

WESTFIELD WAR MEMORIAL VILLAGE: DISABILITY,
PATERNALISM AND PHILANTHROPY, 1915-2015

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Abstract

Despite a growing amount of study into war-related disability, little research has been undertaken into the role played by the paternalistic philanthropists and volunteers who did so much to support the individuals directly affected. This thesis endeavours to go some way towards redressing the balance by using a bespoke community built for disabled veterans and their families after the First World War, The Westfield War Memorial Village in Lancaster, as a case study. Drawing largely on material held in Westfield's privately held archive, as well as extensive contemporary interviews with tenants and trustees (past and present), their spouses, offspring, friends and relatives, the work explores the validity of the prevailing approach of many modern historians towards paternalistic processes: one that seeks to interlink it with adverse associations of social control, political manipulation and middle class do-goodism. In order to facilitate a more balanced and in-depth perspective, this thesis has embraced an ambitious timeline that has allowed for full consideration of the way different paternalistic themes have evolved over time at Westfield and ultimately contributed to the settlement's longevity.

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Introduction

On April 24, 1915, James Radcliffe Mawson, the youngest son of the acclaimed Lancashire landscape architect and designer Thomas H. Mawson, died of wounds while serving on the Western Front during the First World War. His death, and the contents of a final missive in which he had urged his family to do all they could for the wounded, inspired his father to make a concerted effort to create a co-ordinated nationwide movement of bespoke settlements for disabled ex-servicemen. ‘His last letter home now became a command,’ wrote the bereaved parent.¹ The scheme that resulted, spearheaded by a book entitled *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Villages for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors*,² gained vocal support from senior members of the British establishment, as well as financial and practical backing from a network of well-known and highly elite philanthropists, but the project floundered when faced with the State’s reluctance to fund it. In the end, only one of Mawson’s villages was constructed – the Westfield War Memorial Village in Lancaster, Lancashire.³ This settlement, which now consists of more than 100 properties, is situated on the edge of Lancaster city centre and is a short walk from the main train station and bustling commercial hub. However, few members of the wider public are aware of its existence and it maintains something of a private air with an imposing gated entrance and long tree-lined driveway. Within are neatly trimmed gardens and properties designed with clear reference to a somewhat bygone aesthetic tied to the Garden City and Arts and Crafts’ movements.⁴

Westfield has a number of unique stories to tell and, as we approach its centenary, many are tied to its longevity. Mawson’s vision had not been a singular one, with a number of communities for disabled veterans established as a result of the First World War, of which

¹ T.H. Mawson, *The Life And Work Of An English Landscape Architect: An Autobiography* (London, 1927), p.247

² T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Settlements for Partially Disabled Soldiers* (London, 1917)

³ A second settlement linked to Mawson’s national committee was created at Preston Hall in Kent, but it appears that Mawson had very little to do with this particular project

⁴ See: *Appendix i, Appendix ii, Appendix iii, Appendix iv*

most were funded by wealthy philanthropists. More were constructed after the Second World War and some even modelled on Westfield. However, few of these settlements now survive, and even less in a form that is representative of the reason for their original construction. It is a situation that gives Westfield a very particular form of historic value, in addition to the practical lessons it can provide for contemporary charitable undertakings.

It is estimated that around 1.7 million British men returned from military service in the First World War with some form of disability, ranging from loss of movement in a single digit to full amputations, blindness and paralysis.⁵ Catering for their needs was to place unprecedented pressure on the British government and, perhaps even more so, on the philanthropists and volunteers who had traditionally taken responsibility for the welfare of such vulnerable members of society.⁶ Despite the scale of the task in hand, and the kind of personal commitments involved, just who these people were, their motivations, the repercussions of their actions, as well as the tensions inherent in their involvement, have largely been ignored. While the historiography in relation to the experiences of disabled veterans of war has grown in quality and quantity in recent years, it has rarely focused on those who did so much to support them. Indeed, much of the material has tended to explore either the psychological, sociological and medical themes associated with the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the injured,⁷ or the legislative and political changes that affected them.⁸ Only Deborah Cohen has investigated the complexities, nuances and controversies of

⁵ By June 1921 it was estimated by the International Labour Office that 1.7 million former British servicemen had suffered some form of disability as a result of the recent war. 'Studies and Reports: The Compulsory Employment of Disabled Men', Series E, no.2, *International Labour Office* (Geneva, 1921), p.2

⁶ For an overview of the philanthropic tradition prior to the First World War see, for example: D. Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (Oxford, 1965); F. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London, 1988); P. Grant, 'Voluntarism and the Impact of the First World War' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011)

⁷ See for example: J. Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: Soul of a Nation* (Manchester, 2011); D. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany 1914-1939* (California, 2001); A. Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (Oxford, 2009); S. McVeigh, 'Men After War' in *Routledge Research in Gender and History*, (London, 2013)

⁸ See for example: H. Bolderson, *Social Security, Disability and Rehabilitation: Conflicts in Social Policy 1914-1946* (London, 1991); K. Burk, *War and the State: The Transformation of British Government 1914-1919* (New South Wales, 1982); A. Crowther, *British Social Policy 1914-1939* (London, 1988); K. Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire between the Wars* (Manchester, 1995); J. Reznick, *Healing The Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain During the Great War* (Manchester, 2004)

paternalistic philanthropy in relation to the care of disabled veterans, and this as a small, but nevertheless significant, strand of a far more wide-reaching study into the experiences and behaviours of veterans from Britain and Germany in the post-war years of the 1920s and 1930s.⁹

The lack of material relating to philanthropy, charity, disability and warfare is surprising given the fact that the First World War was to play a vital role in helping voluntarism through an important transitional period from the late nineteenth century into the modern era. Peter Grant estimates that around 18,000 new charities were established during the conflict (effectively doubling the number that had existed prior to it),¹⁰ of which many were focused on the support of disabled men and their families.¹¹ Needless to say, this substantial growth in the charitable sector required a corresponding growth in the number of men and women prepared to become actively involved in it. These new volunteers came from all levels of society, but were most commonly led by members of established charitable networks, who were often from more wealthy or privileged backgrounds. This resulted in accusations of paternalism, in which a 'do-gooding' middle class sought to impose its values on those it perceived as being lower down the social ladder. Despite the complexities of the relationships between different social groups, Grant believes that many of the traits and practices of modern professional charities can be traced back to the work they undertook together both during and after the First World War.¹² However, the movement to create communities for the housing, reintegration and rehabilitation of disabled veterans, and its role within this metamorphosis, has rarely been discussed. It was a situation highlighted in 2013 when a leading organisation for the protection and study of historic sites (English Heritage) decided to undertake a new project to examine how disability had come to play an

⁹ See Chapter 1, 'A Voluntary Peace' in Cohen, *The War Come Home*, pp.15-60

¹⁰ Statistics taken from article by P. Grant: <http://www.vahs.org.uk/2014/04/philanthropy-and-voluntary-action-in-the-first-world-war/> (Voluntary Action official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹¹ High-profile examples include St Dunstan's for the blind and the Star and Garter homes for paraplegics

¹² See for example: Grant, *Philanthropy*; and Grant, 'Voluntarism and the Impact'

integral role in the creation of the social and constructed heritage that continues to surround us.¹³ As the research progressed, it became evident that there was a large gap in the records in relation to the history of disabled settlements for war veterans and the charitable and philanthropic processes that have driven them. Furthermore, there was no list or directory to reveal just how many settlements had been built, how many had closed but left surviving architectural traces and how many still survived as ongoing concerns.¹⁴ This was a perplexing outcome given the fact that the communities created after both world wars went on to change materially and psychologically the lives of tens of thousands of ex-servicemen and their families. The fact that some of these settlements remain functional in the twenty-first century only serves to underline the need for more research, not least as their longevity, and the decisions and circumstances that have contributed to their survival, provide valuable insights into the evolution of the kind of philanthropic processes and attitudes to disability that made them viable in the first place. It is, as such, the aim of this particular thesis to make a contribution towards the filling of this void by using the Westfield War Memorial Village in Lancaster as a case study.

The tradition of paternalistic philanthropy is one that is often portrayed in a negative light in contemporary studies, the flag bearer for an outdated model that is seen as Edwardian at best, Victorian at worst, and an anathema to modern liberal sensibilities. The very word ‘paternal’ has become weighted down with adverse connotations of autocratic authority in which able adults are treated like children. Indeed, a significant number of historians and politicians (particularly those with sympathies for the Marxist/socialist constructs that came to prominence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) have come to see paternalistic philanthropy as an unwelcome instrument of social control: one that reinforces class divides

¹³ For more details on the English Heritage project ‘Disability in Time and Place’ see: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/disability-history/> (English Heritage Project) last accessed on April 19, 2017

¹⁴ In 2015 English Heritage researcher Rachel Hasted published a comprehensive list of the settlements she had managed to identify as well as valuable background information: R. Hasted, *Domestic Housing for Disabled Veterans 1900-2014* (English Heritage, unpublished internal report, 2016)

and traditional social hierarchies while hindering progressive social change. The cultural historian George Robb, for example, has claimed that the traditional philanthropic ideals of moral reform were 'out of step' with the more inclusive and democratic sentiments of the First World War and the move towards a more centralised and state-associated role in the provision of welfare.¹⁵ Westfield and most of its counterparts in the movement for disabled settlements were initially financed by wealthy paternalistic philanthropists. Furthermore, the charitable work the Lancaster settlement continues to do for disabled and necessitous ex-servicemen is still overseen by a committee of volunteers presided over by a relative of one of the community's key philanthropic founders and a self-selecting, and mainly middle class, group. The fact that the continuity and commitment of this collective has proved central to the ongoing story at Westfield provides a valuable opportunity to explore the strengths and weaknesses of a long running charitable organisation rooted in paternalistic traditions. It also provides a strong foundation from which to test the validity of the kind of overwhelmingly negative constructs so readily associated with paternalistic processes, as well as a strong foundation from which to discuss whether or not contemporary historians are doing enough to ensure that they are providing a balanced picture – one that allows for full acknowledgement of the kind of practical benefits that might be accrued as a direct result of this particular form of philanthropy. Indeed, Joel Feinberg has argued that paternalism is an unavoidable, and oft welcome, aspect of any 'civilised' society.¹⁶

