of the special school modelled upon open-air lines was increasingly understood to be able to elicit a profound effect upon sick and disabled children, and whilst concerns were initially raised over the costs attached to the more systematic establishment of open air schools across the country, with the onset of the First World War 'the heightened premium attached to manpower' provided 'ammunition to extend the movement' , according to Linda Bryder.[341]By 1923, therefore, there were 60 open-air schools in Britain, 35 of which were day schools and 25 of which were residential.[342] The movement reached its peak in the 1930, when some '16,500 children were being catered for.'[343] Open-air schools became tied to ideas of national efficiency and citizenship, which Linda Bryder suggests undermined their value as a progressive form of therapy, and reflected instead an attempt to 'inculcate Victorian

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[338] Marjorie Cruickshank, 'The Open-Air School Movement in English Education', *Paedogogica Historica*, Vol.17, No.1 (2006), pp.62-74 (p.67).

[339] ''The Hospital in 1935- Recollections of a then Resident Medical Officer', 47M94/A19/24, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, UK.

[340] 'The Hospital in 1935- Recollections of a then Resident Medical Officer', 47M94/A19/24, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, UK.

[341] Linda Bryder, 'Wonderlands of buttercup, clover and daisies'pp.72-95 (p.77).

[342] Frances Wilmot and Pauline Saul, *A Breath of Fresh Air: Birmingham's Open-Air Schools, 1911-1970* (Chichester: Phillimore and Co. Ltd, 1998), p.50.

[343]Linda Bryder, 'Wonderlands of buttercup, clover and daisies', pp.72-95 (p.72)

notions of self-help and self-discipline', particularly amongst the working classes.[344] The fact similar approaches were taken up by other types of special school is significant because it provides evidence of a consistent set of values and principles which underpinned special education throughout this period which were primarily concerned with the construction of morally and physically healthy, dutiful citizens.

Whilst open-air schools were established to improve the physical health of children, the principles which underpinned these schools demonstrated a concern not only for the physical health of children, but – like the education and training delivered by Chailey Heritage and Treloar College – also for the construction of morally healthy, dutiful citizens. Within this system a primarily working-class population of children were often subject to prejudicial attitudes which intersected with assumptions about their physical and intellectual capabilities, and this was significant in determining what it was thought they should and could be taught.[345] For example, at the opening of the Uffculme Open Air School in 1911 the Headmistress, Mrs Hurst, admitted '28 sickly children, 15 girls and 13 boys' most of whom she determined to be 'backward and of poor intellect.'[346] Despite the concern raised for the poor intellect of the students, at Uffculme, as was the case in many other open-air schools, the education of the children was to be of 'secondary importance only' because the school's primary aim was to improve the 'physical condition' of the children over a short period of time before they then returned to mainstream education, with apparently limited consideration given to the impact of prolonged absences from school upon the progression of students once they returned to mainstream education.[347]

This was another contributory factor in the development of a very particular kind of education which was preoccupied with the moulding of bodies, as opposed to minds. This led

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[344] Linda Bryder, 'Wonderlands of buttercup, clover and daisies', pp.72-95 (p.72).
[345] Margaret Tennant, 'Children's Health Camps in New Zealand', pp.69-87 (p.70).
[346] Frances Wilmot and Pauline Saul, *A Breath of Fresh Air,* p.25.
[347] Frances Wilmot and Pauline Saul, *A Breath of Fresh Air,* p.23.

to quite a homogenised approach to the education of disabled children, in particular, in which the structure of the day was underpinned by understandings of the various means by which the body could be manipulated: what went into it , what could be added to it ; what it was exposed to; how it could be made to move; how it could be made to work , and what could be done to improve it. Sir Henry Gauvain, for example, the first-appointed Medical Officer at Treloar's, made these priorities clear even before he had secured employment at the school. In a letter including plans for the building of the college addressed to Sir William Treloar he said: '[y]ou may pour money into your workshops, your aviary, your gardens or on anything else you like but what will be the use unless the inmates of the Institution are first sufficiently cured to be able to reap the benefits of these things.'[348] Gauvin argued that in order to justify the 'scheme in the eyes of the public, and ensure its continued support', it would be essential for him 'to secure as many cures as possible', and thus the inclusion of disabled children within these educational spaces was contingent upon whether or not their bodies were deemed fixable.[349]

Equally important was the ability of the Medical Officer to secure support of the medical profession more generally, and to do this, he concluded, the school must be run on 'Scientific and Educational lines.'[350]Gauvain's clarity of vision helped to establish a culture which was replicated in other special school settings; effectively creating the conditions which allowed all aspects of a child's education, training and treatment to be directed towards the common goal of fixing disabled bodies and making them fit for work. In *The Special School's Quarterly*, for example, Miss Martin of North Junction Street Special School in Leith discussed the need to acquire 'scientific knowledge' in the education of the disabled child by keeping them 'under observation as an individual from the beginning of [their] career in the special

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[348] 'Letter from Sir Henry Gauvain to Sir William Treloar, June 21, 1906', Appendix B: Correspondence between Sir Henry Gauvain and Sir William Treloar, 8A11/1/11, Hampshire Records Office, Winchester, UK.
[349] 'Letter from Sir Henry Gauvain to Sir William Treloar, June 21, 1906'.
[350] 'Letter from Sir Henry Gauvain to Sir William Treloar, June 21, 1906'.

school.'[351] In 1919, Fisher's Education Act became operative, and the compulsory clause which required that education be provided to all disabled children, including those with physical impairments, brought with it a renewed medical focus which aimed to ameliorate their condition.[352] This permeated all aspects of special education; for example, in 1920 the examinations for prospective special school teachers included assessments in: Anatomy and Physiology; Psychology, Normal and Abnormal; School Hygiene and Pedagogy.[353] Even within the section dedicated to 'Pedagogy' the focus was primarily upon the examination, pathologisation and classification of children, rather than the aims and methods of teaching, demonstrating the increasingly pervasive influence of medicine within the field of education, as well as upon the educational experiences of disabled children as it was believed this work '[demanded] individual study of the child.'[354]

An increasingly interventionist approach was similarly advocated for by the renowned orthopedic surgeon, G.R Girdlestone, who in 1925 stated that:

> 'The cripple [was] made, not born; this is the rule, and the making is usually a long affair. The manufacturing procedure [was] slow, but as a rule quite effective if there [was] no interference with the machinery. The normal child goes in at one end of the factory and [was] submitted to one or other of the various processes which in months or years produce the finished cripple.'[355]

In describing the 'manufacturing procedure' of disability Girdlestone not only evoked the familiar metaphor of body as machine, which carried with it a presupposition of knowability and manageability, but the industrial language cast up from recent memory the sometimes devastating implications of industry and warfare upon the body, and thus reinforced the notion that disability was something both created and controlled by man. The metaphor of machinery

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[351] Miss Martin, 'The Observing Attitude', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. X, Nos. 3 &4 (1920), pp.29-30.
[352] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* p.165.
[353] 'The College of Special School Teachers', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. X, Nos. 3 &4 (1920), pp.5-6.
[354]'The College of Special School Teachers', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. X, Nos. 3 &4 (1920), pp.5-6; Miss Martin, 'The Observing Attitude', *Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. X, Nos. 3 & 4 (1920), pp.29-30.
[355] G.R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children. The Scheme of The Central Council for the Care of Cripples,* (Bristol: John Wright and Sons Ltd, 1925), p.11.

thus affirmed the ability of medicine to intervene in the production of disruptive disabled bodies. Girdlestone went on say that ‘Only a small proportion of crippled children [suffered] from congenital defects , and even in the case of these the original defect [was] usually comparatively slight when they [were] born, and [was] easily rectified then.[356] He explained how the child with a congenital defect was ‘put through the mill with the other children who have had no such false start’ and ‘prepared for the factory by a number of initial processes’ which included: ‘Unhealthy conditions, such as neglect, overcrowding , lack of proper food, light or exercise’ which made them ‘the easy prey of every manner of crippling process.’ [357]

This approach, which was predicated upon an assumption of fixability, undoubtedly impacted positively upon the health outcomes of many disabled working-class children. However, the restorative model of medicalised schooling and treatment envisioned by people, like Gauvain and Girdlestone, was not primarily concerned with children who presented with multiple or more complex forms of impairment, like cerebral palsy, whose bodies appeared resistant to such approaches, and who subsequently remained isolated from education for much longer. This is clear in the example of Lorna Jacques, who had cerebral palsy and was wheeled to the ‘little school’ until she was ten, but was then not permitted to continue her education by the headmaster of the local secondary school as he did not want to admit a disabled child.[358]

Whilst certain middle-class disabled children were able to overcome this particular barrier because they were afforded the privilege of access to a governess at home, or attendance at a private school, much like many of the voluntary and local authority schools, the educational standards set for disabled children were low.[359] Betty Leach recounted her educational experience in a ‘great lovely old house’ as one which was a ‘nice time’ but largely ineffectual,

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[356] G.R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children*, p.12.
[357] G.R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children*, p.12.
[358] Humphries and Gordon, *Out of Sight*, p.45.
[359] Humphries and Gordon, *Out of Sight*, p.47.

as much of her time was spent doing ‘a lot of sewing’.[360] Standards of education were almost certainly compromised across the special education system throughout the 1920s as Local Education Authorities (LEAs) had to respond rapidly to the growing numbers of disabled children identified as in need of special education, and even then it was reported by the National Special Schools Union that government figures were significantly lower than the actual numbers of who required it.[361]

Certain proposals made by the Board of Education to meet these challenges, such as permitting ‘unqualified teachers’ to teach in special schools, with the aim of providing cheaper education ‘for a greater number of children’ were met with criticism, in particular from the National Union of Women Teachers (NUWT) which argued that training was essential to ensure ‘efficiency in Special Schools’ which demand[ed] scientific study of each case, and individual treatment.’[362] The NUWT were equally dismissive of proposals made by the Board of Education to introduce larger classes of 25, rather than 20 students, noting the impracticality of such a suggestion for some physically impaired children who often had to take their ‘classes a recumbent position.’[363] At a very basic level, therefore, there was a rational concern about the logistics of teaching larger groups within classes of students whose restricted mobility meant they may have required more support, or more space to accommodate any adaptive

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[360] Humphries and Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.46

[361] In the 1920s the government estimated that approximately 20,000 ‘physically defective’ children were not attending school, although, according to Humphries and Gordon, experts at the time believed the figure to be much closer to 50,000. Humphries and Gordon, *Out of Sight*, p.45. Official reports from the Board of Education for the year 1925-1926 identified 191,476 ‘defective’ children ‘within the meaning of Part V of the Education Act, 1921’, of which official figures stated some ‘25,221 were at no school or institution’. The numbers recorded by the Board of Education for children categorised as ‘Mentally Defective’ (32, 975) were also substantially lower than those estimated by the Committee, who, in 1929, identified 105,000 children likely to be categorised as ‘mentally defective’, according to guidelines at the time. Educational provision was, therefore, insufficient both in scale and type as authorities failed to accurately identify and support the disabled children under their care. See ‘12th Biennial Conference of the National Special Schools Union’, *The Special Schools Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No.1 (February 1928), pp.3-4; ‘The Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee’, *The Woman Teacher*, Vol. X, No. 25 (17 May, 1929), pp.209-210.

[362] ‘Special Schools’ Circular 1297 issued 29th January, 1923. Proposal on unqualified teachers’, UWT/D/42/2, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

[363] ‘Document issued by the NUWT in response to ‘Economies in Special Schools’ (circular 1297), issued by the Board of Education’, pp.1-2, UWT/D/42/3, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

furniture or equipment they required to be able to undertake their work. Thus, whilst the special school system had gradually included more children with physical impairments, the financial implications of this limited the extent to which the system could comprehensively consider bodily variety to support the varying and complex needs of all disabled children in the classroom, and provision therefore remained insufficient.

Nevertheless, their inclusion in schooling occurred during a period of education which was, in many ways, characterised by its relationship to medicine and health. This was notable both in more overt medical interventions, such as the School Medical Service, but was also witnessed in pedagogical approaches which gradually demonstrated greater consideration and scrutiny of the ways and means through which children's bodies needed to work in educational spaces. As the special school system expanded the acknowledged value of this approach, coupled with frustrations at the limitations presented by the current system, saw organisation's like the Central Council for the Care of Cripples call for the expansion of services which appealed not to the 'tender hearts' of the public but to the 'hard heads throughout the country'. The Council stated:

> When they realise that with proper treatment, combined with education, 75% of the child cripples of this country [could] be turned into satisfactory workers, they will also realise that the expenditure of money on their treatment is not only an act of merit but a sound investment. It means that thousands of children who would otherwise grow up to be a burden on their relatives and the community [would] become useful, self-supporting citizens.'[364]

The principle of active and participative citizenship therefore continued to guide the expansion of services for disabled children; principles which were devised within early charitable institutions which understood the need for donors to see the transformational effect of their donation upon the bodies of disabled children, which were often materially presented through the objects associated with their labour. Charitable discourse contributed to popular

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[364] G.R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children*, p.17.

conceptions of the disabled child in this period, and as this chapter had demonstrated, this discourse intersected with a number of political and medical interventions to establish a framework for the education of disabled children which was primarily motivated by the introduction of compulsory schooling. During this period the research of individuals, including Edouard Séguin and Margaret McMillan, contributed substantially to contemporary notions of childhood, identifying it as a significant phase of growth and development, whilst simultaneously perpetuating long-held views which associated intellectual inferiority with bodily difference. The body of the disabled child therefore represented a challenge to be addressed via means which saw medical knowledge and authority increasingly entangled within educational spaces as attempts were made to socially, and physically, transform the disabled body into a productive citizen. Whilst Pritchard argues that 'satisfactory provision had largely been made' for the majority of physically impaired children by 1939, it remained the case that many of the most significantly impaired children remained isolated from education as they proved disruptive to this narrative of bodily transformation, and were therefore not a focus of educational policy until after the Second World War.[365] Within this system craft and other forms of work played a fundamental role, both in culturally constructing for the public a more acceptable identity for the disabled child whilst it was simultaneously framed and understood as part of the process of holistic healthcare deemed necessary for the fixing and management of disabled bodies, which will be explored further in chapter two through a detailed case study of Chailey Heritage.

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[365] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* p.166; Humphries and Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.45.

‘Handicaps Subordinated to Constructive Living’: A Case Study of Chailey Heritage, 1903-1939

In 1929, local newspaper *Burton Daily Mail* published the following account:

> Yet also in the centre of Sussex, under its very shadow of the yew tree, there flourishes a most modern enterprise, an enterprise which is the natural offspring of modern science and modern ideas. It is, in effect, a repair shop, a reconstruction for human beings, where specialists in the related sciences of medicine and education –for successful education is a science- transform warped and crippled creatures into useful, healthy craftsmen and citizens.[366]

The place described was Chailey Heritage, a school founded in 1903 by Grace Kimmins, who, according to the *Women's Journal*, initially ‘took seven small Cockney cripples and made them happy in a disused workhouse.'[367] The first students who attended Chailey came from the Bermondsey settlement where Grace Kimmins had transferred the headquarters of the Guild of the Brave Poor Things in 1896, and as Kimmins noted, these working class children were drawn from the Guild specifically.[368] The first students were funded by private donations, but Kimmins quickly became a successful fundraiser and was rapidly understood to be an expert in the care and education of disabled children, so much so that as early as 1907 she was involved in the organisation of the ‘Guildhall Conference on Cripples.’[369] Her high standing in the field of disability, coupled with her successful promotion of the Heritage and its growing status as an orthopaedic centre meant that Chailey quickly developed into a much larger institution, and by 1932 it had 365 boys and girls in residence who were ‘drawn from every county in England and Wales.’[370] Children were admitted to Chailey up to the age of fourteen,

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[366] ‘Silver Jubilee of Picturesque Cripple Cure’, *Burton Daily Mail,* 29 October 1929, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1 The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK

[367] Nesta Obermer, ‘The Heritage. Where boys and girls can turn to a happy childhood and a busy future’, reprinted from an illustrated article in the *Women's Journal,* 1946, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage HB261/6, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[368] Seth Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain’, *The American Historical Review,* Vol.99, No. 4 (October 1994), pp.1167-1202 (p.1174); Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals Chailey,* p.25.

[369] Ros Black, *Grace Kimmins and her Chailey Heritage*, (Haywards Heath: Arbe Publications, 2017), p.73

[370] ‘Cripples in a Sussex Paradise’, *The Yorkshire Post,* 15 July 1932, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage HB262/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

and remained up until sixteen for treatment as well as 'vocational training' in crafts and trades which included: '[c]arpentry, cabinet-making, printing, boot-making, leather case making, silversmithing, fine needlework, knitting, housewifery, cooking, laundry and nursery work.'[371]

The rhetoric of the human 'repair shop' encapsulated by the *Burton Daily Mail* was emblematic of an ethos wholeheartedly held at Chailey: it evoked both the transformative power of work and the desire for the disabled body to adapt or change: ideas that were projected onto both the young people who attended the institution, and the general public more broadly.

As chapter one demonstrated, institutions like Chailey were founded during a period of significant educational reform in which children were increasingly viewed as worthy recipients of welfare and education. Between 1870-1914, over 40 different organisations were founded in Britain for children with conditions like polio, tuberculosis and rickets, which resulted in physical impairment and disproportionately affected working- class children.[372] At Chailey, for example, of the 41 boys admitted to the school between 1903 and 1910, seventeen had physical impairment related to tuberculosis; a further seven had 'infantile paralysis', or polio, with amputation being the third most common reason for admission to the school.[373] Girls were not admitted until 1908 after the foundation of the Llangatock Heritage for Girls on the same site, and so their numbers were fewer during this period; however, a similar pattern was observed as tubercular joints or hip disease occurred most commonly.[374] Chailey, therefore, was not considered a school 'for normal children, but a school for the maimed' and, more significantly, 'a school for the cripple from the slum' as opposed to the 'well-nourished, healthy cripple.'[375]

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[371] *Directory of Orthopaedic Institutions, Voluntary Organisations and Official Schemes for the Welfare of Cripples,* (London: Central Council for the Care of Cripples, 1935), pp.122-123.

[372] Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War*, p.54.

[373] *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Guild of the Brave Poor Things (founded St Martin's day, 1894) and of the Heritage Craft Schools for Crippled Boys and Girls, Chailey, Sussex* (London: Guild of the Brave Poor Things, 1910), pp.19-26.

[374] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.30; *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Guild of the Brave Poor Things (founded St Martin's day, 1894) and of the Heritage Craft Schools for Crippled Boys and Girls, Chailey, Sussex (*London: Guild of the Brave Poor Things, 1910), pp.19-26.

[375] 'Cyril Burt, Soldier Students: A Scheme of Educative Convalescence for the Wounded, 1917', HB 130/7, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

The focus upon crafts therefore reflected students' social status. Whilst fine art was considered the purview of the educated man, the Arts and Crafts movement – which inspired the training offered at Chailey - firmly connected functional crafts to the working classes and to Victorian ideals of work as a 'cure for social and economic ills.'[376] This association was further compounded by the students' disabled status, which reinforced established notions of their presumed capacity, as well as the requirement for them to be useful. As Koven notes, in the late Victorian period, reformers began to acknowledge the implications of poverty upon the creation of chronic childhood diseases and began to challenge the notion that 'the term 'cripple' was a natural category' describing a person with a preordained physical impairment, instead recognising the term and the people it described as a loosely defined socially constructed category.[377] By this reasoning, if working-class cripples could be made, then they could also be 'remade' and arts and crafts became central to this process of reformation, both for spiritual and moral gain, as well as forming aspects of a child's manual and physical training.

This chapter examines the institution's history from its foundation in 1903 until 1939 and argues that Chailey Heritage is an important case study for a number of reasons. Firstly, through its charitable works the school received numerous esteemed visitors, including the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of London, who came to marvel at the innovative work undertaken in managing and treating physical impairment.[378] This public profile meant that Chailey's approaches to the management of disability, and the ideals it embodied, were replicated in a number of other institutions founded during this period. Furthermore, as one of the earliest residential schools for physically impaired children, contemporaries working in the

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[376] Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', pp.1167-1202 (p.1175).
[377] Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', pp.1167-1202 (pp.1175-1176).
[378] A F. London, Kynaston Studd and Owen Seamen, 'The School's Thanksgiving. The Prince of Wales Lead', *The Times*, 29 June 1929; 'New Boots for a Bishop', *Sunday Pictorial*, 28 May 1930, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1 The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

fields of medicine and special education understood the methods deployed to educate and treat disabled children as pioneering. The continued running of the school, described as 'one of the UK's leading centres for children and young people with complex neurodisabilities', over a hundred years later is a testament to its continued legacy.[379] Chailey Heritage therefore provides an illustrative example of a model of schooling which subsequently came to define the educational experiences for many disabled children in the first decades of the twentieth century.[380]

The first part of this chapter considers the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement upon the educational and charitable practices of Chailey Heritage. Whilst the term 'Arts and Crafts' was not officially used by those associated with the movement until 1887, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a growing interest in arts and crafts designs represented a reaction against 'the impact of the industrial movement on people's working lives, and the end products of mechanised industry.'[381] It is argued, therefore, that whilst Chailey Heritage built upon the 'Victorian benevolent interest in handicrafts' which was 'tied to issues of poverty and morality, discipline and self-improvement'; it equally sought to amplify forms of workmanship which had existed prior to the Industrial Revolution: as an implicit reaction against the industrial work processes that had both contributed to the instance of industrial injuries and disabilities, and which had simultaneously led to disabled people's relative exclusion from the

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[379] Chailey Heritage Foundation, 'Welcome to Chailey Heritage Foundation. Pursuing Potential', <https://www.chf.org.uk >, [accessed 9/5/21].

[380] As Brad Byron notes, this approach was similarly adopted in Hospital Schools in the United States. Thus, whilst reformers attempted to strike an 'uneasy balance' between 'the social approaches to disability that sought to reform cultural attitudes, and individual or medical approaches intended to correct flaws in disabled people', there was an almost 'unanimous' opinion that 'employment provided the best solution to the problem of disability.' Byron, 'A Pupil and a Patient', pp.133-135.

[381] In 1887, T J. Cobden-Sanderson formed the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society which, he maintained, 'initiated the wider movement' by raising awareness of the work of craftspeople, and by articulating more formally the aims, ideology and work which now came under the umbrella of 'Arts and Crafts'. As Stansky notes, a number of political factors in the 1880s, such as the rise of socialism and the expansion of the electorate, provided fertile ground for the formalisation of an art movement which, at its core, was concerned with extending a 'message of how life should be lived'. See T.J. Cobden-Sanderson, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Hammersmith Publishing Society, 1905), p.5; Peter Stansky, *William Morris, C.R Ashbee and the Arts and Crafts*, (London: Nine Elms Press, 1984), pp.1-6.

labour market.[382] The section argues that Chailey Heritage utilised the practices and ideals of the movement which established connections between health, happiness and work, whilst simultaneously inviting connections between the skilled craftsmanship of those associated with the movement and the craft objects produced by disabled children. It is argued that this provided a framework through which Chailey established a compelling narrative for supporting its charitable works, utilising exhibitions and sales of work produced by disabled children to materially evidence the transformational potential of work upon disabled bodies, and constructing an identify for the disabled child which affirmed their capacity and responsibility to perform active citizenship through work.

This charitable discourse established craft as another vehicle through which disabled bodies were culturally codified and managed which, the chapter argues, intersected with contemporary physiological theories of child development and growth to establish a prominent role for crafts in the education of children at Chailey Heritage. The section illustrates how similar approaches were advocated for by the Board of Education, as well as other special school educators, situating the practices of Chailey Heritage as a more representative model of schooling for physically impaired children within an evolving special school system. Whilst training in a craft or trade was intended to provide students with the requisite skills to undertake certain jobs, the section argues that this approach maintained the intractability of their reduced

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[382] Joseph McBrinn, ‘The Work of Masculine Fingers: the Disabled Soldiers’ Embroidery Industry, 1918-1955’, *Journal of Design History*, Vol.31, No.1(2018), pp.1-23 (p.5). As David Pye notes, terms like ‘Handicraft’ and ‘handmade’ are social rather than technical terms, as nearly all things require tools for their manufacture. Thus, such terms are typically used to denote forms of workmanship which existed prior to the Industrial Revolution. David Pye, *The Nature and Art of Workmanship* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p.10. Disability studies scholars, such as Vik Finkelstein, have argued that disabled people were integrated into the workforce in pre-industrial societies, and that the processes of industrialisation led to their exclusion from the workforce. Viktor Finkelstein, *Attitudes and Disabled People: Issues for Discussion* (New York: International Exchange of Information in Rehabilitation, 1980), p.6. More recent scholarship has provided a more nuanced account which challenges existing ‘assumptions about the place of disabled people in the industrial workforce’, and situates industrialisation as a process which rendered disability more visible, ‘while disability in turn shaped responses to industrialisation.’ Kirsti Bohata, Alexandra Jones, Mike Mantin and Steven Thompson, *Disability in Industrial Britain. A cultural and literary history of impairment in the coal industry, 1880-1948* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp.1-15; Turner and Blackie, *Disability in the Industrial Revolution,* p.2.

social position, as craft training was largely delivered at the expense of a formal education. This section demonstrates how arts and crafts continued to feature prominently in the education of disabled children, despite the declining influence and interest in the Arts and Crafts movement and thus argues that Chailey Heritage failed to adapt to a shifting industrial economy to deliver work to disabled people.

The final section of this chapter situates the continued role of arts and crafts within a shifting culture at Chailey Heritage (and other institutions) in which the approaches to managing disability came to be more explicitly medically defined. During the First World War, Chailey Heritage became a ‘headquarters for the treatment and rehabilitation of soldiers returning from the Continent’, and this brought with it significant changes as the expansion of medical and surgical practices necessary for the rehabilitation of soldiers came to redefine the existing methods of education and training used with disabled children.[383] More broadly, developments in orthopaedics after the First World War presented new opportunities to physically transform the disabled body. The section therefore argues that whilst the methods of craft pioneered at Chailey were envisaged as a means of socially transforming the disabled child into productive workers; the presence of soldiers presented the opportunity for a more psychological value to be attached to arts and crafts, whilst medical and surgical intervention were increasingly understood to provide the means through which to physically transform the unproductive disabled body. The chapter argues that arts and crafts retained an important role at Chailey Heritage, but that its vocational aims were supplemented by therapeutic values which reflected a more holistic approach to the management of disability. Within this system arts and crafts contributed, both emotionally and physically, to the transformation of the disabled child.

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[383] Seth Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain’, *The American Historical Review*, Vol.99, No. 4 (October 1994), pp.1167-1202 (p.1180).

Arts, Crafts and Culture at Chailey Heritage

> Dear Barrel,
> I was very pleased to hear from you, and to know how you are getting on. The new term has just commenced at Chailey, and we have had a very busy time. The new huts which have been built quite close to the Hill are now practically finished, and last Wednesday General Sir Francis Lloyd came down to see them, and also the Bishop of London, who afterwards preached in the School Chapel. Unfortunately, it was a terribly wet day, which meant that we could not carry everything out as we had quite as we had meant to do. The main drive was lined with girls and the boys formed a Guard of Honour. The General and his party came over the common from the boys' old building, and some pipers played them all the way across, and you can imagine how lovely bagpipes would sound right away over the heather and the bracken; then everybody looked at the huts, and the Bishop and the General spoke to the guests present- and after that everyone went over to School Chapel to hear the Bishop and to see him unveil a new tablet to the late Lord Llangatock, a stained glass window, and an oak chair (to the memory of Mr. Robertson Lawson). I send you a copy of the programme that you may see the hymns, etc., used.
>
> The boys very much enjoy walking backwards and forwards across the common to school; their old building will be used by the soldiers when they come again.
>
> You will be sorry to hear that Matron has been ill this term, and that we were not able to have her with us last Wednesday; we hope she will soon be better. Everyone else at the school is quite well.
>
> The country around is beginning to look very beautiful now, for all the trees are turning brown; the boys and girls have been busy blackberrying, and are going to do so tomorrow, on their half holiday. The boys slept under canvas until last Wednesday and thoroughly enjoyed it – having meal, washing etc. out in the open.
> With every good wish- and hoping to hear from you from time to time
> Your sincere Guild Friend,
>
> G.T Kimmins[384]

This letter, written by Grace Kimmins in reply to a former pupil in 1917, offers a vivid account of life at Chailey Heritage: the esteemed visitors and militaristic practices; depictions of the countryside, coupled with the boys' enthusiasm for outdoor pursuits, and the ceremonial presentation of hand-crafted objects made by disabled students, provides valuable insight into the culture and values of the institution. Whilst Kimmins's convivial account of the day to day activities of the school presumed the boy had fond memories of his time spent there, the tone

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[384] The letter was addressed to George Barell, a former pupil. Its careful storage inside a wooden workbox he made, alongside a number of other personal articles from the years he spent at the school, indicate a largely positive association with the time spent at Chailey, as Kimmins presumed. 'Wooden workbox with drawing board and T-Square made by George Barrel, 1912-1914', HB258/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

of the letter equally reflected an easy familiarity with a narrative which centred Chailey's role in providing education and care to 'little lame dogs' who were made 'stronger' and 'happier' through their association with an institution which enabled them to 'get their own living.'[385] Such rhetoric was frequently deployed by Kimmins, and others associated with the school, in order to generate public support for the work done by the Heritage.

When Chailey Heritage was founded in 1903, it was with the 'purpose of providing crippled children with a means of gaining their own livelihood.'[386] Training in a craft, therefore, was an essential part of school life from the outset, embedded within a curriculum which espoused 'the great names in Art and Craft' deemed 'national leaders during industrial progress.'[387] Equally important, however, was the role played by craft in communicating to the public the mission of the school, which was made materially evident through the many examples of students' work displayed and used at the institution, such as the nursery furniture said to be the 'work of the first seven boys in the very early days.'[388] Students' work was also displayed and sold in public exhibitions; discussed in the press and promotional literature written about the school, and 'bequeathed' as gifts to Chailey's esteemed patrons, such as the Bishop of London.[389]

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[385] *The Coming of Age of the Heritage Craft Schools* (London: Sander Phillips & Company Ltd., 1924), p.25.
[386] 'Craft Schools for Young Cripples', *British Medical Journal,* Vol.1, No. 2631 (June 3, 1911), p.1138.
[387] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.
[388] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals Chailey,* p.108.
[389] 'Heritage Craft School', *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. XVI, No.1(March 1926) p.65.

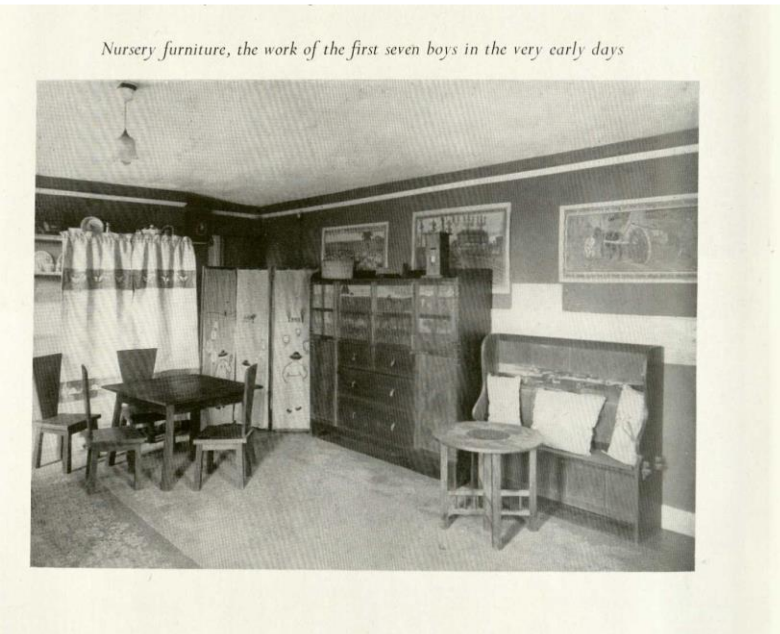

Figure 6: Examples of nursery furniture made by the first seven boys at Chailey Heritage.

Grace Kimmins maintained that craft was central to what she perceived to be the nature of ‘true education’; one in which ‘the tiny seeds of hope and love and faith and self-control’ were encouraged to grow, allowing for a much fuller participation in ‘ordinary, hungry life.’[390] In this respect, the values and practices of the work undertaken at Chailey demonstrated a connection to the broader ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement. This was, according to Cobden-Sanderson, founder of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, a movement defined by its:

> insistence on the worth of man’s hand, a unique tool in danger of being lost in the substitution for it of highly organised and intricate machinery, or of emotional as distinguished from merely skilled and technical labour.[391]

For many associated with the movement, these concerns extended more broadly, beyond practical design and workmanship, to one that ‘br[ought] all activities of the human spirit under

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[390] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals Chailey*, p.108.
[391] Cobden-Sanderson, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, p.4.

the influence of one idea, the idea that life is creation, and should be creative in modes of art, & that this creation should extend to all the ideas of science and social organisation'[392]

The influence of Arts and Crafts principles and approaches evident at Chailey Heritage were representative of a wider interest in the ideals of the movement, particularly in the realm of education. Throughout the 1880s, the movement's message was disseminated beyond metropolitan centres and into rural communities via the formation of numerous guilds, 'rural schools of handcraft', exhibitions and sales of work - intended to demonstrate the kind of work local councils should support through grants - as well through the circulation of arts and crafts magazines, like *The Studio, Handicraft* and the *Craftsmen.*[393] The movement's connection to nature, materially present in the design features of arts and crafts objects, as well as through the establishment of guilds in rural locations, was also replicated at institutions like Chailey.[394] British jewellery-maker, Henry Wilson, for example, directed aspiring craftsmen to take inspiration from nature by working outdoors, whilst at Chailey Heritage 'all study and craft training [was] taken as far as possible in the open air' in order to take advantage of the 'pleasant natural conditions' of the institution's countryside surroundings. [395]

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[392] Cobden-Sanderson, *The Arts and Crafts Movement,* p.4.

[393] Grace Johnstone, 'Provincial Arts and Crafts', *The Studio. An illustrated magazine of fine and applied art,* Volume 4. (1893), extent-extent, p.48.Whilst *The Studio* achieved international readership, Winter notes that *Handicraft* failed to achieve a substantial readership, although it continued to be published until 1912. The *Craftsmen* was published until 1916. Robert W. Winter, 'The Arts and Crafts as a Social Movement', *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University,* Vol.34, No.2 (1975), pp.36-40 (p.36).

[394] Prominent amongst the guilds was C.R Ashbee's Guild of Handicrafts, which was established in 1888 to provide training to low income men in order 'to set a higher standard of craftmanship' and 'protect the status of the craftsmen.' The aim was to 'strike a balance between the independence of the artist', which was considered 'individualistic and often parasitical', and the trade shop, 'where the workman [was] bound to purely commercial and antiquated traditions', in this way ensuring the work was 'conducted on cooperative lines' by men with a shared interest and voice in the governance of the guild. As Diana Maltz notes, in 1902 Ashbee 'transplanted a hundred and fifty cockneys' who had worked at Guild to its rural location in Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire. Diana Maltz, 'Living by Design: C. R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft and Two English Tolstoyan Communities, 1897-1907', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Vol. 39 (2011), pp.409-426(p.409).

[395] According to Crawford, Henry Wilson, directed aspiring craftsmen who planned to make a pendant of a nightingale to 'First go and watch one singing', as it was understood that being amongst nature was stimulating both for body and mind, and that the resulting designs would 'carry the mind out into nature.' Alan Crawford, 'Ideas and Objects: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain', *Design Issues,* Vol.13, No.1 (Spring, 1997), pp.15-26 (p.22).

Perhaps most significantly, one of the central ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement, 'Joy in Labour', maintained that the experience of work could become a 'source of pleasure' through engagement with a craft which allowed creativity to be 'part of the daily experience of ordinary people at work.'[396] At Chailey, the significance of joy and happiness was connected to the students' work, but also extended beyond this, and was embodied within the school motto, 'Laetus Sorte Mea' (Happy in my lot). Numerous articles about the school engaged with this rhetoric of happiness and noted, for example, 'the atmosphere of happiness and "good citizenship" among the boys and girls', or the 'Little Cripples' who were 'happy in their lot', in this way inviting a connection between health and happiness that aimed to divorce the students of Chailey from their disabled status which, it was often assumed, would be the cause of significant unhappiness.[397] In this way, therefore, the values of the Arts and Crafts movement provided a framework through which the approaches undertaken by Chailey Heritage could be articulated and understood as beneficial to the individual disabled child, who was made happy through work, as well as to the wider public who were reassured of their capacity to be productive in adulthood.

This connection with Arts and Crafts ideals effectively established a dialogue between disability and design, initially observed through the practices of charitable organisations, such as John Grooms Crippleage and Flower Mission, and then amplified by residential special schools, like Chailey Heritage and Treloar College through a more formalised model of

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[396] Alan Crawford, 'Ideas and Objects', p.17. According to Michele Krugh, William Morris understood the principle of 'Joy in Labour' through a Marxist lens which understood 'capitalist modes of production' to have alienated workers from the products of their labour. Thus, by removing the division between designers and workmen it was believed joy would be restored to the daily experiences of work. Michele Krugh, 'Joy in Labour: The Politicisation of Craft from the Arts and Crafts Movement to Etsy', *Canadian Review of American Studies*, Vol.44, No.2 (Summer, 2014), pp.281-301 (p.284).

[397] Dr C.W. Saleby, 'Little Cripples but Happy in Their Lot', *Daily News*, 5 June 1929, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage HB262/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK; 'Book Reviews', *The Special Schools Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No.3 (October 1928), p.113. As Pieter Verstaete and Yva Söderfeldt note, 'happiness is often associated with health' and, therefore, 'unhappiness based on physical shortcomings' has often been readily accepted as 'true'. Pieter Verstaete and Yva Söderfeldt, 'Happiness disabled: sensory disabilities, happiness and the rise of educational expertise in the nineteenth century', *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol.50, No. 4 (2014), pp.479-493 (p.480).

education and training. These practices were, in turn, coupled with the gradual development of a more holistic approach to health established a central role for craft in the lives of the disabled children in their care. At Chailey Heritage, craft was related to the wider practices of the institution, which further emulated the collaborative principles of guilds, affirmed loyalty to the institution, and confirmed the types of roles disabled children were intended to fulfil as adults. For example, the inscription ‘Men Made Here’, which hung over the entrance to the wood-workshop and was reportedly ‘painted by a boy with his toes’ was just one of a number of ways in which the ‘material and social aspects’ of the Boys’ Heritage contributed to the construction of a masculine identity the boys were expected to aspire to, which was closely connected to their future status as workers.[398]

The Llangattock Carpentry Shop

Figure 8: ‘Men Made Here’. Disabled boy at the entrance to wood-workshop at Chailey Heritage

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[398] ‘Handicaps Subordinated to Constructive Living’, *Christian Science Monitor*, 15 Feb 1930, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1 The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK; Rebecca Sims, Will Medd and Maggie Mort, ‘When a “Home” Becomes a “House”: Care and Caring in the Flood Recovery Process’, *Space and Culture*, Vol.12, No.3 (2009), pp.303-316 (p.306)

In addition to their craft training, the boys engaged in a number of activities, such as a daily roll call and saluting the last post, which emulated the militaristic practices of public boys' schools, which, Hamlett argues, were similarly intended to 'create a powerful sense of attachment to an institution.'[399] These activities were not only intended to foster a sense of belonging, but inscribed within the students a sense of masculine duty and citizenship which were further maintained through an association with religious worship. The ‘cultural landscape’ of Chailey thus worked to affirm the adult expectations established for the children at the school, and spaces, such as the chapel, were imbued with great symbolic significance. Its location on the boys’ site, overlooking the craft shops, was said to be the inspiration ‘on which the work of Chailey was founded’, evident ‘through the work done in every department’ which served as a powerful reminder to the boys of the high standards they were expected to achieve. [400]

Figure 9: Boys making boots in one of the workshops at Chailey Heritage

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[399] Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution. Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.64.

[400] Abigail A. Van Slyck, ‘Campfires and Youth Culture at American Summer Camps, 1890-1950’, in Marta Gutman and Ning De Coninck-Smith (eds.), *Designing Modern Childhoods. History, Space, and the Material Culture of Childhood (*New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), pp.25-41; M.C Wilkinson, ‘The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft schools’, 1926 (p.4), HB 274/4, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

Whilst the boys undertook their craft training in properly equipped workshops, the Girls' Heritage was described as a place 'of homelike cottage buildings set in lawns and flowerbeds'; a domestic idyll where 'elocution, singing and remedial dancing [were] carried out' amongst 'the beautiful setting of The Clump.'[401] This reflected widespread social understandings of girlhood and femininity in this period. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was widely believed that girls should live at home whilst attending school, reflecting a 'holistic approach to education' in which understanding the home was considered an essential part of their education.[402] As the girls who attended Chailey were required to board, the homely atmosphere of the Girls' Heritage and natural beauty of the school grounds worked instead to reinforce the feminine practices which occurred within the space. Further still, whilst the young women were trained in handicrafts, including embroidery, sewing and basket-weaving, as well as housewifery and other domestic work that contributed to the overall running of the school, this was not recognised to the same degree as the work undertaken by the boys. For example, in a book produced to promote the work of Chailey, only one image was dedicated to the crafts created by girls, as opposed to nine dedicated to the craft objects made by the boys.[403] One article in *The Lady* likewise observed the 'astonishingly good' level of skill deployed by the boys, particularly in contrast to the girls, who were described as demonstrating 'excellent' needlework skills, but whose designs were 'a little uninteresting' and less 'saleable' in comparison.[404]

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[401] A most glorious school', publication unknown, 20 July 1934, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1 The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK; M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools'.

[402] Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution,* p.91.

[403] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals,* pp.108-113.

[404] 'Beauty from Ashes', *The Lady,* 28 July 1932, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

Whilst the boys may have produced more tangible outputs than some of the domestic tasks the girls were engaged in, the more frequent promotion of their work assumed not only a higher level of skill, but also an understanding that it was more important to amplify the work of disabled boys in order to support them to take up employment in adulthood (in spite of a more generalised assumption that disabled women would be unlikely to secure marriages and would, therefore, also require an income).[405] This was also evident in the language used to describe their education, which frequently referred to their craft-work as training in a 'trade', and thus reflected the schools aim of constructing male citizens who were able to fulfil a role within society deemed socially appropriate to their class and gender.