René Bekkers and Pamala Wiepking, who compiled an extensive overview of the pre-existing historiography of 'giving' in 2007, have argued that too many studies of philanthropy have taken a short term approach, with the result that there is a real need for greater analysis of the kind of challenges that arise as a result of longevity.¹⁷ This thesis takes on that challenge and, in drawing on material from the whole 100-year lifespan of the Westfield settlement,

¹⁵ G. Robb, *British Culture And The First World War* (London, 2002), p.79

¹⁶ J. Feinberg, 'Legal Paternalism' in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (1971), pp.105-110

¹⁷ R. Bekkers and P. Wiepking, *Generosity and Philanthropy: A Literature Review* (Amsterdam, 2007)

embraces the complexities, contradictions and obvious limitations inherent in such an approach. For example, it is inevitable that the thesis will need to lean heavily at times on specific eras in order to highlight key aspects of the debate. It is not my intention to provide a chronological history of Westfield, but to look at the most prominent issues as and when they came to the fore. Nevertheless, I will endeavour to provide as balanced a picture as possible by using examples and comparisons from different decades where the material is available to do so. Likewise, some of the organisations involved with the settlement have changed names a number of times over the years, so to avoid confusion I will (unless specifically stated) refer to them by their initial title. For this same reason I have referred to Lancaster throughout as being a 'town', which is what it was at the time of the First World War, although it would go on to achieve 'City' status in 1937.

In a work that circumnavigates a century of shifting social attitudes and changes to legislation in relation to disability, housing, charity, the military, warfare and remembrance, it would be both unrealistic and unwise to try and provide an in-depth study of each. The limitations already discussed in the historiography of housing for disabled ex-servicemen, the movement for model villages and settlements, and the role of civilian and military philanthropy in relation to such projects, means that a number of academic texts (many of which may touch on relevant themes in the context of broader or alternative studies) will often re-appear within different chapters. It is for this reason that I have decided to discuss much of the secondary literature within each chapter as and when it is relevant to the specifics of the debate. There is, however, a pre-existing body of work specifically about the Westfield settlement that it would be of value to summarise at this point.

To date, the majority of the academic material written about Westfield has been completed by undergraduate students. It is not my intention to demean the efforts of my predecessors in any way, as the specific conditions of my own project have allowed me far greater access

to primary sources than they may have enjoyed, as well as far more time to investigate and research such sources. Nevertheless, despite the kind of limitations associated with undergraduate work, it would be wrong to ignore it not least as it has had a significant part to play in the construction of Westfield's popular image. The bulk of the undergraduate material has addressed themes of originality and uniqueness in the context of post-First World War commemoration, the provision of welfare for First World War veterans, and the success or failure of particular aspects of the designer Thomas H. Mawson's early vision.¹⁸ All have viewed Westfield from a singular perspective, with Sharon Vernon and Ben Hornby having gone some way towards perpetuating the myth of Westfield as a 'unique' facility in published extracts of their work in local and military history journals: Vernon, for example, stated that 'the village remained the only one of its kind', and Hornby that Westfield 'can clearly be described as one of a kind'.¹⁹ Like most of the literature on disability and warfare, the Westfield historiography has tended to limit itself to the confines of a specific period often starting with the First World War and then using the Second World War, or the birth of the Welfare State, as a point of closure.²⁰ This has resulted in obvious restrictions, especially given the assertion of historians such as Julie Anderson that it was the Second World War that had the most significant impact on the treatment of disabled veterans.²¹ Only one work prior to this thesis (an MA dissertation by Alexander Drury) has sought to explore the issue of philanthropy on Westfield, and the obvious restrictions placed on the author meant that this work was also limited to a shorter (pre-Second World War) time frame, and the village

¹⁸ H. Clark, *How Unique Is Lancaster's Westfield War Memorial Village* (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, The University of Lancaster, 2011); A. Drury, *Environment and Community: Motive and Practice in the Case of Westfield War Memorial Village, 1918-1939*, (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, The University of Lancaster, 2004); H. Walton, *Westfield War Memorial Village: Intentions and Realities*, (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, The University of Lancaster, 2013); B. Hornby, *The Realisation of a Dream? Thomas Mawson and the Westfield War Memorial Village*, (unpublished MA dissertation, The University of Manchester, 2009)

¹⁹ See, for example: B. Hornby, 'The Westfield War Memorial Village, Lancaster', in *Bulletin*, the journal of the Western Front Association, Bulletin 84., June-July 2008, pp.15-18; and S. Vernon, 'Westfield Memorial Village, Lancaster: One of a Kind', in *Lancashire Local Historian*, no.16, (2003), pp.70-84

²⁰ It should be noted that Hannah Walton did make comparisons that bridged the decades in her study of aspects of Thomas H. Mawson's vision and their ongoing role in the 21st century

²¹ Anderson, *War, Disability*, p.11

again viewed from a stand-alone, 'unique', perspective.²² Westfield's story has, as such, been repeatedly told from the perspective of a snapshot of a particular point in time, and always from a viewpoint of isolation. This thesis broadens that remit in a bid to add the missing analytical layers that the recognition of a wider context can provide. It strives to achieve this by drawing on material relating to other settlements and organisations involved in the housing of disabled veterans, as well-as the large body of primary material available about Westfield itself.²³

The Westfield War Memorial Village archive is substantive, and provides the bulk of the material employed in this thesis. A community that marks its centenary in 2019 has obviously generated a huge amount of paperwork and correspondence over the years, and much of it is to be found in folders, boxes and ledgers stored at the offices of the Westfield charity on the village. I have enjoyed a unique level of access to this archive and even managed to contribute extensively to it throughout the course of the project. I have also gone some way towards indexing and cataloguing it in a bid to aid future researchers.²⁴ Parts of the Westfield archive (including correspondence between key figures in the formative years) have become detached at various points in the community's history and there is a significant holding now in the care of the King's Own Royal Regiment Museum in Lancaster.²⁵ Furthermore, the archive of Thomas H. Mawson and Sons, including many of the original architectural drawings for the village, is held by the Cumbria County Council archive centre at Kendal.²⁶ All of this archival material is of value to researchers, has been accessed by myself and can be made available to others via appointment. However, one of the greatest

²² Drury, *Environment and Community*

²³ Deborah Cohen, for example, mentions two settlements in her book on the comparative treatment of disabled British and German veterans after the war (Cohen, *The War Come Home*); Caroline Dakers mentions a number of rural facilities in C. Dakers, *The Countryside At War 1914-1918* (London, 1987); personal correspondence with English Heritage has revealed the existence of numerous sites resulting from both world wars; publicity leaflets for some settlements can be found in the holdings of the Imperial War Museum in London; Anna MacLeod published a popular history of Haig Homes in 2015, A. MacLeod, *Coming Home: Haig Housing Trust – A Hundred Years of Housing Heroes* (London, 2015), that also references the work of other housing providers for disabled veterans

²⁴ Contact: The Westfield War Memorial Village, Westfield Office, West Road, Lancaster

²⁵ Contact: King's Own Royal Regiment Museum, Market Square, Lancaster LA1 1HT

²⁶ Contact: Kendal County Offices, Kendal, Cumbria LA9 4RQ

assets to this particular thesis has been the unprecedented access I have had to the village, to wander its avenues and examine its structural and environmental legacies, to speak to past and present volunteers, residents, family members and friends of those involved in the settlement. This has included interviews on the settlement, in the wider community, at nursing homes and even in an empty shop unit in the centre of Lancaster as part of an outreach project (Campus In The City) run by the University of Lancaster. The oral testimonies of these stakeholders, from the past and present, resulted in a number of significant new insights. It has been my ambition, wherever the evidence exists, to provide a direct voice for the different parties involved in the philanthropic process, and especially those who appear as the silent partners in so many studies - the actual recipients of the charity itself. Indeed, I have endeavoured to provide a voice for all involved in the charitable process wherever it has been of value to the thesis.

Before exploring the specific influence of philanthropy and voluntarism at Westfield, it is necessary to establish whether or not there was (and indeed remains) a real need for it. The village itself was built to house ex-servicemen who had returned from the First World War with a disability that might hinder their ability to reintegrate into society and become self-sufficient. The community was primarily for married men and their families, and the high level of injuries sustained in the conflict, and indeed during a second world war just two decades later, meant that successful tenants usually had a war disability of 50 per cent or more, meaning that they had generally lost a limb or limbs, sight or worse. Despite the vulnerability of such men, the social historian Adrian Gregory is not alone in his belief that 'one thing is certain: the state authorities, particularly the permanent civil service, proved to be generally unsympathetic' to the disabled veterans of the First World War.²⁷ The opening chapter examines the validity of such claims, including an overview of the prevailing political, social and cultural conditions throughout the lifespan of the village. The over-riding concern

²⁷ A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), p.266

of most parties involved in the wider movement to support disabled veterans was that they should have good employment opportunities as well as decent housing, and this chapter provides a context for what was provided at Westfield in relation to prevailing local and national trends. Insights are also provided into the settlement's battle to not only survive but also maintain relevance over the course of its lifespan.

Having established a contextual background for the Lancaster settlement, the focus of the second chapter turns to the motives of the key stakeholders involved in the community and the part they have played in both the short and longer-term history of the settlement.