Whilst the rhetoric surrounding Chailey Heritage borrowed from the romanticised ideals of Arts and Crafts tradition, which often appeared sentimental, it is clear that this was underpinned by a steadfast belief in the practical need to work, and much of the education delivered at Chailey was therefore directed towards this end. At Chailey, work was understood as the primary marker for social inclusion, and such values were instilled in students, particularly the boys, who were presented as evidence of the school's success: by practicing a trade, the children 'prove[d] to the world that, [just] because [they were] crippled, [they were] none the less able to become good citizens, and to earn honest money like other people.'[406]

Exhibitions, Craft and Identity at Chailey Heritage

The central role of craft at Chailey Heritage and its connection to work were fundamental to the charitable success of the institution. This was important not only to how the work and value

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[405] As Pamela Dale notes, in reality, the processes involved in the domestic work carried out by young women in institutions, like Chailey, often actually required far more skill, physical labour and expertise compared to modern standards. Indeed, as she demonstrates in her study of Starcross home for mental defectives, it was often the young women who were able to secure work outside of the institution because domestic service was in higher demand than some of the highly specialised work completed by the boys. Pamela Dale, 'Training for Work: domestic service as a route out of long-stay institutions before 1959', *Women's History Review*, Vol.13, No.3 (2004), pp.387-405 (pp.395-397); Byron, 'A Pupil and a Patient', p.142.

[406] 'Guild of the Poor Brave Things. Opening of Girl Craft Schools', *London Evening Standard,* 10 July 1908, p.9.

of the school was publicly perceived, but in constructing for the public a disabled identity which, although not always obviously physically altered, was, nonetheless, transformed through work. From the school's inception, the display of students' work was an important feature of the ways Chailey informed the public about its work and solicited financial support. For instance, in 1904, an exhibition hosted at the home of the Bishop of London, a dedicated supporter of Chailey Heritage, displayed the 'methods of independent work' undertaken at the school, which was said to be 'a great incentive to advancement' for the boys 'as each was able to appreciate and desire the larger and more difficult articles made by the more advanced scholar in his sight.'[407] In effect, the progression from smaller, simpler craft objects to larger, more complex ones was analogous to the 'transformative capacities' of disabled children, which were understood to be contingent upon their training and education. Where this transformation was not necessarily witnessed upon the bodies of disabled children, particularly if the nature of their impairment was especially visible, such as in the case of limb loss, it was instead materially represented through the progression of the craft objects associated with their labour.[408]

Chailey Heritage therefore utilised public enthusiasm for charitable exhibitions, bazaars and fancy fairs which from the early nineteenth century were organised by women, and popularised in the 1830s through their association with, and attendance by, members of the Royal family.[409] As Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe note, by the end of the nineteenth century, the bazaar, and other events like it, were 'hardly novel'; however, they retained a purpose within an increasingly commercial charitable market directed towards 'purchase triggered donations', as dedicated spaces to sell an expansive range of charitable

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[407] Percy Sykes, 'Boys School logbook', 1904-1921, HB/22/1/276/1, The Keep Archive, Brighton, UK.

[408] Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2007), p.27.

[409] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse. Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p.65.

objects.[410] They also had the virtue of functioning as events which could range from 'enormous, centrally society calendar fixtures patronised by royalty, to small affairs organised by networks of local supporters.'[411] The scalability of such events, coupled with the range of objects available to purchase, was reflective of a 'systematic campaign' which Frank Prochaska argues recognised 'everyone, young or old, rich and poor,' as a potential contributor.[412] Exhibitions, therefore, provided opportunities to participate in charity through the purchase of smaller items associated with a particular cause and, more significantly, functioned as an opportunity to promote the institution. This was often achieved through organisational associations with esteemed patrons, whose commitment to charities promised a larger, or more sustained philanthropic funding. For example, at a 1911 exhibition of work produced by Chailey students, Her Royal Highness Princess Louise reportedly had the 'gratifying' opportunity to announce that her 1910 appeal for £5000 in funds to rebuild the boys' school 'had been so successful that the building was almost completed, and the boys' would shortly be moving in.'[413] For potential and existing donors, participation in exhibitions provided an opportunity to share in the success and status of an appeal launched by an illustrious patron, and this created the potential, albeit temporarily, to confer some of their status upon individual donors through the shared practice of giving which, in turn, encouraged their ongoing support for the charity.[414]

The charitable status of the Chailey, coupled with the central role afforded to craft at the school, were fundamental in shaping for the public the identities of the disabled children who attended. These intersected with one another in a number of ways that were seemingly

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[410] Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market* p.37.

[411] Sarah Roddy, Julie-Marie Strange and Bertrand Taithe, *The Charity Market,* p.37.

[412] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse. Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p..65

[413] 'Medical News', *British Medical Journal,* December 9, 1911, p.1574

[414]Alan J Kidd argues that the gift relationship is central to popular motivations for supporting charity. That is, whether tangible, emotional or social, people always receive something in return for their donations. Alan J. Kidd, 'Philanthropy and the "Social History Paradigm"', *Social History,* Vol.21, No2 (May 1996)pp.180-192.Prochaska argues that philanthropy acts as a form of publicity that is central to the Royal family's status in British society. Vice versa, the participation of Royalty in charity is often vital to its success. Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (London: Yale University Press, 1995).

intended to subvert established perceptions of disabled people as helpless 'burdens' by drawing attention to what could be achieved by disabled bodies, whilst simultaneously engaging in the incongruous rhetoric of sentimentalised childhood which positioned them as helpless and deserving recipients of care and education. For example, in 1906 the Home Arts and Industries Newspaper reported on an 'exhibit of peculiar and pathetic interest', which displayed 'sets of nursery furniture.'[415] Whilst the article discussed the 'fascinating designs' of the furniture, the descriptions of 'dwarf tables and little high-backed chairs' made by some of the students from Chailey Heritage took on the imagined identities of the children who created them, and in this way craft objects did the 'cultural work' of perpetuating 'prevailing discourses' surrounding disability which related a diminutive stature to ideas of dependence and weakness.[416] In doing so, such discourse established the 'stunted, maimed and physically defective' bodies of disabled children as those in need of the kind of management and intervention offered by institution's, like Chailey Heritage, which assured support for its work in 'curtailing lives of uselessness to countless children' through education and training.[417]

This was important for fundraising purposes as Chailey Heritage had 'no endowment fund' and therefore had to raise annual funds for the 'purchase of land, erection of buildings, necessary furnishing and equipment', although the maintenance fees for pupils were paid for by Local Education Authorities and Boards of Guardians.[418] The value of the institution was made evident through the numerous examples of students' work used by the school, both to furnish it and for the purposes of promotion and fundraising. For example, included amongst Barrell's drawings were designs for 'Heritage Board Room Chairs' and the children's nursery

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[415] 'The Home Arts and Industries Newspaper', *The Queen, the Lady's Newspaper*, May 26, 1906, p.9.

[416] 'The Home Arts and Industries Newspaper', p.9; '"Magic Toyshops" Narrative and Meaning in the Women's Sex Shop', in Anna Moran and Sorcha O'Brien (eds.), *Love Objects. Emotion, Design and Material Culture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp.99-113 (p.99). Bartlett similarly observes within the rhetoric deployed by John Groom's Crippleage an approach which 'intertwined the frail materiality' of artificial flowers with the disabled children who made them, in this way reinforcing the 'notion that disabled civilians were enfeebled and useless individuals.' Bartlett, 'Reassembling Disabled Identities'.

[417] *The Coming of Age of the Heritage Craft Schools*, p.25.

[418] *The Coming of Age of the Heritage Craft Schools*, p.23.

chairs, which, with their use of rush work on the seats and exposed joinery, were reminiscent of popular designs, such as 'the characteristic Morris and Co. Sussex rush-seated chairs', images of which featured in a book produced to promote the work of Chailey Heritage.[419]

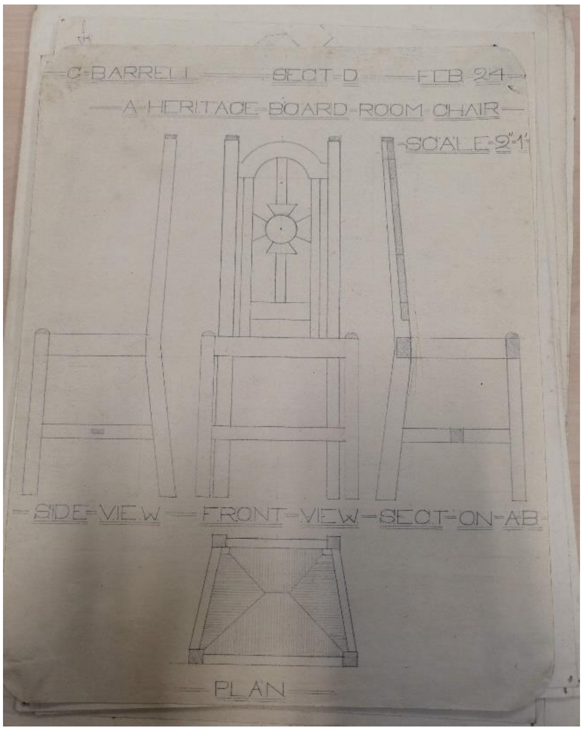

Figure 10: Design for 'Heritage Boardroom Chair' by George Barrel

The original designs created by Barrell for strapwork and border work, which were used to decorate different pieces of wooden furniture, utilised the simple, repeated patterns often seen in wooden furniture designed and hand-carved, in the arts and crafts style.[420]

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[419] Jenny Kingsley, 'William Morris – the social conscience of arts and crafts', *The Art Book*, Vol.17, No.4 (2010), pp.19-21 (p.19).

[420] Kevin P.Rodel and Jonathan Binzen, *Arts and Crafts Furniture. From Classic to Contemporary* (Newtown: The Taunton Press, Inc.,2003), pp.12-13. George Barrel's designs contained in 'Wooden workbox with drawing board and T-Square made by George Barrel, 1912-1914', HB258/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

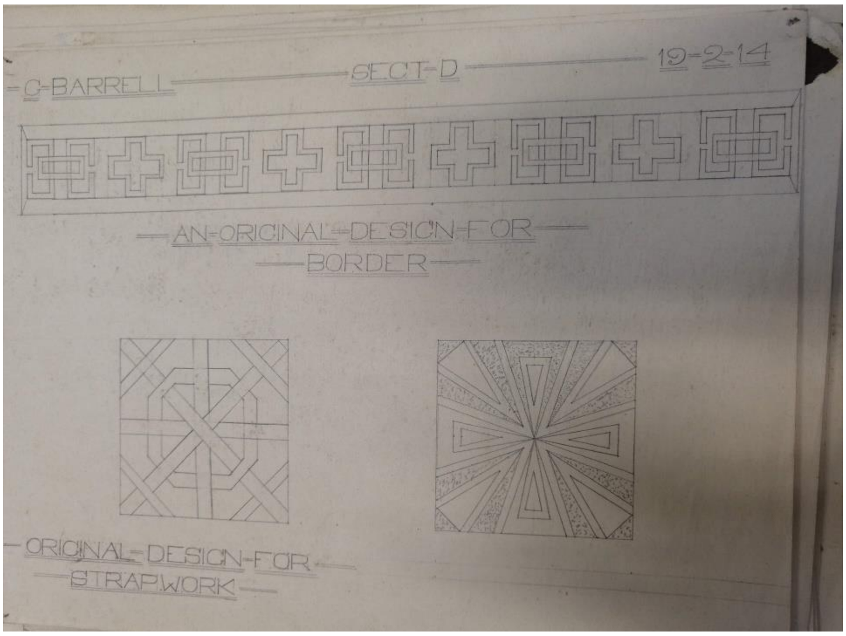

Figure 11: Examples of strapwork and border work by George Barrel, c.1914

According to Rodel and Binzel, the idea of handwork exerted a ‘powerful influence’ on makers who chose ‘forms and details that denoted handwork’, for example, ‘leaving plane marks on the surfaces of tables or knife marks on carved drawer tables.’[421] In their directness, such markings elevated the status of craft objects; they provided a material reminder that such skilled work was the result of men and women’s hands, and thus what could be considered imperfections were actually understood to add a unique quality and value to the objects because they ‘served as myths of personal endeavour.’[422]

In a similar way, discussions surrounding the craftwork produced at Chailey spoke to the personal endeavour of individual students by drawing attention to the traditional methods and skills deployed. For example, in a collection of calligraphy produced in the traditional arts and crafts style by a class of ‘Cripple Boys’ in 1918 it was precisely the speed by which the boys acquired this new skill that their teacher, Theodora Evans, brought attention to.[423]

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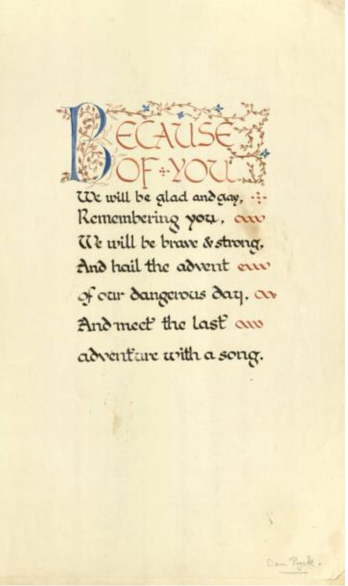
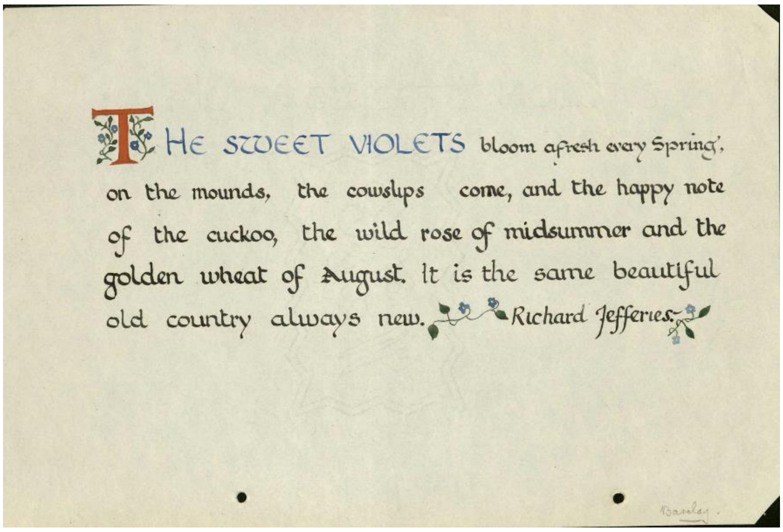
[421] Kevin P.Rodel and Jonathan Binzen, *Arts and Crafts Furniture.* pp.12-13.
[422] Alan Crawford, ‘Ideas and Objects’, p.18.
[423] ‘Penmanship, October 1918’ Examples of Pupils Calligraphy, HB/258/3, The Keep Archives, Brighton.



Because of You

We will be glad and gay,
Remembering you,
We will be brave & strong,
And hail the advent
of our dangerous day,
And meet the last
adventure with a song.

Figure 12: 'Because of You', examples of penmanship by 'crippled' boys, c.1918



The sweet violets bloom afresh every Spring, on the mounds, the cowslips come, and the happy note of the cuckoo, the wild rose of midsummer and the golden wheat of August. It is the same beautiful old country always new. Richard Jefferies.

Figure 13: 'The Sweet Violets', examples of penmanship by 'crippled' boys, c.1918

The presentation of the work in a folder with accompanying notes indicated that the work had been compiled to demonstrate the work undertaken at Chailey Heritage to potential visitors, and Evans included a statement in the front of the folder which specifically noted the 'very considerable talent' shown by the boys, particularly in light of the fact that 'this [was] the result of but one week of tuition.'[424] Her notes throughout the folder drew the reader's attention to particular samples of work which, she noted, were 'written by an armless boy of 15 years.'[425] Unlike the craftsmen associated with the Arts and Crafts movement - whose skilful work was made evident through the markings left by their tools - the work of the boys was not left to speak for itself. Instead, it was through the words of their teacher that the quality of the children's crafts was affirmed; made all the more remarkable because it was handwork created by someone who did not have hands. Whilst Chailey aimed to create craftsmen who could compete in open industry, the fact remained that it was the extraordinary feats of bodies

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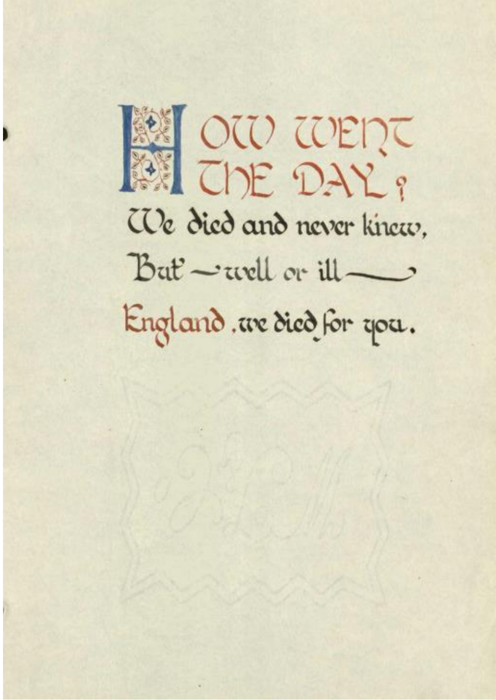
[424] 'Penmanship, October 1918' Examples of Pupils Calligraphy, HB/258/3, The Keep Archives, Brighton.
[425] 'Penmanship, October 1918' Examples of Pupils Calligraphy, HB/258/3, The Keep Archives, Brighton.

performing work in unusual ways which was presented as most impressive to the public, rather than the quality of the work produced itself.

The potential and resilience of these bodies was further reinforced through the messaging contained within some of the work produced, which materially presented and produced the boys' identities as active citizens and skilled craftsmen. The visual relationship established between the skilful creation of decorative text, and the words themselves - which included religious, militaristic and pastoral imagery - were reflective of the ideals on which Chailey aimed to mould its students' characters:



HOW WENT THE DAY?
We died and never knew,
But — well or ill —
England, we died for you.

Figure 14: 'How went the day', examples of penmanship by 'crippled' boys, c.1918

This notion of personal endeavour was particularly evident in articles discussing the craftwork undertaken at Chailey and continued to influence the public's perception of disabled children, and the charitable institutions which supported them, throughout the period under study. For example in 1933 *The Nursing Times* stated that 'the first thing the boys [made] at Chailey [was] a tiny ladder from waste bits of wood , learning thus that they may climb to a useful place to the world in spite of their physical disabilities.'[426] The ladder signified 'their ascent from incapacity to craftsmanship', according to an article published in the *Birmingham Post*, and those that 'died before they [could] take their place as workers in the world [had] their ladders buried with them' which served as a symbolic gesture intended to acknowledge and amplify their achievements whilst alive. [427] In this way, the craftwork created by disabled children was imbued with significance beyond that of demonstrating their ability to undertake skilled work; it was also emblematic of their own personal endeavour to remake their broken bodies, much like the 'waste bits of wood', once shaped by skilled hands, contribute something useful to society.

Similarly, at the Fourth World Conference of Workers for Cripples in 1939, members of the public viewed Chailey students in the school workshops 'making leather goods of various kinds and woodwork in different forms.'[428] A report on the event noted that only the 'one-armed boys' were permitted to use the lathes to assist them in their craft, which demonstrated not only the priority afforded to traditional methods of handcraft (as opposed to work completed by machine), but also reflected the expectation that disabled children rose to, or even exceeded, the standards of their non-disabled peers and other craftspeople.[429] The report further revealed that the work of one-armed boys had been 'entered in contests with work done by boys with both arms' and had been 'awarded the prize'. This reflected the spirit of self-determination and competition evident in many aspects of school life, which played an important role in communicating Chailey's ethos to the public. The connections made between craft and utility thus became a powerful metaphor through which to talk about the work of the

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[426] Title unknown, *The Nursing Times*, 1933, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[427] Title Unknown, *Birmingham Post*, 4 July 1939, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage. HB 261/2, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[428] Mary Potts, 'Fourth World Conference of Workers for Cripples', *The Physiotherapy Review*, Vol.20, No.1(1940), pp.20-23 (p.23)

[429] Mary Potts, 'Fourth World Conference of Workers for Cripples', pp.20-23 (p.23)

body, which reinforced the assumption that disabled bodies only had value or purpose if and when they could be crafted and made to work in a particular kind of way, and which also allowed institutions like Chailey Heritage to present themselves as uniquely qualified to meet this challenge through a combination of craft training, education and medical intervention.

The central role of craft at Chailey Heritage, and the connections to the Arts and Crafts movement, clearly resonated with the British public. In 1929 *The Daily Mirror* launched a large-scale fundraising scheme on behalf of the school which involved a touring exhibition of a miniature dolls house designed and built for the newspaper's popular cartoon characters Pip, Squeak and Wilfred.[430] At each new town or city, the proceeds from Mirror Grange were split, and 75% went to Chailey whilst the remaining 25% was donated to a local charitable cause.[431] For example, when Mirror Grange, "The Castle of Childhood Dreams", was exhibited in Gloucester the proceeds raised during that period were split between Chailey Heritage and the Gloucester Royal Infirmary.[432] The house was the work of a number of prominent names in Arts and Crafts, including Mr Maxwell Ayrton, 'joint architect of the Wembley exhibition', and Mrs Grace Lovat Jones, 'whose work in the sphere of decoration and design [was] widely known'.[433] Parallels were drawn with the Queen's dollhouse, designed for her by Sir Edwin Lutyens, and Mirror Grange proved hugely popular with the British public, who viewed it as a work of 'marvellous ingenuity' and a testament of 'what could be done by British craftsmen when they had the chance.'[434] For those involved in the production of the house the scheme therefore provided an opportunity to revive interest in the Arts and Crafts movement through an association with a publicly prominent charity during a period in which, as this chapter

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[430] Anon., *Mirror Grange: The Book of the "Daily Mirror's" House for Pip, Squeak and Wilfred* (London: The Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd., 1929), page unknown.

[431] 'For One Week Only Mirror Grange Has Come to Grant's', *Surrey Mirror*, 7 November 1930, p.4.

[432] 'Wonderful Craftmanship', *Gloucester Journal*, 24 January, 1931, p.21.

[433] Anon., *Mirror Grange: The Book of the "Daily Mirror's" House for Pip, Squeak and Wilfred*

[434] Herbert Cescinsky, 'Castle of Childhood's Dreams', in *Mirror Grange: The Book of the "Daily Mirror's" House for Pip, Squeak and Wilfred* (London: The Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd., 1929), page unknown.

explains, traditional methods of craft were increasingly superceded by more industrial forms of production.

In the book accompanying the exhibition, the editor of *The Daily Mirror,* Alexander Campbell, described the 'Dream Home', Mirror Grange, as 'no slap-dash or jerry built affair' but, rather, 'the product of nearly a year's intense work.'[435] The furniture too was not 'cheap-jack', according to Campbell, and the 'whole [thing was] an artistic conception', as well as a 'striking monument to architectural imagination, and British craftsmanship.'[436] The campaign, therefore, not only reflected the significant public profile of Chailey, but, more importantly, it said a great deal about how the institution's relationship to craftwork was understood more generally. In promoting British crafts, the alignment of this particular campaign to the work of Chailey was significant as a tacit acknowledgement of the institution's role in constructing productive craftsmen during a period in which rising unemployment and the increased visibility of disabled men had made ever more pressing the need to practically demonstrate what disabled bodies could do.[437] A belief in the ability of disabled children to work was not only essential to the value assigned to institutions like Chailey but, by extension, to the value donors could ascribe to any financial contributions they made to the school. In 1930, for example, an appeal for funds published in the *Sussex Express* described Chailey as 'England at her most characteristic and best – her heart, her head, her hand, her sign manual [were] manifest in it. German, French American it could not be.'[438] According to the appeal, 'to support it [was]

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[435] Alexander Campbell 'Introduction: by the editor of the Daily Mirror', in *Mirror Grange: The Book of the "Daily Mirror's" House for Pip, Squeak and Wilfred* (London: The Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd., 1929), page unknown.

[436] Campbell 'Introduction: by the editor of the Daily Mirror', *Mirror Grange.*

[437] As Joanna Bourke has outlined, the return of hundreds and thousands of permanently disabled soldiers after the First World War ensured that disabled bodies were more present in British society. Coupled with the heroic status of these men, this led to an increasing popular desire to remedy the risk of unemployment among the disabled population. Although this initially centred around disabled veterans, in particular, it had important ramifications for employment and training among disabled civilians. Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion, 1996), see in particular pp.31-75, pp.210-252.

[438] 'Sussex Sunlight, Chailey and Childhood', *Sussex Express,* July 4, 1930, p.2.

patriotism and religion and poetry.'[439] This rhetoric both exposes the perceived importance of the work undertaken at Chailey, and the pronounced need for charitable institutions, and therefore charitable donations, in the lives of sick and disabled children – despite the expansion of state-run services for physically impaired children throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[440] More importantly, the language used to appeal for funds conferred upon donors a sense of their own particular significance within the charitable transaction; establishing and elevating them as morally virtuous and active citizens through charitable giving, and therefore encouraging their ongoing support for the institution.[441] This was made explicit through schemes such as the 'Godparents of Chailey Scheme' which encouraged people to become regular donors and patrons of Chailey Heritage.[442] The stated aims of the scheme were printed in *Heritage Happenings*, a publication produced by students on the school's printing press, and included: the aim to cut 'out the middle man in charity'; to '[stir] in us a sense of duty and service', and to '[draw] together lives that would otherwise be for ever far apart, and so make for more sympathy and understanding in the world.'[443]

Continued and enthusiastic public support for the work of Chailey Heritage, as well as institution's ability to garner significant support from influential and powerful patrons such as Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, was particularly apparent in the organisation of a 1939 exhibition displaying 'many personal belongings' of the royal family for the benefit of Chailey Heritage.[444] The '1,300 exhibits, insured at over £1,000,000', and collected and curated in just

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[439] 'Sussex Sunlight, Chailey and Childhood', *Sussex Express,* July 4, 1930, p.2.

[440] This reflected a 'mixed economy of welfare' in this period, whereby charities and the state worked in collaboration to support needy members of society. See Jane Lewis, 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', in David Gladstone *et al.* (eds.), *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State* (London: The Cromwell Press, 1999), pp.10-17.

[442] 'Heritage Happenings, 1935', small printed booklets containing programmes of events, HB/22/1/274/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[443] 'Heritage Happenings, 1935'.

[444] 'Princesses Give Their Toys for £1,000,000 Show in the King's Old Home', publication unknown, 27 June 1939; 'Exhibition of Royal and Historic Treasures. Support of King and Queen to Aid Chailey Heritage Craft School', *Sussex Daily News*, 27 June 1939.Both in press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB261/2, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

over five weeks, included toys, a clock presented to the King, and numerous other antiques and works of art.[445] They thus provide a powerful testament to the fundraising might of Chailey Heritage which, both through the hand-crafted objects created by disabled pupils, and amplified through an association with the high-value art objects of Arts and Crafts experts and 'historic art treasures' of Royal patrons, utilised arts and crafts as a powerful resource through which to enact the institution's charitable work.[446] Exhibitions thus served two vital functions: they helped to secure the financial support Chailey required to undertake the work of physically transforming the unproductive body of the disabled child, whilst at the same time establishing a more acceptable for the disabled child - through the material evidence of their labours – as one which had been socially transformed through work into active citizenship.

Education, Training and Employment at Chailey Heritage

The charitable work of Chailey Heritage substantially influenced the educational approach of the school. The curriculum demonstrated a vocational focus which was intended to facilitate the financial independence of the students once they left the school. As chapter one explained, this vocational bias was consistent with the approach taken by other special schools established during this period, such as Treloar College, where training in trades, such as surgical boot-making and decorative handicrafts, were central to the organisation of the school. Thus, whilst the programme of training revealed an affinity with Arts and Crafts ideals (as the process and experience of craft-making was understood to be valuable for its potential to instil dignity and purpose in the lives of disabled children), this was, nonetheless, still firmly connected to the institution's explicit intent to create self-reliant, participatory citizens. The curricular approaches at Chailey Heritage similarly reflected broader considerations concerned with the

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[445] 'Wonderful London. £1,000,000 Exhibits Set Up in Four Days', *Daily Sketch*, 27 June 1939, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB261/2, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[446] 'Wonderful London'.

value of 'manual training' in elementary education, albeit ones which, in the case of disabled children, reinforced a more practical approach at the expense of more formal aspects of their education. As the popularity of arts and crafts declined, its continued prioritisation at Chailey spoke not only to the differing educational expectations established for disabled children, compared to their non-disabled peers, but, more broadly, to the limited employment opportunities available to disabled people during this period.

At Chailey Heritage it was deemed essential to train children in the crafts and trades they were most likely to secure employment in. This approach was consistent with that advised by other special school educators and the Board of Education. For example, in an article published in *The Charity Organisation Review* in 1904 a Miss F.M. Townsend stated that it should be the responsibility of special schoolteachers to identify for 'what class of work each [was] most suited, and more for what work he [was] *unfit'*.[447]According to Townsend, 'it [was] useless to think of watch making for a boy whose eyesight [was] weak, or of cabinet making for one whose fingers – despite good training – are all thumbs.'[448] She observed that 'a very limited number of trades' were open to disabled people and therefore stated that their education should prioritise the development of 'proficiency in the trade' for which they were most suited through a gradual system of hand and eye training which then led to specialisation and 'definite teaching of trades of handicrafts' during the last few years of schooling.[449]

Similarly, the Board of Education's 1905 handbook of *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools* stated that the school was 'immediately concerned with bodily development as well as the intellectual progress and the formation of character.'[450] The more 'specialised and technical

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[447] F.M Townsend, 'Special Preparation for the Teaching of Trades', *The Charity Organisation Review*, Vol.16, No.93 (1904), pp.160-163 (p.162).

[448] F.M Townsend, 'Special Preparation', pp.160-163 (p.162).

[449] F.M Townsend, 'Special Preparation', pp.160-163 (p.162).

[450] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools* (London: Board of Education, 1905), p.74.

forms' of handicraft advised to be undertaken by older children was though to support them to 'think clearly and work accurately through the discipline of hand and eye', as well as to 'foster that self-reliance which comes from the successful production of tangible and permanent results.'[451] These guidelines demonstrated the increased influence of child development studies on the practice of education, whilst simultaneously the 'value' of handicrafts was understood to encourage 'boys to look forward to earning their living by manual work', as opposed to seeking 'positions as clerks or office boys' which was understood to be of a greater benefit to society[452]

The approaches adopted at Chailey Heritage were, in this regard, consistent with contemporary educational practice which increasingly demonstrated a concern for ensuring the proper physiological development of children generally. However, the application of physiological theories of child development within special educational settings, like Chailey Heritage, situated the 'abnormal' disabled body in opposition to the 'normal' child, and this attached a heightened premium to practical forms of training in special schools for physically impaired children because they were understood to contribute to their physical restoration, as well as improving access to employment in adulthood. At Chailey Heritage therefore, the type of craft a child was trained in was 'influenced by the type of deformity to be overcome.'[453] One report commented upon the suitability of sign-writing for a boy with one arm because the drawing paper could be 'pinned to a board' whilst 'the sound arm [was] used to do the drawing', and noted with amazement the 'practical use a flail arm, or the stump of an arm [could] be put.'[454] 'Many other boys' were trained to be carpenters or cabinet makers, including Tommy Morgan, who acquired a limp after an injury in early childhood, and started his training at

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[451] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1905), p.80.

[452] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1905), p.80.

[453] M. C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft schools', p.11.

[454] M. C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft schools', p.11.

Chailey in 1906 when he was thirteen.[455] Tommy maintained that he had asked to train as a bootmaker but was made to do cabinet-making, until it was determined that he was 'too rough' for this and was trained in carpentry instead.[456] The wishes of individual student's, therefore, appeared to be a lesser priority than consideration of how the physical nature of particular crafts and trades related to their assumed bodily capacity; an individualistic approach Dr Kimmins noted was 'costly' but necessary in the training of physically impaired children.[457] According to Kimmins, the priority had to be to train the 'cripple child to such a state of efficiency as to counterbalance the physical defect and to make him of more value to his employer than the person without any such handicap' as it was 'sheer folly' to rely upon 'the element of sympathy' in normal conditions of industry and employment.[458]

In 1911, the Board of Education released guidelines specifically concerned with the teaching of 'Handwork in Elementary Schools', which advised that, from the age of eleven, handwork should be 'more industrial' in character, rather than allied to the general aims of education.[459] Notably, the president of the Educational Handwork Association felt that this proposal should be '[nipped] in the bud', as it risked disadvantaging brighter students by suggesting that the industrial needs of the country could be met by 'bringing the slow and timid children up to the general level'.[460] In *The Child and the State* (1911), Margaret McMillan similarly critiqued educators' assumptions that a programme of 'manual training' was suitable

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[455] Thea Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods* (London: Routledge & Kegal Paul Ltd., 1981), pp.9-25.

[456] Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods,* p.33.

[457] Dr. C.W Kimmins, *The Education of Mentally Defective, Physically Defective and Backwards Children (*1928), records from the National Union of Women Teachers, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

[458] Kimmins, *Education of Mentally Defective, Physically Defective and Backwards Children*, p.2; (date unknown), Records from the National Union of Women Teachers, UWT/42/2, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

[459] H. Holman, 'Educational Handwork – Some Hopes and Fears', *The Practical Teacher,* Vol.31, No.10 (April 1911), pp.697-698 (p.697).

[460] H. Holman, 'Educational Handwork', pp.697-698 (p.697).Anne Bloomfield's study of the Board of Education's guidance on the practice of folk dance in elementary schools similarly argues that, despite being ushered in 'on the tide of the health lobby', the introduction of dance onto the elementary curriculum actually was, at least in part, done for 'imperialist and nationalistic purposes' demonstrating the various political and social agendas curriculum design was responsive to during this period. Anne Bloomfield, 'Health or Art? The Case for Dance in the Curriculum of British State Schools, 1900-1919', *History of Education*, Vol.36, No.6 (2007), pp.681-696 (pp.695-696).

for 'backwards' children who, she conceded, sometimes made 'excellent manual workers', but often 'd[id] *badly* in the workshop and h[e]ld their own fairly well in reading in recitation!'[461] Whilst seemingly advocating for a more comprehensive education for 'backwards' children, she, like many of her contemporaries, was concerned primarily with those children for whom educational backwardness was the result of external and environmental factors, such as diet and hygiene, which, in theory, could be altered and changed to transform this disabled child, rather than relying on institutions like Chailey Heritage to remedy this 'problem', or excluding children from education altogether. She considered it 'fatal to plan the educational systems of the bulk of the nation's children on the needs of any group of defectives!', a position Dr. Kimmins similarly adopted when he noted that provision for 'abnormal' children risked lowering the standards of education delivered to children of 'normal intelligence.'[462] Whilst there was considerable debate about how best to educate the otherwise 'normal' children of the working classes, within the segregated field of special education a more general consensus that vocational and manual forms of training was optimal is apparent.

At Chailey Heritage this meant most boys were prepared for 'the woodworking trades for the positions of cabinet makers, joiners and carpenters', whilst girls were trained for 'positions in the fine needlework trades'- although Kimmins noted that in the case of 'under sized, physically weak boys the drawing office should be the objective or else training in work on lighter material such as leather.'[463] George Barrel, for example, was trained in woodwork and his workbooks, which covered: 'Notes on Timber', 'Notes on Tools' and 'Notes on Joints' were illustrative of an approach advocated by the Board of Education which stipulated that 'Instruction in woodwork should include lessons on the various kinds of hard and soft woods,

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[461] Margaret McMillan, *The Child and the State* (Manchester: The National Library Press, Ltd.,1911), p.82.
[462] McMillan, *The Child and the State,* p.82; Dr C. W. Kimmins, 'Trade Schools in London', *The Elementary School Teacher,* Vol. X, No.5 (January 1910), pp.209-219 (p.210).
[463] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'; Dr. C.W Kimmins, *The Education of Mentally Defective, Physically Defective and Backwards Children* (1928), Records from the National Union of Women Teachers UWT/42/2, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK, p.2.

the growth and structure of timber, its fibre and commoner varieties.'[464] Evident within Barrel's notes, dated from 1912 to 1914, was an attempt to suffuse a student's more specialised craft training with aspects of a more general education in subjects like Geography and Biology, examples which included the botanical names, properties and life cycles of different kinds of wood.[465]

For example:

> The Spring rings are formed in early spring before the leaves are out. The others are made while the tree is in full leaf. They are darker and harder because they are supplied with the food that the leaves get from the sun.[466]

Also included were detailed drawings of maps which showed the country of origin of a particular variety of wood, or the journey taken when timber was exported from one country to another.[467]Whilst assignments such as these don't seem especially relevant for a trainee carpenter, particularly compared to some of the other notes completed by Barrel - which addressed subjects such as the 'Commercial uses of different timbers', or the use of different tools - they were indicative of some of the efforts made to provide a more rounded education to disabled students at Chailey Heritage.[468] However such efforts remained limited, and in the main the content of a child's education remained closely aligned to the vocational training they had been assigned to. Indeed, as Pritchard notes, 'the three R's, even in the case of the younger children, were confined to the mornings. The afternoons were devoted to handicrafts, and, as

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[464] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1905), p.81.George Barrel's workbooks were included in his wooden workbox, 'Wooden Workbox with drawing board and T-Square made by George Barrel, 1912-1914'
[465]George Barrel, 'Notes on Timber', 'Wooden Workbox with Drawing Board and T-Square, 1912-1914'.
[466] George Barrel, 'Notes on Timber' in 'Wooden Workbox with Drawing Board and T-Square, 1912-1914'.
[467] George Barrel, 'Notes on Timber' in 'Wooden Workbox with Drawing Board and T-Square, 1912-1914'
[468] George Barrel, 'Notes on Timber', 'Notes on Tools', Wooden Workbox with Drawing Board and T-Square, 1912-1914.

the children grew older, the handicrafts became vocational training which sometimes encroached upon the morning lessons.'[469]

The notes left by Barrel's teacher indicated that he was a gifted and hardworking student who averaged eighty or ninety percent in the majority of his assignments.[470] Whilst firm conclusions cannot be drawn from this one example with regards to the general intellectual capabilities of the students who attended Chailey Heritage, it is nevertheless indicative of the fact that certain students would have been capable, and benefitted, from a more academically rigorous education. His designs demonstrated not only the work of a skilled draughtsman, but also someone who was able to practically deliver on his designs, as they included the original drawings, measurements and cutting lists for his personal wooden workbox which his drawings were stored within.

Figure 15: George Barrel's wooden workbox with designs, c.1912-1914

Although a relatively simple object, other drawings demonstrated a progression in the level of skill, both in design and execution, which Percy Sykes, the Master Craftsmen at Chailey

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[469] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped*, p.161.

[470] Barrel's workbooks indicated a certain amount of pride and diligence directed towards his work as he took the time to correct mistakes pointed out to him by his marker, such as correcting the misspelling of 'alternate' from 'all turnate'.

Heritage, maintained was a part of a training process which saw students initially engaged in the making of articles, such as 'artistic jointed toys' before they progressed onto 'nursery furniture and fitments for non-crippled children', presumably on the assumption that it would be important for them to be able to produce items for a largely non-disabled customer base in open industry.[471] According to Sykes, the later stage of their training involved the entire construction of 'individually planned and designed hard wood cabinet furniture.'[472] This progression is evident in Barrell's studies for 'a rush-seated child's chair' and detailed designs for a large panelled chest which showed front and end elevations, as well as an oblique view which demonstrated how the individual joints would fit together.[473]

By 1917, the Board of Education advised that manual training should be the 'basis upon which the whole work of the school [was] built up', and required special schools to deliver at least six hours a week to 'each child in a school for Defective or Epileptic children.'[474] This was considerably less than the time spent at Chailey Heritage, where twelve of the twenty-six school hours were dedicated to handicrafts, often 'irrespective […] of the fact that recognition or repetition of a fraction of the Alphabet [was] the total attainment at that time.'[475] This was explicitly confirmed by Percy Sykes, Master Craftsmen of Chailey Heritage in 1926, when he described the training at the school as one which offered 'Physically Defective Girls and Boys, from the earliest age to the employable period, a continuous, general, aesthetic training and education.' The school curriculum, he said, embodied a distinctly 'vocational bias, and the chance of a subsequent entry to the skilled artistic crafts.' According to Sykes, 100 out of 160 of the boys at Chailey were ambulatory, although some used aids, and of these approximately

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[471] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.

[472] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.

[473] Barrel's designs.

[474] *Board of Education Regulations for Special Schools (i.e Schools for the Blind, Deaf, Defective, and Epileptic Children)* (London: HSMO, 1917), Section 21(a).

[475] This and the following quotations attributed to Sykes are taken from Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.

half made ‘use of wood as the expressional medium for their craft.’ Whilst Chailey did not admit children deemed ‘mentally defective’, Sykes noted that the boys admitted, when compared to their brothers at home, had ‘already shown too well a hopeless likelihood of reaching average educational standards, with a remoter chance of later wage-earning.’ Whilst there was some acknowledgement of how absences from school, ‘the lack of companionable rivalry’, and even the actions of ‘well-intentioned parents’ might have impeded their education prior to attending Chailey, this did not seem to impact upon the approach to education taken at the school, where the focus remained largely upon practical training at the expense of a formal learning.

Although the primary aim of training disabled children in a craft was intended to ensure that they were self-sufficient in adulthood, the fundamental ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement were evident in a planned curriculum which valued the ‘experience of designing and making’ as much as the designs and their potential profitability. Indeed, Sykes described the ‘dignity of absorbing occupation’ as the ‘only real compensation to the crippled’, and noted that the ‘making of attractive models of artistic value’ soon appealed ‘to eyes and hands, that rarely [lacked] that inherent desire of manual expression and activity.’ According to Sykes, ‘craft interest [was] aroused’ through the making of attractive models of artistic value’, which then developed into a desire to communicate to ‘parent, teacher, or fellow scholar, the daily progress.’ Once this was achieved the ‘pivot of craft’ could be used as an opportunity to introduce ‘a web of allied information […]. Correlated calculation, historical and geographical knowledge, with Industrial conditions and social alliances pointed out’ all apparently ‘[gave] sound subject for English exercises’ and ‘these [were] given without diminishing the central monument of craft expression.’ Sykes’ approach to craft teaching aligned closely to the physiological approach to education forwarded by figures such as McMillan, which, as chapter one demonstrated, conceptualised the awakening of the mind as contingent upon the manual training of the body. This was evidently prioritised in the education of disabled children, who it was assumed demonstrated a greater tendency towards mental deficiency.