Exploring individual motivations for giving (including acts of charity, philanthropy and volunteering) is central to understanding collective motivations. Frank Prochaska, in a study into the voluntary impulse, believes that middle class participation in philanthropic causes has too often been linked to negative connotations of self-gratification and social ambition, and claims that this is an unfair criticism.²⁸ This chapter explores the many forces that have influenced the voluntary impulse at Westfield (from the personal to the practical and the selfless to the self-promoting) and examines which ones have proved the most enduring. Understanding how such motivations have developed over time may also provide useful insights for the future.

The third chapter looks at the implementation of Mawson's vision at Westfield, and whether or not it was 'fit for purpose'. Deborah Cohen has argued that philanthropists involved in the creation of settlements for the disabled of the First World War often 'blithely disregarded' the desires of their beneficiaries in order to prioritise their own ambitions.²⁹ This chapter will explore Cohen's claim in relation to the built and natural environment that was constructed (and continues to be maintained) at Westfield. It will look at the original structural and aesthetic visions for the community and the ideological and practical blueprints that may

²⁸ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp.39-40

²⁹ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.8

have influenced the philanthropists and voluntarists at various points throughout the village's history. The chapter also addresses the challenges of changing cultural priorities and legal responsibilities in relation to the provision of housing for the disabled and the sensitivity of the Westfield decision makers (as well as the residents themselves) to such changes.

Westfield would ultimately be presented to the general public as a 'memorial' village, and the fourth chapter explores who was responsible for making this decision, the motivation behind it, and the kind of compromises and tensions that arose as a result. Alex King concluded in his research into the make-up of First World War memorial committees that the key decisions were usually made by a 'small minority' drawn from 'established social and political elites'.³⁰ This could almost be a condensed definition of traditional paternalistic philanthropy, and provides the chapter with a strong foundation from which to address the theme. The issue of autocracy, and how the passing of time can change perceptions in relation to once contentious or (conversely) benign resolutions, will also be explored from the perspective of the village tenants as well as the volunteers.

Chapter five examines the prevailing and historic power structures and hierarchies on the community, how they came into existence and subsequently developed, whilst also exploring the practicalities of the various positions held on the settlement, the expectations of these roles and the levels of social control they have enabled people to exert. In so doing it will explore a number of key paternalistic themes, including issues of control related to themes of class, militarism and gender. This is prescient to Helen McCarthy's work on charitable organisations in the post-war years, in which she suggests that such bodies 'frequently reproduced the hierarchies and divisions existing in broader society'.³¹ Although

³⁰ A. King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford, 1998), p.100

³¹ H. McCarthy, 'Associational Voluntarism in Interwar Britain' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011), p.57

a more 'top down' approach will be taken, the role that the residents played within the process will also be investigated.

The final chapter explores the theme of self-identity among the Westfield residents and the possible influence that philanthropy and paternalism, as well as the simple reality of residence on such an individualistic community, may have played in this. Issues related to segregation, militarism and class lie at the heart of the chapter and are often highlighted by the nature of the relationship that Westfield's residents have shared with their closest neighbours. David Gerber, who has written extensively about disabled veterans, has pointed out that there has been little attention paid to the understanding of disabled war veterans as a social group, which is a theme this chapter seeks to embrace.³²

Ultimately, the combined roles of philanthropy, paternalism, hierarchy and social stratification will be shown to have played a key role, both individually and collectively, in the shaping of Westfield, its residents and the community's ongoing story. In addition, the thesis will demonstrate how the flexibility to be responsive to the demands of each of the above has been central to the community's longevity. It will also be demonstrated how the tensions between the various Westfield stakeholders have often encouraged levels of debate, justification and compromise that have proved equally essential to the village's well-being. The lack of knowledge about the wider movement of model settlements for disabled veterans may well be seen as justification enough for further research into the field, but this thesis endeavours to provide a far more complex argument for the value of future investigation – one that highlights the need for not only specific study into the wider historic movement, but also the longer term role and effect of philanthropy in relation to war related disability and military linked philanthropy in general. Nonetheless, it will be reward enough if this thesis on the Westfield War Memorial Village opens the door to further

³² D.A. Gerber, 'The Continuing Relevance of the Study of Disabled Veterans' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans In History* (Revised edn, Michigan, 2012), Preface

recognition of a neglected, but hugely significant, part of the historic provision for repayment of 'the debt' to the disabled veterans of Britain's wars.

Chapter One: Need

There is no way in which we can more fittingly pay our debt to our fallen comrades than by doing what we can to alleviate the lot of our most gallant comrades who shared in full measure the same hardships and perils. There can surely be few more admirable methods at the present moment of seeking to discharge some part of our debt than the way you have chosen. I thank those who helped to make this village settlement...¹

The Westfield War Memorial Village, Lancaster, is a community that was built to house disabled veterans of the First World War and their families in attractive surrounds in which they could mentally rehabilitate as they re-engaged with civilian life and became productive, economically self-sustaining, members of society again. The settlement was born from the vision of the internationally acclaimed and Lancashire-born landscape architect Thomas H. Mawson, who had sought to mark the death of his son James on the Western Front by creating a fitting project to aid the wounded of the war. Mawson had been supported in his goal by the wealthy Lancashire industrialist and philanthropist Herbert Lushington Storey, whose family had agreed to donate their former ancestral home (the Westfield Estate in Lancaster) and 15-acres of grounds for the erection of a settlement for the housing of disabled ex-servicemen.²

Westfield was a far from unique proposition at the point of inception, with other settlements for disabled veterans of the First World War having already been discussed, and in some cases built, before Mawson and Storey became actively involved. Among the largest were Sir Oswald Stoll's War Seal Mansions in Fulham, a facility at Enham in Hampshire funded by the Quaker philanthropist Dr Fortescue Fox, and Hugo Wemyss MP's Scottish Veterans' Garden City Association village at Longniddry in East Lothian. What had been unusual, but again not unique, about Mawson's vision was the scale of his ambition - he sought to bring unity to a wholly disparate movement that had been created by wealthy

¹ The words of Earl Haig at the official opening of the Westfield War Memorial Village in 1924. See: 'Earl Haig at Lancaster', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 28, 1924

² For more background see: <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/historyhome.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

individuals and charitable groups often operating in total isolation from each other. However, Mawson does appear to have been far more advanced in his proposals than a similar, but ultimately ill-fated, group operating in 1918 under the preliminary title of the Village Settlements for Disabled Ex-Servicemen.³ The Lancaster artisan had already created a template by 1917 to show how his concept of a nationwide network of bespoke communities might be achieved in a book entitled *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Settlements for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors*.⁴ In the end, Westfield would provide the only direct structural manifestation of his vision, although other schemes would later be modelled upon it.⁵ Situated on the edge of large commercial and industrial town of Lancaster, Westfield remains something of an enigma in that it not only survives to the present day but broadly continues to fulfil the same remit that it did at the point of inception. This is not a common outcome: only a small number of its counterparts have also survived, and most appear to have changed their roles considerably. It is the aim of this chapter to provide some background and context to the birth and growth of Westfield, the reason why it became dependent on philanthropy, and how the community has battled to not only survive but also maintain relevance over the course of its near 100-year history. I will also consider whether or not there remains a genuine need for such a charitable/philanthropic facility in the twenty first century. The chapter will, as such, endeavour to provide representation from all three of Westfield's key periods: the formative years, the economically fragile decades after the Welfare State, and the 'modern era', which can be defined as the period that started (in the 1980s) after the Westfield charity entered into a partnership agreement with the Guinness Northern Counties housing association. I do,

³ The preliminary committee for Village Settlements for Disabled Ex-Servicemen featured a number of individuals who later became actively or symbolically involved in Mawson's committee. It appears that this organisation did not progress beyond the preliminary stages. The committee is mentioned in the following article: 'Chronicle of Passing Events', *The Town Planning Review*, Vol.7, No.3/4 (Liverpool, 1918), p.286

⁴ T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Settlements for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors* (London, 1917)

⁵ These included The Derby War Memorial Village and alms housing built by the Middlesex Regiment, both after the Second World War

however, make no apologies for the fact that there will be an obvious bias towards the early years and birth of the facility.

Most contemporary historians are united in their claim that the British Government was reluctant at best and parsimonious at worst in its attitude towards the disabled veterans of the First World War. Adrian Gregory, for example, states that 'one thing is certain: the state authorities, particularly the permanent civil service, proved to be generally unsympathetic' to disabled ex-servicemen.⁶ Deborah Cohen, in her seminal work on disabled veterans in the post-war years, claims that the Ministry of Pensions (the organisation established to look after the welfare of such men) only 'sought to limit the State's obligations towards them'.⁷ It was an approach at odds with the sympathies of a general populace shocked by the far from uncommon sight of war veterans with missing limbs and facial disfigurements. Indeed, this high level of visibility served as a stark reminder of both the kind of sacrifices that so many men had made and the level of debt that was now owed to them. It is for this reason that Julie Anderson has argued that Britain's disabled ex-servicemen came to hold 'a privileged place' in the nation's post-war consciousness.⁸ However, as Cohen has pointed out, it was the very generosity of the British public that would enable successive British governments to continue to allow the care of the disabled of the war to primarily remain a charitable rather than state funded concern.⁹ Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that the state relinquished all responsibility.

The government had started to come under pressure about its role in the future welfare of the disabled in the opening year of the First World War; not least when it was revealed that under the existing military pension scheme a disabled man suffering from total disability would receive only 17s6d a week - this at a time when the average weekly food bill of the

⁶ A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), p.266

⁷ D. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), p.4

⁸ J. Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: Soul of a Nation* (Manchester, 2010), p.42

⁹ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, pp.188-192

working classes was 23s9d.¹⁰ With increasing numbers of men returning from the battlefields with debilitating injuries, public anger at the 'old brutal treatment' of such veterans (as Jay Winter has described it) would culminate in a demand for change.¹¹ Wise to the impact this could have on recruitment and attitudes towards impending conscription, the Naval and War Pensions Bill of 1916 was introduced to establish a centrally managed infrastructure for the local administration of improved war pensions, as well as the retraining and rehabilitation of wounded men and emergency payments for families in need. However, the implementation of much of this new legislation remained dependent on those who had previously held the key responsibility for care of the disabled; volunteers working at a parochial level.¹² Furthermore, many of the voluntary committees (often run by the great and good of local communities) were heavily criticised for behaving in a highly paternalistic manner. For example, the National Relief Fund (NRF), which was at the forefront of the administering of the scheme, quickly ran into controversy after its members were accused of only giving emergency help to those who met their own moral standards. Peter Grant has claimed that the NRF was 'too much an expression of out-dated paternalistic philanthropy' in which 'paternalistic middle and upper class do-gooders' passed judgement on the working classes.¹³

The first significant move towards a more centralised form of control arrived in the spring of 1917, when Lloyd George's coalition government succumbed to demands from the Labour Party (whose support was vital to the coalition) for the creation of a Ministry of Pensions. This marked a new phase in the role of the government, with the Ministry taking on a greater share of responsibility for the care of the war's disabled. However, as Gregory states, despite this 'apparent acceptance' of state responsibility, it soon became clear that

¹⁰ J.M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London, 1986), pp.225-227

¹¹ Winter, *The Great War*, p.225

¹² Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.264

¹³ P. Grant, 'Voluntarism and the impact of the First World War' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011), p.34

voluntary action would 'continue to play a major role'. Indeed, 6,000 charities had already been registered to provide support for the disabled before the Armistice of late 1918.¹⁴ Furthermore, Cohen has added that philanthropists 'controlled every major initiative on behalf of disabled ex-servicemen' after the war.¹⁵ Westfield was clearly just one link in a lengthy chain, but it was not an insignificant one.

At the time of his treatise on bespoke settlements Westfield visionary Thomas H. Mawson had been seen as one of Britain's leading landscape designers and architects and his services were very much in demand among many of the wealthiest figures of the day – from Lord Leverhulme in the north to Gordon Selfridge in the south. An artisan who had grown an architectural practice from humble beginnings into a thriving commercial concern, he was under no misconception about the kind of financial challenges that his project would be faced with when he first published *An Imperial Obligation*. Indeed, Mawson would state that the success or failure of his settlements would be intrinsically tied to 'financial questions' and that he had seen many projects conceived 'for the betterment of humanity' break down when confronted with fiscal practicalities.¹⁶ In an attempt to address such concerns he provided a separate 'finance' section in his treatise and factored in various sources of income, including that of charity and philanthropy. Central to his plans were industrial hubs, with each community to have a large factory or commercial operation at its heart to feed smaller inter-linked concerns. Commercial businesses and shops would naturally evolve on the settlements to meet the needs of the village residents and workers. In so doing, they would create further employment opportunities.¹⁷ Nevertheless, while Mawson clearly believed that his communities would become self-sustaining, his expectation had always been that the Government would provide the initial funding to get them off the ground:

¹⁴ Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp.264-265

¹⁵ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.16

¹⁶ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.53

¹⁷ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.106

Now as to the funds for the actual construction of the village [...] first of all, we may reasonably ask the Government to recognise their undoubted responsibility in the matter [...] the brunt of the financial requirements should quite rightly fall upon the Government, and thus directly upon us, for whom those it is desired to benefit have made such sacrifices.¹⁸

According to Mawson, there had been plenty of early signs to suggest that the Government would support his proposals. He stated in his autobiography that there had been a number of deputations to the Government about post-war housing schemes (prior to his own) that had received genuine encouragement. This, he claimed, had only served to fuel his own ambition and provide further cause for him to believe that 'a well-thought-out-scheme' would be met 'very sympathetically'.¹⁹ In December 1915 he had dined with two civil servants whom, he said, had urged him to put his ideas down on paper - 'my enthusiasm must have been contagious for my guests requested me to crystallise my remarks', which they said they would put 'before their chief'.²⁰ The response was not, however, as expected. According to his autobiography, in early 1916 Mawson was informed by 'the chief of the department' that his proposal for a network of disabled settlements would not be looked upon favourably by the state as it was opposed to segregated schemes and saw no need for industrial based settlements as employment levels were good at that time. The validity of such a stance will be discussed elsewhere, but it is sufficient at this point to establish that Mawson had been put in a position where he appears to have had no other choice than to find alternative financial support if he was to proceed. This was a challenge he embraced:

Opposition only increased my determination. I saw that my case must be put in an attractive form before the public, so with set purpose I decided to write a book [*An Imperial Obligation*] describing the proposal [...] the response was amazing, and for the most part encouraging. Almost every Minister, with the exception of Mr Lloyd George – who was otherwise engaged – and one or two previously noted, sent me their congratulations, as did also the bishops and

¹⁸ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.57-59

¹⁹ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.58

²⁰ It should, be noted Mawson was wrong to refer to the officials as being representatives of the Ministry of Pensions, as this ministry was not set up until some considerable time later. He obviously got confused between the two at the time of writing: T.H. Mawson, *The Life And Work Of An English Landscape Architect* (London, 1927), pp.259-260.

leaders of the churches, university professors, great soldiers, writers and men of affairs, all urging me to go ahead and some offering financial help.²¹

The level and nature of the support he received (much of which he would substantiate by reproducing in the second edition of *An Imperial Obligation* and his autobiography) is important in that it shows that Mawson's book had, to use his own words, generated backing for 'a great voluntary effort'. He would later add that the support of a large number of senior politicians had also left him hopeful of an *alte-voce* from the state.²² However, while Lloyd George never openly rejected Mawson's project, repeated attempts to gain his official backing (particularly in the form of a foreword for *An Imperial Obligation*) would be evaded.²³ While Mawson waited for an end to this political limbo, he pressed ahead with his project via the establishment of 'an interim organisation' operating under the rather unwieldy title of Industrial Villages & Settlements for Partially Disabled Soldiers & Sailors.²⁴ This body had clearly been put together to lobby support and exert pressure at the highest levels of British society, and included some of the nation's most well-known industrialists, businessmen, town planners and paternalistic philanthropists. Included among them were such individuals as Warwick Draper, Walter S. Rowntree, Gordon Selfridge and the previously mentioned Lancashire philanthropist Herbert Lushington Storey. The treasurer of the organisation was Lord Avesbury, the incumbent of one of England's most respected family seats, while one of the joint secretaries was the renowned socio-political journalist and housing reformer William Hill.²⁵ The motivation for the involvement of these men will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but the formation of such a committee serves to highlight the fact that Mawson had taken a significant step away from the increasingly forlorn hope of government benevolence.

²¹ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.261

²² Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.262

²³ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.262

²⁴ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, pp.263-264

²⁵ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, pp.263-264

It is fair to say that Mawson had always assumed that wealthy philanthropists would have a part to play in the funding of his project, having written that 'while the brunt of the financial requirements should quite rightly fall upon the Government' that there were 'other sources of a philanthropic nature' that might be of value.²⁶ Among these were 'semi-philanthropic investments' from sympathetic businessmen and industrialists that would, in all likelihood, yield low levels of interest.²⁷ This was a form of what would now be described as 'venture philanthropy': a process by which leading industrialists and corporate giants might provide funding and guidance as part of a concept not dissimilar to the simile of providing someone with a fishing rod in order to provide a longer term solution as opposed to a fish that would provide an immediate, but short term, result.²⁸ Still, as his own words showed, Mawson had remained committed to the belief that it would be the Government that would carry 'the brunt' of the burden in establishing the settlements. It was a belief that had clearly been shared by many of his early supporters, as a number of them effectively walked away from the project when it became clear that the state was not about to meet such a demand.

The national Industrial Settlements committee had initially been ensconced in rent-free London offices provided by the retail magnate Gordon Selfridge, with a considerable early expense fund of £1,500 provided by the members.²⁹ 'Preliminary committees' were set up around the country to oversee schemes in their home area, with the national committee expecting to provide central advice and support. Herbert Lushington Storey and Thomas H. Mawson travelled the country to assess potential sites for settlements, including Storey's own family estate at Westfield in Lancaster. Mawson wrote in his autobiography that lectures had been organised to promote the schemes and that all had been going well until a

²⁶ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.58-59

²⁷ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.58-59

²⁸ For more on this see: W. Visser, 'Give a man the means to fish: From paternalistic charity to venture philanthropy' in *Age of Responsibility*, (3BL Media, 2012) at <http://www.waynevisser.com/blog/give-a-man-the-means-to-fish> (Academic Wayne Visser's official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²⁹ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.264

particular talk in 'a western town'. He wrote that this event had been attended by the local representative of the Ministry of Pensions who stated 'that he was instructed to say that his department was entirely opposed to the scheme outlined in *An Imperial Obligation*'.³⁰ Mawson's national committee had been 'much discouraged' by this pronouncement and organised meetings with leading government figures to discuss it; only to be met with what Mawson described as 'the same unvarying attitude of hostility'. He was to add that 'the cold reception of our efforts had weakened the driving force without which no great enterprise can succeed', and would later claim that his national voluntary committee had disbanded as a direct result of such antipathy.³¹ However, while some of the philanthropists may have lost heart, this was not true of all.