Whilst certain teachers (like Sykes) assumed that the disabled children in their charge were unlikely or incapable of meeting the educational standards of their non-disabled peers, the example of George Barrel, and many other disabled people, demonstrates that this was not the case. In the *National Cripples Journal,* for example, the editor wrote about his own experiences of childhood and noted that his impairment meant that 'during the time that most children [played]' he 'learned double entry bookkeeping, shorthand, typewriting, and correspondence' and wondered if it ever occurred to employers 'that many a crippled person given a desk and a free hand, might in time do better for him than any other person in his employ simply because the lack of other interest [made] him more attentive to his work' and '[made] him a better student.'[476]

An institutional reluctance to focus on children's broader education – in favour of crafts training – not only limited their potential in the workplace, but also contributed to their intellectual and emotional dissatisfaction. This is especially clear in the example of former Chailey pupil, Tommy Morgan, whose recollections of Chailey indicated that certain students were unhappy with the nature of work they were offered once they left the institution. After his training, Tommy and six other boys from Chailey were sent to Brighton to work in a mineral factory.[477] He recalled his frustration at having been trained to work as a cabinet maker only to have then started work 'as a carpenter repairing mineral water cases', which he said was a 'waste of time and money.'[478] Tommy subsequently left the position because he was unsatisfied with the work and was 'homesick', and whilst he was able to make a living because of his willingness to take 'any sort of job on', his experience is indicative of the ongoing challenges

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[476] L. Inskip, 'Editorial', *The National Cripples Journal,* No.3 (September 1930), p.1.
[477] Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods,* pp.9-25.
[477] Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods* p.3 4.
[478] Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods,* p.34.

associated with securing long-term careers for disabled people.[479] This in part arose from the institution's failure to consider the wishes and aspirations of individual students who experienced an educational system which still largely suppressed their expectations, and also reflected a shifting industrial economy in which there were more limited opportunities to work in the areas in which they were directly trained.

Despite the Arts and Crafts movement's significant contribution to 'the practical in the applied arts, according to Robert Winter, by the 1920s the limitations of a movement which was 'first and foremost a spiritual crusade' were apparent.[480] Esteemed art critic Arthur Symons likewise declared that 'it [was] certain that we have outlived the age of the craftsmen', and the promise of an arts and crafts revival, as had been envisioned by those who championed the movement, did not materialise.[481] The widespread decline of the movement also adversely impacted disabled people's earning potential once they had completed training at institutions such as Chailey. As one author explained in *The National Cripples Journal,* he had 'started work learning the trade of a Tailor' but 'by the time [he] had become proficient, mass production had put skilled craftmenship in the background , and [he] was unable to get a living by the needle.'[482]

This was not just the case for those who trained at special schools, but more broadly impacted the disabled population as a whole. After the First World War, a government-funded training scheme for disabled veterans, introduced by prominent members of the Arts and Crafts movement, aimed to provide them with the opportunity to 'earn a living weaving tapestries as war memorials.'[483] It was believed that providing work for disabled veterans would positively

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[479] Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods*, p.34.
[480] Winter, 'Arts and Crafts as a Social Movement'. p.36
[481] Larry D. Lutchmansingh, 'The British Arts and Crafts Workshop between Tradition and Reform', *Studies in the History of Art,* Vol. 38 (1993), pp.174-193 (p.190).
[482] 'A Coventrians Life story: p 3 (from the perspective of a person who was amputated age 9)', *National Cripples Journal*, No.65 (1946), pp.3-4.
[483] Carolyn Malone, 'A job fit for heroes? Disabled veterans, the Arts and Crafts movement, and social reconstruction in post-World War I Britain', *First World War Studies,* Vol.4, No.2 (2013), pp.201-217 (pp.201-203).

reinforce their overall aim of ‘transforming the productive system in Britain’ by presenting opportunities to a group of people who, as numerous scholars have demonstrated, garnered significant public sympathy in the post-war period.[484] The scheme ultimately failed, hampered by the economic realities of post-war Britain, which made it difficult to stimulate public demand for the tapestries, within a consumer market that preferred cheaper, mass-produced items.[485] The tapestry scheme reflected a need for the arts to adapt to modern conditions that was evident in a number of initiatives. The Industrial Arts’ exhibition curated by the Royal Academy, for example, similarly observed that ‘the nation as a whole’ must look to ‘the products of our factories’ to ‘bring beauty and colour into [their] homes’ for these were the objects the majority of Britons could reasonably afford.[486] Even amongst special school educators it was increasingly acknowledged that ‘Educational Handwork’ may not be a ‘feeder of the labour market’ as ‘the old time worn notion that woodwork was a preparation for the carpenter’s bench, that metal work was linked up with the forge and the clang of the smithy’ was ‘well exploded.’[487] As one astute Arts and Crafts teacher observed: ‘the whole world did not supply a sufficient market to ensure the continuance of the Kelmscott Press ,or even the continued weaving and printing of Morris’s fabrics and wallpapers’ and it was increasingly recognised that this ‘left boys with nimble fingers but brains not so well nimble’ at a particular disadvantage.[488] Instead, the ‘true aim’ of handwork was to offer ‘something far higher- self-determination, self-discipline , self-respect, discrimination and control.’[489]

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[484] Carolyn Malone, ‘A job fit for heroes?’, p.208. For discussion of the deserving status of disabled ex-servicemen see, in particular, Bourke, *Dismembering*.

[485] Carolyn Malone, ‘A job fit for heroes?’, p.213.

[486] ‘Lecture presented on Industrial Art at the Royal Academy’ (1935), UWT/D/28/29, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

[487] ‘The future of the Handwork teacher under the Education Act’, *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4, p.35.

[488] B J. Fletcher, Principal of the Central School of Art and Crafts, Birmingham**,** **‘**The Place of Art and Craftsmanship in Education’, produced by the printing trade classes at the college of art, Bradford. Reprinted from “The Forum of Education”, Vol. IV, No.2 June 1926, pp 8-10. UWT/D/28/22, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

[489] ‘The future of the Handwork teacher under the Education Act’, p.35.

Despite this, the approach to craft training at Chailey remained relatively consistent with the institution's earlier aims of equipping disabled children 'with the methods of independent work'.[490] In 1926 Sykes recorded that 70% of ex-scholars had 'left to enter the woodwork trades', their positions apparently 'assured by the use and preparation of wood and draughtsmanship training.'[491] Smaller numbers of students were reported to work as bootmakers (10%), sign and ticket writers (5%), fancy leather workers (5%), and leather case makers (5%), as well as those who entered the 'drawing office or [took] posts connected with Art production' (5%).[492] The report indicated that the majority of students (80%) sought employment in the craft in which they were trained at school, and efforts were made to ensure they were taught crafts and trades which remained commercially viable.[493] This suggested that Chailey Heritage was reasonably successful in supporting students to initially secure paid employment. However, the establishment of an active 'Old Boys' Association' which had a 'substantial benefits funds' and a 'register for unemployed ex-Scholars', was a tacit acknowledgement of the ongoing challenges associated with securing long-term employment for disabled people, or of securing work which provided a living wage, and this challenge was undoubtedly related to the nature of impairment and degree of disability individual's experienced.[494]

Chailey was seemingly most successful in securing work for those trained in woodwork. However, this was unsurprising as this group represented not only the largest number of students, but also those considered to be the least physically impaired. This reflected more generally the exclusionary practices of institutions like Chailey and Treloar College, which, as chapter one demonstrated, were only interested in providing a vocational training to

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[490] Percy Sykes, Boys school logbook, 1904-1921. HB/22/1/276/1, The Keep Archive, Brighton, UK.
[491] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.
[492] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.
[493] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.
[494] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.

thosethey believed could be self-sufficient workers in adulthood. Evidently, this approach had significant implications for those disabled people deemed unable to participate in education and training, in terms of their access to future employment opportunities. Indeed, in the inaugural issue of *The National Cripples Journal* , published in 1930, the editor expressly defined the journal's intention to 'try and improve the lot of all crippled people' as he knew 'personally how hard it [was] to be able to obtain employment' and how this put one 'in the position of "being kicked when down."'[495] The editor's obvious frustration spoke to the challenges many disabled people encountered to secure work, and this was reflected in the innumerable examples in the journal which aimed to promote the 'work of cripples', such as '[t]he one-armed embroiders of Ealing', and the persistence of handicrafts which apparently made 'a pleasurable and profitable pastime.'[496]

Significantly, whilst craft was frequently discussed, much of the proposed work was piece work, and was thus unlikely to deliver a stable income to those who undertook it. The continued prioritisation of an arts and crafts training at Chailey Heritage, despite a rapidly transformed commercial market, spoke to the limited employment opportunities available to disabled people in this period. Increasingly, however, arts, and other forms of expressive work, were understood to have emotional significance for those who participated in them and this more psychological conceptualisation contributed to a reconfiguration of the values assigned to arts and crafts. Indeed, at the 'Second International Conference of Cripple Workers' craft was discussed as a means of securing 'moral and spiritual' gains, rather than for its profitability.[497] Gradually, within an increasingly medicalised system of education, institutions like Chailey recognised and understood craft to function both as a form of manual training, as

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[495] L. Inskip, 'Editorial', *The National Cripples Journal,* No. (July 1930), p.1.

[496] 'An Exhibition', *The National Cripples Journal,* No7 (January 1931), p.2; 'The one armed embroiders of Ealing', *The National Cripples Journal,* No.13 (July 1931), p.5; Henry Bramford, 'Mat Making', *The National Cripples Journal,* No.20 (1934), p.5

[497] 'Second International Conference of Cripple Workers', *The National Cripples Journal,* No.15 (1932), p.4.

well as a means to support the emotional development and well-being of the disabled child, which reflected more broadly a more holistic approach to the treatment and management of disability.

Arts, Crafts and a Holistic Approach to Health

In 1931, educational psychologist Cyril Burt, wrote that Chailey Heritage was not 'simply a work of charity , a philanthropic school; it [was] a demonstration laboratory where the best that [could] be done for the crippled child [was] at once put into practice and tested.'[498] In operation for almost thirty years, by the 1930s Chailey was widely recognised for its efforts to restore 'England's crippled childhood on its feet', and this 'wonder work' had, according to the Marchinoness of Carisbrooke, been the focus of 'devoted pioneers' since its establishment.[499] In describing Chailey as a laboratory, Burt framed the work undertaken as a highly specialised scientific approach to the management of disability. This reflected a wider interest in scientific approaches to body management intended to promote health and fitness wider 'for the sake of national efficiency' which Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues, had reached the 'status of a major government policy' by the 1930s.[500]

When Chailey Heritage was founded in 1903, however, there was no hospital on the site, and it was only after significant appeals to expand and improve the school's facilities that one was established in 1911.[501] Whilst Cooter has argued that the primary motivation of institutions like Chailey was 'humanitarian and educational', rather than medical, the establishment of a hospital on site was certainly an indication of the school's intent to expand

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[498] Cyril Burt, 'Preface' in Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.7.

[499] Marchioness of Carisbrooke, 'Wonder Work at Chailey. A Fine Work with Fine Results', *Lichfield Mercury,* 19 May 1933, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB 261/1 The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK

[500] Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.336.

[501] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.30.

the medical remit of its work; a process that was further accelerated through Chailey's involvement in the rehabilitation of soldiers wounded in the First World War.[502]

Even before Chailey's reputation as an orthopaedic centre was firmly established, there was little question amongst contemporaries that the work undertaken represented a pioneering approach for the education, training and treatment of disabled children. Whilst institutions such as Baschurch, had, according to Frederick Watson, proved that disabled children could be 'physically cured' by the 'open air', the strength of Chailey lay in the fact it had proved that disabled children could 'be mentally freed from the old legends of deformity'.[503] Much was made of the happy atmosphere of the Heritage; the images of 'healthy-looking, merry children' who never shed 'a tear', as well as the resilience fostered through a commitment to hard work.[504]

In its early years, it was this more psychological conceptualisation of the work undertaken at Chailey that meant the school garnered significant attention amongst educationalists and psychologists, such as Cyril Burt, in particular. Whether or not the school was established on properly scientific or medical lines was, to a degree, irrelevant. What is important is that the institution successfully framed itself in this way in the public mind - perhaps most obviously through the promotional efforts of figures like Kimmins' and Burt. This image undoubtedly impacted the nature of the work undertaken at Chailey, as well as how particular activities were understood and valued by staff, children, and the numerous esteemed visitors who understood the 'Chailey miracle', all of whom considered the success of the undertaking to be equally evident in the institution's ability to transform minds, or mindsets,

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[502] Cooter has revealed that that it was not until the late 1920s that the Invalid Children's Aid Association (ICAA) changed its object from that of 'supervision and assistance of invalid and crippled children' to 'obtaining for them the best medical treatment.' See Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War*, p.60. However, as Koven notes, the beginning of the First World War brought 'many changes to Chailey and to other major hospitals and schools for crippled children in Britain', and this expanded the role of medicine in their work with children. See Seth Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', pp.1167-1202.

[503] Watson, *Life of Sir Robert Jones*, p.67. As well as being his biographer, Frederick Watson was the son-in-law of esteemed surgeon, Sir Robert Jones.

[504] Watson, *Life of Sir Robert Jones*, p.67.

through the ‘persistent battle waged against idle hands’ as it was in the fixing of disabled bodies.[505]

The planning and structure of the hospital and school on the Heritage site was representative of ‘the holistic approach to healthcare’ which, Borsay argues, was ‘slowly losing its marginality’ from 1900.[506] At Chailey medical treatment and therapy, education and training in crafts and trades, as well as social activities were all considered in relation to their presumed benefits to health. Consideration was also given to the effects of the built and natural environment, and a programme of treatment and education at the institution was structured in a way that optimised the use of space at Chailey. This interaction between the hospital and school reflected the broader medicalisation of schooling’, notable across the whole education system in the early decades of the twentieth century that was particularly significant at special schools. For disabled children especially, many of whom were previously isolated from the educational system, their impairment represented an opportunity for an expanding range of professionals to claim expertise in the management of their bodies and minds. At Chailey Heritage increased medical and surgical intervention was notable after the First World War, reflecting a broader shift in focus amongst institutions which had primarily centred the education and training of physically impaired children but were ‘increasingly concentrated on curing cripples.’[507] Chailey’s more medicalised approach thus aimed to physically transform

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[505] Marchioness of Carisbrooke, ‘A Children’s Heritage. Wonder work at Chailey’, *Sussex Express*, 19 May 1933, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.
Parallels may be drawn between Chailey Heritage and the approaches of Hans Wurtz, a ‘pioneer in pedagogy for disabled people’ who worked in Germany during the 1930s. In his efforts to motivate disabled veterans, Wurtz stated that ‘the will was the one true prosthesis’, in this echoing the familiar motifs of self-determination, self-reliance and triumph over adversity frequently deployed by Chailey, as well as many other organisations established to support disabled people. See Karin Harrasser, ‘Superhumans-Parahumans. Disability and High-tech in Competitive Sports’, in Annie Waldscmidt, Hanjo Berressem, Moritz Ingwersen (eds.), *Culture, Theory, Disability. Encounters between Disability Studies and Cultural Studies* (Transcript: Verlag, 2017), pp.171-184.

[506] Borsay argues that the ‘revival of medical holism’ was consistent with trends in philosophy and the arts ‘which rejected the atomistic reductionism that had emerged in the economic, social and political contexts of industrialisation’, and that it was a more holistic approach to health which allowed for the ‘transition from moral to medical surveillance.’ Borsay, ‘Disciplining Disabled Bodies’, p.101.

[507] Byron, ‘A Pupil and a Patient’ p.151.

‘warped and crippled creatures into useful, healthy craftsmen and citizens’ through surgical and medical [508] This approach meant the physiological and psychological aspects of a child’s education and treatment were increasingly considered in tandem, and the medical reframing of non-clinical practices and spaces blurred the boundaries of student and patient which allowed a supplementary therapeutic value to be assigned to the practice of arts and crafts.

Chailey Heritage and the Impact of the First World War

During the First World War, 541 soldiers were admitted to the hospital at Chailey where, according to Kimmins, a number remained ‘for over a year’. [509] The treatment received by wounded soldiers was ‘attentive to the psychological aspects of war wounds’, and at Chailey this materialised as a rehabilitative programme which utilised the culture, ethos and practices established for the training and treatment of disabled children.[510] Chailey trialled a system of ‘educative convalescence’ which provided the opportunity to test the ‘men in the use of new limbs and unaccustomed artificial apparatuses side by side with crippled boys similarly afflicted.’ [511] Aside from the practical skills which the boys shared with the soldiers, it was felt the soldiers ‘[learned] much, unconsciously, from the attitude of the boys’.[512] Indeed, as Cyril Burt noted it was through a process of training and supervision provided by ‘tiny youngster[‘s] who [were] even more gravely crippled’ that the ‘mutilated soldier’ realised his ‘sad condition’ had not destroyed ‘all hope of a healthy future.’[513]

By framing it as a psychological programme, this work provided Kimmins with an opportunity to promote the work of the Heritage, situating it more broadly as part of Chailey’s committed and experimental approach to the management of childhood disability. Through the

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[508]‘Silver Jubilee of Picturesque Cripple Cure’, *Burton Daily Mail,* 29 October 1929, Both in press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[509] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals Chailey*, p.62.

[510] Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment’, p.1180.

[511] Burt, ‘Soldier Students’.

[512] Burt, ‘Soldier Students’.

[513] Burt, 'Preface’ in Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.7.

institution’s care of wounded soldiers’, the culture of Chailey was redefined as one in which the children who lived there were themselves recognised as agents of transformation, rather than objects for medical expertise, and this provided a reaffirmation of the institution’s ability to construct independent and productive citizens. Whilst Seth Koven argues that Kimmins’ capitalised upon the visual imagery of warfare which ‘dramatically redefined the roles of cripples and soldiers’ and made ‘children not the objects but the agents of rescue’, this section suggests that the presence of the soldiers, rather, established a new dynamic between adults and children which was defined by a more equitable, reciprocal opportunity for learning new attitudes and skills which were of equal value to the soldiers and children.[514] Indeed, this was explicitly stated within a promotional pamphlet for the scheme which equally recognised the ‘heroic gallantry of the men’ and ‘the heroic endurance of the boys’ which, it observed ‘[were]heightened and enhanced by the other’ through the ‘sound psychology’ of them working and learning together.[515]

“ *You and your buck, me lad, are the best pair of crutches for me.*”

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[514] Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment’, p.1180.
[515] Burt, ‘Soldier Students’.

Figure 16: 'You and your buck, me lad, are the best pair of crutches for me', c.1917

Within the parameters of Chailey this scheme created new opportunities for the unique expertise of the boys to be recognised and put to use in a meaningful way. However, this did not, as Koven suggests, infantalise or effeminize the status of soldier, for they were equally engaged in a process of learning how to live and work in their new bodies, and appeared to recognise the expertise of the boys as necessary for them to succeed in this.[516] Moreover, to students at Chailey, the soldiers were representative of the values on which the institution was founded; values which they had been taught to aspire to, and to which the presence of soldiers at the hospital and school allowed a more tangible connection.

Certain soldiers also contributed to the fundraising efforts of the school through the making of arts and crafts objects, including an anthology of 'Poems by a Soldier Student' which stated that all proceeds were to be 'devoted to the St Nicholas Home for Raid Shock Children.'[517] One poem titled 'LAETUS SORTE MEA' included a description of the children's crafts which said:

Their work is interesting,
You may watch and never tire;
Their cleverness is something,
That you could not but admire

Their workshops you may visit,
And see them at their trade
You will say the things are perfect
That the little ones have made.

Their work is there for inspection,

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[516] Scholars such as Joanna Bourke have suggested that soldiers' loss of body parts during the First World War amounted to social emasculation, as notions of masculinity in this period were inextricably tied to the whole male body. Publicity surrounding charitable schemes such as Chailey and the British Legion Poppy Factories, however, countered any potential loss of masculinity by reinforcing disabled ex-servicemen's physical strength and capacity for work. Bourke, *Dismembering*; Bartlett, 'Re-assembling Disabled Identities'.
[517] Poems by Private A. Hardy of the 29th Middlesex Regiment printed at Chailey Heritage, c1918. HB/262/10, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

From paintings down to a stool,
And if you care, you may buy some;
'Twill help us along with our school.[518]

In doing so, the reciprocity of their relationship was affirmed, not only by the soldier's material contributions to school life, but through references to the communal practices of craft which both soldier and student were engaged in for the benefit of '[*their*] school.'[519]

At Chailey Heritage, therefore, the value of established craft practices was reconfigured through its association with the care of wounded soldiers. Whilst certain orthopaedists had experimented with the idea of curative workshops prior to the First World War, on the understanding that they were 'valuable in social terms as a means to reconstitute [...] [the] sense of individual and communal worth', at Chailey Heritage the emotional benefits individual soldiers derived from the communal practices of craft were evident in their attachment to the institution and the disabled children who facilitated their recovery.[520] Moreover, as 'crafts, trades and games' were more widely used throughout the war with convalescing soldiers to 'hasten the return of the sick and injured to a state of health in which they [were] of maximum use to the community'; the established craft-work of Chailey Heritage was transferred to explicitly medical settings for the purposes of rehabilitating soldiers, and was thus understood as an early form of occupational therapy [521] Whilst craft was conceived of as training for work when applied to disabled children, in this new context craft 'stimulated men's personal creativity at a time of great personal and collective suffering.'[522] According to Anna Carden-Coyne this 'enabled' the war-wounded to navigate the physical and emotional trauma of their

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[518] Poems by Private A. Hardy, p.14.
[519] Poems by Private A. Hardy, p.14.
[520] Jeffrey Reznick, 'Work-therapy and the Disabled British Soldier in Great Britain in the First World War: The Case of Shepherds Bush Military Hospital, London', in David A. Gerber (ed.), *Disabled Veterans in History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,2012), pp.185-2013 (pp.187-189).
[521] G.D. Kersley, 'Occupational Therapy', *J R Army Medical Corps*, Vol. 78 (1942), p.236
[522] Ana Carden- Coyne, 'The Art of Resilience: Veteran Therapy from the Occupational to the Creative, 1914-45', in Leo van Bergen and Eric Vermetten (eds.), *The First World War and Health: Rethinking Resilience* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp.39-70 (p.40)

experiences through creative practices which promoted ‘release, restoration, soft resistance’ and developed ‘resilience’.[523]

War undoubtedly enhanced the status of orthopaedics because, as Borsay explains, at least half of all battle injuries involved the ‘impairment of locomotor function and usefulness of limbs’, and in peacetime orthopaedic surgeons pivoted to use their expertise and influence to organise a national programme for physically impaired children.[524] Institutions like Chailey therefore responded to and evolved their priorities and approaches in line with shifting conceptualisations of disability and its management which, in the 1920s, led to a deviation from ‘moral to medical surveillance.’[525] At Chailey, this was evident through the further expansion of its ‘medical and surgical facilities’ in 1922, on the advisement of Sir Robert Jones, Chairmen of the Medical Board. [526] This was representative of a wider trend towards more interventionist approaches in the early twentieth century, which saw surgical procedures account for ‘two-thirds of inpatients in children’s hospitals’, during a period in which, Cooter argues, the ‘medical identity of children’ was firmly established.[527]

The model of long-term, segregated residential schooling pioneered by institutions, like Chailey Heritage, was increasingly advocated for more widely because of the ‘unique opportunity’ it presented ‘for the observation of the results’ by virtue of the fact that cases could be ‘kept under close observation for many years afterwards.’[528] With improved knowledge of orthopaedic conditions, however, came a greater sense of the scale of the problem, and by 1925 renowned orthopaedic surgeon G.R. Girdlestone reported that there were ‘some 80,000 to 100,000 crippled children in England and that between 5000 and 10,000

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[523] Carden- Coyne, ‘The Art of Resilience’, p.41.
[524] Borsay, ‘Disciplining Disabled Bodies’, pp.100-101.
[525] Borsay, Disciplining Disabled Bodies’, p.101.
[526] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.30.
[527] Cooter, ‘Introduction’, *In the Name of the Child,* pp.8-11.
[528] M.C Wilkinson, ‘The Care of the Crippled Child at the Heritage Craft Schools (1926)’, HB274/4, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK, p.13.

children were becoming crippled each year.'[529] Whilst medical experts were confident that advancements in surgical techniques meant there was 'hardly a crippled child, however distorted, who could not be made to stand and walk', they remained concerned by the limited clinic organisation which meant 'skilled orthopaedic after-care in continuity [was] impossible' or that children returned home 'to the very bad conditions which contributed to the origin of the illness' in the first place.[530] It was no longer considered enough that a child was taken 'into hospital a physical wreck and, perhaps a year or more later, sent out fat and well and tanned with the sun.' Instead, a more holistic approach was advised which considered the child's 'housing, [their] diet, [their] affected joint, [their]general health' which 'all [required] persistent attention until [their] vitality and vigour [were] ultimately assured.'[531] Orthopaedists consequently worked with the Central Council for the Care of Cripples to establish a network of 'central orthopaedic hospitals, allied to a series of affiliated local after-care clinics' and by 1936 the Central Council was coordinating a network of 40 orthopaedic hospitals and 400 out-patient clinics.' [532]

In addition to its orthopaedic work, Chailey Heritage recognized the health benefits of sunshine and fresh air and was modelled along the lines of open-air schools pioneered for tuberculous and 'delicate' children, combining the benefits of the institution's countryside setting with religious devotion, craft training and a highly-structured school day considered to be morally instructive for the young people who attended. As chapter one demonstrated, this model of schooling was approach was consistent with earlier forms of 'moral treatment'; underpinned by values of self-help and self-determination which undermined the progressive sentiments assigned to it by contemporaries. The rural location of Chailey, selected for the

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[529] G. R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children. The Scheme of the Central Council for the Care of Cripples (*Bristol: John Wright and Sons Ltd., 1925), p.16

[530] G. R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children*, p.13.

[531] G. R Girdlestone, *The Care and Cure of Crippled Children.*, p.13.

[532] Anne Borsay, 'Disciplining Disabled Bodies', p.101

presumed benefits to health, additionally functioned as a means of socialising disabled children through their identification with a marginal community located at the periphery.[533] The benefits of an open-air approach were regularly reported in the press where it was observed that: ‘a very large proportion of the cripples admitted [proved] to be curable by the natural treatment of good food , fresh air, and sunshine, aided by the orthopaedic and remedial treatment carefully prescribed.’[534] In June 1930, *The Daily Mirror* featured an image of ‘Interested Readers’ which showed ‘two tiny patients […] busily reading the “Daily Mirror” whilst enjoying a sun bath’ at Chailey Heritage.[535] The playfully staged image not only presented an opportunity for the *Daily Mirror* to demonstrate its ongoing support for the work of Chailey Heritage, but, by drawing the readers’ attention to the children’s’ patient status, the image also provided insight into the holistic approach taken at Chailey, whereby a ‘sun bath’ formed an essential part of a child patient’s therapeutic regimen.

INTERESTED READERS.—Two tiny patients at Princess Elizabeth Clinic of the Heritage Craft Schools, Hospitals and Homes for Cripples at Chailey, Sussex, who are seen busily reading the " Daily Mirror " while enjoying a sun bath.

Figure 17: ‘Interested Readers’. Children read the Daily Mirror whilst taking a sun bath, c.1933

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[533] According to Gutman, ‘orphanages, hospitals and open-air schools’ were more commonly ‘set at the periphery’ of towns and cities whilst mainstream schools were centralised. Gutman argues, therefore, that the planning of urban public space thus embodied notions of ‘idealised childhood’, as well as providing a means of socialising children. Marta Gutman and Ning De Coninck-Smith (eds.), *Designing Modern Childhoods. History, Space, and the Material Culture of Childhood (*New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), p.4.

534 Author unknown, ‘Cripple Children-learn how to live without being a burden to themselves and others at the Heritage Craft School’, *Women’s Own,* February 10th 1933, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB/261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[535] ‘Interested Readers’, *Daily Mirror*, 25 June 1930, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB/261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

The geographic location of Chailey was, therefore, considered fundamental to the institution's professed efficaciousness, and the amount of sunshine was said to have been always above average and 'above average for every other district of England for every month of the year except January and February.'[536] Furthermore, the water was said to be free from 'hardness', which was considered important 'to the cripple child, whose skin, as a result of paralysis [was] very atrophic.'[537]

In relating the therapeutic benefits of Chailey to its physical location, the report presented the Heritage as uniquely equipped to address the challenge of physical impairment. Not only was the natural environment thought to have provided the optimum conditions for recovery, but concern for building design was also evident in structures which allowed for 'cross-ventilation' in 'almost every classroom, dormitory or ward.'[538] Moreover, the report revealed that consideration was given to the aesthetic quality of the buildings which were thought to be 'very striking in their decoration and design' and to have achieved 'beauty and harmony in the highest order.'[539] The environment was thought to have had a 'stimulating and salutary' effect upon the 'mind of the crippled child', and thus revealed a concern both for the physical and emotional health of the children of Chailey.[540]

This holistic approach was evident in a 1926 report documenting 'The Care of the Crippled Child' at Chailey Heritage where it was stated that 'education and treatment [were] carried on side by side without detriment' and that 'in no department [was] either education or

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[536] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools (1926)', HB274/4, The Keep Archives, Brighton, p.1.
[537] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools (1926)', HB274/4, The Keep Archives, Brighton, p.1.
[538] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.1.
[539] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.3.
[540] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.7.

treatment completely neglected.'[541] Indeed, as one article observed, the pervasive presence of medicine was such that 'scholars' had to be 'watched with unceasing care for signs of physical weakness', which meant children were 'transferred at the very briefest of notice from the carpenter's shop to the operating theatre ,or from the printing shop to the hospital ward.'[542] Medicine and education also intersected in other ways: in addition to their formal studies and craft training, children were educated in their own self-care so that by the time each child left school they understood 'which manipulations [were] required to prevent any deformity which may threaten.'[543] The intentional inclusion of 'short flights of steps to every room' in the school was considered imperative to avoid the 'luxury of self-pity', and the successful ascent of the steps was said to be 'as great a "Waterloo" as 'the mastering of some difficult mathematical problem [was] to the keen scholar in any public school'.[544] Thus, when a child [left] to earn its living by its trade, it [was] hoped that no further interruption for further treatment' would be necessary.[545]

Students were said to be 'eagerly' invested in their own recovery, and the report discussed the methods by which the 'intelligent recovery of the patient [was] stimulated.'[546] The 'incalculable' benefits of this approach for the 'physically defective' child were similarly acknowledged in *Special Schools Quarterly,* where it was observed that the residential special school facilitated the 'training in will and imagination' which put the child in 'such an attitude of mind as to receive the maximum amount of benefit both from professional medical treatment and from its educational environment.'[547] The priority afforded to children learning about their

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[541] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.9

[542] 'The Cripples School', *Great Thoughts,* October 1932, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB/261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[543] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.10.

[544] 'Cripples in a Sussex Paradise', *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 15 July 1932; 'The Cripples School', Great Thoughts. October 1932, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB/261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[545] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.12.

[546] ' M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.14.

[547] 'Schools for the Physically Defective: their value to the child and to the nation' *The Special Schools Quarterly,* Vol. XII, No.3 (1922), pp.106-108 (p.106).

own health so that they could understand and 'watch their progress to recovery' thus shifted the responsibility for addressing and fixing physical bodily limitations onto the individual.[548] Whilst medicine provided the tools and language through which to name and understand disabled bodies, it was the children themselves who, through education, became ultimately responsible for their management, with failure to recover deemed a personal failing of the individual.

As the medical character of Chailey Heritage as an institution was more firmly established, it came to be understood as a healthy environment to which alternative meanings were ascribed to the activities which occurred there. Observation and documentation of the children outside of the hospital space provided a medical frame through which to understand the activities of the school and its students, as it established a connection to the methods and processes of scientific practice. When students first arrived at Chailey, for example, they were 'carefully examined, watched and dieted' and then placed in 'one of many groups' and 'expected to carry out the regular courses, subjects, and hours allocated.'[549] As Percy Sykes observed in 1926, decisions were made about the type of craft a student was to be trained in based upon these early examinations[550] He maintained that craft training was 'additional and simultaneous to the finest Remedial, Physical, and Operative treatment', and it was therefore conceived of and embedded as part of the overall therapeutic regimen each child received at Chailey.[551]

More significant, however, was the emotional value attached to arts and crafts which, particularly after the First World War, was more explicitly connected to the medical aims of the institution. In 1930, for example, *The County Herald* noted that the 'healthiness of the Heritage was infectious', and was evident in the 'smiling colony of boys and girls […]

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[548] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools', p.13.
[549] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.
[550] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.
[551] Sykes, 'A Review of the Work of the Heritage'.

surrounded on all sides by the results of their training and industry.'[552] Similarly, in 1931 Miss Margaret Morris 'emphasised the great importance of art in medicine' and observed that her 'cripple pupils at Chailey' derived 'actual benefit from feeling that they, too, can help in creating an artistic whole', whilst in 1933 it was noted at the 'Guild of the Brave Bi-Annual Exhibition' of craft that the Guild not only cared for the 'bodily comforts of its members, but [provided] the mind with congenial occupation and creative work' too.[553] Craft work was also completed in hospital by children about to undergo surgery, because it was believed to have a calming effect which meant 'a time of suspense [was] ameliorated' as the 'operation [loomed] less fearfully ahead.' [554] Hospital patients were likewise described as 'happy in bed over the fashioning of brooches, chains and other small ornaments', in this way demonstrating how arts and crafts were recognised for their therapeutic value as they provided a diversionary occupation for children undergoing treatment in hospital. [555]

Figure 18: Boys make boots from their hospital beds outside at Chailey Heritage, c.1930s

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[552] 'The Smiling Colony of Boys and Girls. The Bishop of London at Tidemills and Chailey Heritage. A Day that will long be remembered', *The County Herald,* 23 May 1930, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB/261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[553] 'Art In Medicine', *Oxford Times*, 9 January 1931, 'Guild of the Brave Bi-Annual Exhibition', *Brighton Herald,* 6 May 1933, press cuttings related to Chailey Heritage, HB/261/1, The Keep Archives, Brighton, UK.

[554] M.C Wilkinson, 'The Care of the Crippled child at the Heritage Craft Schools (1926)', p.10.

[555] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.11.

Beyond Chailey Heritage, this more holistic conception of the role of crafts and other vocational schemes of work, was notable in the establishment of 'The Stanmore Enterprise', a new training college established in association with the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital in 1937. Whilst the college was separate to the hospital it was, nonetheless, conceived of as a 'significant extension of the hospital idea that the care for the disabled should include not only their physical compensation […] but the provision for training for a craft.'[556] The World Conference on Cripples in 1939 similarly advocated for an approach which saw vocational training 'pushed during the school period , since the crippled child's school life- is, on account of the treatment he must receive, always shorter than the normal period.'[557] Thus, whilst early institutions like Chailey Heritage adopted an approach which centred craft and other forms of work as the method by which to transform disabled children into useful citizens, by the 1930s the expansion of orthopaedic services had enabled surgeons to treat crippling conditions more efficiently. Indeed, in 1930 the Central Council for the Care of Cripples reported that 'as the more serious cases of crippling (the result of long neglect) [were] cleared form the hospitals, it [was] becoming ever easier to make room for the treatment of less severe deformities.'[558]Within this more interventionist system, practices like arts and crafts were increasingly viewed as supplementary to the aims of medicine, surgery and rehabilitation; albeit medical aims which still had work and gainful employment in adulthood as the mark of success, and this contributed to an understanding of craft which was more therapeutically conceived.

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[556] 'New Training College for Cripples, 'New Training College for Cripples: The Stanmore Enterprise' *British Medical Journal,* Vol.2, No 3993 (July 17 1937) pp.129-130 (p.129).
[557] 'World Conference on Cripples', *The Lancet,* August 5, 1939, p.333.
[558] Joan Anderson, *A Record of Fifty Years' Service to the Disabled by the Central Council for the Disabled (*London: Central Council for the Disabled, 1969), p.19.

This chapter has argued that arts and crafts were fundamental in shaping the charitable discourse promoted by Chailey Heritage, which built upon the ideals and practices of the Arts and Crafts movement to establish work for disabled children as important for their health and happiness, whilst utilising the craft objects they created to materially present the disabled body as one transformed thorough work. The chapter demonstrated how this approach established a prominent role for arts and crafts in disabled children's education at Chailey, which, it is argued, was similarly replicated by other institutions responsible for the education and care of physically impaired children. Whilst this approach was intended to facilitate their employment in adulthood, this came at the expense of a more formal education, and a declining interest in arts and crafts objects limited Chailey's success in securing meaningful work for disabled people, whilst it simultaneously perpetuated their reduced social status. During the First World War the rehabilitation of soldiers at Chailey Heritage brought a renewed focus to the value of crafts which were understood to facilitate both their emotional and physical restoration. As the practices of the institution became more medically defined, these therapeutic values supplemented the vocational aims of craft which reflected a more holistic approach to the management of childhood disability. Whilst this case study concludes before the onset of the Second World War in 1939, Chailey's involvement in the Second World War reflected this move towards a more psychological conception of care, as in 1941 the Invalid Children's Aid Association made a request to the Heritage to make accommodation for '50 'blitzed' babes and toddlers under the age of five.'[559] In her account of the Princess Elizabeth Clinic, where these children were cared for, Kimmins reflected upon the growing acknowledged importance amongst educationalists and psychologists of 'the early stages of development', and the potential the clinic offered for 'research of the most valuable type.'[560] Chapter three continues

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[559] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.92
[560] Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals*, p.94

this analysis by considering the implications of post-war educational reconstruction upon the changing populations within special schools; the growing interest in the child as a subject of psychological study, to consider more comprehensively the ways in which arts and crafts were therapeutically applied to children with variable and more complex forms of impairment.

‘Each Child Is An Individual Problem and Should be Tackled as Such’: Special Education, 1944-1970

> There is not one problem only. There are hundreds of problems. Each child is an individual problem and should be tackled as such. Underlying every thought and action is the desire, conscious or unconscious, to be as other children are. One has only to witness the emotional outburst of a frustrated ‘spastic’ or the pathetic eagerness of a heart case to be upgraded on medical examination to have this impressed upon their mind.[561]

Published in *The Special Schools Journal* in 1945, these observations regarding the challenges of educating physically impaired children embodied some of the principles which influenced educational policy directed towards disabled children, in the period after the Second World War. In describing the children as a ‘problem’ to be addressed, the article demonstrates continuities with earlier attitudes which, as chapter one and two of this thesis demonstrate, understood disabled children as a potential burden to the state and the economy which needed to be addressed via vocational training and medical interventions that transformed them into useful, economically productive citizens. As Joan Simeon Clarke, author of *Disabled Citizens*, observed in 1951, this approach meant earlier hospital schools such as Chailey Heritage had limited the opportunity for disabled children to achieve a ‘solid foundation’ because ‘basic education was crowded out’ in favour of ‘crafts of all types.’[562]

At the same time, however, the article acknowledged the ‘individual’ within this system and was thus representative of a period in which approaches to understanding and educating disabled children acknowledged their dependency and thus endeavoured to be more responsive to their individual needs and capabilities. The experiences of war, and evacuation in particular, contributed to the emergence, expansion and solidification of a number of fields, including psychiatry, psychoanalysis, child guidance and progressive education which played a ‘chief

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[561] ‘An Onlookers Observations on the Problems of the Physically Handicapped’ *Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXXIV, No.2 (Summer, 1945), pp.30-37 (p.30).

[562] Joan Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1951), p.135.

social role in conceptualising childhood and general welfare' in this period.[563] One notable example of the ways in which child guidance became embedded within the emerging welfare state was through the educational legislation of the 1940s. As Martin Francis, Gillian Sutherland and Katherine Watson have demonstrated, plans for educational reconstruction in the post-war period were underpinned by the idea of 'equality of opportunity'; a right which was principally extended to disabled children through the passage of *The Education Act* (1944) which recognised the responsibility of the State to provide special education for a broader range of disabled children, and established terms which allowed for the delivery of Special Educational Treatment (SET) within mainstream educational settings.

The legislation defined eleven categories of disabled children which it identified as requiring SET, including a new group of 'maladjusted children'.[564] Whilst scholars such as J.S Hurt have argued that this approach aimed to understand the variety and degree by which a child was affected by disability, and thus provide education tailored to their specific needs, this chapter argues that new methods assessing, categorising and managing children's bodies and minds represented the latest evolution in a 'deeply rooted long-term narrative in which adults and children contest, adopt and impose normative standards' which have defined certain people as 'imperfect' or 'other'.[565] This had profound implications upon the educational experiences

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[563] Michal Shapira, *The War Inside: Psychoanalysis, Total War and the Making of the Democratic Self in Postwar Britain (*New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.48-49. Mathew Thomson, for example, identifies the period after the Second World War as one in which 'psychological interpretations of well-being' were especially 'influential' in bringing a renewed focus upon 'the child's need for protection' which shaped social policies directed towards children, as well as the attitudes and approaches of 'childcare workers in a range of professions.' In particular, Thomson highlights the significance of the attachment psychology of John Bowlby which situated 'social relationships, care and affection as central to well-being' and 'subjectivity', which represented a significant departure from the individualist, inter-war model in which 'discipline, self-help and reliance' were fundamental principles of good childcare. Mathew Thomson, *Lost Freedoms. The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.12-3 and pp.79-81.

[564] John Stewart, "The dangerous age of childhood": child guidance and the "normal child" in Great Britain, 1920-1950', *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol.47, No.6 (2011), pp.785-803 (p.790).

[565] Stephen King and Stephen J. Taylor, '"Imperfect Children" in Historical Perspective', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 30, No.4 (2017), pp.718-726 (p.723).

of certain disabled children, who, as a consequence of their 'abnormal' status remained unable to access an education for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the Act did not include children with an IQ of less than fifty who were 'certified as ineducably mentally handicapped', and it was not until 1970 that all children of school age became the responsibility of Local Education Authorities (LEAs).[566] Furthermore, as special school teacher, Jessie Thomas, recalled there were 'unprecedented numbers' of children 'so handicapped' that they could not attend school, which she said included: 'cases of severe incontinence, children with facial and bodily disfigurements which would be shocking to others' and children who, 'even with the help of transport could not leave wheelchair or bed.'[567] Whilst *The Education Act* (1944) required local authorities to provide some form of tuition to such children, as an experienced former head teacher, Thomas felt the system lacked 'an organised plan to meet this difficulty.'[568] The first half of this chapter therefore examines shifting demographics of disabled children in relation to the implementation *of The Education Act* (1944). It argues that the identification and inclusion in education of children with more complex forms of impairment, coupled with the logistical and financial pressures of the post-war economy, limited the commitment of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to establish sufficient special educational provision, and justified the continued segregation of disabled children in special schools, which saw numbers increase substantially.

The next section of this chapter argues that within this context there remained an obvious potential role – and, arguably, a necessity – for charities and voluntary services to provide for the education of certain categories of disabled children. The section analyses the work of the National Spastics Society, established in 1952, in direct response to the limits of

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[566] Eda Topliss, *Provision for the Disabled* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott Ltd., 1975), p.33. Ted Cole, *Apart or A Part? Integration and the Growth of British Special Education* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), p.100.

[567] Jessie E. Thomas, *Hope for the Handicapped, A Teacher's Testament* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1967), p.165.