It seemed as if we were thoroughly beaten and 'down and out', but it is characteristic of our countrymen that they are blind to defeat and can never grasp the most patent facts associated with failure. Chasing 'the forlorn hope' is a positive recreation with some people, and incidentally such persons often prove there is method in their madness.³²

Key to this second push had been the wealthy London hotelier Sir George Reeves-Smith, who not only injected fresh enthusiasm and energy, but also fresh capital. The support of Herbert Lushington Storey, Samuel Waring and Lord Avesbury had not faltered, and they now joined forces with Reeves-Smith and other new supporters, including Lord Queensborough, to form a fresh organisation registered under the name of Industrial Settlements Incorporated. The motivations of these individuals will be discussed in the following chapter, but this new committee appears to have taken a different approach to its predecessor, not least by downsizing the scale of its ambitions. The result would be the creation of just two settlements: Westfield in Lancaster, which had already taken progressive steps under the patronage of Herbert Lushington Storey, and Preston Hall in Kent. This latter facility was primarily driven by Reeves-Smith and involved the purchase of a

³⁰ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, pp.266-267

³¹ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, pp.266-267

³² Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.299

former manor house that had been handed to the Red Cross in 1914 to be used as a military hospital for men suffering with breathing problems caused by the inhalation of poison gas or trench epidemics such as tuberculosis. The fate of Preston Hall will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, but Mawson and Storey appear to have had little to do with it and instead become focused on a joint undertaking on their home ground of Lancaster. As such, Industrial Settlements Incorporated had effectively split into two autonomous branches in the south and north of the country and would soon fold. In his final years Mawson would claim that the company had failed in its main objective to 'induce the Ministry of Pensions to see the possibilities of constructive effort on behalf of wounded service men'.³³ This failure had not only resulted in the end of his vision for a nationwide network of settlements but also impacted on his singular and parochial undertaking at Westfield – including the removal of the key industrial element of his scheme.

Mawson and his counterparts had fervently believed that the creation of bespoke employment opportunities for disabled ex-servicemen was vital if such men were not to be condemned to a 'lifelong struggle' in which they would be pitted (with 'all the odds against') into a competition for survival with their more able-bodied counterparts.³⁴ The idea that the disabled servicemen of the war needed special attention to support them in their civilian lives was supported by the leading contemporary correspondent on the affairs of disabled veterans at the time of the First World War, the author John Galsworthy. Like Mawson and his counterparts, he shared the view that disabled men would face severe disadvantages in the labour market in the post-war years if they were forced to compete with their more able-bodied peers. Galsworthy's most famous article on the subject, 'The Sacred Work', was written at the behest of the Ministry of Pensions as the foreword to a publication that

³³ Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.265

³⁴ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.13, 84

accompanied the Second Annual Inter-Allied Conference and Exhibition on the After-Care of Disabled Men in 1918:

The Sacred Work is not departmental, it is one long organic process from the moment a man is picked up on the field of battle to the moment he is restored to the ranks of full civil life. Our eyes must not be fixed merely on this stressful present, but on the world as it will be ten years hence. To carry the process of restoration to a point short of this is to leave the cathedral without a spire.³⁵

While Galsworthy agreed that taking a short term approach to the rehabilitation of disabled veterans was unacceptable, his attitude towards bespoke settlements such as Westfield was not so clear. However, he would give supporters of the movement a voice by including an article on the subject in the final edition of *Reveille*, a state-funded publication he edited for a short period that focused exclusively on issues relating to war disability. Entitled 'Land Settlement and the Disabled', the article was co-authored by Thomas H. Mawson and the Quaker philanthropist Dr Fortescue Fox, who was funding a large disabled ex-service settlement in Hampshire. The article would argue that the principles of factory and workers' settlements had been successfully established in the nineteenth century,³⁶ and the irony was not lost that one of the main reasons the state had given for rejection of such schemes for disabled ex-servicemen was an alleged antipathy to segregation – this despite the fact that the government itself had created a number of segregated communities of its own for munitions workers during the war. In fact it had built 38 such settlements, including 10,000 permanent structures, at a significant cost.³⁷ Mawson later bemoaned the loss of these sites, including a large facility at Gretna for female munitions workers, claiming that they would have made perfect post-war settlements for disabled veterans and their families:

What a splendid result might have been secured if Government villages like Gretna Green, now partially derelict, had been planned with a view to the

³⁵ J. Galsworthy, 'The Sacred Work', *Official Programme for the Allied Conference and Exhibition on the Aftercare of Disabled Men*, May 20, 1918 (His Majesty's Stationary Office), foreword

³⁶ T.H. Mawson and Dr F. Fox, 'Land Settlement and the Disabled' in J. Galsworthy (ed), *Reveille*, No.3, February 1919 (His Majesty's Stationary Office)

³⁷ J. Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London, 1991), p.183

reception of wounded men and their families and the establishment of suitable industries.³⁸

It is important to recognise the emphasis that was being placed on the role of industry, with the vast majority of the veterans' settlements of the First World War having initially been tied to the premise of providing meaningful employment opportunities for their occupants as well as subsidised housing. Mawson's own vision had always been for 'industrial villages', and the early drawings he prepared for Westfield (featured in a promotional booklet in 1919) included a large factory dominating the rear of the site with rail links running to the nearby mainline at Lancaster Castle Station.³⁹ This factory would presumably provide the bulk of the employment and income on the community. However, there is no record of there ever having been an attempt to make this vision a reality. Instead, the Cumbria County Archive holds an undated (but certainly early) drawing of the settlement by Mawson's architectural practice, T.H. Mawson & Sons, in which the settlement had been re-envisioned as the 'Westfield Lancaster War Memorial Village: Garden Colony for Partially Disabled Service Men'.⁴⁰ The decision to switch the main focus of Westfield to an aesthetic 'Garden Colony' as opposed to a practical industrial one had clearly come early and been linked to the downsizing of the project as a whole. In fact, newspaper reports show that the community founders had already seriously curtailed their industrial ambitions by the time they officially went public with their proposals for the settlement in November 1918:

As regarded the industries proposed, the committee were in correspondence with the Lord Roberts' Workshops Association and it was hoped they would take charge of that part of the scheme. In addition, it was proposed to have a certain number of workshops and studios for craftsmen, designers and artists who would be able to use their hands and brains for the benefit of the town and country.⁴¹

³⁸ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.265

³⁹ Promotional Booklet: Westfield War Memorial Village, 1919

⁴⁰ Cumbria County Record Office, WDB86/A99 No.2

⁴¹ War Memorial: Westfield Industrial Village, *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

As the above item shows, the plans for initial work-related initiatives would now be limited to retraining workshops not dissimilar to those already provided by a number of large military hospitals, such as Roehampton.⁴² In addition, the aim was for the service to be delivered by the local committee of the Lord Roberts' Memorial Workshop; a charity set up as a legacy for the man who had led the British forces in the Boer War. Run by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society, the Lord Roberts' charity was committed to supporting and retraining disabled and needy veterans.⁴³ However, despite the popularity of the workshops, by 1920 there was still only funding for 11 of them in Britain, one of which was in Lancaster. Records show that the Westfield committee approached this local branch of the charity for support in June 1918,⁴⁴ although it was not until November of the following year that it was agreed that it would help organise classes for the manufacture of 'wooden articles of domestic character' at Westfield.⁴⁵ These classes would go on to be augmented by the Local Pension Committee, and the regional director of training for the Ministry of Labour, Colonel Thomson, would further agree to the conversion of the existing stable block on Westfield into a workshop in which disabled men could be trained in tailoring, clock, watch and boot repairs. The ministry subsequently provided the instructors and machinery and met the costs of this training as well as a half-share of the price of converting the village stables into workshops. In the meantime it had been hoped to get the watch repair classes started in a temporary home in the large billiard room in the Storey family's former residence on the site, Westfield House.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the local trade organisations were not sympathetic to this.

⁴² The Roehampton hospital and workshops were established in 1915, and were the first of more than a dozen institutions set up by the military to help disabled men learn new trades while still medically rehabilitating. For more on this see: J. Reznick, 'Prostheses and Propaganda' in N.J. Saunders (ed), *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War* (Oxford, 2004), p.53

⁴³ http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Lord_Roberts_memorial_workshops (Grace's Guide to British Industrial History) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁴⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, June 20, 1918, p.5

⁴⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, November 25, 1919, p.168

⁴⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, March 22, 1920, pp.225-229, and April 26, 1920, p.238

This was in keeping with the approach being taken by many Trade Unions and Trade Boards across the nation, who had already started voicing concerns about an 'open door' policy on the employment of disabled veterans before the end of the war. The reason given for this stance was a fear that disabled men would flood the market and (because they were in receipt of state pensions) accept lower wages that would have an adverse effect on the livelihoods of able-bodied men. Mawson had sought to pre-empt such fears in *An Imperial Obligation*, stating that he accepted it would be wrong for men to be fast-tracked into positions where they would be working side by side with others who had spent years in apprenticeships.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the trade bodies remained unconvinced and in June 1920 the man from the Ministry of Labour, Colonel Thomson, had written a letter to the Westfield committee to state that the Trade Advisory Council in Lancaster had pulled the plug on training schemes for the boot and shoe trade as well as basket weaving at Westfield. This left the potential for just watch and clock classes and tailoring classes, but he added:

A meeting of the watch and clock local Technical Advisory Committee was held a few days ago at which only two candidates were accepted for training and, further, the committee stated that there would be great difficulty in getting clocks, watches etc, for the class to work upon as the existing watch makers shops in Lancaster were sufficient to deal with all the work.⁴⁸

This does not seem to have been an unreasonable position for the advisory committee to have taken - there would clearly have been little practical value in training men for work that did not exist. Indeed, Carolyn Malone has written about the 'competing agendas' of those involved in the post-war employment process and the way that disabled veterans were often caught in the middle. As an example, she highlights the efforts of influential members of the Arts and Crafts Movement (including Henry Wilson) to influence expenditure on employment schemes for disabled men in their specific field; many of which ultimately

⁴⁷ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.48-49

⁴⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, June 14, 1920, pp.261-263

proved impractical.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Colonel Thomson, the man from the Ministry of Labour, had certainly felt that factors other than practical ones had come into play in relation to the Westfield proposals - later writing that the failure of many of the proposed retraining schemes had been down to 'the selfish attitude of the local trade'.⁵⁰ Thankfully, better news did arrive from the Local Technical Advisory Committee for Tailoring in Lancaster, which decided to pronounce in favour of a scheme on the settlement for 20 disabled men. Work on converting the stable block at Westfield into a tailoring workshop was completed in August 1920 and class sizes would grow significantly before the year was out. The village's minute books record that eight new trainees were transferred to the scheme from the town of Kendal (some 20 miles away) while 15 men from Lancaster were also among the initial trainees.⁵¹ It is not clear how many of these local men were Westfield residents, but in 2014 a local woman, Isabella Curwen, gave anecdotal evidence that some had been and had subsequently gone on to find tailoring work in the neighbouring Lancaster town centre:

I worked with these men who had trained as tailors on the village and lived on there as well. They would get on at the bus stop outside the village. I lived on the Marsh [the neighbouring council estate]. Dick Bleasdale, he had one leg. They all had pronounced limps and I remember that one of Dick's daughters worked with him. He was at one side of the [tailoring] room and I was on the other side. It was called WG Smith the firm, down at the bottom of Market Street in Lancaster.⁵²

Mrs Curwen had been employed in the tailoring trade from being a young woman in the 1970s, and although she could not recollect the exact dates, it is clear that a number of the Westfield residents were still earning a living from their tailoring work long after their initial period of retraining in the 1920s. The local press also provides insight into the success of this scheme, with a report in 1922 stating that two men who had been retrained at Westfield had gone on to win a national competition held in London for the best made coats to come

⁴⁹ C. Malone, 'A job fit for heroes? Disabled veterans, the Arts and Crafts Movement and social reconstruction in post-World War I Britain', in *First World War Studies*, Vol.4, 2, 2013, pp.201-217

⁵⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, April 14, 1921, pp.333-335

⁵¹ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, November 1, 1920, pp.311-312

⁵² I. Curwen, Interview with M. Purdy, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

out of training schools for disabled and discharged soldiers.⁵³ Further evidence of the success of these classes is provided by a letter from the Divisional Director of Training North Western Area (dated 1923) in which expansion of the classes had been proposed along with the establishment of new classes in umbrella making and repairs, tobacco pipe making and repairs. The director also suggested that the tailoring classes, which were then catering for 45 men, take over the top floor of the old stable blocks so that the other classes, consisting of around 51 men, could be housed on the lower floor. This shows that close to 100 veterans were being retrained on the Westfield site at this time.⁵⁴

In July 1925, following the retraction of state-funded classes for the training of ex-servicemen, the courses at Westfield came to an end. The Lord Roberts' Workshops were once again approached to help provide a solution, but that organisation (now established on a nearby site on Dallas Road) was not in a position to do so despite the principal Westfield philanthropist, Herbert Lushington Storey, offering to fund its relocation.⁵⁵ Indeed, newspaper reports from the period show that the Lord Roberts' Workshop was on the point of collapse because of a lack of financial support and had been made the subject of a recent Armistice Day fundraising drive.⁵⁶ The charity's inability to help meant that Westfield's role as an 'industrial' provider came to an end less than a year after the village had been officially opened. Nevertheless, with close to 26 properties already inhabited by 72 adults and 52 children, as well as a growing list of disabled men waiting for homes under construction, there was no question of the village's long-term future being compromised. Furthermore, and most crucially, Mawson had always put flexibility at the heart of his employment plan and Westfield would now rise to the challenge not least as a result of the employment opportunities on its own doorstep. For Westfield was a far from conventionally 'segregated'

⁵³ *The Lancaster Guardian*, February 4, 1922 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁵⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, September 24, 1923, pp.484-485

⁵⁵ Haig had officially opened Westfield on 27 November, 1924

⁵⁶ *The Lancaster Guardian*, October 22, 1921, p.4

community, being sited on the edge of a large and thriving industrial town where many of the local employers would prove themselves sympathetic to the disabled of the war.

Britain's disabled veterans, unlike those of most other nations who had participated in the recent conflict, were assessed for military disability pensions on their levels of physical disfigurement or illness, with no account taken of their ability to work and pay for the upkeep of either themselves or their dependents. Despite intensive lobbying from a number of influential quarters (including The British Legion) for a law to force employers to hire disabled men,⁵⁷ the government had not been prepared to change its stance and make re-employment schemes statutory.⁵⁸ The disabled ex-servicemen were, as such, placed at the mercy of charity and the King's National Roll a voluntary scheme aimed at encouraging employers to ensure that at least five per cent of their work-force were disabled ex-servicemen.⁵⁹ Contemporary newspaper reports are not helpful in relation to how many Lancaster firms signed up for the scheme, although a report in February 1919 said that the openings for the employment of disabled men in the area had continued to rise, while remaining 'short' of what was required.⁶⁰ Amongst the Lancaster businesses that do appear to have committed to the King's National Roll were a number known to have been sympathetic to Westfield and its tenants. Staff registers for Storey Bros for the period 1913-1924, for example, show that the firm owned by the Westfield village's main financial backers, the Storey family, had been employing men who had been discharged from the Army on medical grounds by as early as June 1915.⁶¹ In October 1915, for example, the register shows the word 'disabled' written in brackets after the name of one of three men

⁵⁷ G. DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London, 1996)

⁵⁸ J. Reznick, 'Work-Therapy and the Disabled British Soldier in Great Britain in the First World War' in (ed) D.A. Gerber, *Disabled Veterans in History* (Michigan, 2000), p.198

⁵⁹ For more on the King's National Roll Scheme, see: M. Kowalsky, 'This Honourable Obligation': The King's National Roll Scheme for Disabled Ex-Servicemen 1915-1944', in *European Review of History*, Vol. 14, no.4 (2007), pp.567-58

⁶⁰ *The Lancaster Guardian*, February 22, 1919, p.1

⁶¹ Storey Bros and Co Ltd Lancaster, *Starters registers: Main series; 1. 1913-1924* (Lancashire County Archives, ref: DDSY acc 10224), p.15

who had been employed after being discharged from military duties.⁶² Large numbers of men who had previously worked at the company were re-employed in late 1919 and early 1920, and the staff registers for 1924 to 1942 show that at least 15 Westfield residents were logged as new starters, of whom 10 were the teenage children of disabled tenants, four the wives of tenants and one a registered tenant.⁶³

Another large Lancaster firm, Waring and Gillows, whose co-founder (Samuel Waring) had been on Mawson's inaugural nationwide body for industrial settlements, also helped with the retraining of disabled ex-servicemen at the local branch of the Lord Roberts' Workshops. Waring's firm provided the instructors and materials for cabinet making courses and then continued to place repeat orders for completed work in the post-war years.⁶⁴ The staff records of another large manufacturer located close to Westfield (Williamsons) show that 24 Westfield residents were employed by the firm between 1931 and 1941.⁶⁵ It should also be noted that another major supporter and active partner in the Westfield settlement, the local infantry regiment of the King's Own, had been highly pro-active in finding work for its able-bodied and disabled veterans in the post-war years. At a gathering of its officers in 1933, for example, a new Regimental Employment Committee had been formed in the hope it might use its influence within the wider community to find jobs for the regiment's ex-servicemen. This committee found work for 98 old comrades in its first year, 168 men the following year and 199 men in 1935.⁶⁶ During the settlement's formative years it is, as such, clear that there was no shortage of large local employers (including the military) doing their best to support the kind of veterans who might be living on the Westfield village.

⁶² Storey Bros and Co Ltd Lancaster, *Starters registers: Main series; 1. 1913-1924* (Lancashire County Archives, ref: DDSY acc 10224), p.21

⁶³ Storey Bros and Co Ltd Lancaster, *Starters registers: Main series; 2. 1924-1942* (Lancashire County Archives, ref: DDSY acc 10224), pp. 2, 20, 29, 32, 36, 37, 40, 45, 47, 56-57, 61-62, 73

⁶⁴ *The Lancaster Guardian*, May 15, 1920, p.5

⁶⁵ Figures provided by Peter Joslin of the Lancaster and Morecambe branch of the Family History Society from the employment books of Jos Williamson of Lancaster

⁶⁶ J. Cowper, *The King's Own: The Story of a Royal Regiment, Volume III 1914-1950* (Aldershot, 1957), pp.269-270

Jeffrey Reznick has claimed that Britain's disabled veterans found themselves 'swept out of the post-war labour market',⁶⁷ and there is plenty of evidence to show that this was true for many. Indeed, from 1921 (when the post-war boom started to falter) until early 1940, Britain suffered unemployment on an unprecedented scale with never less than a million people out of work.⁶⁸ However, Reznick's conclusion does not hold true for Westfield. Direct charitable intervention at the settlement and among local employers had clearly had a positive impact on the disabled tenants of Westfield and their families in the years of potential hardship prior to the birth of the Welfare State in 1948. The government had clearly been wrong (on a national level) to assume that there would be no employment problems after the war, and also that communities like Westfield would not therefore be needed. Nevertheless, despite criticisms of state reluctance to aid the disabled at this time, it should be noted that it did provide small, but very welcome, annual subsidies for the upkeep of the properties at Westfield from the community's inception until the 1970s.