[568] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, pp.159-160; Jessie E. Thomas, *Hope for the Handicapped*, p.165

specialist statutory provision for children with cerebral palsy. Whilst Pat Thane has identified the post-war period as one characterised by ‘ambivalence’, ‘uncertainty’, and even ‘hostility’ with regards to the role of charity, other scholars, such as Gladstone and Finlayson, have described the relationship between charity and the state as a ‘moving frontier’ in which the ‘informal sector often operated within – and was affected by – the statutory sector.’[569] Undoubtedly, the establishment of the NHS in 1948 fundamentally altered the role of many charities as the Ministry of Health took over the responsibility for most hospitals, convalescent homes and other established areas of social care.[570] However, voluntary organisations shifted ground where necessary, and, according to Prochaska ‘[pioneered] terrain which the state dare not enter’.[571] This chapter argues that this was particularly notable in the work of the National Spastics Society which, in addition to establishing their own schools and centres, funded, promoted and pioneered educational practices for children with cerebral palsy which extended beyond the Society’s own schools to influence special educational practice more broadly.[572] In doing so, this chapter demonstrates the continued significance of charity, and its relationship to the State, in the post-war period.[573]

Finally, this chapter examines some of the special educational practices which developed in response to the need to educate increased numbers of disabled children which resulted from an educational climate that was preoccupied with the assessment and

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[569] Pat Thane, ‘Voluntary Action in Britain since Beveridge’, in Melanie Oppenheimer and Nicholas Deakin (eds.), *Beveridge and Voluntary action in Britain and the Wider British world (*Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp.121-134 (p.124); David Gladstone, ‘Renegotiating the Boundaries: risk and responsibility in personal welfare since 1945’, in Helen Fawcett and Rodney Lowe (eds.), *Welfare Policy in Britain. The road from 1945* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.,1999), pp.34-56 (p.46); David Gladstone, *The Twentieth-Century Welfare State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), p.66; Geoffrey Finlayson: *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.303.

[570] Madeline Rooff, *Voluntary Societies and Social Policy* (London: Routledge, 2002 [1957]), pp.69-70.

[571] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse. Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber & Faber, 1988), p.1; David Gladstone, *The Twentieth-Century Welfare State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), p.66.

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[573] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.304; Chris Davies, *Changing Society, A personal history of Scope (formerly The Spastics Society), 1952-2002* (Chippenham: Antony Rowe, 2002), p.5.

categorisation of children. As Mathew Thomson notes, teachers were particularly interested in 'what psychology had to reveal about the abnormal child' and this, he argues, shifted the focus of teaching 'from instructing students about subjects, to recognising the students as subjects – indeed psychological subjects – in their own right.'[574]

The section argues that this approach co-existed within a system in which evolving conceptions of childhood and the role of schooling paved the way for a more progressive approach to education; one that aimed to be more responsive to the individual needs of children. Within this context, the section argues that arts and crafts continued to play a prominent role in the education of disabled children. The influence of child psychology, and the emerging practices of art therapy, in particular, attached new values to the teaching of arts and crafts in schools, as subjects thought to facilitate the emotional and social development of children. As educators negotiated the challenges which emerged from the requirement to educate increased numbers of disabled children - some of whom presented with multiple and complex forms of impairment - arts and crafts appeared to offer a financially viable means to do this. However, as the chapter concludes, for certain disabled children this removed art of its value and came at the expense of a more formal education.

The Impact of the Second World War on Plans for Educational Reconstruction

As chapter one and two of this thesis demonstrates, prior to the establishment of the modern welfare state, a growing concern for the health, welfare and education of disabled children was notable through a range of voluntary and statutory provisions and services, which included the foundation of special schools for certain disabled children, the Open Air schools movement, and the establishment of the School Medical Service and Child Welfare service in 1908 and

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[574] Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects. Identity, Culture and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.132.

1918 respectively.[575] At the same time, in the first three decades of the twentieth century infant mortality declined substantially from 154 to 74 per 1000 births, and much of this was due to a 'general improvement in environmental hygiene and in general educational standards.'[576] Similarly, the tuberculosis death rate fell from 2890 to 476 per million people between 1851-1938, which reflected advances both in the management of infectious diseases via public health measures, as well as better treatment options for disabling diseases.[577]

Despite these general improvements, however, by the advent of the Second World War there remained substantial health inequities in Britain, and in wartime the requirement to rapidly reorganise 'demonstrated more starkly than before the deficiencies of the services and increased medical support for reform.'[578] As early as 1941, therefore, the government committed to plans for the 'provision of a comprehensive hospital service for all who needed it after the war.'[579] More significant still was the publication of the Beveridge Report in November of 1942, which brought substantial attention to the 'five giants' of 'Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor, and Idleness', and became the 'symbol of the aspirations of large sections of the British people for a better society.'[580]The report was circulated widely, selling more than 635,000 copies, and was known to an estimated 92% of the population.[581] The report thus placed substantial pressure upon the wartime coalition government to 'give serious – rather

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[575] Wofinden, *Health Services in England,* p.130.As David Crook notes, that the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948 brought with it a renewed focus to the role that should be played by schools to promote 'desirable health practices […] through a well-rounded health program embracing health instruction, health services, and healthful environmental living', and thus built upon pre-war developments through which the space of the classroom had become 'medicalised'. David Crook, 'Education, Health and Social Welfare', *History of Education,* Vol. 36, No.6 (2007), pp.651-657 (p.654).

[576] Wofinden, *Health Services in England,* p.122.

[577] Wofinden, *Health Services in England,* p.138.

[578] Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State, 2nd Edition* ,p.224.

[579] Helen Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation. Conflicts in the Development of Social Policy 1914-1946* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd., 1991), p.108.As Nicholas Timmins notes, the development of a comprehensive healthcare service after the Second World War led to 'dramatic improvements in care' but also 'huge unforeseen cost to the Welfare State'. Nicholas Timmins, *The Five Giants: A Biography of the Welfare State (*London: Harper Collins, 1995), p.129.

[580] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain* (Oxford: OUP 1994), p.257. Quoted in Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War* (London: Bodley Head, 1968), p.308.

[581] Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe (eds.), *From Beveridge to Blair. The first fifty years of the welfare state, 1948-98* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.5.

than token – attention to the problems of reconstruction', and the welfare plans which emerged in the post-war period, which included legislation in the areas of 'social security and the personal social services, the health service, education and employment'.[582] Broadly, the report, and responses to it, reflected both the collective responsibility engendered by wartime conditions and the substantial expansion of the state in the lives of its citizenry.

An increased concern for the welfare of children, precipitated by the experiences of war and evacuation, was a key aspect of these social and political developments. This is particularly notable via policies such as *The Family Allowances Act* (1946), which established a universal benefit paid to families for each second and subsequent child, and *The Children Act* (1948), which aimed to bring all childcare under local authority control.[583] However, it was in the area of education where the government's plans for reconstruction first materialised, with the passage of *The Education Act* in 1944. In short, as Hugh Cunningham notes, war focused the 'attention of policy-makers: it drove home the fact that the future of the nation was dependent on the skills with which its children were equipped', and it therefore represented just one of a raft of measures introduced as part of the modern welfare state which, both directly and indirectly, had profound implications upon the bodies and minds of children, including those who were disabled.[584]

The Creation of The Education Act (1944)

The substantial 'changes in social life' brought about by the war significantly influenced 'perceptions concerning impairment and disabled people' and also shaped post-war developments in special education.[585] In 1941, for example, the 'Cripples Training College at

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[582] Kevin Jeffreys, *The Churchill Coalition and Wartime Politics, 1940-1945 (*Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.118-119; Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe (eds.), *From Beveridge to Blair. The first fifty years of the welfare state, 1948-98* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.6.
[583] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, p.24.
[584] Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood*, pp.195-196.
[585] Felicity Armstrong, 'Disability, Education and Social Change in England since 1960', *History of Education*, Vol.36, Nos.4-5 (2007), pp.551-568 (p.557).

Leatherhead' was renamed 'The Queen Elizabeth Training College for the Disabled' at the request of the Queen; a decision which Sue Wheatcroft argues was consciously taken in order to positively influence public opinion in relation to disabled people.[586] Similarly, whilst men 'disfigured' through warfare 'tended to be seen as romantic heroes', the Second World War brought particular attention to disabled civilians who, as a result of war-related labour shortages, gained increased access to employment, and with that substantially more public recognition for their services.[587]

Broadly, the 'curiously progressive role' of wars allowed greater 'freedom and opportunity to oppressed groups such as women and disabled people' to participate 'in social arenas and activities not usually available to them'.[588]This required a reappraisal of their position in peacetime, which, as chapter four demonstrates, led to the creation of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* in 1944. In practical terms, 'the infrastructures of ordinary schooling, special education and residential institutions' were all 'profoundly affected by the blitz, the evacuation of children from the cities' and the significant reduction in 'human resources and basic amenities.'[589] In 1941, the number of children attending special schools in London was reduced by 50% and their attendance in ordinary schools during the war meant disabled children were more visible, which paved the way for them to be brought into the general education system after the war.[590] Jessie Thomas, for example, recalled the 'prejudice' her 'misunderstood' disabled pupils initially encountered when their school temporarily relocated to Peckforton Castle during the war, but noted that once the local community became

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[586] Sue Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.143.

[587] Julie Anderson, 'British Women, Disability and the Second World War', *Contemporary British History,* Vol.20, No.1 (2006), pp.37-53 (p.40); Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* p.176.

[588] Felicity Armstrong, 'The historical development of special education: humanitarian rationality or 'wild profusion of entangled events'?', *History of Education*, Vol.31, No.5 (2002), pp.437-456 (pp.441-442).

[589] Felicity Armstrong, 'Disability, Education and Social Change in England since 1960', *History of Education*, Vol.36, Nos.4-5 (2007) pp.551-568 (p.557).

[590] Felicity Armstrong, 'Disability, Education and Social Change', pp.551-568 (p.557).

more familiar with the school and its pupils their 'kindness…never failed [them] throughout [their] stay.'[591]

The experience of evacuation thus brought a renewed focus to the issue of education and child welfare as it the 'drew attention to the many aspects of English life that had previously gone undetected' and provided a 'unique opportunity to study children, including disabled children.'[592] Educators had to be responsive to the conditions of war, both in terms of the facilities they had access to, but also the approaches they used to meet the challenge of educating a broad range of children, often of mixed ages and abilities. According to Weitzman and Middleton, it was within this context that progressive educationalists were able to argue that 'education must be synonymous with growing up, a series of planned phases which enabled children to reach their full potential', and that it therefore needed 'a new orientation.'[593]

The Board of Education accordingly responded to this need in 1941 with the publication of *Education after the War*, otherwise known as the Green Book, which was later followed by the Board's White Paper *Educational Reconstruction* (1943).[594] Whilst the Green Book's

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[591] Jessie E. Thomas, *Hope for the Handicapped, A Teacher's Testament* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1967), p.155.

[592] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, pp.2-3.

[593] Nigel Middleton and Sophia Weitzman, *A Place for Everyone: A History of State Education from the Eighteenth Century to the 1970s (*London: Gollancz, 1976), p.204. According to Wheatcroft, Dr Sophia Weitzman was commissioned by the government to write an official history of education, which included significant research on disabled children. Her research remained unpublished until after her death when some of it was incorporated into *A Place for Everyone*, although the book made limited use of her research on disabled children who are only mentioned briefly. See Sue Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.2.

[594] According to Katherine Watson, the issue of educational reconstruction, focused particularly on secondary education, was first raised after the formal leaving age was extended to fourteen under the terms of the Fisher Act in 1918, as it was recognised that those maintained in elementary schools 'rarely achieved formal qualifications or had any real opportunity to remain in education beyond fourteen'. Conversely, Watson argues, secondary education was 'established as the royal route to both gentility and respectability.' Educational reformers therefore advocated for a system which would turn the 'elementary and secondary tracks into sequential tracks, appropriate to age rather than to social groupings.' In 1926, whilst chairing the Board of Education's Consultative Committee, Sir Henry Hadow proposed a new structure of primary education, which was to be provided until a child was eleven, followed by secondary education which would be provided in either grammar schools, modern schools or in senior classes within existing elementary schools. Under the proposed tripartite system, admission to a particular institution was to be determined by an entrance exam taken when a child was eleven; however, the financial constraints of the interwar years meant that Hadow's proposed reforms were not revisited until the publication of the Spens Report in 1938. The recommendations of both reports were revisited once again as plans for educational reconstruction after the Second World War commenced with the publication of the Green Book. Katherine Watson, 'Education and Opportunity', in Francesca Carnevali and

recommendations related to disabled children specifically were limited, they were, nonetheless, extremely influential in shaping *The Education Act* (1944). Most significantly, the report explicitly defined ‘the maladjusted or problem child’ as a new category which may require ‘residential special schools’, and proposed that the age of compulsory schooling for disabled children be lowered to 15 so that it was brought in line with the proposed extension of the school leaving age for ‘normal children.’[595] The report stimulated considerable debate; for example, the National Union of Teachers were stridently opposed to the lowering of the school leaving age, particularly for ‘mentally defective’ children as they felt it would leave a ‘dangerous gap of a year’ between the end of schooling and their ‘notification to the Mental Deficiency Authority.’[596] They were similarly dismissive of the plea for ‘equality of opportunity’, which they believed was regarded by many as synonymous with ‘grammar education for all’, and argued instead that the principles of educational equality should focus upon providing ‘a variety of provision to cater for differing gifts and capabilities.’[597]

Despite these criticisms, an Education Bill was introduced in 1943 based largely upon these recommendations, and whilst *The Education Act* (1944) made no explicit stipulations for a tripartite approach, it was, nonetheless, the system of education adopted by the post-war Labour government, who understood the principal of ‘equality of opportunity’ to be consistent with their socialist objectives.[598] In addition, under the terms of *The Education Act* (1944), a new Ministry of Education was established, the school leaving age was raised to fifteen, and it became the responsibility of local education authorities to make plans and provisions for free

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Julie Marie Strange (eds.), *20th Century Britain. Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), pp.354-373 (p.354); Sue Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving,* pp.2-3, p.146.

[595] The Green Book “Education After the War’’, June 1941, paras.75-76 in ‘Appendix’, Nigel Middleton and Sophia Weitzman, *A Place for Everyone: A History of State Education from the Eighteenth Century to the 1970s* (London: Gollancz, 1976).

[596] *Educational Reconstruction. A Report of Proposals by the Executive of the National Union of Teachers adopted by Conference Easter, 1942,*(Cheltenham: National Union of Teachers, 1942), p.26.

[597] *Educational Reconstruction. A Report of Proposals…,*p.2.

[598] Martin Francis, ‘A Socialist Policy for Education? Labour and the secondary school, 1945-1951’, *History of Education*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1995), pp.319-335 (p.319).

and universal secondary schooling, in the process organising out of existence the remaining all-age elementary school.'[599]

More significant still, the Act included 'all types of children requiring special educational treatment' with the aim of ensuring 'that no child suffering from any disability of body or mind [would] go unprovided for.'[600] Although the 1921 Education Act had included disabled children, 'such children remained a separate category relegated to special education.'[601] In contrast, the 1944 Act made it the responsibility of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to 'provide for the education of pupils in whose case the disability [was] serious in special schools appropriate to that category, but where that [was] impracticable, or where the disability [was] not serious, the arrangements may provide for the giving of such education in any school maintained or assisted by the Local Education Authority.'[602]

Principally, therefore, the Act acknowledged that special education was something which could be provided within any type of school, and thus created the potential for more disabled children to be included within ordinary schooling, rather than in segregated special schools. The *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* observed that this more integrated approach meant that children 'suffering any physical handicap' would not 'necessarily be limited to elementary education', but may also have the opportunity to access secondary education under the terms of the act.[603] The article recounted a 'change of attitude' evident in the act's description of disabled children which, it said, made no 'reference to defect or

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[599] Watson, 'Education and Opportunity'pp.354-355.

[600] The Act removed the requirement that a child be 'certified as mentally or physically defective' before they could be provided with education suited to their needs and proposed that no child would be 'certified as mentally defective' so long as they remained within the education system. In practice, however, this meant that there was no formal responsibility to educate children who were certified under the terms of *The Education Act* (1944). *Education Bill. Explanatory Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education* (London: Board of Education, December 1943), para.33; Sir Griffith Williams, 'The first ten years of the Ministry of Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.3, No.2 (1955), pp.101-114 (p.110)

[601] J.S Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream. A History of Special Education (*London: BT. Batsford Ltd, 1988), p.171.

[602] Education Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI, Ch.31), s.33, para.3.

[603] 'Handicapped Children. Education Bill Provisions', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer,* 15 March 1945, p.5.

defective' but instead described them as 'pupils who [required] special educational treatment'.[604] Whilst the article considered this to be a 'great gain', because it removed any association with those considered 'mentally deficient within the meaning of the Mental Deficiency Act', this assertion was in itself a tacit acknowledgement of the limits of inclusion and the continued stigma associated with intellectual impairment, in particular, which, as this chapter demonstrates, parent advocacy groups like the National Spastics Society sought to overcome.

Where disabled children were previously divided into five categories, the Ministry of Education laid down eleven separate categories of pupils who were understood to require special educational treatment (SET).[605] This approach was influenced by the Ministry of Education's acknowledgement that 'physical and mental handicap existed in all degrees, from the very slight to the serious, and that special education was not a matter of segregating the seriously handicapped from the fellows but of providing in each case the special help or modifications in regime or education suited to the needs of the individual child.'[606] The intention was to avoid the rigidity of the old system, which had designated disabled children as either blind, deaf, physically defective, epileptic or mentally defective.[607] This meant, for example, that those previously registered as physically defective were now categorised as either physically handicapped, delicate or diabetic; the assumption being that this more specialised grouping would allow for a more personalised approach to their care and education.

Moreover, these new categories emerged during a period where conceptions of disability were shifting. This meant, according to Hurt, that disabilities which had previously only been tacitly acknowledged, such as partial-sightedness, were now properly defined,

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[604] 'Handicapped Children. Education Bill Provisions', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer,* 15 March 1945, p.5.

[605] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped*, p.168 and p.210.

[606] *Pamphlet No.30, Education of the Handicapped Pupil 1945-1955 (*Great Britain: Ministry of Education, 1957), p.1; Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* p.209.

[607] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving.* p.11.

whereas others became less of a concern.[608] For example, prior to 1914, the primary disabling disease suffered by children in 'cripple schools' had been tuberculosis, which accounted for three-quarters of the pupils in special schools in Manchester and Birmingham.[609] In contrast, by 1964, there were just thirty-one registered cases of tuberculosis in special schools, which was superseded by conditions like cerebral palsy, which became the most common condition within special schools for physically impaired children.[610] Medical advances gradually eliminated conditions like polio and tuberculosis, and improved the outcomes and life expectancy for those living with other conditions. This necessitated a recalibration in terms of understanding what it meant to be a child with a physical impairment, as well as how the needs of such children would be met. This was reflected in regulations which attempted to recognise both the variety and degree of impairment present in the community, as well as explicitly acknowledging the responsibility of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to provide adequate provision of education for 'pupils of different ages, abilities and aptitudes.'[611] However, as this next section determines, in practice the implementation of the act increased the numbers of children identified as in need of SET, whilst the terms allowed for their continued segregation within special schools, and thus undermined its intended aim to extend equality of educational opportunity to disabled children.

The Education Act (1944) and its Impact on Special Education

The commitment to a more individualised approach to special education was consistent with the principles of equality of opportunity which had directed *The Education Act* (1944) and were notable in guidelines issued by the Board of Education in 1944, which acknowledged a

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[608] J.S Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream.* p.172.
[609] J.S Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream.* p.172.
[610] Stanley S. Segal, *From Care to Education (*London: Heinemann Medical, 1971), p.5.
[611] J.S Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream,*.171-172.

previous failure to properly address ‘individual differences.’[612] Within a system of education which allowed for the integration of disabled children in ordinary schooling, a reckoning with the complexity of individual needs and abilities was now deemed ‘imperative’, according to the Board of Education.[613] In 1944, the National Special Schools Union had challenged the commitment to this approach, and had appealed for amendments to be made to the Education Bill, as they argued that the terms which required LEAs to provide special educational treatment ‘so far as is practicable’ would ‘limit the provision made for the handicapped’.[614] The Union pointed out that in the past ‘when provision had been lacking , the excuse often given had been that it has not been *practicable* to make it’ and that the inclusion of this particular term would ‘crystallise this excuse for perhaps another forty or fifty years’.[615] The Education Bill was not amended, however, and the subjective language which required LEAs to provide special educational treatment ‘so far as is practicable’ in either special schools or special classes within mainstream schools remained.[616] The Union’s concerns were justified as this effectively established conditions whereby LEAs could evade certain responsibilities, particularly in relation to the integration of disabled children in mainstream schools.

Across the country there remained significant regional disparity in the provision of schooling, in terms of resources and facilities, which impacted upon how well LEAs could fulfil their responsibilities in administering the terms of the Education Act. In London plans for schools drawn up in 1947 anticipated that the integration of physically impaired children into mainstream schools would result in a decline of approximately two-thirds of the previously required special schools.[617] However, the same was not true of other parts of the country where

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[612] *Board of Education Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools (*London: HMSO, 1944), p.7.
[613] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1944), p.7.
[614] ‘The Education Bill’, *Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXIII, No.2 (Winter 1944), pp.35-36.
[615] ‘The Education Bill’, *Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXIII, No.2 (Winter 1944), p.36.
[616] Education Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI, Ch.31), S.33 Para.2.
[617] Stanley Segal, *No Child is Ineducable: Special Education - Provision and Trends* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1967), p.21.

‘even if a multiplicity of facilities seemed to exist, there was insufficient of each, as well as significant gaps in all.’[618] Whilst 102,272 young people were identified as in need of special education in 1947, only 40,252 were educated in special schools (approximately 37%), which signalled less the success of integrated schooling, and more the limitations of existing special school provision, as there remained considerable waiting lists for many of the special schools in Britain.[619] Moreover, whilst a 1949 study concerned with the ‘Special Educational Problems Of Physically Handicapped Children’ concluded that the smaller class sizes and ‘more individual methods’ of the ‘PH School’ (physically handicapped) under study ‘enabled children of a far wider range of ability to learn satisfactorily together than would be possible in an ordinary school’, the same report similarly observed the variable standards within special schools and noted that teachers were often ill-prepared as the focus of their training was still largely upon traditional ‘class methods’ which were inflexible in accommodating the individual needs of certain disabled children. [620]

The problems associated with providing adequate schooling for disabled children appropriate to their individual needs continued well into the 1950s, reflecting the financial, logistical and educational challenges which emerged from the increased numbers of children LEAs were required to provide an education to, who presented with a variety, both in type and degree, of impairment. In 1955, Sir Fred Messer reflected upon this issue in a pamphlet published by the National Committee for the Defence of Children in which he observed that the ‘startling figures’ published about disabled children were often qualified by the word ‘estimated’, which he believed indicated that the problem of provision ‘may very well be much

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[618] Stanley Segal, *No Child is Ineducable,* p.21.
[619] Ted Cole, *Apart or A Part?,* p.102.
[620] *Some Special Educational Problems of Physically Handicapped Children. Report of an enquiry conducted in 1949 by the National Association for Mental Health in conjunction with the Central Council for the Care of Cripples (*London, 1951), p.37. Segal similarly notes that, although ‘ordinary schools were increasingly proving ready to accept some of the mildly handicapped and special schools were tending to include pupils who at one time might have been excluded, teacher training was not keeping in step with the change.’ Stanley Segal, *No Child is Ineducable: Special Education,* p.25.

bigger than would appear from ascertainable figures.'[621] Official Ministry of Education figures indicated that the number of children receiving their education in special schools had risen to 56,604 by 1954, yet there were still 19,861 disabled children awaiting places in special schools.[622] Although the Education Act allowed for the establishment of SET classes within mainstream schools, referral to a segregated special school appeared to be the more standard approach of teachers and medical officers. Indeed, the Committee's findings indicated that the number of 'children 'ascertained' as being in need of education in special schools' rose as the number of available places in special schools increased because 'teachers [saw] no point in referring children for special examinations, when no such schools exist[ed].'[623] This meant, therefore, that there were disabled children within mainstream education whose individual and specific needs were neither identified, nor met, in either SET classes or segregated special schools because of the limitations of existing provision. A 'shockingly high proportion' of special educational treatment (SET) classes were reported to be oversized according to the terms established by the Ministry of Education, and this was particularly notable amongst 'physically handicapped', 'delicate' and 'educationally subnormal' children, where one class in the country '[contained] over 50 educationally subnormal pupils!'[624]According to *The Daily Herald* the poor quality of 'the clothing, food and child welfare' in certain special schools meant they still retained the 'workhouse atmosphere of Dicken's age.'[625] Whilst Ministry Inspector, James Lumsden, claimed that he would not wish his own child to attend such a school, this position was rebuked by the chairmen of governors who maintained that it was a

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[621] Sir Fred Messer, 'Preface', in Peggy Jay, *Making Our Way. The Story of the Handicapped Children, 2nd edition. Pamphlet published for the National Committee for the Defence of Children (*London: Deaner Printers Ltd, 1955).

[622] Peggy Jay, *Making Our Way. The Story of the Handicapped Children, 2nd Edition. Pamphlet published for the National Committee for the Defence of Children (*London: Deaner Printers Ltd, 1955), p.6.

[623] Peggy Jay, *Making Our Way*, p.6.

[624] Figures indicated that 921 out of 2823 special classes were oversized. Peggy Jay*, Making Our Way*,p.12.

[625] Title unknown, Roy Nash, Educational Correspondent, *Daily Herald*, 9 November 1953, press cuttings (1950s), UWT/D/42/2, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.

‘false standard’ because the ‘children [came] from poor homes’ and, therefore, they ‘would not be justified in treating them as [their] own.’[626]

Although the prejudicial attitude of the governor was unlikely to be representative of everyone working within special education, it was, nonetheless, illustrative of the ways in which the exclusionary markers of poverty and disability continued to render such children more vulnerable to poor treatment and education, not least because the uneven patchwork of special school provision often required their physical dislocation from home and the support and advocacy of family and guardians. Indeed, Lumsden argued in 1955 that ‘there were still very few people […] who [knew] much about the problems the handicapped arouse[d].’[627] He suggested that this resulted largely from the fact that schools and teachers rarely came into contact with certain conditions and estimated that:

> an infant or junior school with a two stream entry, taking in 80 new children a year, might go on for 25 years before, by the operation of the laws of chance, it took in one child so hard of hearing that special education would even be contemplated for him. Every six years it might find a child who was a severe cripple, but only once in 60 years would it be likely to have a really severe epileptic apply for admission. Some handicaps, like blindness or total deafness, are practically never seen in ordinary schools, because they are detected previously. So, one cannot expect to find much of the special types of education they need.[628]

The problem, as Lumsden saw it, was one of visibility and understanding of certain conditions, coupled with a resistance to invest in provision and services, which it was felt may not be utilised efficiently. Whilst he noted an improvement in terms of teacher training, which increasingly included visits to special schools, he maintained that it was only in the ‘largest LEAs that there [was] likely to be someone who [had] enough cases of these fairly rare types of handicapped children to feel that it [was] worthwhile making himself a specialist in this

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[626] Title unknown, Roy Nash, Educational Correspondent, *Daily Herald,* 9 November 1953, press cuttings (1950s), UWT/D/42/2, Institute of Education Archives, London, UK.
[627] J. Lumsden, *The Education of Handicapped Children (*London: National Union of Teachers, 1955), p.3.
[628] J. Lumsden, *The Education of Handicapped Children (*London: National Union of Teachers, 1955), p.3.

work.'[629] This required certain disabled children to access schooling outside of their LEA, or, as the terms of the Education Act allowed, to receive tuition at home where a school appropriate to their needs did not exist, or where a child was considered 'home-bound', and therefore unable to attend school in person.[630] Whilst such children may previously have had no access to education, this approach undoubtedly limited their interaction with other young people, and denied them the benefits of socialisation which the school environment was understood to foster.[631] The opportunity for such children to access education appropriate to their needs and capabilities was, therefore, substantially limited by a lack of expertise and resources which, as the next section of this chapter will demonstrate, was an issue certain charities, such as the National Spastics Society, aimed to remedy in the post-war period.[632]

Further still, the pressures the Ministry of Education were under in the post-war period, and the unparalleled pace of educational reconstruction, meant certain terms of the Education Act were prioritised more so than others, further disadvantaging disabled children. For example, the Act made provision for the school leaving age to be extended to 15, but, according to Sir Griffith Williams of the Department of Education, this was not immediately instituted for a number of reasons, including: an increased birth rate in Britain which meant 'an additional school population of well over a million pupils had to be faced'; the loss or serious damage of some 5000 schools by enemy action, and concern regarding labour shortages which would arise from the removal of 'some 400, 000 children from the labour market.' [633] The pressure to supply approximately 13,000 teachers was also significant in ensuring that integrated schooling remained a lesser priority on the educational agenda.[634] Thus, whilst by 1963 the teaching force

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[629] J. Lumsden, *The Education of Handicapped Children (*London: National Union of Teachers, 1955), p.4.

[630] Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped,* p.212.

[631] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving,* pp.159-160.

[632] Pritchard notes that there remained a significant number of 'severely disabled children for whom residential schooling [was] required', and that many of these were 'cerebral palsied children of low intelligence'. The lack of provision available meant some of them received no form of education at all. Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped* p.219.

[633] Williams, 'The first ten years of the Ministry of Education', p.110.

[634] Williams, 'The first ten years of the Ministry of Education', p.110.

had grown 'by some 100,00 since the end of the war', class sizes in mainstream schools remained around 25 pupils per class, which was significantly larger than the 20 pupils per class the Ministry of Education aspired to.[635]

Moreover, in the post-war period assessments were used widely across the education system to promote those deemed to have superior intelligence through the eleven-plus system, as well as determine a child's need for special education, which contributed substantially to the pressures the Ministry of Education were under as through this process more children were identified as requiring SET [636] As Ted Cole notes, 'great faith was placed in the intelligence test as a culture and environment free method of ascertaining a child's innate and largely immutable level of ability'; however, as one of the main architects of the intelligence test, Sir Cyril Burt himself notes that by 1955 it had 'become the target of heated controversy' because it was argued, amongst other things, that a child 'may vary its capacity for education at different times [637] In the field of special education, however, the various methods for assessing intelligence and capacity were more broadly accepted for much longer and children who required special education were, according to Turner, understood to be handicapped by disability.[638] This construction assumed that 'educational handicap' was the result of a diagnosed impairment, an understanding which was bolstered by *The Education Act* (1944) which provided the legislative framework for categorising children in order to determine their eligibility for special education. In the case of 'maladjustment', for example, the National

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Williams, 'The first ten years of the Ministry of Education'p.104; Cole, *Apart or A Part?*, p.100.

[635] Williams, 'The first ten years of the Ministry of Education', p.106.

[636] According to Sir Cyril Burt, the system was devised upon the basis that 'the ratio of each child's mental age to his chronological age [remained] approximately the same, at least up to the pubertal period', and it therefore followed that 'as age [increased], the mental differences between one child and another [would] grow larger and larger' so that by the age of 11 'they will already have increased so much that it will no longer be sufficient to sort out the different children into classes within the same school.' Sir Cyril Burt, 'The Examinations at 11+', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. VII, No.2 (May 1959), pp.97-117 (p.102).

[637] Cole, *Apart or A Part?*, p.100; Sir Cyril Burt,, 'The Examinations at 11+', p.99.

[638] Angela Turner, 'Education, Training and Social Competence: Special Education in Glasgow since 1945', in Anne Borsay and Pamela Dale (eds.), *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850-1979*, (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012),pp.159-172 (p.160).

Union of Teachers observed that, whilst the term was initially used to describe a particular syndrome for which clinical therapy was advised, by the 1960s it was applied more generally to 'difficult' children and those who required more 'than the usual amount of teaching skill in order to develop maturity if they [were] not to become outstandingly 'different.'[639] Whilst this instigated further educational and medical research, which bought a more psychological focus to the training and role of teachers who were understood to share in the responsibility for detecting 'signs of such disabilities if any child [was] unaccountably failing in his lessons'; it also sustained established notions of normality and abnormality which worked to maintain the acceptability of segregated education for disabled children.[640]

During this period, therefore, the number of children receiving their education in special schools increased considerably, and it was only in the case of 'physically handicapped' and 'delicate' children that there a significant fall. For example, between 1955 to 1965 the numbers of 'delicate' pupils in special schools fell from 8898 to 6708, whilst the numbers of 'physically handicapped' pupils fell from 4789 to 4486.[641] The reduction in the number of 'physically handicapped children' largely resulted from medical advances which had 'led some to predict that these schools would be closed', whereas in fact such schools became responsible for the education of 'much more severely handicapped children', which included children with cerebral palsy.[642] The hospital at Treloar College for example, admitted adult patients from 1952 because the number of children with 'tuberculous bones' reduced substantially, and this contributed to a shift in focus towards other conditions, such as cerebral palsy, which was evident in a course delivered by the school in 1956 which included a visit to 'the Wards', in order to understand the methods and approaches used in the education and treatment of children

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[639] *The Education of Maladjusted Children (*National Union of Teachers, 1962), p.3.

[640] *Education Pamphlet No.46: Slow Learners at School, Department of Education and Science* (London: HMSO, 1964), p.9.

[641] Cole, *Apart or A Part?* pp.102-103.

[642] Hilary M. Devereux, *Housecraft in the Education of Handicapped Children (*London: Mills and Boon Ltd., 1965), p.58.

with cerebral palsy.[643] After the Second World War, Chailey Heritage similarly underwent substantial changes, and the student population altered significantly. With the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948 both the Heritage hospital and schools came under the management of the Ministry of Health.[644] However, this decision was later overturned and Chailey became a non-maintained special day school with the Ministry assuming responsibility for all out of hours services.[645] By 1952, the Ministry of Education recognised Chailey as an 'independent hospital school with its own Board of Governors.' [646]At the time of Kimmins' death in 1954, the Heritage was still largely focusing upon orthopaedic work and retained a number of cases of 'surgical tuberculosis and post poliomyelitis.'[647] However, by the 1960s Chailey was increasingly recognised for its treatment of children with multiple and complex forms of impairment, including the education and treatment of children impacted by Thalidomide.[648] By1961, 70 of the 300 students who attended Chailey Heritage had cerebral palsy, and nearly all 'were said to be 'heavily disabled, for not only [had] modern medicine almost banished the cases of tuberculosis, rickets, and malnutrition […] but its improved knowledge and techniques [could] now offer hope to cases once considered helpless.[649] Special school populations thus increased substantially, which reflected not only the limits of integration into ordinary schooling as a result of financial, logistical and knowledge constraints, but, equally, the identification of many more significantly impaired children the state was now required to provide an education to. This was especially notable in the case of children categorised as 'educationally sub-normal' as this group expanded from 12,060 to 22,639

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[643]Linda Nugent, 'Lord Mayor Treloar Hospital', *Treloar School Magazine (*Easter 1961), 47M94/E2/1-10, Hampshire Records Office, UK; Lord Mayor Treloar Orthopaedic Hospital, Cerebral Palsy. One day course for teachers, 29th May,1956, 47M94/A20/3, Hampshire Records Office, UK.

[644] Ros Black, *Grace Kimmins and her Chailey Heritage*, (Haywards Heath: Arbe Publications, 2017), p.176

[645] Ibid

[646] Ibid

[647] Ros Black, *Grace Kimmins and her Chailey Heritage*, (Haywards Heath: Arbe Publications, 2017), p.191

[648] Ros Black, *Grace Kimmins and her Chailey Heritage*, (Haywards Heath: Arbe Publications, 2017), p.191

[649] Peter and Primrose Gardner, 'I pick flowers with my toes' (1961), HB/22/140/9, The Keep, Brighton, UK.

between 1947 to 1955.[650] Overall, ‘in the decade after 1945 the number of children attending special schools in England climbed from 38,499 to 58,034, and by 1972 the figure was no fewer than 106, 367’according to Borsay..’[651]

A Continuing Role for Charities: The National Spastics Society and Special Education for Children with Cerebral Palsy

The passage of the *Education Act* in 1944 principally acknowledged the rights of disabled children to access an education appropriate to their individual needs and abilities. The result of this was a system which identified many more children with variable and complex forms of impairment which the state was not adequately equipped to provide for. This created the conditions for grass-roots initiatives and parent advocacy groups, such as those who established The National Spastics Society in 1952, to campaign on behalf of their children to ensure their right to education was practically supported via the establishment of appropriate provision. Richard Dimbleby notes in *Every Eight Hours, The Story of the Spastics Society* that when the charity was first founded there was some initial trepidation regarding the potential to engage the public in concern for their cause as ‘on the face of it […] the National Health Service had done away with the need for help. Local Health Authorities had already set up “special” schools for the handicapped’[652] In reality, however, prominent charities, such as the Charity Organisation Society (COS), remained ‘influential in advising the government on the establishment of the new welfare state.’[653]

In the case of certain categories of disabled children, particularly those identified as having more complex needs, voluntary organisations continued to perform an important

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[650] Colin Barnes, *Disabled People and Discrimination: A Case for Anti-discrimination Legislation (*London: Hurst & Company, 1991), p.30.

[651] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.111.

[652] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.25.

[653] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.171.

function, which included the material provision of things like specialist equipment, holiday schemes and schools. More importantly, the work of organisations which emerged in this period significantly expanded into advocacy, as they campaigned to ensure the rights principally acknowledged through the establishment of the welfare state were practically delivered to disabled children. Thus, whilst the Labour government aspired to a state able to provide for all the basic needs of its citizens, in reality new voluntary organisations emerged 'during and immediately after the war, as specific needs were identified for which the state was not providing.'[654] In 1946, for example, The Association of Parents of Backward Children, which later became MENCAP, was founded after Judy Fryd wrote 'a letter to *Nursery World Magazine* asking if other parents faced similar challenges whilst educating their assumed "backward" children at home', which resulted in hundreds of responses from other parents and over a thousand members joining the association within a months.[655] According to Kilgannon, the formation of the association reflected a 'repudiation of eugenics-based thinking in the aftermath of the Second World War', which was evident in the proliferation of similar parent advocacy groups 'across the anglophone world', but in Britain especially, reflected the 'emergence of 'expert citizens' in public policy debates.'[656]

However, it was arguably in the education of significantly physically impaired children, and particularly those affected by cerebral palsy, that the continued role of voluntary bodies was most evident, as LEAs relied heavily upon them, especially in the immediate years after the passage of *The Education Act* (1944) to support in the provision of specialist schools.[657] This reliance on charitable organisations meant that, much like earlier charitable schools for

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[654] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, p.125

[655] Rubahanna Choudhury, 'The Forgotten Children: The Association of Parents of Backward Children and the Legacy of Eugenics in Britain, 1946-1960' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford Brookes University, 2015) p.23.

[656] David Kilgannon, 'Public attention for private concerns: intellectual disability parents, organisations in the Republic of Ireland, 1955-1970', *Medical Humanities*, Vol.46 (2020) pp.483-491 (p.483).

[657] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.157; Pritchard, *Education and the Handicapped* p.219.

disabled children, the institutions run by the National Spastics Society (later The Spastics Society), were significant in pioneering approaches for educating children with complex, multiple and varying degrees of impairment, and also played a significant role in shaping public understandings of disability, in both positive and negative ways, through their charitable agenda.

Prior to the Second World War, children with cerebral palsy were largely deemed ineducable, and had limited access to a formal education.[658] When Vera Dean was born in 1928, for example, the nurse who delivered her told her mother that she would 'never be any use – she [would] never be like a normal child', whilst other accounts from parents similarly recount being advised at the birth of their child that they were likely to die and should be placed in institutional care because they wouldn't have 'enough intelligence in mind' to achieve anything.[659] Vera, however, was amongst the fortunate few who did receive an education, albeit one which didn't commence until 1940 when she was moved into an Experimental Cerebral Palsy Unit at Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton, run by a pioneering physical therapist, Eirene Collis.[660] Cerebral palsy was 'not a focus of the first school programs for children with physical impairments', which instead prioritised conditions like tuberculosis, not only because they represented a significant public health concern, but because the approach to treatment, with its focus upon improving the physiological conditions of the body through exposure to the open air, as well as developments in the field of orthopaedics, transformed the 'crippled child' into

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[658] 'Ten Years of Service to Spastics', *Spastics News 10th Anniversary,* p.36, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[659] Vera Dean, *Three Steps Forward* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), pp.9-10. The stigma associated with cerebral palsy often extended to the wider family. For example, the parents of a son with cerebral palsy recalled how their non-disabled daughter was often not invited to the birthday parties of her peers 'for fear there was bad blood in the family' Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours,* p.11. See also Humphries and Gordon, *Out of Sight.*

[660] Collis joined the staff of the hospital in 1943, and, according to Vera, it was through her encouragement that she discovered an interest in learning. She had previously worked in Baltimore under Dr Winthrop Phelps, 'who had established the first specialist clinic for children with cerebral palsy in 1920 in the United States', and it was this experience and growing expertise which she brought to the Unit at St Mary's. Dean, *Three Steps Forward,* pp.-15-36; Davies, *Changing Society,* pp.20-21.

a fixable body.[661] After the Second World War, however, a number of factors worked to alter the populations in special schools, and this eventually meant children with cerebral palsy represented the largest group receiving their education in special educational settings. *The Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal,* observed a growing interest in cerebral palsy amongst the medical community as a result of the pioneering methods of Dr. Winthrop Phelps in the United States, as it '[became]more generally realised that well-devised training methods may bring about substantial improvement in those diplegics who retain a fair degree of intelligence.'[662] Advancements in surgery arguably made it easier for such children to attend school, whilst conditions like polio substantially declined from 1956 due to the successful implementation of an inoculation programme.[663]

In 1946, an article in the *The National Cripples Journal* quoted the Medical Superintendent of Queen Mary Hospital for Children, Carshalton, who called for the education of 'over fussy' parents who '[mothered]' their 'physically handicapped' children as he observed that their physical impairment did not mean 'their brain and intelligence [was] below normal.'[664] His disparaging comments directed towards the parents of children with cerebral palsy revealed the complex relationships which co-existed between medical professionals, disabled children and their parents or carers, as in actuality it was the parents of children with cerebral palsy who were integral to advancing their educational opportunities. This was precipitated by a number of factors which occurred in the late 1940s. Firstly, the specialist unit run by Eirene Collis secured new premises to become the first specialist school for children with cerebral palsy, St Margaret's in Croyden, to which an active Parents Association was

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[661] Philip L. Safford & Elizabeth J. Safford, *A History of Childhood Disability* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996), p.193.

[662] R.M. Norman, 'Cerebral Diplegia Following Birth Injury', *The Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal*, Vol.65, No.234 (Summer 1948), pp.43-47(p.43).

[663] J.S Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream,* p.174.