In the decades after the Second World War employment and wage levels were generally high, which resulted in a significant rise in living standards for many Westfield residents. The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944 set a mandatory quota of disabled employees for firms with more than 20 staff, while also providing larger numbers of sheltered workshops and re-training opportunities. The benefits of this new approach to supporting the disabled would be reflected in an employment survey undertaken on Westfield in 1951, which showed that the neighbouring Lune Mill factory run by Williamson's was the main employer of the village's occupants (with 26 residents, from 18 different households, employed there) followed by the General Post Office (nine people from nine properties) and Storey Bros (eight people from eight properties). The survey also showed that 148 village residents had been in work at this time, when 238 adults and children were registered as

⁶⁷ J. Reznick, 'Prostheses and Propaganda', p.59

⁶⁸ J. Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945* (London, 1985), p.266

living on the community. This meant that the vast majority of residents were employed.⁶⁹ It is a finding in keeping with the primary evidence provided by the Westfield minute books and chairman's annual reports.

In nearly a century of record keeping, only two references have been made to unemployment in the minute books and annual reports, and in both cases the Westfield committee made interventions to find work for the individuals affected. In May 1931, for example, an 'unemployed tenant' was provided with an income by the committee to do menial jobs on the village such as repairing gates and a roof, while in July 1959 concern was expressed about a prospective new tenant who did not have work and whose 'family would find difficulty in maintaining themselves on unemployment benefit'. It was feared that the Westfield committee would become 'morally responsible' for the well-being of this family, but by the next meeting it was revealed that 'after much searching' the village secretary had made a paternalistic intervention and found employment for the would-be tenant at a local hospital.⁷⁰ It would be wrong to assume that these men represent the only cases of unemployment on the village (there have certainly been a number of tenants over the years whose disabilities have rendered them unable to work) but the records do suggest that unemployment has never been a prevalent force on the community.⁷¹ How far all of this can be directly linked to their residence on the settlement is, of course, open to debate. It is quite possible that the benevolence shown by local employers in hiring disabled men and their families may well have been proffered anyway, but there is enough evidence to suggest that Westfield's paternalistic ethos and network of local contacts are likely to have played a significant role. As will be shown in the next chapter, representatives of leading local firms were commonly invited onto the Westfield committee for the potential benefits

⁶⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 30, 1951, pp.60-62, 65-68

⁷⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, May 6, 1931, pp.753-756; *Westfield Minute Book 6*, July 20, 1959, pp.59-60, and October 26, 1959, pp.70-73

⁷¹ The staff registers for many of the local firms show that the spouses and offspring of many of the disabled veterans were being employed and bringing in an income that would have helped in cases where the veteran was unable to work

they might bring to the settlement and its residents. Nonetheless, while Westfield never fully relinquished its commitment to helping find employment for those tenants in need of it, the fact remains that its primary focus was very much that of providing subsidised housing in an attractive and nurturing environment.

Lloyd George had put improved housing for veterans at the heart of the political agenda with his 1917 pledge to build 200,000 new 'homes fit for heroes'. However, the provision of housing to specifically meet the needs of disabled veterans would never be prioritised.⁷² In practice, the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act (Addison Act), which put the onus on local corporations to meet Lloyd George's election promise, resulted in roughly 170,000 new dwellings being constructed around the country. Unfortunately, cuts to the programme would result in Addison himself resigning just two years after his Act came into place. What followed was a swing back to the capitalist control of the market that had existed prior to the war, and one that was not motivated by sentimental or charitable concerns but the practicalities of profit.⁷³ Furthermore, Pat Thane has argued that much of the new council housing built under the Addison Act often rented at a weekly rate beyond the reach of the pensions of disabled ex-servicemen.⁷⁴ In 1919 a report in *The Lancaster Guardian* suggested that there was a clear demand for an undertaking such as Westfield - stating that the need to press ahead 'with vigour' on the project had been greatly enhanced by the fact that the housing problem was 'certainly no less acute in Lancaster than in other parts of England'.⁷⁵

The trials and tribulations of the housing market in the district of Lancaster would become headline news in the post-war years, with the local newspaper proclaiming in 1919 that only 40 new houses had been built in the district since 1912 this despite the fact that roughly the

⁷² For more on this see the likes of: Burnett, *A Social History*, p.219; K. Burk, *War and the State: The Transformation of British Government 1914-1919* (London, 1982); R.M. Titmuss, *Essays of the Welfare State: War and Social Policy* (London, 1958)

⁷³ See chapter 9, 'Speculative Housing 1918-1939', in Burnett, *A Social History*, pp.250-278

⁷⁴ P. Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State* (London, 1982) p.207

⁷⁵ *The Lancaster Guardian*, February 22, 1919, p.3

same number of properties had been demolished within the same period. However, it was not so much about quantity as quality. For example, it was reported the following year that around 90 slum areas remained in Lancaster that continued to provide an unacceptably large proportion of the district's housing stock.⁷⁶ As such, while there was clearly still available housing in the area, the quality of it was often poor. In addition, readers of the local press were reminded that the government had declined to give the Lancaster Corporation a loan prior to the war, in 1913, to embark on what had been seen as a much-needed building programme.⁷⁷ It was no doubt a culmination of these types of concerns that contributed to the press claiming in 1921 that a new 50-home development planned for the neighbourhood of Bowerham would not prove sufficient to meet the town's historic and ongoing housing deficits.⁷⁸ In fact, just three years later, *The Lancaster Guardian* would warn that the housing problem in the district had become so 'very acute' that it was going to take 'drastic steps' to remedy it.⁷⁹ To put all of this into the context of 'homes for heroes', it had been reported in February 1917 that there were nearly 5,000 Lancaster men serving with the Armed Forces out of a total district population of 43,432.⁸⁰ Given the evidence above, it would appear safe to assume that only a few of the returning Lancaster veterans (able-bodied or otherwise) might expect to enjoy the kind of improved new housing facilities Lloyd George had pledged.

Britain had, of course, been no stranger to either warfare or its consequences prior to the First World War; in fact Queen Elizabeth is believed to have been the first monarch to have put a form of basic provision for disabled victims of conflict on to the statute books in

⁷⁶ *The Lancaster Guardian*, May 31, 1919, p.3

⁷⁷ *The Lancaster Guardian*, April 17, 1920, p.5

⁷⁸ *The Lancaster Guardian*, April 16, 1921, p.5

⁷⁹ *The Lancaster Guardian*, June 14, 1924, p.7

⁸⁰ *The Lancaster Observer*, February 2, 1917, p.4

1593.⁸¹ The Privy Council at this time had also been permitted to provide funding for disabled veterans to reside in 'alms rooms' in cathedrals or collegiate alms houses.⁸² The culmination of this approach had resulted in the provision of bespoke institutions in the seventeenth century such as the Chelsea and Greenwich Hospitals. Nevertheless, these hospital facilities were insufficient to meet demand and did not provide for families.⁸³ In fact, many disabled veterans found themselves in the workhouses if they were unable to secure a place in a military hospital, whilst their families might suffer the same fate if they did. After the Boer War there is evidence that a number of regiments of the British Army strove to make some form of provision for their disabled in the form of alms housing and cottage hospitals.⁸⁴ Indeed, there was a large swing towards charitable support for disabled ex-servicemen in general with the equivalent of £400 million (in today's money) being raised.⁸⁵ However, the Lancaster regiment of the King's Own, which had been based in the town since 1880, had not been among the military formations that had decided to provide structural shelter and support for its veterans.

The King's Own was a front-line infantry regiment that had taken heavy casualties in the First World War, and while there are no disability figures specific to men who served with the regiment in the conflict, records do show that there were 6,515 fatalities.⁸⁶ In Lancaster and district, 1,340 men (from 123 different service units and regiments) would be listed on the civic memorial to the fallen.⁸⁷ In the face of such statistics, it seems safe to assume that the number of wounded and disabled had also proved significant. A member of the inaugural Westfield committee, Mr Lowndes, would claim in 1919 that there were 232 married men

⁸¹ G.L. Hudson, 'Disabled Veterans and the State in Early Modern England' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans in History* (Michigan, 2000), pp.118-119

⁸² R. Hasted, *Domestic Housing for Disabled Veterans 1900-2014* (English Heritage, unpublished internal report, 2016), p.2

⁸³ Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, p.2

⁸⁴ For example: a cottage hospital was built by the regiment of the Loyal North Lancs in Preston in 1904; also in 1904, the regiment of the Royal Green Jackets built 21 alms houses in Winchester according to an item headed 'Green Jacket Close' on its newsletter of the Royal Green Jackets' Regimental Association dated 16 January 2014

⁸⁵ Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, p.3

⁸⁶ *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 29, 1924, p.6

⁸⁷ J. Dennis, *The Last Post* (Lancaster, 2006), p.12

and 193 single men in the Lancaster area suffering from a 50 per cent disablement or more (the loss of a limb or worse) as a result of their war service.⁸⁸ Despite this, Westfield was the only local project seeking to provide local housing support for this specific group and their families, with the local corporation having provided no statutory priority to disabled men.⁸⁹ Unsurprisingly, the subsequent waiting list for properties at Westfield showed that demand for residences was going to outstrip supply - 36 disabled veterans applied for tenancy long before a brick had been laid.⁹⁰ On this basis it seems clear that there was a genuine need for a community such as Westfield to help relieve the ongoing pressure to provide decent modern housing for all in the wider district, while also offering something very different for a particularly disadvantaged group. Indeed, in 1923 the first village secretary, Captain John Fraser Dawson, would write an impassioned plea to the Ministry of Health to ask for financial support on the basis that demand for residence on Westfield was too great to be met by the number of properties erected:

Sir, I am directed by the executive council of the Westfield War Memorial Village Settlement, Lancaster, to state that they are doing all that they can to house the men of Lancaster and district who were broken in the war. The council wish me to point out that, without assistance, they are not able to meet the demands made upon them by the disabled ex-servicemen. There is at present a waiting list of 76 families.⁹¹