[664] L. Inskip, 'Editorial', *National Cripples Journal,* No. 65 (1946), p.1.

attached.[665] In the same year the British Council for the Welfare of Spastics' (BCWS), which was said to have contributed significantly to the 'renewed interest' in cerebral palsy in Great Britain, was founded.[666] Gradually a small network of voluntary schools specifically for children with cerebral palsy was established; however, the provision of special schooling across the country remained limited and could only accommodate very small numbers of students. St Margaret's, for example, had space for up to 30 pupils, despite often holding a waiting list of 'up to 200.'[667] This was later followed by the Dame Rogers School in Devon in 1949, which provided schooling for up to 27 children, and the Percy Hedley School in Newcastle which opened in 1952 and took in 12 children.[668]

Further still, when the specialised schools first opened, only those children who appeared to be roughly within the normal range of intelligence were admitted, and whilst this granted access to some children with cerebral palsy for whom this was previously not considered possible, it nonetheless left many with no suitable provision at all.[669] Although plans were slowly made in some districts for 'the treatment and education of affected children', such as the opening of 'The Swindon Spastic Unit' in 1951, it was believed that further research was necessary 'to know how many children with cerebral palsy [were] to be expected in any community' and what the nature of their impairment was in order to ensure any plans were 'effective'.[670] For members of the Parents Association of St Margaret's school this approach, and the BCWS more broadly, were criticised for relying too heavily upon 'medical research'

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[665] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, pp.17-18.

[666] R.M.Norman, 'Cerebral Diplegia Following Birth Injury', *The Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal*, Vol.65, No.234 (Summer 1948), pp.43-47 (p.43).

[667] 'TSS Resource notes: a brief history of the Spastics Society (from 1952-1964)- typewritten draft document', p.1, Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[668] 'TSS Resource notes: a brief history of the Spastics Society (from 1952-1964)- typewritten draft document', p.2, Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[669] Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.158.

[670] Patricia Asher and F. Eleanor Schonell from the Department of Paediatrics and Child health at the University of Birmingham, 'A Survey of 400 cases of Cerebral Palsy in Childhood', *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, Vol.25, No.124 (1950) pp.360- 379 (p.360); J. B. Stewart and J. Urquart, 'The Swindon Spastic Unit', *Rheumatology*, Vol. 1, No.7(1953), pp.245-249 (p.245).

at the expense of more ‘concrete assistance in the provision of education, accommodation and employment for their children.’[671] They therefore made plans to establish a grammar school, as their children could only attend St Margaret’s until they were thirteen, and when their bid to secure funds for the school failed they decided to establish the National Spastics Society to be able to fundraise and meet this need instead.[672]

By 1954 the Ministry of Education maintained only seven special schools for children with cerebral palsy which, as was noted in the *Picture Post*, were ‘set up by voluntary efforts in the first place.’[673] The early aims of the National Spastics Society were, therefore, focussed upon the provision of schools, and between 1955 and 1966 they opened and ran seven schools offering specialist education and training for children with cerebral palsy of varying needs and capabilities.[674] Thomas Delarue, for example, opened in 1957 and reflected the Society’s early ambitions to provide a grammar-style education as it ‘was the first secondary school in Britain devoted entirely to the education and treatment of cerebral palsied children’, whereas Meldreth Manor, which opened much later in 1966, reflected the changing populations of children being referred to the Society, as it was ‘conceived as a pioneering project to provide residential care and training for cerebral palsied children of severely subnormal intelligence.’[675]

The number of children accommodated within the Society’s schools remained relatively small; for example, by the early 1970s, this only amounted to 504 pupils across the seven schools.[676] However, the educational work of the charity was supplemented by its extensive network of centres, which in 1964 totalled one hundred, and they worked

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[671] Davies, *Changing Society*, p.20

[672] ‘TSS Resource notes: a brief history of the Spastics Society (from 1952-1964)- typewritten draft document’, p.2, Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[673] ‘Photocopy of press cutting, ‘We Can Help Spastic Children, *Picture Post*, 13 November 1954’, Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[674] ‘Information on Spastics Society Schools’, EAC/P (74)16, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[675] ‘Information on Spastics Society Schools’, EAC/P (74)16, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[676] ‘Information on Spastics Society Schools’, EAC/P (74)16, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

cooperatively with local hospitals and councils to deliver therapy, education and training.[677] In 1960, for example, the LEA in Surrey '[provided] and [maintained] all the teaching equipment, and [paid] for two teachers' to attend daily at the Worplesdown Day Centre, although this was limited to only two hours of tuition for the two teenage pupils who attended the centre.[678]

Whilst the National Spastics Society worked to materially provide education and training for children and adults with cerebral palsy, it additionally assumed a responsibility for educating the public about cerebral palsy with the intention of soliciting sympathy, and funds, for the 'plight of spastics.'[679] At the same time, the Society's campaigns were concerned with replacing the term 'cerebral palsy', which it was felt 'wrongly [suggested]mental deficiency', with the more 'neutral' one of 'spastic'.[680] The National Spastics Society therefore had to negotiate competing agendas, which simultaneously constructed people with cerebral palsy as helpless and incapable, whilst demonstrating a concerted effort, through the organisation's preferred use of the word 'spastic', to remove such individuals' from the associated stigma of cognitive impairment. Much like earlier charitable campaigns for physically impaired children, the rhetoric of the National Spastics Society relied heavily upon the unrealised potential of 'spastics' who, according to *Spastics News*, 'tended to be treated as incurable cripples or insane or both, and crowded with other unfortunates in huge institutions away from the public eye' before the Second World War.[681]

Thus, whilst children with cerebral palsy were new objects of charity and education, the messaging surrounding their bodies was consistent with that of earlier charitable campaigns, such as the techniques deployed by Grace Kimmins at Chailey Heritage. Their right

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[677] By 1964 the Spastics Society had opened one hundred centres across the country. 'The Spastics Society', *British Medical Journal*, 19 Dec 1964, p.1600.

[678] 'After a Short Visit to the Worplesdon Day Centre' *Spastics News* (April 1960), pp 12- 13, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK

[679] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.25

[680] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.25

[681] 'Ten Years of Service to Spastics', *Spastics News 10th Anniversary*, p.36, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

to be included in education was, to a degree, contingent upon them being publicly understood as socially productive, future citizens with functionally useful bodies and minds. As chapter one and two of this thesis demonstrates, in the earlier special schools, with their focus upon crafts, this was achieved most tangibly through the craft objects made by disabled children, which provided material evidence of their bodily potential. In the case of children with cerebral palsy, however, the physical manifestation of their condition often resulted in difficulties with speech and fine motor skills, which historically had led to a presumption of mental deficiency.

In advocating for their children's rights to education, the early founders of the National Spastics Society consequently aimed to reduce the association with cognitive impairments by stressing, in particular, the intellectual potential of their children. Ian and Margaret Dawson, for example, maintained that they had 'seen the intelligence' in their daughter Rosemary's eyes, and whilst her cerebral palsy might have made her 'a cripple' it did not mean she was 'mentally defective.'[682] Similarly, in many examples in the press and other publications, including *Spastics News*, the charity campaigned and fundraised for improved educational provision on the basis that cerebral palsy produced a 'physical damage' which was 'distressingly visible' but 'need not affect the child's intelligence.' [683] Indeed, 'the child's spirit, and its mental abilities' although believed to be 'unimpaired' were described 'like a seed struggling to flower', and access to specialist education was therefore positioned as the solution to unlocking the intellectual potential of cerebral palsied children.[684]

Such an approach was not surprising, given the historic exclusion of children with cerebral palsy, and, more significantly, the continued exclusion of those children deemed 'ineducable mental defectives' under the terms of *The Education Act* (1944), as it was, to a

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[682] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.25

[683] 'Photocopy of press cutting, 'We Can Help Spastic Children, *Picture Post*, 13 November 1954', Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[684] 'Photocopy of press cutting, 'We Can Help Spastic Children, *Picture Post*, 13 November 1954', Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

degree, necessary for the Society to disassociate from such children in order to successfully advance its charitable agenda. Moreover, given the general understanding of education as preparatory training for the world of work, it is unsurprising that the early approach of an organisation which advocated for the educational needs of children who were previously excluded from that system would focus upon their capacity to be economically useful. These long-held understandings of disability were not just a continuation of early twentieth century approaches to education, but, were further reinforced by more recent social anxieties, and most notably Britain's wartime experience which brought a renewed focus to the issue of disability. During the Second World War, certain disabled young people were permitted to leave school early in order to take up their place in employment in order to support the war effort, and with the introduction of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* in 1944 which aimed to 'secure employment rights for disabled people', it seems likely that the approach of the National Spastics Society was to attempt to be responsive to these more 'inclusionary' policies which, at least in principle, recognised the capacity and rights of disabled people to work.[685] This was notable in their expansive programme of training and sheltered employment for people with cerebral palsy, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four. However, as Safford and Safford note, a by-product of some of the advocacy work done by organisation's like the National Spastics Society has been to obscure 'the reality that neurological impairment [could] affect a child's perceptual processes, learning style, cognitive abilities and socioemotional development.'[686] Rather than challenge an existing system which only considered valuable the contributions of economically productive bodies, the messaging of the National Spastics Society reinforced that system, to a degree, through a reframing which aimed to affirm that

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[685] Felicity Armstrong, 'The historical development of special education', pp.437-456 (p.441); Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, *Disabled People and Social Policy. From Exclusion to Inclusion* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1998), p.37.

[686] Philip J Safford and Elizabeth J Safford, *A History of Childhood,* p.194.

most children and young people with cerebral palsy could, and indeed should, work within that system.

Despite some of the associations with older models of charity, which focused largely upon equipping disabled children with vocational skills, the National Spastics Society equally operated within an educational climate which, in the post-war period, was concerned with more rigorous research and assessment of children. Indeed, the promotion of 'research into the causes, treatment and prevention of cerebral palsy' was explicitly defined as one of the central aims of the charity, and as early as 1955 the National Spastics Society established a child development and research unit at Guy's Hospital in London.[687] This increased commitment to research and the dissemination of knowledge about cerebral palsy, its management and the methods through which to best educate children with cerebral palsy was notable. At a meeting at Craig-Y-Parc school in 1957, for example, the issue of 'spastics leaving their brains for research' was discussed, but it was emphasised that 'full documentation' of the individual's 'life and abilities' was necessary if the brain was to be of 'any use' to the medical community.[688] Similarly, throughout the 1960s, the society's 'Educational Research Sub-Committee' funded and disseminated research in a number of areas which included: the 'use of art, music and other such media in schools for physically handicapped children'; the 'coordination of Visual and Motor skills and other activities in cerebral palsied children', and the 'influence of the home background on the development of severely subnormal children.'[689] The Spastic Society Motor Development Research Unit also undertook substantial research into 'the development of hand usage' on the understanding that the 'The hands [were] man's

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[687] TSS Resource notes: a brief history of the Spastics Society (from 1952-1964)- typewritten draft document', Box 142: Early History of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[688] Minutes of the meeting Held at Craig-y-parc school on 3rd December 1958, Box 2: Meetings of Heads of Schools and Centres (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[689] 'Draft report on the work of the EAC between April 1967 and March 1968 for submission to the executive committee of the Spastics Society'; 'Appendix A:Papers considered by the EAC during 1967/1968'; 'Report on the work of the Educational Research Sub-Committee from April 1967 to April 1968', all Box 12 'Educational Advisory Committee Papers (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

most highly developed organs for skilled motor performances' and were 'essential for a wide range of everyday function' which included 'communication.'[690]

Through this, and similar research, the society developed a broader understanding of the variety and degree by which children were affected by cerebral palsy, whilst at the same time observing that the populations of their schools and centres were changing as more and more 'severely handicapped children' were referred to the National Spastics Society.[691] For example, in 1965 41% of pupils in the Society's schools were considered 'Normal or Dull', compared to 27% who were deemed 'Educationally Subnormal' (ESN), whereas by 1968 'Normal and Dull' pupils accounted for just 33% of the total school populations, whilst ESN pupils had risen to 30%.[692] As the Society's understanding of cerebral palsy expanded and evolved, and as more significantly impaired children accessed their services, a re-evaluation of the aims of education for children with complex and variable needs was required, and this was similarly reflected in the pedagogical practices of special school educators more generally.

Whilst the post-war educational climate was one characterised by more rigorous assessment, which contributed substantially to the continued segregation of disabled children in special schools, and which, as a result, limited their educational opportunities, this co-existed with a more progressive, and arguably anachronistic, approach to education which was focused upon the overall development and well-being of children, and thus aimed to place 'the needs of the individual child at the heart of the educational process.'[693] At a meeting for the heads of schools and centres run by the National Spastics Society in 1957, for example, the invited

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[690] 'Spastics Society Motor Development Research Unit, University of Sheffield. Annual report of the work (August 1968-1969) and future proposals for the Unit's research', EAC/P (69)17, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[691] 'Changes in the kinds of children referred to the Society', EAC/P (69) 4, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, UK.

[692] 'Changes in the kinds of children referred to the Society', EAC/P (69) 4, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, UK.

[693] Thomson notes that whilst there was some ambivalence amongst teachers and psychologists regarding the 'value' of mental testing, those that supported it did so invariably as a means to support the more 'fundamental primary objective' of supporting the individual child. Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects. Identity, Culture and Health in Twentieth Century Britain (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.112-113.

speaker, Dr. Schonell, stated that it was ‘harmful’ to persist ‘in trying to teach a child to read and write and do arithmetic if the IQ was so low that no useful purpose was served.’[694] As an alternative, he suggested that ‘sub-normal children could appreciate stories, radio, music etc.’, and thus prioritised enjoyment over utility for children presumed unable to fully participate in formal learning.[695]

By the late 1960s, the Society observed that the aims of education necessarily had to evolve beyond that of achieving ‘occupational status’ to include some of the ideals of ‘progressive schools’, which focused upon the ‘[development] of the whole child’, ‘self-expression and emotional development’, and which, it was believed, would lead to a ‘well-balanced, unspecialised’ and ‘relatively uncompetitive adult.’[696] As the next section of this chapter demonstrates, this was reflected in the approaches taken by special school teachers who aimed to deliver a programme of education which acknowledged the social and emotional dimensions of disability, often through the teaching of arts, crafts and other creative subjects which were more explicitly recognised for their contribution to the overall development of the child, in body and mind, rather than as a means to prepare disabled children for future employment.

Arts, Crafts and Special Educational Practice after the Second World War

The Education Act (1944) resulted in in the identification and inclusion of disabled children who presented with a broad range of needs and abilities, which required a reappraisal of education aims and practices which extended beyond the notions of participatory citizenship which the old system, with its focus upon the ‘three R’s’ and vocational forms of training,

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[694] ‘Minutes of the National Spastics Society, Meeting of the Heads of schools and centres 29th June 1957’, Box 24: Meetings of Head of Schools and Centres (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London.UK.

[695] ‘Minutes of the National Spastics Society, Meeting of the Heads of schools and centres 29th June 1957’, Box 24: Meetings of Head of Schools and Centres (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London.UK.

[696] **‘**The Aims of Education for Severely Physically and Mentally Handicapped Children’, EAC/P (68)7, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

embodied. Guidelines issued by the Board of Education in 1944, for example, recognised that 'the range of intelligence and the degree of social adaptability' in any class could vary considerably, and therefore the methods of education used necessarily had to adapt to acknowledge that 'the child [learned] in many ways.'[697] This more psychological conception of childhood was similarly observed in advice produced by The British Council for the Welfare of Spastics for parents of children with cerebral palsy who discussed the important role of speech from 'the psychological point of view' and noted that 'a command of speech [was] vital to a child's normal mental development since it [was] the expression of his thoughts and feelings.'[698]

Where, previously the work of special schools had explicitly viewed education as preparation for work, which led them to prioritise a system of training in trades and crafts, evolving conceptions of childhood identified the school as integral to a child's proper social and emotional development, and training for employment was therefore increasingly viewed as supplementary to a child's formal period of learning.[699] Whilst securing work for their students remained an ambition of many educators working with disabled children, in the post-war period a proliferation of industrial training schemes and sheltered workshops established as a result of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944) meant work-based training was no longer embedded within a disabled child's formal period of learning, as chapter four will demonstrate. Instead, art forms such as painting and drawing featured prominently in the special school environment. Through their association with progressive forms of teaching, as

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[697] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1944), p.17.

[698] 'The British Council for the Welfare of Spastics, Notes for the Parents on the Home Care of Children Handicapped by Cerebral Palsy, 1949' (p.19), Box 67: Historical Pictures (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[699] The issue of employment was closely connected to the terms of the Education Act, as the extension of the school leaving age to fifteen necessarily required 'modifications of the enactments relating to the employment of children'. As the President of the Board of Education observed in 1943, it 'would be out of the question to leave provisions on the Statute Book which [allowed] the whole-time employment of children below the statutory leaving age.' *Education Bill. Explanatory Memorandum by the President of the Board of Education* (London: Board of Education, December 1943), para.55.

well as the professional development of art therapy after the Second World War, they came to be more therapeutically defined and valued for the contribution they could make to the overall development, in mind and body, to the disabled child. As this section argues, the increasing emphasis on arts-based practices in special schools reflected this shifting conceptualisation of the needs of disabled children.

According to Macdonald, the transition from the 'High Art at the end of the nineteenth century' to the 'colourful impressionistic work' of the early twentieth century 'made possible for the first time a comparison between child and adult art.'[700] Where previously the work of children had been viewed as crude, the impact of this allowed for a reading of child art which considered it to be sensitive and expressive, and this promoted a re-evaluation of the role of art more generally, particularly amongst those responsible for the education of younger children. The philosophical work of John Dewey was influential to this more progressive valuation of art.[701] In his seminal text, *Art as Experience,* Dewey looked to the impulsive actions of children which he believed represented the 'initial stage of any complete experience.'[702] He observed a tendency to overlook these early impulsive stages that to him were fundamental to understanding the experience of art-making, which resulted in an approach which prioritised instead 'the differentiations' and 'the divisions of labour which rendered] them more efficient.'[703] For Dewey, therefore, art-making was valuable, as it created for the child the space for a more exploratory and expressive form of development. Its value lay less in the creative

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[700] Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (London: University of London Press,1970), p.329.

[701] According to Steve Higgins, whilst some scholars have 'doubted the extent of Dewey's influence in Britain', it was notable in the recommendations of the 1933 Hadow Report, as well as in the 'practical framing of new teaching methods' developed in the interwar period. Thus, by the outbreak of the Second World War 'Dewey had become established as one of the 'key voices on education'. Steve Higgins, 'Introduction: What did John Dewey think about Democracy and Education? And does it still matter?', in Steve Higgins and Frank Coffield (eds.), *John Dewey's Democracy and Education. A British Tribute* (London: UCL Institute of Education Press, 2016), pp.1-6 (p.2).

[702] John Dewey, *Art as Experience (*New York: Capricorn Books, 1958), p.58.

[703] Dewey, *Art as Experience,* p.61.

outputs themselves, but in how art could allow a person to fully develop their capacity for thoughts, feelings and creativity, which Dewey deemed so essential to human experience.

Dewey's ideas found currency amongst certain art teachers interested in, and influenced by, the New Education Movement which 'posited an alternative' to the 'formalistic teaching' of the nineteenth century, drawing inspiration instead from 'a child and community centred tradition.'[704]This more child-centred approach to art teaching aligned closely, and was influenced by, a growing interest in child development studies in this period, which lent legitimacy to art teachers interested in a more progressive model of teaching. Evelyn Gibbs, for example, taught at Goldsmith's College in the 1930s, and criticised the 'old method of teaching' which she said focused too heavily upon teaching the child to 'draw'; by which she meant 'mechanically to copy the appearance of objects.'[705] She believed that this 'stifled the child's natural creative impulse', and observed a difference in approach between the child and the artist who 'quite consciously' arranged their colour and shape, in contrast to the child who 'often with surprising speed and assurance [worked] on instinct.'[706] According to Gibbs, it was the responsibility of the teacher to provide materials and foster an environment which engendered the creative impulse in children.[707] She observed that the materials and tools children often had to work with did little to 'inspire enthusiasm, consisting as they did of inadequate pieces of paper, bad water-colours, spidery paintbrushes , unsympathetic pencils and the inevitable rubber.'[708] The teacher's insistence on the need for good equipment to work with appeared to understand objects like the paintbrush as an extension of the person using them. The failure of the paintbrush, therefore, to deliver the desired effect became a failure of

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[704] Steven Cowan and Gary McCulloch, 'The reception and impact of *Democracy in Education*: The case of Britain', in Steve Higgins and Frank Coffield (eds.), *John Dewey's Democracy and Education. A British Tribute* (London: UCL Institute of Education Press, 2016), pp.7-29 (p.15).

[705] Evelyn Gibbs, *The Teaching of Art in Schools: An illustrated description of children's imaginative painting and its effects in craft* (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1936), p.13.

[706] Evelyn Gibbs, *The Teaching of Art in Schools*, p.18.

[707] Evelyn Gibbs, *The Teaching of Art in Schools*, p.14.

[708] Evelyn Gibbs, *The Teaching of Art in Schools*, p.14.

the individual, which she believed limited the enthusiasm of students in the art class. Hence, it was the responsibility of the art teacher to provide all of the things necessary, including high-quality art materials, to construct an environment conducive to creative work.

By 1938, official Board of Education guidance for teachers had begun to recognise the value of newer approaches in art teaching that allowed a child to express ideas 'about the things which surround him long before he can use the written word'.[709] Later in the century, these approaches gained further traction, as notions of the arts shifted to encapsulate civic pride, leisure and the freedom of self-expression during the Second World War. Along with 'social welfare and economic democracy', the arts achieved special significance during the conflict, because they 'came to symbolise the antithesis of Hitlerism.'[710] In 1939, for example, the Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (later the Arts Council of Great Britain) was founded in acknowledgement of the 'civilising powers' of art which it aimed to promote 'the more informal procedures of adult education.'[711] Moreover, in 1943, proposals for the development of Industrial Rehabilitation Centres suggested that 'concerts, debates and picture exhibitions' could be arranged 'in collaboration with the CEMA.'[712] Thus, efforts to make the arts more accessible to a broader demographic, facilitated through free exhibitions and other events, not only represented a commitment to democratic and communitarian values, but revealed a degree of confidence in the potential of the arts to preserve such values, as well as to promote health.

Within this context, the approaches of individuals such as Evelyn Gibbs began to hold more currency and contributed to a more holistic approach to the teaching and appreciation of art, which became influential in defining the character of art education, for disabled children especially, in the post-war period. At the same time, a number of scholars began to build on

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[709] Herbert Read, *Education Through Art* (London: Faber & Faber, 1943), p.211

[710] Susan Hogan, *Healing Arts. The History of Art Therapy* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers,2001),p.290.

[711] *The First Ten Years. Arts Council of Great Britain, 1946-1956* (London: Arts Council,1956), p.4

[712] 'The Need for Rehabilitation Centres. A Problem in Social Medicine, *The Times*, February 20, 1943, p.5.

these ideas and offered further impetus to encourage artistic activities in special schools. This is especially evident in art historian Herbert Read's 1943 book, *Education Through Art,* in which he defined the purpose of education as one intended to 'foster the growth of what [was] individual in each human being' whilst 'at the same time harmonising the individuality thus educed with the organic unity of the social group to which the individual [belonged].'[713] According to Read, art played a vital role in achieving this, and the book therefore presented a comprehensive case for the fundamentals of an aesthetic education in which the role of the teacher was to ensure that 'the sense of value [in children's artwork] never [lost] its instinctive basis, to become an ethical code or an aesthetic canon; an artificial appendage to an otherwise appetitive existence.'[714]

The recognition that art was something which was good for the individual, and therefore good for the nation, not only gave art more status, but also represented a shift away from the vocational focus of earlier craft training, towards an approach which was more explicitly therapeutically framed and understood. It was during this period that art therapy was also more formally established as a profession in Britain. In 1946, Edward Adamson was appointed to the position of art therapist at Netherne Hospital, an institution which was, at the time, viewed as a progressive centre for the treatment of mental illness, with particularly high social standing (evidence by 'distinguished visitors' to the hospital, which included Aneurin Bevin and Eleanor Roosevelt').[715] In 1948, Adamson's position was made full-time, and as the first art therapist to be appointed by the National Health Service (NHS), he was particularly influential in pioneering and professionalising the methods of art therapy during this period which was notable through his establishment of the first training course for art therapists in the UK, as

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[713] Herbert Read, *Education Through Art*, p.8.
[714] Herbert Read, *Education Through Art*, p.209.
[715] Susan Hogan, *Healing Arts. The History of Art Therapy*, pp.169-170; John C. Welch and George Frogley*, A Pictorial History of Netherne Hospital* (East Surrey Health Authority, 1993), no page.

well as his appointment as Chair to the British Association of Art Therapists.[716] Thus, whilst Adamson primarily worked with adult patients, he was nevertheless an important figure who raised the profile of art therapy as a practice in the post-war period.

Alongside the work of Evans, Read and their peers, as well as shifting ideas about artistic practice and citizenship, art therapy was also influential to the teaching of art in schools for a number of reasons. The professional backgrounds of many early art therapists lay in teaching, rather than therapy, and the BAAT was recognised as a Central Association of the National Union of Teachers.[717] This, coupled with the identification of certain 'problem children', and the growing interest in child psychology in the post-war period, meant there were many similarities in approach and practice between art therapists and art teachers. Despite these developments, Read observed the tendency for all forms of aesthetic education to be 'progressively eliminated as education [merged] into active preparation for life.'[718] Indeed, by 1967, Louis Reid, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy of Education observed that:

> The arts, taken in a very inclusive sense indeed, on the whole and with some notable exceptions get a very poor deal in the schools of this country. (In this, the art of literature may be an exception.) Music and the plastic arts, in spite of their historical-cultural importance, are widely regarded as 'frills', as nice, pleasant but peripheral amusements, to be dropped when the serious prospect of academic examinations looms ahead (Or the art-room is good enough for the less intelligent!)[719]

The same was not true for many disabled children, however, who, it can be assumed, were included amongst the 'less intelligent' identified by Reid, as creative subjects often featured significantly within special educational programmes. Whilst the Board of Education recognised the 'educational value of art and craft', and stated that 'the free expression of young

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[716] David O'Flynn, Solomon Szekir-Papasavva and Chloe Trainor, 'Art, power the asylum: Adamson, healing and the Collection', *The Lancet Psychiatry*, Vol.5, No. 5 (2018), pp.396-399 (p.399).

[717] Diane Waller, *Becoming a Profession: The History of Art Therapy in Britain, 1940-1982* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.113.

[718] Herbert Read, *Education Through Art*, pp.213-214.

[719] Louis Arnaud Reid, 'The Arts, Knowledge and Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol.15, 1967, Issue 2 (1967), pp119-132 (p.119).

children's drawing and painting should be regarded as of greater importance than an imitative accuracy', it was equally observed that 'progress towards adult standards' should be the aim for 'normal' children.[720] In the case of 'handicapped' children, however, it was observed that the 'cultivation of interests and hobbies', in areas such as arts and crafts, may be of 'special value' but could not, according to the National Association for Mental Health, be 'gained by endeavouring to cram or force a child beyond the level of either [their] innate capacity or [their] emotional condition.'[721]

For the disabled child, therefore, it appeared that a different standard was applied when considering the aims and methods of education, as was noted in a 1960 report by the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, which stated that, whilst schools for the 'physically handicapped' were 'inspected by the Ministry of Education', they were 'not required to follow prescribed syllabi', and thus retained more autonomy to direct the curriculum as they deemed necessary to meet the needs of pupils, which established a more prominent role for arts and crafts in their education.[722]

In the post-war period, therefore, a re-evaluation of the methods of teaching of disabled children took place, for not only was provision needed for many more children, which placed significant pressure on resources, but the inclusion of children with more complex needs called into question what the value and aims of education should be. Within the context of evolving and expanding special school populations, the role of the special education teacher was often more complex, and their practice necessarily evolved to encompass aspects of assessment deemed necessary in order to plan the appropriate provision for disabled pupils. Educational handbooks, such as *Housecraft for the Handicapped Child*, outlined the process of assessment,

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[720] *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* (1944), p.203.
[721] *Some Special Educational Problems of Physically Handicapped Children*, p.37.
[722] Wallace W. Taylor and Isabelle Wagner Taylor, *Special Education of Physically Handicapped Children in Western Europe* (New York: International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, 1960), pp.146-147.

but also advised on the information it might be pertinent to know about a disabled child before they entered as a new student in a class. These included:

a) Nature of handicap
b) Cause
c) Age it became evident
d) Action to be avoided, particular strains etc.
e) Physical activities particularly beneficial
f) Attitudes to be encouraged or avoided.[723]

In relation to point 'f' the author stated that this could be important when setting the pace of work; for example, 'how far should Jean's lackadaisical attitude be accepted as an indication that she must avoid fatigue, or how far should she be encouraged to feel that she is moderately normal and able to tackle household chores? In fact, is she ill, or is she taking evading action?'[724] Bolstered by medical knowledge related to the child's impairment and reinforced by the value-neutral assumptions made about assessments and mental testing, the author seemed to presuppose that the average teacher would be able to discern between a child's 'lackadaisical attitude' and legitimate health concerns, even though the particularities of this example alone indicated that, in certain instances, decisions about a disabled child's capacities continued to be underpinned by moralistic judgments about their willingness to participate and contribute.

In spite of the obvious problems associated with the methods by which a disabled child's capacity was assessed, the identification of new categories of disabled children, in particular, those considered 'maladjusted', pioneered new methods in their treatment and education which, in themselves, were more progressive. Whilst many of the early pioneers of art therapy, such Edward Adamson, had primarily worked with adult populations in sanatoria

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[723] Hilary M. Devereux, *Housecraft in the Education of Handicapped Children (*London: Mills and Boon Ltd., 1965), p.58.
[724] Hilary M. Devereux, *Housecraft in the Education of Handicapped Children (*London: Mills and Boon Ltd., 1965), p.58.

and asylums, within educational settings certain art teachers also began to deploy similar methods with children. During the Second World War, for example, Marie Paneth used art as a means to 'build a rapport with the Branch Street 'hooligans', a group of delinquent children in the East End of London, whilst later in the 1950s Diana Halliday, who was trained in Freudian analysis, used her expertise in art therapy to work with children in numerous educational settings.[725] For disabled children, creative subjects were assigned particular educational significance because they were believed to offer an alternative mode of communication through which the thoughts and feelings of the child could be expressed, and potentially interpreted, and such methods were discussed, circulated and shared amongst practitioners responsible for the delivery of SET.

The acknowledgement of the role of arts in special education, and of the disabled pupil as a potential consumer of art materials was particularly notable in *The Special Schools Journal*, which, in its overall layout and selection of articles, revealed a growing interest in the emerging field of special educational treatment (SET) under the terms of *The Education Act* (1944).[726] One area where this was particularly notable was in in the inclusion of advertisements for educational aids and equipment designed to facilitate the teaching of disabled children. The first of these, an advert for 'Books especially compiled for retarded pupils', was included in issue one of the 1945 volume of *The Special Schools Journal* , which, from that point onwards, included advertising in the front and back covers of issues, which gradually progressed to include more elaborate illustrations, as well as text, to explain the benefits of a particular product.[727] Notably, art materials often featured in the advertisement

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[725] Susan Hogan, *Healing Arts. The History of Art Therapy*, pp.292-293, p.299.

[726] *The Special Schools Journal* was the official publication of the National Special Schools Union. First published in 1911 on a quarterly basis, under the name *The Special Schools Quarterly,* the journal dropped to a bi-annual publication during the Second World War when it focussed primarily on the impact of evacuation upon the educational experiences of disabled children. By the end of the war, however, the journal had returned to its quarterly publishing schedule. The journal's name changed to *The Special Schools Journal* in 1927.

[727] 'Books Especially Compiled for Retarded Pupils', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXXIV, No.1 (Winter 1945), p.14.

section of the journal, which revealed a growing awareness of the potential profitability of targeting their products to special schools, and an acknowledgement of SET teachers as a distinct, but important, consumer group who were required to develop methods and approaches to meet the demands of educating large numbers of children with complex needs.

Whilst some of the adverts featured in the journal were developed for a more general audience - such as those provided by Winsor and Newton which advised potential buyers of their products to ‘make it clear to those concerned that substitutes simply will not do!’ - adverts were increasingly targeted specifically towards an audience of educators who would encounter disability in their work.[728] In 1946, for example, a Winsor and Newton advert was featured which stated: ‘[e]very student of art should work with GOOD MATERIALS.’[729] The advert continued on to discuss the importance of high quality materials which had the potential to ‘draw out enthusiasm, even from backwards students.’[730] Winsor and Newton presented themselves as a company able to provide materials made ‘specially for their needs’, and presented a more individualised approach which appeared consistent with the overall ethos enshrined in *The Education Act* (1944)[731]

Whilst the manufacturer’s concerns were undoubtedly related to the potential for increased sales, for the special school teacher, the apparent underlying egalitarianism contained within such adverts may well have appealed to those committed to improving the educational opportunities of disabled children. The art supplier Reeves similarly acknowledged the benefit of creative practices for all children in their advertising, which observed that ‘children’s drawings usually [appeared] to be crude affairs, but to the child every patch of colour and every line expresses something of importance. It [was] in this fashion that the child finds an outlet

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[728]‘Winsor and Newton’, *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXXV, No.2 (Summer 1946), inside back cover.
[729] Ibid
[730] ‘Winsor and Newton’, *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXXV, No.2 (Summer 1946), inside back cover.
[731] ‘Winsor and Newton’, *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXXV, No.2 (Summer 1946), inside back cover.

for its emotions and impressions.'[732] It was for this reason, according to Reeves, that painting and drawing 'have often been recommended for use in special schools because 'troublesome' children were 'directed subconsciously into a creative mood.'[733] Other advertisements more explicitly connected their products to the challenges they anticipated disabled children would encounter, framing them as essential to the physiological development of the child, in this way demonstrating an awareness of the concerns of special school teachers, their potential customers. Plasticine, for example, was promoted as an 'excellent medium' for the development of 'manual and visual aptitude', whilst another supplier of arts and crafts materials described 'education by means of active hands' as the 'key to success in the special schools' which could only happen 'when suitable material [were] available.'[734]

Although the benefits of a physiological education had been extolled by special educators for some time, the commercialisation of these concepts into saleable products was an acknowledgement of a newly valued consumer group businesses were keen to engage. As Claire Jones notes, 'recasting those with physical impairments as consumers and promoting a range of inventive prostheses', or, in this case, products and materials external to the body but still closely connected to its work, provided 'an illusion of choice.'[735] Accounts from many disabled people who received special education, including numerous articles submitted to the *National Cripples Journal*, memoirs from individuals like Vera Dean, or oral testimony recorded in studies such as Shah and Priestley's *Disability and Social Change. Private Lives and Public Policies,* record that the experience often limited their choice and autonomy. Eunice Telford, for example, was moved to a hospital in 1941 at the age of twelve where she remained

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[732] 'Reeves Powder Tempura Colour', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XXXIV, No.1 (Winter 1945), inside back cover.

[733] Ibid

[734] 'Plasticine', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLV, No.1 (March 1956) p.40; 'Active Hands', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLIV, No.3 (September 1955), p.37.

[735] Claire L. Jones, 'Introduction: modern prostheses in Anglo-American culture', in Claire L. Jones (ed.) *Rethinking Modern Prostheses in Anglo American Commodity Cultures, 1820-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.1-24(pp.5-6).

for fifteen years because her parents were unable to care for her at home, and recalled that limited efforts were made to educate her in hospital and 'there were no facilities for lessons there.'[736] Another account from a woman called 'Poppy', who attended a residential special school later in the 1960s, described her experience of education as one in which every aspect of the school was 'very institutionalised', which included being made 'to sit on the toilet' at designated times whether '[she] wanted the loo or not.'[737] Whilst these accounts testify to some of the limitations of special school provision in this period, for the special school teacher it seems likely that an expanding range of products designed for, or promoted to, a disabled consumer base would have instilled greater confidence in their ability to deliver upon the requirements of *The Education Act* (1944)

Articles submitted to *The Special Schools Journal* demonstrated the commitment of certain teachers to their students, such as an account from one who hoped to 'evolve a satisfactory method of applying water-colour with the aid of a brush held between the teeth' in order to allow her student to paint 'like other school girls of her age.'[738] This reflected not only a growing understanding of the different ways in which disabled bodies moved and worked, but equally a greater sense of the collective responsibility to facilitate the successful work of such bodies, and this allowed shrewd advertisers to successfully market existing and new products to this audience. For example, in a later Reeves' advert featured in the journal in 1955, the company promoted its new 'Temperablock colours', a range of solid water colours which apparently gave a 'favourable impression and improved results' in the work of a child 'because of the confidence which immediately [became] apparent with the use of good things.'[739] 'Temperablock solid colours' were said to be 'not only attractive to children' but 'a boon to

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[736] Jack Ashley (foreword), *Despite Disability. Career achievement by handicapped people* (Reading: Educational Explorers Ltd.,1974), pp.57-58

[737] Sonali Shah and Mark Priestley, *Disability and Social Change: Private Lives and Public Policies* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2011), p.107

[738] 'The Peripatetic Teacher', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLV, No.1 (March 1956), p.29

[739] 'Reeves' Temperablock Colours', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLIV, No.1 (June 1955), inside cover.

teachers, particularly in classes where normal powder colours cause splashing and mess.'[740] Adverts stated that 'experience [had] proved the usefulness of Reeves' Temperablock for handicapped children', a point which was further developed upon in the journal's dedicated 'Equipment News' section which featured products to aid in the teaching of disabled children, many of which were art or craft materials.[741] Such items included 'Coloured paper crafts', selected for inclusion because the 'punched out paper shapes' were far easier to work with for a child who might struggle with scissors, or torn paper work which it was thought avoided both the 'wastage of material' and the 'disappointment to the child.'[742]

Other examples included 'Stubbi-sticks', a variety of chalk designed 'for use by young children', and deemed particularly useful for 'instilling confidence', or 'Freart oversize crayons' which blended 'beautifully without smearing or smudging.'[743] Whilst neither product specified that they were designed with disabled children in mind, it was nonetheless a significant editorial choice to include such items in the 'Equipment News' section of the journal. The promotion of art materials which were easy to handle, unlikely to smudge or make a mess, and which promoted positive emotional responses in the children who used them demonstrated the physiological and psychological considerations applied to the art education of disabled children, as well as the significant role of arts in the education of disabled children more broadly. For children presumed to be less able to reach the educational and developmental milestones of their peers, creative subjects were increasingly seen to be of 'immense importance', because they offered to the disabled child the sense of accomplishment which came in creating something, particularly where the child was understood to be 'frustrated in so

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[740] 'Reeves' Solid Achievement!', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLV, No.2 (June 1956), p.3.

[741] 'Reeves' Temperablock Colours', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLIV, No.1 (June 1955), inside cover; 'Equipment News', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLVI, No.2 (March 1957), p.29.

[742] 'Equipment News' *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLIV, No.1 (June 1955), p.31.

[743] 'Equipment News', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLVI, No.2 (March 1957), p.29; 'Equipment News', *The Special Schools Journal,* Vol. XLIV, No.3 (September 1955), p.34.

many ways on account of [their] motor disability.'[744] Whilst consideration of the 'handicap' was deemed essential in order to make the necessary adaptations for the child, it was observed by one teacher that a 'normal course' of art was generally followed, 'fulfilling normal needs.'[745] Art, therefore, was understood to be a subject which allowed the disabled child to be included amongst their non-disabled peers through an affirmation of their ability to follow a 'normal' programme and achieve a standard which '[measured] up' with 'normal children.'[746] In reality, however, the ability of certain disabled children to 'perform feats' with their bodies in ways considered unusual, such as the ability to 'paint with [their] toes', continued to mark out such children as different, or spectacular, irrespective of the standards they achieved in their work.[747]

Whilst art was valued for its role in the emotional development of the child, the management of certain conditions, like cerebral palsy, meant physiological considerations were also applied to the methods of arts and crafts deployed by teachers. Joan Ross, for example, was an inpatient at Queen Mary's Hospital in the late 1940s, where her cerebral palsy was treated under Eirene Collis, and observed that whilst art formed a significant part of her education, 'most children were not allowed to use pencils, pens or paint brushes because [their] tight grip caused too much muscle tension. The basis of [their] treatment was learning to relax.'[748] Thus, for Joan, her art education was significantly influenced, and somewhat limited, by the medical environment in which she received her schooling. Such thinking permeated not only the approaches of teachers and other staff who worked with disabled children, but also influenced how students assigned value to these activities. For example, Joan reflected positively upon the value of clay modelling as a 'very good way of learning to use both hands',

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[744] Agatha H. Bowley, *The Young Handicapped Child. Educational Guidance for the Young Blind, Cerebral Palsied and Deaf Child,* (Edinburgh: E&S Livingstone Ltd., 1957), pp.68-69.

[745] Miss E J. Shearn, 'Muscular Dystrophy. What are we doing about it?', *Special Education,* Vol. XLVIII, No.2 (March 1959), p.25.

[746] Miss E J. Shearn, 'Muscular Dystrophy. What are we doing about it?', *Special Education,* Vol. XLVIII, No.2 (March 1959), p.25.

[747] Peter and Primrose Gardner, 'I pick flowers with my toes' (1961), HB/22/140/9, The Keep, Brighton, UK.

[748] Joan Ross, *I Can't Walk but I Can Crawl: Living With Cerebral Palsy (*London: Paul Chapman, 2005), p.32.

and primarily acknowledged its therapeutic value, even though one might assume the repeated production of 'ashtrays and small pots' was not the most satisfying work.[749]

Those working with physically and cognitively impaired children understood it to be necessary to 'adopt an approach which [was] based on interest – the child's interest in material, [their] curiosity, [their] natural activity, which required the teacher or therapist to first make 'contact with the child' by presenting them with activities which they perceived the child would be capable of.[750] The spontaneous bodily actions of the 'defective' child who '[tore] or [pulled] things apart' could be provided with coloured paper to 'tear up to make 'flower' to stick on a lawn, or 'that favourite, smearing [could] become daubing with crayons and colours.'[751] It was noted that whilst the defective movements of the child essentially remained the same, through the introduction of purpose the destructive actions of the child 'became creation.', and this was understood to further stimulate the child's interest and ability to learn.[752] Teachers therefore aimed to strike a balance between providing the child with the opportunity to express themselves freely, which was believed to promote self-esteem, whilst doing this in a way which was both compatible with other aspects of their education and treatment, and adapted to their bodily requirements of each child. David Edwards, who had cerebral palsy and was taught at Treloar College in the 1960s, observed a significant improvement in his 'writing and drawing' when, on the advice of his teacher, he stood to write 'on a low cupboard' as it meant he was able maintain greater control of his other muscles and legs which previously had '[shot] out and [kicked] the desk' whenever he gripped a pencil.[753]

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[749] Joan Ross, *I Can't Walk But I Can Crawl: Living With Cerebral Palsy (*London: Paul Chapman, 2005), p.32.
[750] Milan Morganstern, Helen Low-Beer, Franz Morgenstern, *Practical Training for the Severely Handicapped Child (*Lavenham: The Lavenham Press, Ltd., 1966), preface.
[751] Morganstern, Low-Beer, Morgenstern, *Practical Training for the Severely Handicapped Child (*Lavenham: The Lavenham Press, Ltd., 1966), p.12.
[752] Morganstern, Low-Beer, Morgenstern, *Practical Training for the Severely Handicapped Child*, p.13.
[753] 'David Edwards, Life Story', Box 142: early history of Scope (uncatalogued), The Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

As knowledge about the “spatial” abilities – the abilities to deal with the shape and pattern and the layout of visual material’ – were advanced, questions surrounding the role of arts and crafts for children with cerebral palsy arose. In 1960, for example, an article published in *Special Education* observed that a child with cerebral palsy ‘may well have a genuine difficulty in the kinds of reasoning that [were] necessary for art or arithmetic’ and advised that placing ‘undue pressure’ on the child in these subjects could be ‘harmful’.[754] Zaidee Lindsay’s 1966 book, *Art For Spastics,* similarly questioned whether it was ‘reasonable’ to ask ‘such a child to interpret the world of three-dimensional solids , of which he [was] scarcely aware, into two-dimensional form?’[755] This, she said, was what was happening when a child was asked to paint or draw, and it was therefore unsurprising that it often yielded ‘incoherent results’ from children with cerebral palsy. [756] It was for this reason that activities such as finger painting and clay modelling were often considered most suitable in instances where it was felt ‘the control of the paint brush or crayon [was] beyond [the child’s] powers.’[757]

The experience of art making within a special educational setting undoubtedly influenced the meanings and values assigned to it by the disabled pupils who experienced it. David Edwards described the ‘many fine examples of modern art, both in painting and clay’ which he encountered in a ‘very progressive’ art class at the school.[758] He noted his surprise at the ‘high standard’ often ‘achieved by disabled people in this field’, which he appeared to believe merited the investment in a rigorous arts education within his own school.[759] Conversely, in Dorcas Munday’s account of her education she said:

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[754] ‘Special Learning Difficulties’, *Special Education,* Vol. XLIX, No.4(September 1960), p.13.

[755] Zaidee Lindsay, *Art for Spastics* (London: Mills & Boon, 1966), p.21.

[756] Zaidee Lindsay, *Art for Spastics* (London: Mills & Boon, 1966), p.22.

[757] Agatha H. Bowley, *The Young Handicapped Child. Educational Guidance for the Young Blind, Cerebral Palsied and Deaf Child*,(Edinburgh: E&S Livingstone Ltd., 1957), pp.68-69.

[758] ‘David Edwards, Life Story’, Box 142: early history of Scope (uncatalogued), The Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[759] ‘David Edwards, Life Story’, Box 142: early history of Scope (uncatalogued), The Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

> I wasn't clever at anything. I mean, no I wasn't clever at anything. I enjoyed reading, I enjoyed art, but I wasn't clever. I enjoyed anything to do with learning apart from maths, which I thought was a total waste of time.[760]

Dorcas viewed her schooling as a period during which she was told she would not be able to do a great many things, and her perception of her own limited intelligence reflected this, as well as the value ascribed to art more broadly. Whilst Dorcas maintained that she wasn't 'clever', throughout the course of the interview she empathically discussed her passion and aptitude for art history, as well as for painting and drawing.[761]

In some respects, Dorcas' attitude was surprising, as for those who value art and other creative subjects, it has generally been understood to be something which requires an emotional and aesthetic intelligence to both produce and consume, which Tobin Siebers argues, has been used to justify the exclusion of art produced by those who are perceived to have 'defective or impaired intelligence.'[762] Dorcas' perception of her own intelligence, and her attitude towards art in particular, was more understandable when related to some of the broader historical associations of art work produced in special educational and therapeutic contexts. In the early days of art therapy, for example, the work produced by patients in mental health services was viewed primarily as an aid to diagnosis, or for the purposes of research, and often denied its status as art objects because they were viewed as intuitive, rather purposeful creations. [763] Similarly, painting and drawing was used widely with disabled children, not as a form of physical therapy, but in order to make educational and therapeutic assessments. Postcards

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[760] Dorcas Munday interviewed by Philip Mann (transcript), *Speaking for Ourselves: An Oral History of People With Cerebral Palsy,* British Library ref. C1134/23/01-13, pp.57-58.

[761] Dorcas Munday interviewed by Philip Mann (transcript), *Speaking for Ourselves: An Oral History of People With Cerebral Palsy,* British Library ref. C1134/23/01-13, pp.32-33.

[762] Tobin Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics*, p.15.

[763] Susan Hogan discusses the 'clinical descriptive' approach to images made by psychiatric patients. In particular, she discusses research undertaken by Erich Guttman and Walter Maclay at the Maudlsey hospital, London. These researchers viewed art as a visual description of 'fundamental disturbances', establishing a precedent of using art as a means to examine the psychological experiences of patients. Susan Hogan, *Healing Arts,* pp.160-185.

produced by the National Spastics Society at Hawksworth Hall, for example, showed a young child under observation whilst they painted, with the caption:

> Established to assess the learning potential of children too severely handicapped for normal assessment methods. They work in a school setting closely observed by experts so a long-term programme of education or training can be forecast for each child.[764]

Medical and educational professionals were particularly interested in understanding the spatial abilities of children with cerebral palsy, and thus painting and drawing in this context was used as a diagnostic measure of a child's bodily limitations, which was arguably antithetical to its primary function as an imaginative and expressive form. Moreover, in the broader context of mainstream education, the structure of the curriculum consistently reaffirmed that art was an adjunct; an add-on which could, and often was, sacrificed to the more fundamental subjects. In this context, Dorcas' assertion that she was neither intelligent, nor that art was necessarily an expression of intelligence, was less surprising because her reasoning had been reinforced by a number of factors, which, for the disabled child taking part in arts practices, potentially removed art of some of its original value.

Not only did the therapeutic associations of art in this context challenge its meaning, but the environment in which work was produced, sometimes at the bedside or in an assessment room, rather than in a designated art-room, and the limitations placed upon a child in terms of the art materials they were allowed to use, arguably impeded their own creative identity. In stark contrast, in her biography Dorcas Munday spoke with enthusiasm about her experiences of art-making as an adult, and reflected upon the different approaches she was able to use as a disabled artist, describing the effects she could achieve by using the wheels of her chair as a paintbrush.[765] Evidently, this kind of work bought considerable satisfaction to Dorcas because

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[764] 'The Spastics Society HAWKSWORTH HALL, Guisely.Yorks.', Box 142: Early history of Scope uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[765] Dorcas Munday, *Opportunity Not Pity (*London: Physically Handicapped and Able-Bodied [distributed by Midas Books], 1976) p.48.

she had more freedom to express herself creatively and acknowledged that creative space as one in which she was able to demonstrate her bodily potential outside of the limitations of the special school environment. Thus, whilst special school educators increasingly attached an emotional value to arts and crafts in the post-war period, these values and approaches coincided with an educational culture which was concerned with the proper assessment, categorisation and management of increasing numbers of disabled children which ultimately denied art of some of its presumed value.

This chapter has examined the impact of *The Education Act* (1944) upon the educational experiences of disabled children between 1944-1970. It has argued that whilst the act principally allowed for the inclusion of disabled children within mainstream education, the identification of increased numbers of disabled children with variable and complex forms of impairment, coupled with numerous logistical challenges and the financial constraints of the economy, worked to justify the continued segregation of disabled children in special schools which saw numbers increase substantially. As this chapter has demonstrated, it was within this context that the National Spastics Society was founded in response to the limits of statutory specialist provision for children with cerebral palsy, demonstrating an ongoing role for charities in the provision of education for disabled children. Through its charitable work the society aimed to reform popular conceptions of people with cerebral palsy in order to positively affirm their capacity to be useful. However, this approach evolved as it aimed to respond to the more complex needs of the children referred to the society, and through its educational research the charity promoted methods of progressive education which were increasingly concerned with the emotional and social development of children, rather than their occupational status. It has been argued that this approach more broadly reflected the concerns of special school educators, and the final section of this chapter examined the prominent role of arts and crafts in special education to demonstrate how teachers were influenced by practices, such as art therapy, to establish an approach which enabled them to meet the needs of individual pupils, and therefore fulfil their responsibilities to disabled children, as they had been enshrined within *The Education Act* (1944). In reality, however, the therapeutic reframing of arts and crafts practices removed some of their associated value and ultimately became another means through which to manage an expanding population of disruptive disabled bodies within an expanding system of segregated schooling.

Creating Workers and Crafting Artists: Disability and Employment, 1944-1970

In 1943 the Interdepartmental Committee on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Persons published its detailed plans for the establishment of 'comprehensive measures for the rehabilitation, training and resettlement of disabled persons generally' in which it was concluded that:

> Ordinary employment [was] the object and [was] practicable for the majority of the disabled – with the goodwill and cooperation of the representative organisations of employers and workpeople, in conjunction with the Health Services and the responsible Government departments.[766]

Prior to the Second World War, much of the opportunity for disabled people to work was delivered via charitable means, either through the education and training of disabled children in crafts and trades, or delivered via sheltered employment schemes, which, after the First World War, were especially focussed upon the retraining of disabled ex-servicemen. The Second World War, however, brought with it a sea-change; 'disabled people were a vital part of the war effort , as state and society came to see disabled people in terms of their utility and rehabilitation for the purposes of work', and with that came the requirement for the state to consider for the first time its responsibility to all disabled citizens.[767] In 1944 the *Disabled (Persons) Employment Act* was passed and disabled people were recognised as a group who had the capacity and right to work. Work, therefore, was symbolically enshrined as a primary marker for social inclusion, but employment policy was just one of a number of measures established when the 'framework for a welfare state was boldly set out'.[768] A number of these were specifically directed towards disabled people, which reflected the Government's

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[766] *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Persons* (hereafter *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee),* Cmd. 6415 (London: HMSO, 1943), para. 2; para.114 (4).

[767] Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain*, p.53.

[768] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Britain Since 1945. The People's Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.29.

commitment to disabled people which, both directly and indirectly, advanced their participation in public life. *The National Insurance Act* (1946) extended the provisions of *The Blind Persons Act* (1920) to physically impaired and deaf people, which provided them with a subsistence income; local authorities were required to 'arrange a variety of services for disabled people in the community and institutions' in accordance with the terms of *The National Assistance Act* (1948); and in 1948 the establishment of the National Health Service meant disabled people had access to a range of free healthcare, as well as equipment and aids which previously would have been too expensive for many people to purchase.[769]The substantial costs attached to the state's expansive role in welfare thus ensured full employment was 'a principal object of economic policy' in the post-war period; a requirement which was extended to disabled people too as it was in the interests of the economy that disabled people '[paid] taxes and [produced] goods and services.'[770]

This chapter addresses the period 1944-1970 in order to examine the variable and shifting political, charitable and public responses to the issue of disabled people's employment. Building upon existing scholarship by Helen Bolderson, Julie Anderson and Andrew Holroyde, among others, it argues that the policies and schemes associated with *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* were concerned with creating lifelong jobs for disabled people, which was considered essential for post-war recovery. It argues that this necessarily brought an industrial focus to the kinds of retraining, rehabilitation and work delivered via such schemes; for example, in 1945 a number of Government Training Centres were opened for the purposes of providing 'building training' to those returning from active service, which included disabled trainees.[771] Within this context arts and crafts, although recognised for their therapeutic value,

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[769] Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.190; Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, *Disabled People and Social Policy. From Exclusion to Inclusion (*Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1998), p.37; Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.170; Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, p.238.

[770] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.184.

[771] G. H. Cullen, 'Vocational Training and Industrial Rehabilitation', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol.110, No.5065 (December 1961),pp.17-34 (p.18).

were not a significant feature of the Government's approach to rehabilitation and employment for disabled people because the requirement to deliver at scale a national programme prioritised economic efficiency and national interests over the potential interests and aspirations of disabled people themselves. This chapter therefore examines some of the values individuals assign to work, using this to contextualise the Government's implementation of employment schemes for disabled people. Whilst aspects the Act have been criticised by, among others, Anne Borsay who argues that it embodied the 'division between 'normal' and 'abnormal' workers'; this chapter analyses some of the challenges associated with its implementation, yet argues that it ultimately represented a significant advancement in disabled peoples access to work, particularly in the immediate post-war period, as it publicly affirmed their status as capable workers.[772]

Despite these advances, the chapter demonstrates that there remained a number of disabled people who were unable to access employment via government schemes. Whilst historians have traditionally argued that the expansion of statutory welfare in the post-war period resulted in the scaling back of voluntary action until the sector experienced something of a revival in the mid-1960s; in reality, the voluntary sector continued to grow throughout the 1940s and 1950s and this was particularly 'rapid' in areas concerned with those who presented with 'a specialised set of needs', such as disabled people.[773] This chapter therefore argues that the heightened attention given to the issue of disabled peoples employment presented an opportunity for existing and emerging charities to work within and beyond the state to provide employment to those unable to access work via the programmes developed by the state.

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[772] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.135

[773] David Gladstone, *The Twentieth-Century Welfare State (*Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.,1999) p.66; Marilyn Taylor, 'Voluntary action and the state', in David Gladstone (ed.), *British Social Welfare. Past, Present and Future* (London: Routledge, 2003) pp.214-240 (p.215); Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, p.277; Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp, *The Voluntary Sector in the United Kingdom (*Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.51-7; Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain*, p.62; Reiss, *Blind Workers Against Charity*, p.6; *The Future of Voluntary Organisations, Report of the Wolfenden Committee,* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.183.

Charities worked in different ways to support disabled people, and this chapter therefore focuses its attention on one of these – The National Spastics Society – which from 1957 expanded its educational remit to develop schemes of sheltered employment and training for people with cerebral palsy, a group who experienced significant challenges in accessing work via statutory schemes. The charity was particularly prominent in the 1950s and 1960s, and was therefore influential in shaping the public perception of people with cerebral palsy, and their capacity to be workers. The chapter argues that the society's approach to employment was both influenced, and supported, by the mechanics of statutory provision, and whilst the society achieved moderate levels of success in its training and employment of people with cerebral palsy, it relied heavily upon established charitable conventions which '[produced] pity', presenting the disabled body as one which 'inevitably produced a dependent self' reliant upon assistance through charitable schemes.[774]

Finally, the chapter introduces the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists (MFPA), an organisation established in 1957 which was run by and for disabled artists. The MFPA only supported small numbers of disabled people to train and work as professional artists; however, it offers an important comparison with charitable and state employment schemes established for disabled people which reflects the perceived limitations of the forms of work they delivered. It is therefore indicative of disabled people's desires to secure more meaningful and satisfying opportunities to work, and demonstrates the alternative means through which some disabled people worked to achieve more independence. Moreover, the case study is illustrative of the ongoing influence of the arts in disabled people's lives, which, as the example of MFPA artist, Albert Baker, demonstrates, were often first encountered through traditional schemes of arts

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[774] David Hevey argues that during the period under study the notion of disabled people's 'dependency' upon charity was 'all-pervading', and that the charities themselves acknowledged this 'process of disability image-building' as a necessary convention which ensured the continued support for their cause. David Hevey, *The Creatures Time Forgot. Photography and Disability Imagery*,(London: Routledge, 1992), p.24, p.32; Paul K. Longmore, *Telethons: Spectacle, Disability and the Business of Charity*,(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.136.

and crafts training developed for disabled people. However, it is argued that through its efforts to establish disabled people as professional working artists with a sustainable living wage, the association differed considerably to charitable schemes which had come before it. Its emergence in the post-war period is thus illustrative of a period in which the provisions laid down by the modern welfare state not only affirmed the status of disabled people as workers, but materially provided for disabled people on a scale which was previously unimaginable, and thus through this process empowered disabled people and organisations to advocate for further opportunities beyond the meeting of basic needs.

The Importance of Work

> "Pastime like wine, is poison in the morning." This is a truth which should be gently but firmly be emphasised to these people who, with every good intention, suggest pastimes for cripples. We do not want pastimes, we want jobs, so that like normal people we can enjoy pastimes.[775]

Published in the *National Cripples Journal* in 1940, Miss J. McCrae's words reflected not only the frustration of many disabled adults who were isolated from the workforce, but they revealed how this frustration was further compounded by the assumptions made by 'normal people' who, it seemed, largely considered that the values assigned to work did not apply to disabled people. Miss McCrae drew comparisons between card games she played which were 'useful for social gatherings and in the occasional wet day of the holidays', and her painting which 'brought in orders for a sale of work' and observed that:

> Life would not have had much flavour if I had wakened in the morning with the thought that I had to put in the day playing "switch"; but it was full of rest when I knew that a bowl had to be finished and another one started. It is this principle of work and play which must be considered in cripple as well as normal life. We live and move and have our being in creation, and in us all there is the creative instinct. That is why it goes so much against the grain of the intelligent cripple to be told about things that will pass his time.[776]

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[775] Miss J McCrae, 'Time to Use', *National Cripples Journal,* No.47 (1940), p.5.

[776] Miss J McCrae, 'Time to Use', *National Cripples Journal,* No.47 (1940), p.5.

Work, therefore, was not only considered important as a possible means to secure financial independence, but its value was understood to exist at a more instinctive, emotional level which gave to the individual 'creative satisfaction', and a sense of purpose and place within the world.[777] As chapter two demonstrated, such thinking found expression in the work and socialist agendas of those associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement, such as William Morris. However, by the mid-twentieth century the conditions of work were so altered that sociologists began to argue that, for the majority of people, work no longer had an intrinsic value, but was important as a source of extrinsic rewards, such as 'income, status or power.'[778] Contemporary theories of work have developed upon this, identifying a shift from production to consumption 'as the sphere in which people define their identities.'[779] Irrespective of whether work was understood to hold an intrinsic value for the individual, however, it remained important inasmuch as it constrained or enhanced access to, and engagement with, the cultural, social and material through which a person shaped their identity. As Sir William Beveridge noted in *Full Employment in a Free Society* (1944):

> Employment is not wanted for the sake of employment, irrespective of what it produces. The material end of all human activity is consumption. Employment is wanted as a means to more consumption or more leisure, as a means to a higher standard of life.[780]

Thus, after the war the understanding that the state provided for certain things altered the way in which people related to work as the pressure to ensure the survival of an individual and their family were, to a degree, lessened; however, this was replaced by alternative concerns associated with an expanding consumer and leisure culture, and a more aspirational lifestyle which emerged in the post-war period. Indeed, as James Walvin notes, pleasure became a

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[777] Miss J McCrae, 'Time to Use', *National Cripples Journal,* No.47 (1940), p.5.
[778] Robert Leidner, 'Work and Identity', in Marek Korczynski, Randy Hodson and Paul Edwards (eds.), *Social Theory at Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.424-464 (p.430).
[779] Robert Leidner, 'Work and Identity', pp.424-464 (p.429.)
[780] William Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society* (1944) printed in Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* pp.339-340.

‘national obsession’ in the late 1940s, and by the 1950s 91 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom ‘enjoyed paid holidays of mostly two weeks’ duration, which was a reflection of the public’s perception of security under the new welfare state.[781] This was facilitated by the post-war government’s commitment to the popular demand for greater economic security which was to be achieved through high and stable levels of employment. This was enshrined within the 1944 White Paper on *Employment Policy,* which provided to the British public the assurances that ‘the means to the desired end of full employment, both intellectual and material, did actually exist’, and it became the defining feature of policy over the next thirty years. [782] For those who had lived through the Great Depression and survived the war, the promise of employment in peacetime offered much needed stability, and was recognised as a significant concern for disabled people through the passage of the *Disabled Person’s (Employment) Act* (1944).

As Borsay notes, however, histories concerned with disabled people’s marginalisation have led to an assumption that their ‘isolation was paralleled by an inclusive experience of life in the community thanks to progress towards social citizenship.’[783] More recent debates surrounding social exclusion problematise these assumptions. Jane Buckingham, for example, argues that ‘[r]ight to work’- the notion of work as a civil right inadvertently reinforces a measurement of human value based on the capacity to contribute economically to a community and state.’[784] Ruth Levitas has similarly demonstrated how, in a capitalist society, the ‘opposite

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[781] James Walvin, *Leisure and Society:1830-1950* (London: Longman, 1978),p.149. Julie-Marie Strange also notes that by the 1950s ‘opening up one’s home for entertainment had also become more common among a blue-collar society’. Julie-Marie Strange, ‘Leisure’, in Francesca Carnevali and Julie-Marie Strange (eds.), *20th Century Britain. Economic, Cultural and Social Change (*Harlow: Pearson Educated Limited, 2007), pp.197-213 (pp.206-207).

[782]Nicholas Deakin, *The Politics of Welfare. Continuities and Change* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), p.35; Jim Tomlinson, ‘Managing the economy, managing the people’, in Francesca Carnevali and Julie-Marie Strange (eds.), *20th Century Britain. Economic, Cultural and Social Change (*Harlow: Pearson Educated Limited, 2007), pp.233- 246 (p.234).

[783] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy,* p.119.

[784] Jane Buckingham ‘Disability and Work in South Asia and the United Kingdom’, in Michael Rembris, Katherine Kudlick and Kim E. Nielson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Disability History (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.197-212 (p.205).

of social exclusion……is not inclusion, but integration', and the means through which people are integrated fully into society is through paid work.[785] Hence, marginalisation and exclusion from society is construed as marginalisation from paid employment. The implications of defining social integration through its association to work has meant that those less able to work '[were] regarded as less than full members of society', which remained relevant to the experiences of a number of disabled people in the post-war period.[786] Moreover, the types of employment which disabled people have historically been 'integrated' into have not necessarily been reflective of equality of opportunity; a point which is often obscured by 'the dichotomous model of exclusion and integration.'[787] Thus, whilst the introduction of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* was envisaged as part of the post-war settlement's commitment to a fairer society, it is argued that in its planning and implementation aspects of the Act were limited in their consideration of some of the needs, interests and material concerns of disabled people which remained in tension with the economic pressures of the government.

The Interim Scheme and the Creation of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act (1944)

During the Second World War work was reorganised to include groups who were previously marginal to the labour force, and this gradually began the process of transforming disabled people into 'valued workers'.[788] The decisions taken during this period, therefore, had long-term implications for the rehabilitation and employment of disabled people as 'the imprint of temporary arrangements became stamped on plans for the future' which were justified both in terms of welfare and the economy.[789] In 1941, large demands were placed upon the Ministry of Labour for 'industrial manpower and for the fighting services' which revealed a 'famine of

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[785] Ruth Levitas, 'The Concept of Social Exclusion and the New Durkheimian Hegemony', *Critical Social Policy*, Vol.16, No.46 (1996), pp.5-20 (p.8).
[786] Levitas, 'The Concept of Social Exclusion', p.9.
[787] Levitas, 'The Concept of Social Exclusion', p.18.
[788] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.91; Wheatcroft, *Worth Saving*, p.169.
[789] Helen Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation. Conflicts in the Development of Social Policy 1914-1946* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd., 1991), p.108.

men.'[790] Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour, 'recognised that the wartime need to maximise manpower resources, and the increased awareness of the problems of the disabled due to the numbers of war casualties, combined to provide a unique opportunity', and he advanced an immediate war-time training scheme for the rehabilitation and employment of disabled people.[791] Under the scheme, disabled men and women were to be interviewed in hospital by officials of the Ministry of Labour, given advice about employment, and 'trained under a modified Munitions Training Scheme' or in other occupations suited to the war effort.[792]

Whilst the Interim Scheme justified employment measures for disabled people on the basis of manpower requirements, rather than a more general concern with the integration of disabled people into the workforce, it was nevertheless significant in increasing public awareness of disabled people and their capacity to work. Within ten months the scheme had returned '29,000 injured workers to industry, and by the end of the war these interim measures had placed between 300,000 to 500,000 men, women and young people in war-related work[793] Moreover, whilst previous employment programmes established during the First World War, such as the Kings National Roll, had solely focussed upon disabled ex-servicemen, which was deemed a considerable failure by the editor of *John Bull* who wished to no longer to see 'cripples selling matches on the kerb'; the Interim Scheme was extended to include disabled civilians.[794] Thus, whilst Bolderson argues that the breadth of its scope 'had been brought from

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[790] Helen Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation,* p.103.

[791] Pat Thane, *The Foundations of the Welfare State*, p.238.

[792] Helen Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation,* p.104.

[793] 'Training the Disabled. Returning Men to Industry', *The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*, 28 October 1942, p.5; Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.91.

[794] As Meaghan Kowalsky notes, proposals for the establishment of the Kings National Roll were initially met with 'reluctance' as the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Pensions remained optimistic 'that employers would hire the disabled without any government cajoling.' However, by Christmas of 1918 over 500,000 men had been discharged from service as disabled, and the issue of their employment became more pressing as it was estimated that between 80,000 and 100,000 would be unable to find employment 'via normal channels.' The King's National Roll was launched in September 1919; however, unlike the compulsory requirements for employers established under the terms of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act,* the scheme remained voluntary, and therefore relied substantially upon the acknowledgement of the sacrifices of men disabled by war. Meaghan Kowalsky, 'This Honourable Obligation': The King's National Roll Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen 1915-1944', *European Review of History*, Vol.14, No.4, pp.567-584 (pp.569-571); By the editor, 'No More Forgotten Men', *John Bull,* December 12, 1942, p.5.

the Treasury at the price of limiting the training scheme' to war-related occupations which failed to address the long-term problems of disability and employment; the inclusion of disabled civilians raised the profile of issues related to their employment in a way which previously had never been achieved. This 'suggested the government's determination to move disabled people into the workforce' as part of the plans for post-war reconstruction.[795]

Furthermore, it provided an important platform for the development of rehabilitative services which, in conjunction with other factors, were significant to the form employment policy took in the post-war period.[796] A letter in *The Times*, published in 1943, stated that 'medical rehabilitation centres [were] urgently needed to serve each industrial area' in order to prevent the 'undoubtedly large' impact that poor health had on productivity. [797] Gradually, a network of rehabilitation workshops, such as those provided in Royal Ordnance Factories, were established where the problem of labour was also addressed through an experimental system of 'medical grading.'[798] This involved a physical and psychological examination of new employees in order to assess their suitability for particular roles. For example, it was observed that the 'machine operator required a degree of performance intelligence' whilst the 'semi-skilled assembler' was primarily thought to have required 'dexterity.'[799] Although primarily concerned with industrial rehabilitation, which involved training and re-employment, the

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[795] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p 105; Colin Barnes and Geoff Mercer, 'Disability, work and welfare: challenging the social exclusion of disabled people', *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol.19, No.3 (2005), pp.527-545 (p.534).

[796] Whilst the rehabilitation of disabled veterans after the First World War is well documented, according to Bohata, Jones, Mantin and Thompson during the 1930s and 1940s a network of 'medical, rehabilitation and convalescent facilities dedicated to the needs and well-being of disabled miners' were also established across Britain's coalfields. By 1944 eight residential rehabilitation centres had been built and an Interdepartmental Committee was formed to report on the rehabilitation of disabled miners, and praised the cooperation of institutions for realising the 'medical ideal of rehabilitation'. Furthermore, the Tomlinson Report singled out these centres for particular praise in its recommendations for post-war rehabilitative and retraining services. See Kirsti Bohata, Alexandra Jones, Mike Mantin and Steven Thompson, *Disability in Industrial Britain. A cultural and literary history of impairment in the coal industry, 1880-1948*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.66 and p.89

[797] 'Health in Industry', *The Times*, February 20, 1943, p.5.

[798] J P.Elias, 'Medical Grading of the Industrial Worker', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine*, Vol. 3, No.1 (January 1946), p.11-14 (p.11).

[799] Elias, 'Medical Grading', (p.11).

coordination of the Interim Scheme required considerable cooperation between hospitals and the Ministry of Labour who deployed ‘specially trained officers’ to ‘interview the injured patient whilst still in hospital.’[800] The effect of this was to attach a welfare function to the work of the Ministry which, whilst consistent with some of Bevin’s aims, were not necessarily consistent with its ‘attendant responsibilities to employers.’[801] Moreover, the responsibility assumed by the Ministry for the welfare of disabled people identified them as a group of workers who were different, despite its stated aims of integration, and this demarcation arguably contributed to the problems of ensuring employers compliance with the terms subsequently established by the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* in 1944.

Bolderson states that ‘it was against this backdrop of intense interest in the conservation of manpower, with the belief in the inevitability of reconstruction, and with faith in the potential of experimental schemes that the Tomlinson Committee deliberated’, chaired by Labour MP, George Tomlinson, and including Ernest Bevin in his capacity as Minister of Labour.[802] Their immediate concerns were to ‘provide for the rehabilitation and training for employment of disabled persons who [were] not provided for by the Interim Scheme.’[803] Between March 1942 and January 1943, the Committee was ‘engaged in consultations’ to ‘prepare as soon as possible comprehensive measures for the rehabilitation, training and resettlement of disabled persons generally’, irrespective of cause. [804] The subsequent Interim Report was, thus, the first time that the idea of securing satisfactory employment for all disabled people had been considered the role of the state, and as Holroyde notes this was evident in the Committee’s

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[800] ‘Training the Disabled. Returning Men to Industry’, *The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*, 28 October, 1942, p.5.

[801] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.104.

[802] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.108.

[803] E. Bevan, HC Deb., 22 Jan 1942, cols.391-392.

[804] E. Bevan, HC Deb., 22 Jan 1942, cols.391-392.

consideration of the need to establish a 'permanent sheltered employment scheme' to supplement the existing provision delivered via voluntary means. [805]

The Interim Report was influential in determining the provisions of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* which, Bolderson argues, were 'informed by sectional interests' which were 'detrimental to the interests of disabled people.'[806] Nevertheless, the legislation 'became symbolic of deeply felt and widely shared values which were attributed to it' which ensured its longevity.[807] Essentially, the Tomlinson Committee established that: 'the majority of disabled people [were] fully employable on their own merits in competition with able-bodied workers, providing prejudice and discrimination [were] overcome', and, secondly, that disabled people should be afforded their 'full share within their capacity of such employment as [was] ordinarily available.'[808] In order for their position on disability and employment to be compelling, the Committee had to manage the concerns of various groups, including employers, veterans organisations and the Trade Union Congress (TUC), who, among other things, required assurances that the support provided to disabled workers to enable them to work would not be delivered in such a way 'as to compete unfairly with other workers.'[809] Consequently, the report concluded that 'unfit workers should not go into competition with the fit', and that only those who were fully rehabilitated should be placed in open industry.[810]It was proposed that this would be achieved through a more comprehensive scheme of hospital rehabilitation which would be complemented by a system of 'post-hospital rehabilitation' in residential centres organised under the Ministry of Labour, rather than the Ministry of Health.[811] Furthermore, sheltered employment would be expanded to provide for those severely

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[805] Andrew Holroyde, 'Sheltered Employment and Disability in the Classic Welfare State: Remploy c.1944-1979' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2019), pp.86-87.

[806] Helen Bolderson, 'The Origins of the Disabled Person's Quota and its Symbolic Significance', *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol.9, No. 2 (1980), p.169-186 (p.170).

[807] Bolderson, 'The Origins of the Disabled Person's Quota'p.170.

[808] Bolderson, 'The Origins of the Disabled Person's Quota', p.171.

[809] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* pp.224-225.

[810] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation,* p.109.

[811] 'The Duty of Social Medicine', *The British Medical Journal,* Vol.1, No. 4288 (March 13, 1943), p.322.

disabled who, the TUC feared, might be a 'burden' upon industry, and, finally, a quota would be imposed upon employers which would require them to employ 'disabled persons as a percentage of the total of employees' in their establishment.[812]

In paragraph nine the report stated that 'the only satisfactory form of resettlement for a disabled person [was] employment which he [could] take and keep on his merit as a worker in normal competition with his fellows', and in doing so established this as the only viable form of integration, which effectively created two classes of disabled workers: ineffective and effective.[813] According to Borsay, 'the mission of rehabilitation', as it was presented by the Tomlinson Committee, appeared to reinstate a compliance with able-bodied norms, irrespective of the physical pain or mental anguish' associated with certain impairments, which undermined the citizenship of disabled people.[814] Thus, whilst the focus upon rehabilitation contributed to the adoption of 'social policies that sought greater social inclusion' and participation in public life for disabled people; in actuality, the report indicated an approach to rehabilitation which understood most forms of impairment to be physical, recently acquired, and potentially surmountable after a course of medical treatment.[815] In this respect, therefore, the report's recommendations appeared to be based upon assumptions which could more readily be applied to war-disabled men; a group of disabled people who had historically garnered more attention, and who had demonstrably evidenced their capacity to be workers.

Consequently, even before the publication of the report in 1943, there appeared to be an assumption amongst the general public that disabled veterans would continue to be

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[812] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation*, pp.109-110; *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee*, para. 74.

[813] *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee,* para. 9.

[814] Anne Borsay, 'Fit to Work': Representing Rehabilitation on the South Wales Coalfield during the Second World War', in Anne Borsay (ed.) *Medicine in Wales c.1800-2000. Public Service or Private Commodity?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), p.144.

[815] Susan Lonsdale, *Work and Inequality (*Essex: Longman Group Limited, 1985), pp.129-130; Colin Barnes, *Disabled People in Britain and Discrimination. A Case for Anti-Discrimination Legislation* (C. Hurst & Co. Ltd., 1991), p.61; Shah and Priestley, *Disability and Social Change*, p.6.

prioritised by the Government in any subsequent plans for disabled people's employment. Indeed, one reader of the *Evening Express* referred to the Interim Scheme as a 'training scheme for disabled ex-servicemen' and questioned the need to 'discriminate between disabled ex-servicemen and disabled men in general', despite assurances that it was open to all disabled people, irrespective of cause. [816]Sir Walter Womersley of the Ministry of Pensions did little to ameliorate such concerns as he described the Interim Scheme as one intended to 'help men discharged from the services through disablement', and as Tomlinson himself noted it was hoped the 'replacement of men after rehabilitation' would be established as a permanent scheme which would replace the 'King's Roll Council.'[817] Thus, whilst the report's recommendations were actually extended to the civilian disabled, this was not necessarily reflected in public discourse surrounding its proposals. Rhetoric which spoke of the need to 'restore' a 'sense of usefulness' to individual's when 'fate [struck] them down', or which discussed the 'responsibility' of industry to allow those 'who were adequately trained to return to work' revealed a tacit assumption that those whom the report proposed to support had been previously employed, rather than a consideration of those for whom open employment had remained an impossibility due to the nature of their impairment and the attitudinal and structural barriers they encountered.[818]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, criticism was directed towards certain aspects of the Tomlinson Committee's proposals. In particular, medical professionals working in the field of rehabilitation, and disability organisations, such as the Central Council for the Care of Cripples, were concerned that the 'committee had no members with long personal experience of the training and employment of the disabled.'[819] Furthermore, the report's definition of post-

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[816] 'Training School for Disabled', *Evening Express,* June 2, 1942, p.8.
[817] 'Post-War Plans for the Disabled', *The Courier and Advertiser*, January 8, 1943, p.2; 'Assuring Jobs For Disabled', *Evening Express*, November 26, 1943, p.8.
[818] Charles Sutton, 'Charter for the Unwanted', *The Daily Mail,* January 15, 1943, p.3; 'The Tomlinson Report', *The Lancet,* Vol.241, No.6230 (January 23, 1943), p.113.
[819] 'Work for the Disabled', *The Lancet,* Vol.242, No. 6277(December 18, 1943), pp.771-772 (p.771).

hospital rehabilitation, which was understood as non-medical rehabilitation, came under considerable scrutiny, as it appeared a conscious decision to detach rehabilitation from its medical associations which, it was felt, underestimated 'some vital factors in the situation.'[820] In *The British Medical Journal,* for example, one article titled 'The Duty of Social Medicine' stated:

> The important thing, for the sake of the disabled themselves as well as for the sake of the community [was] to readjust them to such work as they can do. It will mean a good deal of fitting, not merely of square or rounded pegs, but of pegs presenting every kind of asymmetry, into holes as appropriate and congenial as possible.[821]

Whilst the influence of social medicine was notable in the article's broader concerns for the benefits of this approach to the wider 'community', the rhetoric of 'fitting [….] square or rounded pegs' located the problem within the disabled bodies of potential workers, and thus demonstrated the limits of an approach to medicine which was envisaged as a move away from a concern for 'diseased individuals towards social observation' in order to promote health.[822]

Amongst certain members of the medical profession, therefore, there was a consensus that they should take the 'leading share' in rehabilitation which, for many disabled people, was necessarily ongoing, in order to ensure that in normal industrial conditions 'the disabled [were] not cast on the scrapheap.'[823] Equally, the proposed quota was thought by some to undermine

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[820] 'The Duty of Social Medicine', *The British Medical Journal,* Vol.1, No. 4288 (March 13,1943), p.323.

[821] 'The Duty of Social Medicine', p.323.

[822] Mark Perry, 'Academic General Practice in Manchester under the Early National Health Service: A Failed Experiment in Social Medicine', *Social History of Medicine,* Vol.13, No.1 (April 2000), p.111-130 (p.112). As Porter notes, social medicine was a movement which developed in the interwar period led by 'medical progressives' who purported to offer a 'broad vision of public health', underpinned by an overarching consensus that 'medical professionals knew best which was evident in some of the criticism directed towards the Government's proposals for rehabilitation. Although proponents of social medicine in the post-war period argued that 'a truly socialised medical service', as was envisaged for the creation of the NHS, would require a different kind of practitioner and 'a different philosophy of training'; in reality such ideas remained ideas held by an intellectual few. See Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind. A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), p.643; N.T.A Oswold, 'A Social Health Service Without Social Doctors', *Social History of Medicine,* Vol.4, No.2 (August 1991), pp.295-315 (pp.295-296).

[823] 'The Duty of Social Medicine', *The British Medical Journal,* Vol.1, No. 4288 (March 13, 1943), p.323.

the reports stated aim of creating independent workers. In a letter published in *The Times,* Lord Leverhulme, President of Queen Elizabeth's Training College for the Disabled, pointed to the inconsistency of proposing a quota which required employers to retain a percentage of disabled whilst maintaining that a disabled person should be 'able to hold down his job by his own merit as a workman', as it was felt that this would encourage the public to become ''cripple-minded'', and once again be disposed to regard the physically disabled as unemployable persons.'[824]Hence, whilst the subsequent planning for the expansion of industrial rehabilitation revealed a concern with detaching rehabilitation from its medical associations, the proposed terms, in actuality, applied medicalised assumptions to determine who had the capacity to be an effective or ineffective worker, and failed to properly address 'disability as a societal construction manufactured by material and cultural environments.'[825]

Despite these criticisms, however, the proposals of the report were broadly accepted, and at its second reading the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Bill* was agreed. One article published in *The Daily Mail* summarised Bevin's justification for the Act with the headline 'Peace 'Job' Needs All Disabled. 50 Years Labour Shortage: Bevin', which reflected both the collectivism of wartime and the power of the message of rebuilding, as well as being an acknowledgement of the substantial economic pressures the Government would face in the aftermath of the war.[826] During the second reading of the bill, Bevin stated that the

> country will not be able for the next fifty years to afford an unemployed man or to allow a man to be kept from industry because he is (un)fit or injured. If you do allow that waste of man-power, you will have lost the war, in spite of all the victories we have gained on the battlefield.[827]

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[824] 'Training the Disabled. Competition in the Open Market', *The Times,* March 6,1943, p.5.

[825] Borsay, 'Fit to Work', p.145.

[826] Daily Mail Parliamentary Correspondent, 'Peace 'Job' Needs All Disabled. 50 Years' Labour Shortage: Bevin', *The Daily Mail*, December 11, 1943, p.4.

[827] E. Bevan, HC Deb., 10 December 1943, col.1349.

Tomlinson similarly argued that 'disablement involve[d] the community in a double loss' because it 'reduced productive capacity' and 'involve[d] expense in maintenance and remedial services.'[828] '[R]estoration of the disabled to productive employment' was thus presented as an 'economic advantage', and it was under these terms that the Act was passed, precipitated by anxieties over the substantial costs attached to the state's new and expanding responsibility for its citizens.[829] Labour shortages, and the perilous position of the British economy in the immediate aftermath of the war, saw all disabled people considered, for the first time, as part of the government's plan for employment. Central to these plans was the role of rehabilitation in reintegration, which, organised under the Ministry of Labour, 'became increasingly oriented to employment.'[830] Through this legislation, therefore, work was firmly established as the final step in fixing disabled bodies. The contributions of disabled people during the war were recognised, and the Act was intended to a be a progressive move towards their inclusion. However, as work continued to be perceived as a pre-cursor to full citizenship, the categorisation of effective and ineffective disabled worker denied this to certain disabled people, which contributed to their continued marginalisation in the post-war period

The Implementation of The Disabled People's (Employment) Act (1944)

On 1 March 1944 *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* received Royal assent, and was gradually brought into full operation between August 1945 and 1946.[831] Its intention was to 'make further and better provision for enabling persons handicapped by disablement to secure employment.'[832] The Act defined a disabled person as one who 'on account of injury, disease or congenital deformity [was] substantially handicapped in obtaining or keeping employment of a kind which apart from that injury, disease or deformity would be suited to his age,

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[828] G. Tomlinson, HC Deb., 10 December 1943, col.1269.
[829] G. Tomlinson, HC Deb., 10 December 1943, col.1269.
[830] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation,* pp.118-119.
[831] Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.117.
[832] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI).

experience and qualifications; and the expression ''disablement'', in relation to any person, shall be construed accordingly.' [833] The framing of disability 'from the *employment angle'* was, according to Joan Simeone Clarke, a good approach as it was 'wide enough to include stomach ulcers and paralysis, epilepsy and tuberculosis, heart trouble and deafness, amputations and speech defects, neurosis and blindness, and any combination of these disabilities.'[834] A person, therefore, was not disabled by their impairment; rather, disablement was defined through its relationship to work, and the inability of the individual to secure work. This was significant in determining the types of provision and 'degrees of mandate' placed upon employers, which, Lonsdale argues, 'flow from the concept we hold of disability', whilst at the same time reaffirming work as the primary marker of social inclusion.[835]

In accordance with this definition, the Act instituted provisions which aimed to reduce disablement by providing training and opportunities for all disabled people to work in areas which reflected their capabilities. In this respect the Act was 'a decisive move forward' as prior to this 'there was little legislation that recognised disabled peoples' needs.'[836]Whilst the preferential treatment of disabled veterans was still notable in certain aspects of its implementation, the period was nevertheless one in which the distinction made between disabled veterans and the civilian disabled population became less clear, which was significant in terms of assuring the public's support for the Act's policies. Employment policy was delivered in three key areas, administered by the Ministry of Labour. Firstly, training and resettlement schemes 'assessed work potential and offered work experience'.[837] Secondly, the Act established a quota scheme which made it the duty of 'a person who [had] a substantial number of employees to give employment to persons handicapped by disablement to the

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[833] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S. 1 (1).

[834] Joan Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1951), p.19.

[835] Susan Lonsdale, *Work and Inequality,* p.122.

[836] Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation',* p.192.

[837] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* p.135.

number which is his quota', which generally meant an employer with more than twenty staff was 'required to recruit three per cent of their workforce from registered disabled people.' [838] Finally, the Act required the establishment of segregated employment for ‘severely disabled’ people, organised by the Disabled Persons Employment Corporation who established ‘British Factories’, later named Remploy, in 1945 as a ‘non-profit making company, financed by the central Government.’[839]

Disablement Resettlement Officers (DROs) were appointed by the Ministry of Labour, and they were ‘concerned exclusively and persistently with placing handicapped workers.’[840] The role of DROs was described as one which required ‘skill, knowledge and suitable personal characteristics’ in order to be able to inform and assist individuals to find suitable opportunities for rehabilitation, training and work.[841] Joan Simeon Clarke, a former research assistant to Lord Beveridge, described the role of the DRO in *Disabled Citizens* (1951),in which she stated:

> They need to know something of the nature of the handicaps which are disabling their various clients; they need to know about the actual operations required in different jobs and the functional ability needed to perform them; they need to know about the employment possibilities in their area and the state of the market generally; they need an interviewing technique good enough to make headway with employers and to sift their clients; they need to be familiar with the local range of social services and with the personnel concerned; they need to be able to discern problems (emotional, social, economic and medical) even when these are not stated, and to know the possible sources of relevant help. The DROs have to work with individuals but must constantly relate these to the social and economic background. [842]

Evidently, the role was complex; however this was not reflected in the level of training provided to DROs which, at only three days, ‘was clearly insufficient.’[843]DROs received no medical training and, accordingly, were not always equipped to understand the complexity of

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[838] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S.9 (1); Anne Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.135.

[839] Anderson, *‘Soul of a Nation’* p.183; J L. Edwards, ‘Remploy: An Experiment in Sheltered Employment for the Severely Disabled in Great Britain’, *International Labour Review*, Vol. 77, No.2 (1958), pp.147-159 (p.147).

[840] Joan Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens*, p.156.

[841]Joan Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens*, p.156.

[842]Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens*, p.157.

[843]Anderson, *‘Soul of a Nation’*, p.197.

their client's impairments. Moreover, in 1945 a confidential meeting of the Medical Committee of the National Advisory Council on the Employment of the Disabled observed that the failure of DROs resulted not only from their lack of medical expertise, but from the fact they were 'recruited from the wrong type and grade, were inadequately trained' and worked largely part-time; a situation which resulted from the speed with which the service was established, as well as the shortage of labour after the war.[844] In 1948 the Ministry of Labour attempted to counter the limits of the existing system via the creation of District Disabled Resettlement Officers (DDROs), an additional level of administration who oversaw DRO training, as well as the establishment of Medical Interviewing Committees in hospitals, who advised on the medical conditions of clients.[845]It was still felt, however, that 'out of fairness to its staff' the Ministry needed to look 'more deeply into the question of providing whole-time training of at least many months' duration, and Clarke suggested that DROs should have smaller caseloads as their working conditions required them to sacrifice 'intensive to extensive work', which was often not in the best interest of clients.[846] Furthermore, whilst DROs had access to Medical Advisors, this did not necessarily counter the challenges of undertaking comprehensive assessments.

Writing in *The Lancet* in 1949, Mark Hewitt, a Medical Advisor for the Ministry of Labour, reported upon the continued problem of placing disabled men in work, which he related to the failure of medical opinion to consider the 'social history and, more importantly, the occupational record' of individual clients.[847] In his sample of fifty men, Hewitt observed that 'much of the medical information available was out of date and had been provided by military hospitals in circumstances entirely different from those existing at the time of interview.'[848] He also observed a tendency 'for the disability label to be altered and for mental

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[844] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.197.
[845] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.197.
[846] Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens*, pp.157-158.
[847] Mark Hewitt, 'The Unemployed Disabled Man', *The Lancet*, Vol.254, No.6577 (September 17, 1949), pp.523-526 (p.523).
[848] Hewitt, 'The Unemployed Disabled Man', p.523.

disability to assume an organic title', citing the example of one case where a man with long-term severe anxiety had been 'dealt with as a case of fibrositis', a condition which caused pain all over the body and fatigue.[849] In 1942, the Tomlinson Report had noted the 'peculiar difficulties' involved in the 'rehabilitation and resettlement of mental patients', and thus the assumption that the attribution of a physical disorder would be considered more acceptable to a potential employer revealed not only the ongoing stigma attached to mental illness, but suggested that the priority was to place a person in any job, regardless of their suitability to undertake that role.[850] Moreover, the study argued that DROs were often 'powerless' to properly place clients because of the men's 'regard and literal acceptance of medical opinion on the limitations imposed by disability.'[851] Thus, whilst the assessment process was, according to Holroyde, based entirely upon the 'opinions of medical professionals and bureaucrats', with 'no mention in any record of the opinion of the disabled people themselves having had any impact' upon its outcome; Hewitt implied that fault was to be found with the disabled person who failed to challenge the opinions of experts during a process in which it appeared they had limited autonomy to intervene.[852] Whilst the report concluded that a more rigorous 'social, occupational and medical assessment' was needed, which necessarily required a more robust period of training for DROs, by 1956 the official training was still only three to four days.[853] In its implementation, therefore, the assessment service and limited training of DROs revealed

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[849] Hewitt, 'The Unemployed Disabled Man', pp.523-524.

[850] Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.89. According to Vicky Long, the approach to industrial therapy at institutions like the Maudsley Hospital in London was consistent with that developed by the Ministry of Labour for industrial rehabilitation units, 'assessing work behaviour not in reference to patient group but to what constituted average standards in industry.' In this respect, the approach to industrial therapy revealed similar values to those applied during employment assessments, whereby 'mental health concerns' were subordinated to concerns of economic productivity and efficiency. Vicky Long, 'Rethinking Post-war Mental Health Care: Industrial Therapy and the Chronic Mental Patient in Britain' *Social History of Medicine*, Vol.26, No.4 (2013), pp.738-758 (p.752).

[851] Mark Hewitt, 'The Unemployed Disabled Man', pp.523-526 (p.523).

[852] Andrew Holroyde, 'Sheltered Employment and Disability in the Classic Welfare State', p.178

[853] Mark Hewitt, 'The Unemployed Disabled Man', *The Lancet* (September 17, 1949), pp.523-526 (p.526); Julie Anderson, *War, 'Soul of a Nation'*, p.197.

the complexity of a system in which the individual needs of disabled people were often in tension with the economic concerns of the government.

Under the terms of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* the Minister of Labour was granted the power to 'designate classes of employment' which appeared to him to afford 'especially suitable opportunities for the employment of disabled people.'[854] Whilst an employer did not have to dismiss a non-disabled person to create jobs, they were required to only employ disabled people should a position become available. However, the extent to which public and private businesses included certain disabled people within their quota appeared to vary considerably depending upon the nature of their impairment. For example, Linda Bryder notes that by 1947 there were limited signs that tuberculosis sufferers were securing work via the quota system, and that a substantial number of sufferers remained reluctant to join the register because of the stigmatising associations of their condition.[855] Thus, whilst the ability to create protected jobs for disabled workers was considered to be a positive development which could 'be of great service to the tuberculous', as there was the potential to allocate them 'to certain industries in which the conditions of work [were] particularly suited to their condition'; in reality there remained considerable challenges in securing work for those who presented with more 'peculiar' physical and 'psychological needs.'[856] Undoubtedly, similar challenges would have presented for other forms of impairment and, thus, revealed the need to consider the variety of needs and abilities of individuals which it was anticipated the creation of certain protected jobs would facilitate. However, by 1951 the only jobs which were

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[854] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S. 12 (1)

[855] Bryder notes that 'repeated assurances' were made to the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis (NAPT) that the tuberculous person would be treated the same as other disabled people,with respect to the terms of the Act; however this does not appear to have been the case. According to Bryder the NAPT were disappointed that the National Advisory Committee on the Employment of Disabled Persons failed to appoint any tuberculosis specialists, and it seems likely that was a contributory factor in limiting the success of the Act with regards to this group.Linda Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain. A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp.237-238.

[856] Frederick Heaf, 'Tuberculosis in Industry', *British Medical Journal*, Vol.2, No.4486 (28 December 1946), pp.975 -979 (p.977).

‘exclusively reserved for disabled persons’ were ‘passenger electric lift attendant and car park attendant.’[857] Although both had been identified by the Tomlinson Committee as potential ‘suitable’ occupations for ‘certain categories of disablement’, because of their ‘limited demands on physical and mental ability’, the committee had anticipated that further occupations would need to be added to the ‘prescribed list’, subject to review by the Minister of Labour.[858] The failure to do so revealed a tendency to treat ‘the disabled’ as a homogenous group who, it continued to be assumed, demonstrated a reduced capacity to undertake work. Arguably, this undermined their status as effective workers, and demonstrated limited consideration of the individual skills or aspirations of disabled people, as the requirement to secure any form of work for disabled people was considered more of a priority.

Section six of the Act established provisions for the creation of a register of disabled people, which was to be maintained by the Minister of Labour.[859] Individuals had to apply to have their name added to the register, and the Minister was granted the power to ‘make regulations prescribing matters which [were] to constitute condition of, or disqualification from, the entry in the register of the names of any persons.’[860] Reasons for disqualification included being underage, being a person ‘not ordinarily resident in Great Britain’; ‘unreasonable refusal or failure to attend a vocational training or industrial rehabilitation’, and ‘habitual bad character.’[861] Whilst the Act outlined very specific details regarding how employers were required to fulfil their duties under the quota system, it offered no further qualification of what constituted ‘unreasonable refusal’ or ‘habitual bad character.’ This was significant for two reasons. Firstly, it appeared to be an acknowledgment of the potential resistance of employers to comply with the Act, therefore creating terms within the legislation

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[857] Joan Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens*, p.162.
[858] *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee*, para. 78.
[859] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S.6. Para.1.
[860] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S. 7.1
[861] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S. 7. (1, d)

which were assumed to be difficult for an employer to circumvent. Despite this, there were reports of employers who ‘eagerly sought among their existing employees to find those with ‘’eligible’’ disabilities’, and then sent them to register to avoid the firm having to ‘take on other registered disabled persons whose infirmity might really be a handicap.’[862] Though not technically in violation of the quota system, such actions appeared in violation of the spirit in which the Act was created, which indicated a somewhat limited consensus amongst the general population with regards to disabled peoples’ employability. Moreover, the subjective language of disqualification was an indication of the moralistic undertones of employment policy. The idea that certain disabled people wilfully evaded opportunities to work, or were of bad character, invited parallels with earlier forms of Poor Law relief which categorised individuals as ‘deserving’ or ‘undeserving’ of support, and thus undermined the extent to which the Act could be viewed as progressive policy. In its vagueness the Act granted broad powers to the Minister and provided limited potential for those disqualified to challenge the decision. In this way, therefore, the Act revealed an attitude which presumed that disabled people should be grateful for the opportunity to work, regardless of what that work might be. Furthermore, the importance placed upon securing work suitable to a disabled person’s ‘experience and qualifications’ demonstrated a more limited consideration towards those who, perhaps as a result of life-long disability, had been excluded from the educational or employment opportunities necessary to acquire relevant ‘experience and qualifications’, which was not necessarily representative of their individual capabilities.[863] The application of this standard

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[862] Joan Simeon Clarke, *Disabled Citizens,* pp.156-157.

[863] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S. 2 (1). Vic Finkelstein argued that the continued marginalisation of disabled people from the workforce was compounded by the segregation of disabled children in special schools, particularly in the post-war period, which both failed to equip young disabled people with the skills to undertake jobs as adults, and socialised them into accepting a life without paid work. Quoted in Barbara Bagihole, *Equal Opportunities and Social Policy (*Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1997), p.116.

thus failed to acknowledge this, and potentially limited disabled peoples' options to low status (and low paid) jobs which worked to sustain their more marginal status in the community.[864]

Section two to five of the Act was concerned with the provision of vocational training and industrial rehabilitation courses which included 'physical training, exercise and occupation' conducive to an individual's restoration. [865] Industrial Rehabilitation Units (IRUs) provided 'factory-like work experience, job assessment and craft training, typically lasting a few weeks', and although they were within the remit of the employment service , the referral and management of trainees remained in the province of medically-oriented rehabilitation services.'[866] The first of these units, established at a 'large country house' in Egham in 1943, was a residential centre modelled upon the lines recommended by the Tomlinson Committee which proposed the opening of 'facilities to assist full recovery to physical fitness by the provision of fresh air, good food, physical training and exercises, together with a limited amount of useful indoor occupation.'[867] It was noted that the committee did not use the word 'industrial' to describe such centres, which were not intended to 'resemble a factory.'[868] After the war, however, the pressing need to expand such services led to the abandonment of the residential model developed at Egham, and IRUs were established in 'existing Government Training Centres' along more industrial lines.[869] The scheme was intended for 'any person aged 16 or over who, through illness, injury or prolonged unemployment [needed] to get fit for work

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[864] As Harlan Hanh notes, disabled people have often been relegated to 'routine jobs' which are not 'regarded by capitalists as justifying the payment of prevailing wages.'. Their low occupational status thus justifies low pay, and this particularly disadvantages groups who remain marginal to the workforce, such as disabled people, as these low status roles have often been presented as the only forms of work available to them. Harlan Hahn, 'Advertising the Acceptably Employable Image. Disability and Capitalism', in Lennard J. Davis *Disability Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp.172-185 (p.172.)

[865] Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI), S. 3 (1).

[866] Shah and Priestley, *Disability and Social Change*, p.138.

[867] W.L. Buxton, 'Industrial Rehabilitation Units: A British Experiment', *International Labour Review*, pp.535-548 (p.537)

[868] Buxton, 'Industrial Rehabilitation Units', p.537.

[869] Buxton, 'Industrial Rehabilitation Units', p.539.

again', and thus was primarily envisaged as a resource for those who had previously been able to undertake work in open employment.[870]

Whilst the rehabilitative benefits of occupational therapies may have had employment as their end goal, the opportunity to train did not necessarily offer the security of a job, and although a small 'maintenance allowance' was paid to individuals during their period of training, this was limited as it was believed it might encourage people to prolong their training when they actually ready to take up employment.[871] Work, therefore, in this context was a 'contested concept' to which multiple, and sometimes conflicting values were applied as the presumed health benefits of the scheme made more acceptable the low pay delivered to disabled people, and thus failed to fully recognise their material concerns, which often presented additional financial burdens related to their impairment, as well as their desire to be financially independent of a government-led scheme.[872] Within the context of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* such distinctions are important to acknowledge as the conflation of certain forms of rehabilitative work with the more 'objective' category of employment, where people receive a regular wage, arguably undermined the success of a policy which was intended to provide disabled citizens with opportunities to be financially independent.[873] Furthermore, the priority afforded to training and rehabilitation reinforced that it was an individual's bodily limitations which prevented their entry into the workforce, rather than acknowledge some of the other structural or attitudinal barriers which may have been an impediment to securing a job.

Despite a number of challenges associated with the rapid pace with which policy needed to be implemented, and the complexities of a system directed towards individuals who

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[870] Buxton, 'Industrial Rehabilitation Units', p.540.
[871] Buxton, 'Industrial Rehabilitation Units', p.541.
[872] Carol Wolkowitz, *Bodies at Work* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2006), p.14.
[873] Carol Wolkowitz, *Bodies at Work*, p.14.

presented with a broad range of needs and capabilities, substantial and rapid gains were made in all areas established under the terms of *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act.* By 1946, 67 Vocational Training Centres had opened to provide retraining to disabled workers, and although the focus upon 'retraining' appeared to be prioritise the war disabled, a significant number of disabled civilians joined the register.[874] By 1946 figures stood at 225,000, and peaked in 1950 when 900,000 disabled people had joined the register, which was substantially more than the 300,000 people injured during the Second World War.[875] Moreover, as the provisions established under the Act were consolidated, the distinction between disabled veterans and disabled citizens became less pronounced. Arguably, this provided further affirmation of the rights and abilities of all disabled people to be recognised, and recognise themselves, as workers, which was essential to meet the demands of labour shortages, as well as to limit the financial burden of welfare paid to disabled people. For example, in 1946 blind ex-servicemen joined the Vocational Training Scheme which gradually meant all 'disabled people were mixed together regardless of disability', and by 1953 the rehabilitative services provided to disabled ex-servicemen via the Ministry of Pensions were transferred to the Ministry of Health in an attempt to 'recover from the financial drain of war.'[876]By 1958, Remploy factories employed 6,000 'severely disabled' workers across ninety factories in diverse areas of trade which included: domestic furniture making, general woodwork, cardboard box manufacturing, packaging and engineering.[877] Unlike earlier sheltered workshops which relied heavily upon traditional handicrafts, the approach taken by Remploy understood 'ordinary industrial manufacture' and the 'modern trends towards increased

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[874] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'* p.194.
[875] Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.1, p.195.
[876] Julie Anderson, 'Turned into Taxpayers: Paraplegia, Rehabilitation and Sport at Stoke Mandeville, 1944-56', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.38, No.3 (2003), pp.461-475 (pp.461-462); Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, pp.190-191.
[877]J L. Edwards, 'Remploy: An Experiment in Sheltered Employment for the Severely Disabled in Great Britain', *International Labour Review*, Vol. 77, No.2 (1958), pp.147-159 (p.147, p.152).

mechanisation and the breaking down of skilled processes' to offer 'far better prospects' for significantly impaired individuals to be able to participate in work.[878] The move towards more industrial forms of work was precipitated by the legislative requirement to provide 'secure and constant employment' for larger numbers of 'severely disabled' people, and the exclusion of traditional craft methods thus reflected the need to deliver a programme at scale with the maximum amount of efficiency. [879]Whilst Barnes argues that the prioritisation of 'low-skilled manual work' perpetuated the 'traditional pattern of disabled people's employment', *The Disabled Person's (Employment Act)* was concerned with the creation of jobs for life for disabled people, and therefore was inevitably directed towards the economic and industrial concerns of the country.[880] Whilst much of the work delivered via government schemes was, indeed, relatively low-skilled, it nonetheless deviated from the traditional forms of arts and crafts historically delivered via charitable schemes in which the work, although arguably more skilled, often fluctuated, was irregular or provided systemically low pay.

Evidently, there was significant appetite amongst the general population of disabled people for the provisions and services provided via *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act*, as evidenced by the numbers who joined the register in the first few years of its introduction. This was hardly surprising, however, given the substantial disadvantage disabled people historically encountered in the job market. Despite these early gains, as this section has demonstrated, the implementation of the Act was beset by challenges which required a complex negotiation between the needs and concerns of disabled individuals, with the financial pressures placed upon the state. From the early 1950s, for example, Remploy came under increased pressure to 'reduce its continuous financial losses' and reorganise as a more viable

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[878] J.L Edwards, 'Remploy', pp.147-159 (p.155).

[879] William M. Usdane, 'Remploy Workshops in England: Paradox and Dilemma', *Journal of Rehabilitation*, Vol.30, No.1 (1964), p.40.

[880]Colin Barnes, *Disabled People and Discrimination in Britain. A Case for Anti-Discrimination legislation* (London: C. Hurst & Co Ltd.,1991), p.69.

commercial venture.[881] This contributed to the somewhat paradoxical set of circumstances whereby the loss of approximately 200 Remploy employees every year to open industry came to be viewed by some factory managers as a substantial loss as they were perceived to be 'the most valuable' workers, even though the service had been established explicitly for those unable to take up open employment.[882] Criticism has also been directed towards the implementation of other aspects of the Act, particularly in relation to the quota system which, after the meeting of the Piercy Committee in 1956, saw a 'shift of emphasis from enforcement to persuasion' which significantly reduced employer compliance with its terms. Between 1961 to 1978, therefore, the number of employers retaining at least 3% disabled employees amongst their workforce fell from 61.4% to 36.8%.[883] Thus, whilst the quota system had, as the Piercy Report concluded, been extremely valuable in providing 'a sound basis for publicity among both employers and workpeople', in essence asserting the status of disabled people as workers; the failure of employers to comply, and the ongoing challenges associated with 'obtaining remunerative employment for the severely disabled' created interest and space for the emergence of new charities, such as The National Spastics Society, to take up the employment needs of those not met by the state.[884]

A Continuing Role for Charities: Employment and the National Spastics Society

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[881] Andrew Holroyde, 'Sheltered Employment and Disability in the Classic Welfare State', pp.136-138

[882] William M. Usdane, 'Remploy Workshops in England', p.40. According to Topliss, the Piercy Report similarly re-emphasised the need for efficiency within 'sheltered workshops' and maintained that the role of rehabilitation and resettlement services was to cater to those disabled people who could make an 'economic contribution'. The report therefore urged that the welfare of more severely disabled should be the responsibility of the social services, not the employment services, which effectively denied the 'occupational needs' of this particular group of disabled people. Eda Topliss, *Provision for the Disabled* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott Ltd., 1975), pp.58-59.

[883] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.136. Mark Hyde, for example, noted in 1998 that despite a significant proportion of employers being 'under quota', for most of the post-war period there had only been ten prosecutions for failure to comply with the scheme, and thus argues that this aspect of the Act was 'never taken seriously.' Mark Hyde, 'Sheltered and Supported Employment in the 1990s: The experiences of disabled workers in the UK', *Disability and Society*, Vol.13, No.2, p.200.

[884] *The Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Rehabilitation Training and Resettlement of Disabled Persons* (London: HMSO, 1956), para.169; A. Austin Eagger, 'Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Rehabilitation, Training and Resettlement of Disabled Persons', *British Journal of Industrial Medicine*, Vol.15, No.3 (July 1958), pp.214-215 (p.215).+

As chapter three of this thesis demonstrated, when the National Spastics Society was founded in 1952 its primary focus had been upon fundraising and the establishment of schools.[885] However, by 1957 'some of the children in the Society's new schools were old enough to leave', and the perception of the charity was that there was 'not enough employment to go round the ordinary school-leavers', let alone to provide opportunities for young adults with significant impairments.[886]Although the Youth Employment Service, established under the terms of *The Employment and Training Act* (1948), 'sought to place the handicapped school leaver in suitable employment', as this chapter has demonstrated *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* was primarily concerned with those 'whose work had been interrupted by illness or handicap, and who required rehabilitation or retraining'.[887] Consequently, less consideration was given to young people born disabled who had never had a skilled job. Within this context there remained an obvious potential – and important – role for charities to support in the provision of disabled peoples' employment. Indeed, as Holroyde notes, whilst the 'pervading conception' of Remploy has been that it was the 'only meaningful provider' of sheltered employment in the post-war period, in reality it did not render the 'charitable workshops which came before it obsolete'.[888] The much longer history of sheltered employment and training schemes; their association with therapy and rehabilitation, and the groups who historically accessed such schemes, namely veterans and disabled children, established broad acceptance for the continued role of charities in the delivery of such schemes.[889]Information, training and opportunities for the employment of disabled school-

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[885] In 1963 the National Spastics Society merged with the British Council for the Welfare of Spastics. However, for the purposes of consistency this thesis refers to 'The National Spastics Society' throughout. See Davies, *Changing Society*, p.46.

[886] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.85.

[887] Stanley Segal, *No Child is Ineducable: Special Education - Provision and Trends* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1967), p.26.

[888] Andrew Holroyde, 'Sheltered Employment and Disability'p.282.

[889] Andrew Holroyde, 'Sheltered Employment and Disability', p.287.For example, The Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops and the Star and Garter Home both established workshops for veterans in the post-war period, and

leavers were, therefore, supported substantially by the voluntary sector, which aimed to be responsive to the growing demands for work which the mechanics of state provision, in areas concerned with disabled peoples' education and work, had fostered.

Whilst the employment programmes established by the National Spastics Society co-existed alongside numerous other charitable endeavours, this section focuses particularly upon the Society's activities because it was only after the Second World War that people with cerebral palsy were identified as subjects for educational, occupational and charitable reform. The Society therefore played a fundamental role in shaping, both materially and metaphorically, the occupational status of people with cerebral palsy. The early educational agenda of The National Spastics Society had been to establish a grammar school for children with cerebral palsy, so that those able to could access a more rigorous education than that which was typically offered in special schools. However, this was not matched by the kinds of opportunities for employment sought and provided by the Society, which largely took the form of repetitive industrial tasks, such as 'fly and power press work', 'assembly' and 'packing', or more traditional crafts delivered via the society's homework schemes.[890] Thus, whilst the society achieved moderate success in placing people with cerebral palsy in work, this section argues that the form this took, coupled with the rhetoric deployed by the charity, functioned to maintain culturally and socially pervasive perceptions of disabled peoples' limited capacity and 'dependency', which denied people with cerebral palsy their status as independent workers.[891]

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rehabilitation was also provided by voluntary institutions like Queen Elizabeth College in Leatherhead. Julie Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, pp.184-185.

[890] 'Cwybran Work Centre, promotional poster', Box 142: Early history of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK; 'Over £1000 Jewellery Sold. Homeworkers beat their target' *Spastics News* (February 1962), p.9, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[891] Mike Oliver, 'Disability and Dependency: A Creation of Industrial Societies', in Len Barton (ed.), *Disability and Dependency (*Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1989), pp.7-22 (pp.9-10).

In 1957 The National Spastics Society shifted its focus to the issue of employment, appointing an Industrial Liaison Officer and Employment Officer to work on their behalf.[892] 'On finding that few spastics were eligible for the Government training centres' the Society established Sherrards, a special residential training centre for sixteen to twenty-five year olds with the principal aim of providing additional training to people with cerebral palsy, as it was considered that all 'handicapped people [needed] some further training to adapt themselves to the tools of the trade they [chose].'[893] Sherrards also worked to establish connections with industry and secured 'sub-contract work' from local factories, in this way mirroring the approach of Government training centres which aimed to adjust their 'training facilities in the light of changes in the general and local employment situation' in order to improve trainees prospects of securing a job.[894] In that same year a 'Christmas card printing scheme' was also established by the Society, which provided 'homeworking' opportunities to those 'spastics who were so heavily handicapped that they could not attend work centres', and by 1962 the scheme employed sixty people and was on track to print 350,000 Christmas cards that year.'[895] When Sherrards opened in 1957 it was, according to the Society, 'the first project of its kind' specifically for people with cerebral palsy and the obvious demand for its services led to substantial expansion so that by 1966 The National Spastics Society operated 21 training centres which included an 'Office Training Centre' in Stockport.[896] Voluntary training centres, such as those run by the Society, were eligible to 'receive a state grant' via the Ministry of Labour to support in the operation of their activities, which demonstrated an awareness on the part of the Ministry of the need for the coexistence of voluntary services within the framework

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[892] Davies, *Changing Society*, p.17

[893] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours* pp.86-87

[894] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, pp.86-87; G.H. Cullen, 'Vocational Training and Industrial Rehabilitation', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol.110, No. 5065 (December 1961), p.24

[895] 'Homework Scheme', *Spastics News 10th Anniversary*, p.40, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[896] 'Training Spastics for Industry, The work of Sherrards training centre (1957)', Box 67:Historical Pictures (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

of statutory employment provision, particularly where the disabled beneficiaries of such services required a 'highly specific' form of rehabilitation or training, such as in the case of blind people or those with cerebral palsy.[897] By 1958, the 'financial help' provided by the Ministry to sheltered workshops run by local authorities and voluntary organisations amounted to £670,000 a year, although the cost of running such programmes was actually substantially higher as this did not reflect the funds individual charities raised themselves.[898] Thus, through its own fundraising efforts, coupled with the financial assistance provided by the Ministry of Labour, the National Spastics Society was able to report that it had succeeded in placing over 1900 people in jobs by the late 1960s; a figure which compared quite favourably to the 6,893 disabled workers employed in Remploy factories in 1966 when consideration is given to the specific impairment group the Society's employment schemes targeted.[899] During this period the Society also provided training via 'Vocational Assessment Courses' to 2500 people, supported 70 people to work at home, and provided numerous grants to help with 'business, home-work' and 'additional training.'[900]

Despite these successes, and the ambitious educational aims the National Spastics Society was initially founded upon, it was noted in *Every Eight Hours. The Story of the Spastics Society* that 'in those days if that thing, a job, was found, many even lightly handicapped had to face the fact that [….] the only possible opening lay in manual work.'[901] This position was one almost certainly reinforced by the kinds of opportunities delivered via the state's employment schemes, and whilst it was observed that this approach perhaps seemed

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[897] Buxton, 'Industrial Rehabilitation Units', p.536; Anderson, *'Soul of a Nation'*, p.191. By 1958, for example, there were 70 workshops providing training and employment to 4000 blind workers, and approximately two-thirds of these were run by voluntary organisations. J.L Edwards, 'Remploy', pp.147-159 (pp.147-148).

[898] J.L Edwards, 'Remploy', pp.147-159 (p.148).

[899] 'Speaker's notes, The Spastics society' (no date), Box 67:Historical Pictures (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK; Andrew Holroyde, 'Sheltered Employment and Disability', p.222.

[900] Speaker's notes, The Spastics Society' (no date), Box 67: Historical Pictures (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[901] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours,* p.86.

‘unsuitable’ for individuals whose impairment particularly impacted their fine motor skills, it was, nevertheless, an approach adopted by the Society.[902]This was reflected both in the opportunities they trained people in, as well as the kinds of relationships they aimed to establish in industry. For example, after the opening of the Office Training Centres at Chester and Stockport The National Spastics Society trained people to operate Tickopres machines, which did ‘a lot of the printing on food packaging.’[903] The company, Tickopres, was said to be ‘[s]o impressed by trainees handling their machines’ that they established a ‘special centre’ to train people with cerebral palsy’, and by 1960 ‘21 young spastics had found employment as Tickopres operators.[904]

One of these people, Brenda, had attended the North West Kent branch of the National Spastics Society, and according to *Spastics News*, it was here she gained experience of ‘using her hands’ by using the printing and knitting machines they had available.[905] Thus, the interactions people had with the Society, which formed aspects of their education, training and rehabilitation, significantly influenced the kinds of work opportunities and partnerships which were established with local industry by the Society, as well as the values assigned to the work undertaken. As chapter three demonstrated, manual training formed a significant part of the education of children with cerebral palsy, and it was therefore unsurprising that this remained a focus of the employment provision developed by the National Spastics Society, attaching a rehabilitative function to its occupational agenda. At Sherrards, for example, a physiotherapy room was located at one end of the main workshop, and whilst it was not mandatory to undergo

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[902] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours,* p.86.

[903] ‘An employment milestone, the 250th spastic is placed in a job’, *Spastics News* (August 1960), p.10, Box 114: Copies of ‘Spastics News’, magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[904] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours,* p.92; ‘An employment milestone, the 250th spastic is placed in a job’, *Spastics News* (August 1960), p.10, Box 114: Copies of ‘Spastics News’, magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[905]‘An employment milestone, the 250th spastic is placed in a job’, *Spastics News* (August 1960), p.10, Box 114: Copies of ‘Spastics News’, magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

therapy, most employees were said to be ‘so keen to reach the standard needed for a job’ that they understood this as necessary to support them in their work.[906] This worked to maintain a standard whereby it was the body of the disabled person, rather than the conditions of work, which were required to adapt and change.

One doctor advising upon the ‘rehabilitation of adult spastics’ said ‘all the movements the patient [had] to do at work should be regarded as part of his physiotherapy’, which meant the work should ‘not be too difficult’, and, at least initially, should ‘not involve fine motor skills.’[907] The impact of this was that much of the work offered was ‘repetitive’, which the doctor believed should not be ‘regarded as being unsuitable’, as this was how a ‘great proportion of the ordinary population [earned] their livelihood.’[908] Although explicitly concerned with rehabilitation, the doctor maintained that ‘the work should not be regarded as an amusement or an occupation to fill the time, but as ‘genuine work’ which meant the hours should be fixed and ‘patients should be paid for their work.’[909] Effectively, the person with cerebral palsy who was engaged in this process occupied the dual status of ‘patient’ and ‘worker’. As a patient they were subject to the medical agenda of the person responsible for their rehabilitation. Whilst payment was considered necessary in affirming their status as ‘workers’, the attitude of the doctor, with regards to the unfulfilling nature of ‘repetitive’ nature of repetitive work , indicated that the material concerns of transforming the disabled body of the patient, were prioritised over the immaterial values workers may attach to their job.

Nevertheless, a survey circulated by the National Spastics Society to its members indicated that some efforts were made to understand their concerns in relation to employment,

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[906] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.87.

[907] C. D S. Agassiz, MD, ‘The Rehabilitation of Adult Spastics’ *Spastics News* (January 1960), p.13, p.10, Box 114: Copies of ‘Spastics News’, magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[908] C. D S. Agassiz, MD, ‘The Rehabilitation of Adult Spastics’, *Spastics News* (January 1960 p.13.

[909] C. D S. Agassiz, MD, ‘The Rehabilitation of Adult Spastics’, p.13.

as well as to consider the psychological and emotional dimensions of work as an opportunity to 'express' the 'unique talents' each person possessed.[910] However, the Society's survey also allowed for the possibility that a 'hobby or voluntary work' might provide the space for self-expression where the opportunity to express these talents did not materialise in the kinds of jobs people undertook, or where access to employment remained an impossibility.[911] In doing so, the National Spastics Society perpetuated a system in which unpaid forms of work, with their attendant reduced status, continued to be deemed suitable forms of occupation for certain disabled people, in particular those with more significant forms of impairment, because of the emotional and social values assigned to such work.

Furthermore, even where payment was provided, the assumptions made with regards to disabled peoples' motivations for working; the rehabilitative and therapeutic values attached to some of their work, and the low status of the work offered made it more acceptable for rates of pay to remain low. Thus, whilst David Edwards was grateful for the opportunity to have obtained employment in the 'Bromley Work Centre for Spastics' in 1963, because all of the employees were 'encouraged to make a maximum effort at [their] own individual speed' without the same pressures of a 'normal factory where maximum output [was] emphasised at all times'; he equally observed that the tasks undertaken were 'tedious and uninteresting' and that the pay was 'small'.[912] Similarly, a woman named 'Hillary', who worked in a centre run by the Society for thirteen years in the 1960s and 1970, was paid only £4 a week to screw 'up newspapers for packing around porch lamps', significantly less than the national average paid

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[910] J. J.Q Fox. BA, MSc, Occupational Psychologist, 'How do You Feel About People, Work and Life? *Spastics News (*March 1964), p.4, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[911] J. J.Q Fox. BA, MSc, Occupational Psychologist,'How do You Feel About People, Work and Life? *Spastics News (*March 1964), p.4,

[912] 'David Edwards, Life Story', Box 142: Early history of Scope (uncatalogued), The Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

to manual workers, to undertake work she described 'as the most degrading job' she had ever done.[913]

As employment became an integral issue for the National Spastics Society, its work in schools was supplemented by the development of a 'Vocational Assessment Course', of which fifteen had been delivered by the Society by 1962.[914] These were established in acknowledgment of the 500 young people with cerebral palsy estimated by the Society to be amongst the half a million school leavers seeking opportunities for employment, training or further education in the early 1960s.[915] By the 1970s, significant criticism was directed towards the poor quality of careers advice provided to disabled children, and the lack of targeted guidance centres; a point which was further corroborated by the findings of the Warnock Enquiry in 1978, and so a course which was regularly delivered to young people with cerebral palsy, which provided 'a well-balanced mixture of practical sessions, factory visits , and many social events designed to help the young people overcome their shyness, and prepare them to live with their handicap in the outside world' was seemingly significantly more developed that the careers offer provided within other special educational settings.[916] However, the ambition for such students largely did not extend beyond their placement in the 'Society's own training centres' or 'sheltered workshops or special work centres.'[917] Indeed, one woman with cerebral palsy who was directed towards a National Spastics Society workshop subsequently went on to train as a teacher after she persuaded her parents that a centre would be a waste because they

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[913] Shah and Priestley, *Disability and Social Change*, p.139.For example, in 1960 a survey of full-time manual workers found that only 9.6% of them earned less than £10 a week. See the reply to a written question from J. Callaghan: HC Deb., 8 May 1961, cols.7-8W.
[914] **'**Preparing for Work' *Spastics News* (September 1962), p.6, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.
[915] **'**Preparing for Work', *Spastics News (*September 1962), p.6
[916] 'Press cutting: Assessment Courses for Young Spastics, Notes by the Way' (no date), Box 142: Early history of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.
[917] 'Press cutting: Assessment Courses for Young Spastics, Notes by the Way' (no date), Box 142: Early history of Scope (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

had ‘spent an awful lot of money educating [her].’[918] In this respect it seems the National Spastics Society was not equipped to accurately assess the employment aptitudes of those who engaged with their services, and that their assessments were substantively informed by long-held views regarding the capacities of disabled people; assumptions which were sustained by the charity’s own practices which perpetuated notions of dependence as a means to sustain support for its work.

Arguably, this resulted in a system which both infantilised and pathologized the people the Society engaged with. Richard Dimbleby, for example, stated that the job of the Society’s Employment Department was ‘to guide’ people with cerebral palsy ‘away […] from jobs extremely difficult for handicapped people’ such as becoming a ‘barrister.’[919] This was apparently most necessary in the case of the ‘less severely handicapped’ people with cerebral palsy, who, it was argued, often required the most help because they looked ‘almost normal’, which led both them and prospective employers to overestimate their capabilities.[920] In this instance, therefore, it was their ‘pseudo-normality’ which was used to pathologise and delegitimise the aims and ambitions of people with cerebral palsy further. Rather than interrogate a system which equated ‘normal’ physical appearance with ‘normal’ intellectual capacity, the National Spastics Society played into those conventions, yet denied to their ‘almost normal’ members the advantages their appearance might have privileged them with, as it assumed that such individuals would subsequently be found to be lacking in the requisite ability and skill to undertake the work they wished to.

Nevertheless, aspects of the Society’s activities did work to materially remove some of the barriers people with cerebral palsy encountered in accessing employment, such as the example of Richard Boydell who, through his connection with the Society learned how to use

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[918] Shah and Priestley, *Disability and Social Change,* p.139.
[919] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours,* p.94
[920] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours,* p.86

a specially adapted ‘Possum Typewriter’ in 1964.[921] This remote controlled typewriter was among a number of devices developed, including lights, heaters and televisions, which made use of ‘Patient Operated Selector Mechanisms which could be operated by a person with cerebral palsy via the mouth or foot, and through the assistance of the typewriter Boydell was, for the first time, ‘able to express [himself] adequately’ which enabled him to get a job as a computer programmer.[922] Whilst the example of Boydell indicates some success in supporting people with cerebral palsy to access a more professional standard of work, the experiences of other individuals demonstrate prevailing assumptions with regards to the limited capacities of people with cerebral palsy. Shirley Keene, a disabled lecturer for the Society, maintained that the public treated disabled people in the ‘maddest way’ and recalled her experience ‘on duty’ for the Society at an exhibition. She said:

> People behave to the handicapped in the maddest way. When I was on duty at the Do-it-yourself exhibition, one kind lady presented me with 6.d for an ice-cream. Can you imagine Miss Gaewood or Miss Morgan being treated like that? Does it help my cerebral palsy to be given things? Would you think of coming along to any of these gentleman on the Executive Committee and saying: “I’m so sorry you’re bald: here’s a bag of liquorice allsorts”. It doesn’t help or comfort us to be given things; it just makes us feel even more set apart and different. [923]

Shirley appeared resilient to the discriminatory attitudes she encountered from members of the public, and whilst she seemed to enjoy her ‘cushy’ job with the National Spastics Society, her presence at an exhibition intended to promote the Society worked to sustain an existing cultural language of disability through which the public understood themselves in relation to the inferior

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[921] Jack Ashley (foreword), *Despite Disability. Career achievement by handicapped people* (Reading: Educational Explorers Ltd.,1974), p.45.

[922] Jack Ashley (foreword), *Despite Disability. Career achievement by handicapped people* (Reading: Educational Explorers Ltd.,1974), pp.45-52.

[923] ‘Photocopy of article ‘Blunt Words from Shirley!’ (1958), p.10, Box 67: Historical pictures (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

disabled body, which therefore made more acceptable the infantilising attitudes Shirley experienced.[924]

As Peter Large, Chairmen of the Association of Disabled Professionals observed: ‘In the so-called normal world, educators and employers do not concentrate on what people cannot do. If they did, our schools, universities , offices and factories would be empty’, yet as Large made clear the reverse standard was very often applied to disabled people so that the focus became upon what the individual could not do.[925] The approach of the National Spastics Society was to try and counter this via a number of different means which sought to amplify the abilities of the person with cerebral palsy whilst, simultaneously, promoting the work and success of the charity. This was done via newspaper articles, public talks, and regular listings in *Spastics News* which documented who had been placed in work. In addition to this, advertisements, such as ‘Plain Knitting. MISS JUNE READ, who is a spastic, will plain-knit your family’s new woollies’, aimed to monopolise on the sympathetic readership of *Spastics News,* drawing attention to individuals’ impairments in a bid to secure them work.[926]

Notable ‘Stories of Achievement’ included Wendy Roberts, described as ‘one of the best homeworker printers producing cards for the National Spastics Society’ who reportedly often had ‘an admiring audience [gathered] at the window’; Nicky Buck who was ‘disabled in both legs and hands’ but was pictured assembling part of a heater, and Myrna Johnson who made jewellery without ‘the use of her hands’ and was said to be not just ‘a pretty girl’ but a ‘girl with pertinacity’.[927] ‘Shropshire lass’, Myrna Johnson, was reported on in an extended

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[924] ‘Photocopy of article ‘Blunt Words from Shirley!’ (1958), p.10, Box 67: Historical pictures (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[925] Jack Ashley (foreword), *Despite Disability.*pp.11-12

[926] ‘Plain Knitting. MISS JUNE READ, who is a spastic, will plain-knit your family’s new woollies’, *Spastics News* (January 1964), p.24, Box 114: Copies of ‘Spastics News’, magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[927] ‘Stories of Achievement - No.4. Printing is Her Business’, *Spastics News* (May 1962), pp.12-13; ‘Placing Spastics in Jobs’, *Spastics News* (March 1965), p.42; ‘A Shropshire Lass’, *Spastics News* (March 1962), pp.12-13, all contained in Box 114: Copies of ‘Spastics News’, magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

feature for the magazine which, rather than her work, chose to focus largely upon her 'lovely face and beautiful smile', and the methods by which Myrna '[took] her head to the comb to tidy her hair' or balanced her lipstick on her mirrorface and put her mouth to the colour.'[928] The language used to describe the work of disabled women, in particular, indicated a sentiment which understood their work as women to be frivolous, which was exemplified by the focussed attention given to their 'girlish' or 'pretty' appearance. This was especially true of the women engaged by the Society's homework schemes in areas such as jewellery-making and other forms of craft which were, to a degree, removed from the other areas of industry in which the National Spastics Society tried to establish itself, despite the fact that such forms of craft required substantively more skill than the repetitive work of the factory. Moreover, the focussed attention to the other tasks Myrna completed , such as the application of her make-up, centred what was perceived to be the unusual way in which she used her body to do what was presumably a regular task for Myrna, but made all the more or remarkable because she was a young disabled woman who seemingly took pride in her physical appearance. Whilst the intention of such pieces may have been to affirm that disabled people could, and indeed did, complete many of the tasks undertaken by non-disabled people; in actuality, the language and imagery used by the society built upon an existing 'sensationalised discourse' of disability which 'fram[ed] and heighte[ed]' the corporeal differences between people with cerebral palsy and non-disabled people.[929] This situated their work as requiring bodily feats beyond the parameters of 'normal' society, and thus continued to place the onus upon disabled people to adapt and change if they were to succeed in open employment.

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[928] 'A Shropshire Lass', *Spastics News* (March 1962), pp.12-13, Box 114: Copies of 'Spastics News', magazine of the National Spastics Society (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[929] Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, 'Introduction: From Wonder to Error – A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity' in Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (ed.), *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of The Extraordinary Body (*New York: New York University Press, 1996), pp.1-24 (p.5).

In spite of the employment initiatives established by the National Spastics Society, as well as the statutory requirements established via the *Disabled (Persons) Employment Act* (1944), during the period under study many people with cerebral palsy remained unable to work. In 1960, for example, a Gallup Poll carried out on behalf of the National Spastics Society found that of the 80,000 people with cerebral palsy approximately 20,000 people were 'incapable of employment' and a further 20,000 'needed help with training and finding jobs.'[930] The Society's emphasis upon education meant that older people with cerebral palsy were often at a particular disadvantage as they were considered incapable of being 'trained for work' because they had not had access to an education via one of the charity's specialist schools.[931] In these instances, the Society provided some provision via day centres, but much support was provided either via family networks or in long-stay institutions, geriatric wards or wards for the chronically sick.[932] Although the Society established some homes for adults with cerebral palsy, such as Coombe Farm in Croyden which had a sheltered workshop attached to it, the focus of these community homes was largely upon a younger disabled adult population.[933]By 1968, research conducted by the Society recorded that less than 20% of the people who attended the schools and training centres they ran were in employment after leaving those services.[934] In relation to the most 'severely handicapped', certain staff working on behalf of the Society began to question the resolute 'push towards independence' for all disabled people, which retained an emphasis upon 'work for gain' as the mode through which 'citizenship for all', when, in actuality, preparation for 'planned dependence' may have offered a better quality of

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[930] 'Minutes of the National Spastics Society, meeting held on Friday 5 February, 1960, at 28 Fitzroy Square', p.1, Box 24: Meetings of Head of Schools and Centres (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[931] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, p.101

[932] Ibid

[933] Dimbleby and Hobbs, *Every Eight Hours*, pp.101-102

[934] 'Severely Handicapped School Leavers. A Report on Seminar on Severely Handicapped School Leavers Held on 22nd-23rd June 1968, at Caste Priory College, Mallingford', p.2, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee Papers (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

life for some of the young people and adults they worked with.[935] Whilst this seemingly demonstrated a growing awareness of the varying needs and capabilities of those who accessed the charity's services, in the case of those less significantly impaired who were capable of work, the Society's employment programmes failed to significantly advance the types of opportunities available to them, and through its charitable activities reinforced public perceptions concerned with the limits of disabled peoples' capabilities.

The Mouth and Foot Painting Artists

In 1957 the British Association of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists (MFPA) was founded with the intention to provide training, a network, and a commercial market for disabled artists who wished to make their living by their art.[936]Although the MFPA only supported small numbers of disabled artists, it was notable in that it was an organisation established by and for disabled artists which did not have charitable status. The organisation's emergence in the late 1950s, over a decade after the passing of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944), was significant. The Act had raised the profile of disabled people as potential workers, whilst its implementation had revealed the limits of statutory provision, in terms of the types of jobs it delivered. Charities, such as The National Spastics Society, similarly established employment schemes and training which promoted a limited range of low-skilled (and low paid) jobs to people with cerebral palsy. The establishment of the MFPA was, therefore, representative of the desire held by certain disabled people to advance beyond the acquisition of jobs to enjoy the higher status of professional within their chosen field, and with that the material and social rewards this could deliver.

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[935] 'Severely Handicapped School Leavers. A Report on Seminar on Severely Handicapped School Leavers Held on 22nd-23rd June 1968, at Caste Priory College, Mallingford', p.2, Box 12: Educational Advisory Committee Papers (uncatalogued), Wellcome Collection, London, UK.

[936] Marc Alexander, *A.E Stegmann. The Life and Art of a Remarkable Artist* (London: Mouth and Foot Painting Artists, 2000), pp.77-9.

As was the case amongst the general public, throughout the 1950s and 1960s the move towards a more aspirational lifestyle was one symbolically enshrined within employment and educational legislation which principally aimed to deliver equality of opportunity for all, and was substantially influenced by the knowledge that the state now 'provided a system of basic care' to all.[937] Moreover, as Hampton explains, from the mid-1950s growing pressure was placed on the Government to further 'improve services for disabled people' further.[938]The Physically Disabled Persons League, for example, issued a pamphlet in 1952 with 'ambitious suggestions' to establish a national disability allowance to replace National Assistance for all disabled people unable to work, whilst statutory services shifted their focus towards community care from 1951 to 1964 with the aim of enabling 'each handicapped person to live a life which is as nearly normal, and as full of interest and satisfaction, as his disability permits.'[939] Within this context, therefore, organisations like the MFPA found their strength through the expansion of the state, which allowed them to move beyond a concern for the meeting of their basic needs to consider instead the specific training needs and professional aspirations of a group of disabled people who wanted to work as artists.

On the 14th September 1956, *The Kensington Post* reported on the Association of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists based in Liechtenstein, describing it as 'a body which [helped] invalid artists to continue to devote themselves to their art and to also sell the work.'[940] The author of the article hoped that in raising awareness of the Association readers might consider their 'handicapped artist friends who are in need of help' and who, 'by putting them in touch with the Association', may be able to 'find a new interest in life.' [941] Established by Arnulf Stegmann in 1956, the Association was intended to be a 'partnership of artists who, like its founder,

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[937] Anderson, *War, 'Soul of a Nation'*, p.186.
[938] Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain,* pp.64-65.
[939] Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain,* p.65.
[940] 'Training Artists to Work Again', *The Kensington Post,*14 September 1956, p.4.
[941] 'Training Artists to Work Again', *The Kensington Post,*14 September 1956, p.4.

painted their pictures without the use of their hands.[942] The Association described itself as a 'commercial venture' formed to promote, exhibit and distribute the 'remarkable collection of greetings cards' produced from the original paintings of the Association's artists which only granted membership to those 'who [reached] a standard high enough to compete with that of artists who work with their hands.'[943] Although it was initially comprised of just sixteen founding members, the Association quickly established international branches, such as the 'Disabled Artists Association' in Ireland, whose best known artist, 'Christy Brown, the Dublin spastic', regularly exhibited paintings.[944] Whilst the paintings produced by the Association's artists were described as not 'unusual looking', they nonetheless appeared to solicit wonder and amazement from an appreciative audience who marvelled at the fact they were 'untouched by human hands.'[945]

By 1957 interest in the Association's work had spread to Britain and the MFPA was established with its own headquarters in London.[946] Whilst the MFPA aimed to operate as a body which promoted the professional development of disabled artists, the article in *The Kensington Post* was just one of many examples which demonstrated an understanding that support for this kind of scheme sat more broadly within a tradition of charitable giving. Rather than an offer of work, the Association was thought to offer the possibility of an occupation or 'new interest' for disabled people; instead of skilled workers, disabled artists were viewed as those in need of 'help'.[947] This was in spite of the fact that Stegmann himself explicitly stated

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[942] Marc Alexander, *Artists Above All: Art celebrating the conquest of misfortune* (MFPA, 2005), p.9.
[943] 'Painted by Mouth', *West London Observer*, 6 July 1956, p.4; 'Without Hands: A London Exhibition of Mouth and Foot Artists', *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1957, p.31
[944] Alexander, *Artists above all*, p.9; 'Disabled artists' exhibition', Drogheda and Leinster Journal, 23 May 1964, p.2. Christy Brown, who had cerebral palsy, is perhaps the MFPA's best-known artist as a result of the publication of his popular autobiography, *My Left Foot.* The story of his life reached a much wider audience after it was made into a film under the same name in 1989, reflecting a prevailing interest in the ways in the 'unusual' ways in which disabled people perform bodily work.
[945] 'Art by the foot', *Belfast Telegraph,* 18 April 1967, p.5.
[946] 'MFPA Partnership', <https://www.mfpa.uk/about-mfpa>, [accessed 15/06/20]
[947] 'Training Artists to Work Again', *The Kensington Post,*14 September 1956, p.4.

in numerous examples that the Association ‘must not be regarded as a charity’ just ‘because many of its members were in wheelchairs or hospital beds’, preferring the term ‘partnership’ instead which reflected the more equitable terms of employment the Association aspired to.[948]

However, its establishment after the Second World War was significant in framing how the MFPA was publicly perceived. As this thesis has demonstrated, disability was rendered ever more visible as a result of war, and whilst post-war social, welfare, employment and educational policy assumed a much greater responsibility for disabled people, it remained the case that charities and voluntary associations remained acceptable, and necessary, forms of support for those considered to be society’s most vulnerable members. Thus, the general understanding amongst the British public appeared to be that the MFPA was a charity which they had a responsibility to support because they had a duty to support society’s disabled citizens. These were people who through ‘accident, disease or freak of birth’ were ‘sorely handicapped’, and were therefore worthy of the ‘profoundest admiration’ and support because of the way they worked to ‘triumph over their circumstances.’[949] This, in itself, said much about the position of disabled people in society, for whilst the *Disabled Person’s (Employment) Act* acknowledged that most disabled people had the capacity and responsibility to work, in practice it seemed that this was only considered possible within the narrow parameters established via the creation of protected jobs, mandated via the quota system, or facilitated via statutory and charitable schemes of sheltered employment. The MFPA, an organisation run by and for disabled people, was often subsequently discussed as though it were a charity, rather than as a viable and independent work venture. This was in spite of the fact that prospective artist members had to ‘satisfy an independent board that their work [was] of a sufficiently high standard before they were accepted to the association’ which then provided them with an

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[948] Alexander, *Artists above all*, p.9; Marc Alexander, *Canvases of Courage. A gallery of art inspired by triumph over adversity* (Surrey: Leader Books Limited, 1991), p.7; Eileen Waugh, *When One Door Closes* (Letchworth: The Garden City Press, 1978), p.20

[949] Carteret, ‘These Artists Paint with Their Mouths Or Toes’, *West London Observer*, 12 October 1956, p.8.

‘excellent monthly salary’, which in 1956 was £100 a month.[950]This was substantially more than was provided by the sheltered workshops operated by charitable schemes, such as the National Spastics Society, which on the one hand reflected the much smaller scale the MFPA operated on, but, more significantly, demonstrated the organisation’s commitment to establishing conditions of work which provided its members with ‘financial independence’ which allowed them to cultivate their creative talents.[951] Artists sold the reproduction rights of their original artworks to the Association on the understanding that ‘other members’ would ‘share in the proceeds’ which resulted from the reproduction and ‘sale of greetings cards , calendars and picture prints.’ [952]

Rather than serve as evidence of how disabled people could and did work independently, this self-organisation by a group of disabled workers who wanted to learn and earn by their craft was presumed to be reliant upon the public’s good nature in order to be sustainable. Indeed, several years after the establishment of the MFPA, an article in *The People* reported how the author had been asked to pass judgment ‘on one of those charity Christmas card offers that [were] now flooding through our letterboxes’ to confirm whether the MFPA was a ‘genuine appeal.’ The author objected to the fact that purchasing cards from the MFPA ‘[helped] just eight handicapped persons in this country’ who were ‘paid a salary by the company, plus a bonus on their work.’[953] The author went on to assert their belief they would ‘relieve a lot more suffering with that half-crown’ if readers sent their money to them, rather than purchase cards from the MFPA.[954] In conflating their own charitable agenda with the aims of the MFPA the author imposed upon the Association a set of assumptions which understood that the work of disability organisations should be about the amelioration of disabled peoples’

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[950] Waugh, *When One Door Closes,* p.20; ‘Training Limbless Artists to Work Again’, *The Kensington Post*, 14 September 1956, p.4.

[951] Waugh, *When One Door Closes,* p.20.

[952] ‘The Courage of Limbless Artists’, *Central Somerset Gazette,* 23 April 1965, p.8.

[953] The child was doomed….YOU SAVED HER’, *The People,* November 29, 1964, p.5.

[954] The child was doomed….YOU SAVED HER’, *The People,* November 29, 1964, p.5.

suffering, rather than the more aspirational professional ambitions of the MFPA. This not only perpetuated the suffering status of disabled people, but tacitly presumed disabled people had a more limited capacity which prevented them from advancing beyond work which provided for their basic needs.

However, the MFPA did not have as its aim to charitably support large numbers of disabled people, but to train and employ disabled artists as part of a commercial venture, and thus by their own standards the Association was succeeding because it was able to maintain a small salaried workforce. This was, in many respects, a radical deviation away from the piecemeal work which had historically been produced in craft workshops attached to institutions and schools, often for the benefit and maintenance of the institution, or advertised, promoted and sold via advertisements in publications like the *The National Cripples Journal* or *Spastics News*, as the workers employed through the MFPA could financially support themselves, and it was clear that MFPA members did not perceive themselves to be in receipt of charity. Albert Baker, for example, described Stegmann as 'one of the greatest philanthropists' because, as he saw it, the 'greatest charity anyone could give a person [was] to give them self-respect' through access to meaningful work.[955] Councillor Spencer, another artist associated with the MFPA, participated in an exhibition of his work to fundraise on behalf of the 'Lady Hoare Thalidomide Appeal Trust.'[956] This was not only indicative of his own perceived professional status, as he understood himself to have the requisite skills to 'materially help the trust', but it appeared to make a distinction between his professional work for the MFPA, and that which he undertook on behalf of a charity which allowed him to express his 'gratitude that [his] own children….[were] normal children', unlike those impacted by Thalidomide.[957]

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[955] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.27

[956] 'Armless Artists Aid Victims of Thalidomide', *Liverpool Echo,* 28 April 1967, p.11.

[957] 'Armless Artists Aid Victims of Thalidomide', *Liverpool Echo,* 28 April 1967, p.11.

In a similar vein to the National Spastics Society, as well as many other charitable endeavours founded on behalf of disabled people, reports on the activities of the MFPA deployed familiar cultural conventions which focussed upon the bodily limitations of its associated artists, who were made extraordinary through the process of painting by mouth or foot, rather than as a result of the quality of the work they produced. Articles, such as 'The Courage of Limbless Artists', 'Without Hands: A London Exhibition of Mouth and Foot Painters', 'He Painted This With His Teeth' or 'Armless Painter', described the nature of the artist's impairment, and drew attention to the fact that the paintings had been done by people 'who had lost limbs or [were] paralysed', and who were, therefore, worthy of 'tremendous admiration'.[958] More visceral descriptions of bodily destruction, such as that attributed to Councillor Spencer, who was said to have had 'one arm sliced off by a propeller and the other paralysed while serving as an RAF Transport Command pilot in 1945', were intended to amplify the heroic achievements of disabled artists whose perseverance enabled them to 'triumph' despite the 'most tragic and heart-breaking disabilities.'[959] The focus upon the nature of their impairment, coupled with the detailed descriptions of the methods by which mouth and foot artists were able to execute a 'quick stroke with a brush', worked to heighten the extraordinary nature of what they did, and firmly located the point of interest within their bodies, rather than in their art.[960] The descriptions of MFPA artists invited parallels with Victorian and Edwardian examples of mouth and foot artists, in which the more performative aspects of their work intentionally situated the disabled body in opposition to its 'normal' counterpart and thus associated them with the visual culture of spaces like the freakshow, carnival and theatre. As Anne Roberts' detailed study of the Victorian celebrity mouth painter,

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[958] 'Armless Painter', *Liverpool Echo*, 24 April 1965, p.12; 'The Courage of Limbless Artists', *Central Somerset Gazette*, 23 April 1965, p.8; 'Without Hands: A London Exhibition of Mouth and Foot Painters', *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1957, p.31; 'Armless Painter', *Liverpool Echo*, 24 April 1965, p.12.

[959] 'Armless Artists Aid Victims of Thalidomide', *Liverpool Echo*, 28 April 1967, p.11.

[960] 'Painted by Mouth', *West London Observer*, 6 July 1956, p.4

Bartram Hiles, demonstrates there were numerous examples in the press of interviews with Hiles in which he lit a cigarette or signed his signature as a means of demonstrating 'his own ordinariness played out in the mundane execution of a commonplace act.'[961] Similarly, articles concerned with MFPA artists described, in addition to their artistic practices, examples of their bodily work in other aspects of their life such as 'B. Thomas', who, despite the loss of both arms, was reported to have been an 'excellent billiard player.'[962] Rather than affirm their ordinariness, the discussion of such acts intended to be read or seen by a public audience, reconfirmed and highlighted their bodily difference, and thus situated MFPA artists within a cultural tradition which understood non-normative bodies to function as visual spectacles, or objects for display. Consequently, whilst mouth and foot artists may have joined the MFPA because they aspired to live independently by their art, these historic associations arguably worked to undermine this ambition, and have continued to influence how the aims and work of the MFPA have been understood.

Whilst the press contributed significantly to the framing of the MFPA as a charity, the organisation was, to a degree, complicit in determining this understanding of the nature of their work, as it too deployed a number of conventions traditionally used by charities which supported disabled people. For example, over the years a number of publications about the Association's history have been published about, and by, the MFPA. Included amongst these titles are: *When One Door Closes……*which documented the life stories of MFPA artists and invited readers to reflect upon 'what [they] would do' if faced with the 'physical and emotional traumas' MFPA artist had to overcome; *Canvases of Courage. A gallery of art inspired by triumph over adversity,* and *Artists above all. Art celebrating the conquest of misfortune*.[963] Each title presented disability as a loss, struggle or limitation to be overcome 'as a matter of

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[961] Anne Patricia Roberts, 'Painting by Mouth: Art Modernity and Disability. Bartram Hiles (1872-1927)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the Arts London and University College Falmouth, 2012), p.71.

[962] 'Painted by Mouth', *West London Observer*, 6 July 1956, p.4

[963] Eileen Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.13; Alexander, *Canvases of Courage*; Alexander, *Artists above all.*

individual fortitude, will power and perseverance', and framed the artist's connection to the MFPA as instrumental to their individual triumph over adversity.[964] In this way, therefore, the MFPA invited parallels with charities, like the National Spastics Society, which relied upon a compelling transformational narrative to ensure the continued support of the public for its work. These charitable associations were further compounded by the selection of the Christmas card as the MFPA's primary output. As chapter one demonstrated, since the 19th century Christmas has been understood as a time for charitable acts of giving. In more recent years, the popularisation of the charitable Christmas card has seen it assume a dual role in giving, both to the individual in receipt of the card, as well as to the worthy cause it supports. According to the Charity Christmas Card Committee, by 1968 there were 101 charities associated with the Committee which, it observed, was by no means an exhaustive list 'of all charities producing cards.'[965]Charitable Christmas cards had become big business, and a number of exhibitions were organised across London, and other areas, in large venues like the Royal Festival Hall where people could go to purchase cards.[966] The connection between the work of MFPA artists and these popular charitable objects arguably perpetuated the public's perception of the Association's charitable status, which worked to undermine the extent to which those associated with the MPFA were viewed as independent working artists.

In spite of these criticisms, however, for individual artists associated with the MFPA their membership did facilitate access to a network and opportunities which allowed them to work and live more independently than many of their disabled peers. The value of this was both material, in that it brought financial security, as well as allowing disabled artists to live and work more autonomously. Christine Perrott, for example, spent most of her childhood and

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[964] David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, 'Introduction: Disability Studies and the Double Bind of Representation', in David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, *The Body and Physical Difference, Discourses of Disability (*United States: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp.1-34 (p.17).

[965] *List of Christmas Cards for Good Causes*, pamphlet produced by the Charity Christmas Card Committee (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1968).

[966] *List of Christmas Cards for Good Causes*.

adolescence in hospital after contracting polio.[967] However, in 1957 she became a student member of the MFPA which provided her with the requisite training to eventually be assessed as meeting the standard to become a full member of the Association.[968]For Christine this was particularly significant as a regular income enabled her to move home, extending and adapting her house with 'various valuable pieces of equipment' which allowed her to live more independently.[969]Equally as important, however, was how the opportunity to work meaningfully as an artist granted members, such as Albert Baker, more power to direct their own narratives because financial independence meant less reliance upon friends, family and the state. Albert was born with 'deformed feet and without the use of either his arms or legs', and in 1939 was transferred to a home for 'incurable cripples' where he trained himself to paint by mouth.[970] He was able to secure a limited income by selling postcards he painted of the surrounding countryside for an shilling each; however his success in doing so remained relatively limited and his endeavours were disrupted by some of the other residents whom he recalled '[poured] water' on them. [971]Albert later moved to Le Court, a residential home for disabled adults founded by Captain Leonard Cheshire, joining the MFPA as a full member in 1963.[972]Whilst the Association granted Albert financial independence, the many structural barriers present in society still provided limited options, other than institutional care, for adults with serious impairment. Topliss, for example, reports that by the early 1970s approximately 75,400 'disabled people below retirement age' lived in some form of 'residential care' and that of those disabled people who lived in the community, approximately only 5% lived 'in accommodation that was purpose-built' for their needs.[973] For Albert, however, the 'homely

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[967] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.85
[968] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, pp.86-87
[969] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.87
[970] Peter Gripton, *A History of Greatham (*Worcester: Kenandglen, 2003), p.75.
[971] Gripton, *History of Greatham*, p.75.
[972] Gripton, *History of Greatham*, p.76.
[973] Eda Topliss, *Provision for the Disabled* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott Ltd., 1975), pp.83-84.

environment' of Le Court was far preferable to his former experiences within hospitals and other institutions, and he spoke of it with particular fondness:

> When the first Cheshire Home was built no one expected that anyone who was disabled enough to live in one would ever be able to earn their own living. In fact, it is only recently that disabled people have been considered part of the labour force of the country. The philosophy expressed by the statutory laws seems to be that if you are disabled you cannot work, and if you can work then you are not disabled. There is only black and white, no shades of grey. This philosophy by the state causes great frustration to the would-be disabled employed and breeds only dishonesty or despair […] Work is the core of human experience, as is leisure after work, but until it can be made worthwhile for a severely disabled person to work, life will continue for him to be a grind, and at worse a mere existence . Le Court and the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists are my life [….] Without them I would be a man without hope. [974]

For Albert the state's failure to understand the 'shades of grey' when planning its approach to disabled peoples' work had resulted in the development of policy and programmes which did not consider the variable needs, capabilities and interests of disabled people, which had meant many significantly impaired people, like himself, remained excluded from the workforce. The MFPA was, therefore, a vital Association for Albert, as it had not only provided him with a job, but had extended the opportunity to undertake more meaningful and creative work, which Albert deemed to be the 'the core of human experience'.[975]

Albert's earlier unsuccessful attempts to live by his craft reflected more generally the experiences of other aspiring disabled artists and craftspeople who, without the network and structural support provided by an organisation like the MFPA, were either unable to pursue a career in the arts, or remained reliant upon the goodwill of the public to purchase inexpensive arts and crafts objects which did not deliver a steady income.[976]For example, Brian Line (a friend of Albert's) first experienced art-making during periods of treatment in the Red Cross

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[974] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.24, pp.27-28

[975] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.27.

[976] Paddy Masefield suggests that some of the barriers disabled people have encountered in their pursuit to become artists arise from the assumption held by non-disabled people that disabled people will encounter 'difficulties manufacturing their art'. This assumes that only disabled people are limited by their corporeal experiences, when, in actual fact, all bodies vary in their ability to produce the desired outcome when creating images. See Paddy Masefield, *Strength: Broadsides from Disability on the Art (*Stoke-On-Trent: Trentham Books Ltd, 2012), pp.xiv-xvi.

Hospital at Taplow, as it was discovered that the best way to keep him calm was to 'get him engrossed in a picture.'[977] Although Brian subsequently went on to access a more formal arts training, taking O-levels in Lettering and Art, the potential that training appeared to offer rapidly diminished for Brian with the realisation of what his entry into a residential home for disabled adults most likely meant.[978] He considered his training in Lettering, where he had learned to 'paint posters, design letterheads, greetings cards, and all of the rest of the paraphernalia which [came] with commercial art', to be a waste in this context, recognising the obvious challenges which were likely to transpire as a result of his physical dislocation from a local community where he could secure contacts and opportunities to work.[979] This was in stark contrast to the experiences of Albert, who, although similarly physically isolated, was more socially connected through the networks and support of the MFPA, through which he could sell his work for a guaranteed income.

Moreover, Albert's sense of purpose and self-worth was further promoted through his relationships with other disabled residents at Le Court, as well as the activities they engaged in, which worked to further affirm his status as an artist. Le Court residents devised and ran a number of creative initiatives, including *The Cheshire Smile* magazine, which was printed and distributed by the disabled residents 'as a means whereby members of the Homes [could] put forward ideas, air grievances, and suggest the lines of which they [thought] the Foundation should develop.'[980] Similarly, the Le Court Film Unit, which Brian Line was heavily involved with, documented aspects of the residents lives and was used as a platform to discuss issues which affected disabled people more generally. Albert Baker featured in a film produced by the Le Court Film Unit, titled *No Limit* (1964), in which Le Court residents demonstrated 'some

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[977] 'Brian Line Biography', GB 2047 LCF:SC/Line, Leonard Cheshire Archives, Netherseal, UK.

[978] 'Brian Line Biography', GB 2047 LCF:SC/Line, Leonard Cheshire Archives, Netherseal, UK.

[979] Brian Line Biography', GB 2047 LCF:SC/Line, Leonard Cheshire Archives, Netherseal, UK.

[980] 'Introduction to the new Cheshire Smile by Group Captain Leonard Cheshire, V.C', *Cheshire Smile. The Quarterly Magazine of the Cheshire Homes,* Vol.11, No.1 (Spring 1965). The magazine was founded by residents at Le Court in 1954, and they were responsible for editing, printing and distributing it.

of the gadgets which [helped]' them 'to lead active, purposeful lives.'[981] As an earlier article in *The Cheshire Smile* had reported, Albert's 'work suffered' because his legs were in irons which caused significant 'pain and inconvenience' when he worked from an improvised easel for prolonged periods.[982] According to the article, Albert believed that 'if some form of support could be devised to ease the weight on his legs he would be able to work in comfort and improve his standard.'[983] The film documented how, with the help of a local engineer, a solution was found for Albert's problem, as well as many of the other residents, which enabled them to work to complete certain tasks more comfortably and efficiently. The film made the point that 'all of the gadgets' were the 'outcome of cooperation between the residents and able-bodied people', in this way centering disabled people as the experts in determining how best to improve the quality of their lives.[984]Albert was shown demonstrating a purpose-built apparatus which provided a support for his legs and a built-in easel. The film showed Albert at work from his easel; however, the focus was not to make spectacular what was, for Albert, the ordinary way in which he created his art, but to demonstrate the remarkable impact of relatively simple assistive technologies. Whilst the viewer was still able to observe Albert painting , the voiceover on the film and the focus of the camera brought the viewers' attention to the structure and mechanics of the easel constructed from Dexion, 'a giant Meccano like angle-iron invaluable for all sorts of structures', which, through a system of pulleys and weights, Albert could easily adjust the height of his canvas 'with practically no effort.'[985]

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[981] *No Limit* (Le Court Film Unit, 1964), Leonard Cheshire: Rewind, <https://youtu.be/sKLYz7ByYC0>, [accessed 13/04/19].

[982] 'Ingenuity Helps an Artist. Description of an Apparatus to Help Prospective Member of the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists' Association', *The Cheshire Smile. The Quarterly Magazine of the Cheshire Homes*, Vol.5, No. 4 (Winter 1959/60), p.50.

[983] Ingenuity Helps an Artist. Description of an Apparatus to Help Prospective Member of the Mouth and Foot Painting Artists' Association', *The Cheshire Smile. The Quarterly Magazine of the Cheshire Homes*, Vol.5, No. 4 (Winter 1959/60), p.50.

[984] *No Limit* (Le Court Film Unit, 1964), Leonard Cheshire: Rewind, <https://youtu.be/sKLYz7ByYC0>, [accessed 13/04/19].

[985] *No Limit* (Le Court Film Unit, 1964), Leonard Cheshire: Rewind, <https://youtu.be/sKLYz7ByYC0>, [accessed 13/04/19].

This film differed considerably from more common representations of disability, not least because this was a film produced by, and not about disabled people. Thus, as Mitchell and Snyder argue, whilst the 'visual exposé of physical differences in film and television has traditionally stripped the disabled subject of agency and control' of their bodies, this film differed considerably in its focus upon the lived experiences of disabled people as articulated by themselves.[986]Most significantly, the film was explicit in stating that the equipment constructed for Albert was made to '[his] exact measurements', which was a subtle but significant message to present to a viewer of what could be achieved by disabled people if their bodies were not required to work within the parameters of a society which remained, in many respects, 'socially, psychologically and architecturally' unwilling to consider their needs.[987]The viewer was told, for example, that whilst Albert's work was up to the 'stringent' standards of the MFPA it was 'doubtful if he would have been able to make the grade without his special easel' because his work was so labour intensive it meant that 'for every three weeks he worked , he had to rest two.'[988] In doing so, the film reinforced how significant small structural changes could be to the lives of disabled workers and people more generally.

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[986] David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, 'Talking about *Talking Back*: Afterthoughts on the Making of The Disability Documentary *Vital Signs: Crip Culture Talks Back',* Susan Crutchfield and Marcy Esptein (eds.), *Points of Contact. Disability, Art and Culture (*Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000),pp.197-297 (p.200).

[987] *No Limit* (Le Court Film Unit, 1964), Leonard Cheshire: Rewind, <https://youtu.be/sKLYz7ByYC0>, [accessed 13/04/19].In *Missing Pieces,* Zola described his experience as a disabled man visiting the community of Het Dorp, a village 'designed specifically to house four hundred severely disabled adults' in the Netherlands as one in which he was far more rapidly accepted by the people he encountered which he noted substantially raised his own consciousness of what it really meant to be disabled in a 'healthist society'. In this regard, therefore, Zola's experiences echoed those of the residents of Le Court.Irving Kenneth Zola, *Missing Pieces. A Chronicle of Living With a Disability* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003 [1982]), pp.2-7, p.9.

[988] *No Limit* (Le Court Film Unit, 1964), Leonard Cheshire: Rewind, <https://youtu.be/sKLYz7ByYC0>, [accessed 13/04/19].

Figure 1: Albert Baker paints by mouth using his specially adapted easel, 1960

Thus, whilst the MFPA was not explicitly a political organisation, it seems that certain members, like Albert, were empowered to become more so through that association. At its core, the MFPA was modelled upon a system which enabled disabled artists to work with their bodies under conditions which worked for them to undertake creatively fulfilling work, and in this respect it was implicitly politicised as it deviated substantially from the increasingly standardised conditions of the labour market which, Wolkowitz argues, '[evoked] awareness mainly of targets outside of ourselves, rather than the body we experience'.[989] Conversely, the MFPA guaranteed its artists a monthly salary 'regardless of output or the extent of their disability', and thus through its consideration of the embodied experiences of the disabled artists it supported, the Association placed the onus upon the conditions of work to adapt and change, rather than the disabled body, without this negatively impacting upon their status as workers, or the financial remuneration they received.[990] Furthermore, the decision to create new opportunities for themselves and other disabled people more broadly reflected the gradual

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[989] Carol Wolkowitz, *Bodies at Work* (Sage Publications, 2006), p.19.

[990] Waugh, *When One Door Closes*, p.85

process through which the provisions of statutory welfare have contributed to the shifting 'attitudes and values' directed towards disabled people, and held by disabled people themselves, which have empowered them to demand further support, access and inclusion within society.[991]

In the latter half of the 1960s this was particularly evident in the activities of the Disablement Income Group (DIG) who, in 1965, wrote a letter to *The Guardian* which addressed the 'need for provision of a disability pension for all who [were] disabled, the amount being in proportion to the degree of disablement.'[992] DIG's founders, Megan du Boisson and Berit Moore particularly highlighted the injustices established under the terms of *The National Assistance Act* (1948), whereby disabled wives were not eligible for financial support 'for any period during which the husband' was employed.[993] According to Labour Minister, Jack Ashley, the impact of this letter was profound and du Boisson received innumerable letters from disabled people which conveyed their 'anger, frustration and despair' at their own circumstances.[994] DIG subsequently established themselves as a powerful and influential lobbying group who advocated for the 'the economic and social well-being of the disabled.'[995] Although they were not successful in their aims to establish a pension for the civilian disabled, their real significance lay in their ability to establish influential political allies, building on an 'emerging profile in the House of Commons' which gradually acknowledged the need to reconsider, once again, the state's responsibilities to its disabled citizens.[996] By 1970 this had taken tangible form in *The Chronically Sick and Disabled (Persons) Act,* which acknowledged

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[991] Paul Byrne, *Social Movements in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.7.
[992] Megan Du Boisson, Berit Moore, 'Letter: Pensions for the disabled', *The Guardian,* 2 March 1965, p.6.
[993] National Assistance Act, 1948 (11 & 12 Geo. VI, Ch. 29), S. 9.(1).
[994] Jack Ashley, *Acts of Defiance (*London: Penguin, 1992), p.312.
[995] Carol Brown, 'Disablement: Some Obstacles and Aids', *The Times,* 6 October 1966, p.15.
[996] Jameel Hampton, *Disability and the Welfare State in Britain,* p.119

disabled peoples' 'fundamental right to participate in society and industry according to ability.'[997]

During the period covered by this chapter, 1944-1970, disabled people became the subject of a number of welfare reforms which signalled a commitment to their fuller participation in society. In particular, this chapter has addressed the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944), which was substantially influenced by the working contributions of disabled people during the Second World War. Its passage ensured disabled people were considered as part of the government's commitment to full employment in peacetime. Whilst the chapter addressed some of the challenges associated with its implementation, the section ultimately concluded that in affirming the status of disabled people as potential workers the Act created conditions whereby further, and more advanced, opportunities to work were sought out and established by disabled people and the organisations which supported them. The chapter therefore analysed the employment programmmes established by the National Spastics Society, utilising them as an example which demonstrated a continued and evolving role for charities who operated within, and alongside, the state to create opportunities for people who struggled to secure work in spite of the government's initiatives. The section, however, ultimately concluded that through its employment programmes the National Spastics Society perpetuated the low expectations held for disabled people generally, and thus many people with cerebral palsy remained unemployed. It is within this context that the chapter examined the MFPA, utilising the Association as an example of disabled peoples' self-organisation which, it is argued, was made possible through the provisions established by the state which empowered disabled people to recognise themselves as workers, enabling them to advance beyond that to aspire, and achieve, the professional status of working artists.

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[997] Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain*, p.7.

Conclusion

Approaches to understanding and managing disabled children and adults underwent dramatic change between 1870 and 1970. In the late nineteenth century, notions of the unproductive disabled body identified the crippled child as an object for reform, reflecting widespread social anxieties concerned with ‘national efficiency’ and public health. As concern for working-class children gradually removed them from the labour market, the charitable institutions established on behalf of crippled children came to adopt a work-based approach in their education, with the goal of solving the ‘problem’ of ‘crippledom’ by transforming the disabled child into a productive citizen. Disabled children’s access to education was thus contingent upon their capacity to be useful: as such, they occupied a liminal space between the productive realm of adulthood and the increasingly protected state of childhood. However, the state progressively intervened in the lives of disabled children, particularly in areas concerned with their education, establishing policies, frameworks and practices which functioned to affirm the dependency of disabled children upon the state.

Key to these developments were changing attitudes towards education, work and disabled people themselves. Whilst the adult cripple of the nineteenth century was understood to be weak, enfeebled, and unproductive, by the middle of the twentieth century policies such as *The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944) had come to recognise the capabilities and rights of disabled adults as workers. Concurrently, educational policy gradually included more significantly impaired children, whilst educational practice evolved to consider more holistically the overall needs of the child. This established a broader distinction between the disabled adult and the disabled child which was reflected in the educational and occupational expectations established for both following the Second World War.

This thesis adopted a case study approach to illustrate these trends and changes by charting the shifting charitable, educational, medical and political approaches which reexamined, reformed or reaffirmed popular conceptions of the disabled child and adult between 1870 and 1970, and thus impacted upon their access to, and experiences of, work and education.

Chapter one demonstrated the ways in which charitable discourse surrounding the disabled child intersected with a number of political and medical frameworks Underpinned by a growing concern for 'normal' child development, this discourse led to the creation of educational practices which centred work as the means through which the 'disruptive body' of the disabled child could be socially and physically transformed. Chapter two extended this analysis to examine how craft-based education worked in practice at Chailey Heritage, and argued that the schools' prominent charitable status accorded it an influential role in shaping special educational approaches more broadly. Whilst arts and crafts were considered to play a fundamental role in creating productive and active citizens, this chapter argued that supplementary therapeutic values were progressively attached to crafts, reflecting a shifting approach to the management of childhood disability which came to be more medically defined.

Chapter three identified a shift in the values, approaches and expectations established for disabled children and their education after the Second World War. Whilst *The Education Act* (1944) principally included all disabled children, the chapter identified an ongoing role for charities, such as The National Spastics Society, which emerged in response to the limitations of statutory provision for children with cerebral palsy. The chapter examined the charitable discourse, educational provision and approaches adopted by the Society to argue that these necessarily evolved to consider the more complex needs of the children increasingly referred to their services. This required a re-evaluation of educational aims, evident within the wider special education system, which reflected the acknowledged dependency of the disabled child. The chapter argued that special educational practice evolved from an initial concern for the occupational status of the disabled child, to consider instead how practices such as arts and crafts, which came to be more therapeutically conceived, could be used to examine and understand the needs of the child. Ultimately this denied art of some of its presumed value which often came at the expense of a child's more formal schooling.

Chapter four extended this analysis to disabled adults and examined the impact of the *Disabled Persons (Employment) Act* (1944) upon their working experiences. It argued that, whilst the Act positively affirmed the working capabilities of disabled people, it failed to deliver employment opportunities which reflected their broad range of needs, abilities, and interests. The chapter also argued that a similar view should be taken of the employment programmes developed by the National Spastics Society, which were modelled along similar lines to government schemes of sheltered employment. It demonstrated that this approach, coupled with the charitable discourse promoted by the Society, undermined disabled peoples' status as independent workers, and thus failed to advance employment opportunities for people with cerebral palsy beyond low status and low paid forms of work. Finally, the chapter analysed the activities of the MFPA to show how this self-organisation by a group of disabled artists was facilitated through the expansion of state welfare which, it argued, enabled disabled people to begin to move beyond a concern for their basic needs to consider instead their professional working ambitions and thus define, on their own terms, what it meant to be an active citizen.

Scholarly examinations of disability, work and citizenship have more typically focused upon disabled adults, a circumstance which has arisen in part from the emancipatory concerns of disabled academics and activists associated with the disability rights movement. This study has instead placed the disabled child at the centre of its enquiry and has argued that expectations of active citizenship were fundamental in shaping approaches to special education in the early twentieth period. It has built upon existing scholarship surrounding the role of charities and charitable imagery by scholars such as Paul K. Longmore and David Hevey to additionally consider the role played by charitable objects created by disabled children. In doing so it has demonstrated the ways in which such objects functioned as part of a process of reformation undertaken by charitable schools, such as Chailey Heritage, by materially presenting the disabled child as an active and contributory citizen. Furthermore, it has expanded upon existing historical understandings of special education by scholars such as Ian Copeland, Jane Read and Gillian Sutherland to demonstrate how charitable discourse intersected with emerging physiological approaches to understanding childhood. These simultaneously functioned to identify the disabled child as distinctly different form their non-disabled peers, whilst opening up new possibilities for a more medical and psychological approach to their education and training. By encompassing an entire century, this thesis has traced the ever-changing relationship between disabled people, charities and the state and, in doing so, has been able to identify a transition in the identities constructed for disabled children, and the expectations established for them through charitable and state interventions. Through its key case studies the thesis has offered a more nuanced analysis of the ways through which evolving educational, political, charitable and political frameworks have successively worked to redefine the boundaries of disabled children's childhoods and educational experiences. Research into the National Spastics Society, in particular, has contributed to understandings of the educational and occupational experiences of people with cerebral palsy as a specific impairment group which until now has received limited scholarly attention. In utilising an innovative approach which has considered specific arts and crafts practices, and the varying therapeutic, occupational and professional values attached to them, this thesis has been able to demonstrate the ways in which such values have been influenced by public policy, charitable intervention and medical and pedagogic practice to significantly influence disabled peoples' experiences of work and education during the period under the study.

This thesis has argued that 'The Art of Crafting Useful Citizens' was an endeavour taken up both by charities and the state which reflected the cultural anxieties and values of the time, and thus shifted in meaning, form and intended recipient during the period under study.

The approaches, practices and policies they established successively reexamined, recategorised and reformed the disabled body. This redefined the disabled child as one dependent upon the state, whilst simultaneously reasserting the expectations and rights of disabled adults to engage more completely in their own 'embodied citizenship' through work.

Although this study concludes in 1970, it should be noted that many of the challenges it identifies in relation to securing appropriate education and meaningful employment for disabled adults and children continued in the succeeding decades. Throughout the 1970s, the issue of integrating disabled children into mainstream education remained a contentious one. According to Ted Cole, whilst it was generally accepted that the 'comprehensive should strive to be a school for all, meeting the needs of the child with special needs as well as those of the average or high-flying pupil', in practice schools retained systems dominated by the passing of public examinations which 'ill-suited the least able forty per cent.'[998] Whilst the publication of the Warnock Report in 1978 brought further attention to the issue of integration, and led to an Act of Parliament in 1981 which required 'integration for all', in reality the net population maintained in special schools only 'began to shrink marginally despite sharp falls in the general population in England and Wales.[999]

Whilst the passage of *The Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act* in 1970 was heralded as a landmark moment in the history of disabled peoples' rights, and celebrated for its breadth in terms of articulating what was required to enable disabled people to participate fully in society, many of its requirements were not properly mandated. A lack of compliance with existing employment policy, such as the quota system, accelerated throughout the 1970s so that by 1978 only 36.8% of employers retained a workforce with the required numbers of disabled employees.[1000] These failings, however, provided impetus for the further politicization

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[998] Ted Cole, *Apart or A Part? Integration and the Growth of British Special Education*, (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), p.131
[999] Ted Cole, *Apart or A Part?*, p.132
[1000] Anne Borsay, *Disability and Social Policy in Britain,* p.136

of disabled people, evidenced by the formation of disabled-led pressure groups, such as the Union for the Physically Impaired Against Segregation in 1972, and throughout the 1980s and 1990s the radical action of disability activists and artists saw art take on new meaning, once again, as disabled people engaged with the arts as a vehicle through to define what it means to be a disabled citizen and to communicate their political struggle for civil rights.[1001]

[1001] Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, *Disabled People and Social Policy. From Exclusion to Inclusion,* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1998), p.16

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