Despite extensive building programmes throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the size of the waiting lists would remain high at Westfield and the situation, as described by Captain Dawson in the 1920s, persist. In 1933, when both Thomas H. Mawson and Herbert Lushington Storey died, a third phase of development was already underway in a bid to further reduce waiting lists. Westfield had clearly become a well-established and popular concept by this time, and it is perhaps for this reason that most of the pre-existing

⁸⁸ *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 29, 1919, p.5

⁸⁹ Some local authorities did prioritise disabled ex-servicemen for council housing on an individual basis, but no corporation is known to have given additional priority to such men as a group. For more on this see: Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, p.13

⁹⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, August 24, 1920, pp.289-290

⁹¹ Correspondence of John Fraser Dawson with the Ministry of Health at Whitehall, August 17, 1923 (Merriman Collection, Lancaster)

historiography of the settlement has used this period, prior to the commencement of the Second World War, as a suitable place to end.⁹² However, as Julie Anderson has argued, it would be the impact of the Second World War that would have the 'more profound, significant and long-lasting' political and legislative impact on disabled veterans.⁹³

Far from undermining pre-existing charitable networks for disabled war veterans, in many cases the birth of the Welfare State actually served to raise levels of awareness. This often resulted in the establishment of new charities committed to filling gaps that had not been met by new legislation such as the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944 and the National Assistance Act of 1948. It is a particularly pertinent point in relation to the specific issue of bespoke housing for disabled ex-servicemen, which had once again been largely ignored. As a result, many of the established providers of such housing, including the Star and Garter, Haig Homes and settlements like Westfield and Enham, actually expanded in an effort to meet the needs of a fresh influx of disabled veterans from the recent conflict. Many of these veterans had benefited from advances in medicine and battlefield treatments that meant they had survived the kind of wounds that might have proved fatal in the First World War.⁹⁴ The second Westfield president, Charles Blades Storey, would tell the Annual General Meeting of 1945 that 'while casualties had been comparatively small compared with the last war' there remained 'many hard cases' in need of their help.⁹⁵ It is estimated that 284,049 British and Crown colonial troops suffered life-long injuries as a result of the Second World War, although the local statistics once again evade us.⁹⁶ What is known is that 300 Lancaster and district residents are named as having fallen on the civic memorial, and it seems safe to

⁹² Only Hannah Walton has undertaken a study in which the boundaries of the research have extended beyond 1939: Walton, *Westfield War Memorial Village*

⁹³ Anderson, *War, Disability*, p.11

⁹⁴ Anderson, *War, Disability*, p.72

⁹⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, January 29 and April 30, 1945, pp.158, 161-162

⁹⁶ A. MacLeod, *Coming Home: Haig Housing Trust – 100 Years of Housing Heroes* (London, 2014), p.36

state that the number of seriously wounded would have been far greater.⁹⁷ It is for this reason that Charles Storey undoubtedly felt justified in quoting the words of Earl Haig (from the official opening of the village in 1924) about the importance of looking after the disabled of war. Storey said that Haig's words remained highly relevant after this new war, and criticised those who had said at the time of Westfield's inception that 'there would be no more wars' and that the Lancaster settlement would, as such, have no long term role.⁹⁸ Storey's words would receive further credence courtesy of the number of similar communities to Westfield built as a result of the Second World War, and the fact that acts of charity and philanthropy would once again be relied upon to provide the bulk of the funding for them.⁹⁹

Correspondence held in the Merriman Collection in Lancaster highlights the inspiration and support that Westfield provided for a post-Second World War settlement in Derby in the East Midlands.¹⁰⁰ The correspondence includes numerous queries from the founders of the Derby War Memorial Village (covering everything from design to day to day management), all of which serves to underline the extent to which the settlement at Westfield was used as a template.¹⁰¹ A deputation from the Middlesex Regiment would also visit Westfield as part of a fact-finding mission that would ultimately result in the creation of a similar facility built to a far smaller scale at Enfield.¹⁰² Bespoke housing of this type would remain in demand in the years that followed, with a new facility in Lancashire (at the Lytham St Annes Borough Memorial Homes) adding a further 108 properties to the housing stock for ex-veterans in the local county in 1950.¹⁰³ However, the relatively small number of council houses built in the

⁹⁷ Dennis, *The Last Post*, p.12

⁹⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 26, 1949, pp.238-240, 243, 244-245

⁹⁹ For an extensive list of the facilities built in England see: Hasted, *Domestic Housing*

¹⁰⁰ The foundation stone for the Derby War Memorial Village was laid by the future monarch, Princess Elizabeth, in 1949.

¹⁰¹ Correspondence of Major Connell and various organisers of the Derby War Memorial Village 1945-1946 (Merriman Collection)

¹⁰² *Westfield Minute Book 4*, July 28 and October 27, 1947, pp.201, 203-204, 206, 208. The Middlesex Regiment Memorial Homes would ultimately be built between 1949 and 1952.

¹⁰³ Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, p.22

inter-war period in central and north-east Lancashire meant that the provision of this facility did little to alleviate the growing need for quality social housing.¹⁰⁴ In addition, conflicts such as the Korean War would continue to generate fresh demands for tenancy on Westfield and, in 1955, it was revealed that 25 men remained on the waiting list.¹⁰⁵ However, as Britain's military commitments shrank, and a new cultural shift in the 1960s brought a move towards home ownership, the desirability of residence on such communities began to fade.

One of the biggest problems that many of the First World War settlements faced in the 1960s and 1970s was finding the funds to deal with a creeping state of disrepair many of the properties built in the 1920s and 1930s were, by this time, in desperate need of investment. As John Burnett has pointed out, in much of Britain during the 1970s local corporations were completing large-scale improvement programmes to their housing stock in response to the Housing Act of 1969 and the aforementioned shift towards home-ownership.¹⁰⁶ The Lancaster Corporation would embark on a four-year 'Housing Improvement Scheme',¹⁰⁷ which exacerbated the critical need for modernisation at Westfield, including the provision of central heating, additional electrical points, redecoration and better glazing and plumbing. In the same year that the corporation had started its improvement programme an ex-Naval rating (who was dependant on a wheelchair) turned down a bungalow on Westfield having concluded that he was 'far more comfortably housed in a modern [council] flat at Skerton with underfloor heating, wall to wall carpeting and a garage adjacent'. In addition, he had not been prepared to take on the redecorating required at the Westfield bungalow and felt that while the village's rents still remained lower than most, they were not sufficiently low enough to warrant the drop in basic modern essentials and comforts that he

¹⁰⁴ *Putting Our House In Order: The Lancashire Housing Inquiry*, Report of the Lancashire Housing Inquiry Panel, July 1993 (University of Central Lancashire), p.16

¹⁰⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 25, 1955, pp.183-185, 190-191

¹⁰⁶ For more on this see chapter 10, 'Public and Private Housing', in: Burnett, *A Social History*

¹⁰⁷ *Lancaster Corporation Minutes and Public Health Records 1970-1971*, p.172 (Lancashire County Archives, MBLA/acc7853)

believed Westfield residence would entail.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, when some properties became available in May 1976, of nine people shortlisted for residence, two would quickly rule themselves out on the basis that the houses 'did not come up to their expected standards'. The village secretary subsequently explained to the charity committee that experience had taught him that most would-be tenants now required 'the minimum' of a 'modernised kitchen'.¹⁰⁹ With insufficient funds to address such basic requirements, the Westfield trustees attempted to struggle on regardless.

Westfield's plight at this time had been far from unique. It was during the 1960s and 1970s that many social housing schemes for disabled and necessitous ex-servicemen began to seek new ways of remaining both relevant and financially viable. The third Westfield president, Captain Alan Storey, had foreseen the impending crisis the decade before, and even issued a warning at the Annual General Meeting of 1952 that 'as usual' the annual difficulty was financial – having added that it remained 'very difficult begging in bad times'.¹¹⁰ Despite this, the facility survived for the next two decades on the wholly insubstantial income gained from peppercorn levels of rent and occasional, but crucial, philanthropic gifts. Nevertheless, serious debate about the way forward had started in the 1960s, when two distinct approaches came to the fore – a traditionalist approach personified by the then chairman, Colonel Geoffrey Oglethorpe, who remained committed to maintaining the status quo, and a more pragmatic approach, led by Captain Storey's daughter Mary Bowring, that involved a radical rethinking of the paternalistic template and the end of sweeping subsidies for all.

Mrs Bowring would clash with Colonel Oglethorpe repeatedly over the need to raise rents, implement means-testing and the restructuring of the community as a whole to make it self-supporting. In a clear reference to what she saw as a dependence on outdated traditions,

¹⁰⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, April 28, 1969, pp.217-221

¹⁰⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, May 24, 1976, pp.220-225

¹¹⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 28, 1952, p.91

Mrs Bowring had warned in 1963 that 'matters could not depend on charity which was not forthcoming these days'.¹¹¹ In 1970 she added that the idea of trying to just 'get by' at Westfield was 'played out'.¹¹² If Colonel Oglethorpe found this approach reactionary, Mrs Bowring undoubtedly saw the Colonel's attitude as impractical and over-sentimental. When Mrs Bowring became the fourth Westfield president in 1976, the Colonel had already passed away and she would enjoy a far more sympathetic relationship with his successors: a former Territorial Army officer of the local regiment of the King's Own called Colonel John Darlington and another retired infantry officer called Brigadier Hugh Ley. Both of these men were as unafraid of big decisions as Mrs Bowring, and like her they were intent on confronting the deepening Westfield crisis head on. In 1976, less than 12 months after Mrs Bowring had become the new village president, Colonel Darlington sent a strongly worded letter to the Charity Commission:

At the end of the 1914-1918 war there was a real need for total protection for many severely disabled ex-servicemen. It was to meet that need that the wonderful concept of Westfield was born [...] but now, thank God, there has been no comparable number of severely disabled since the end of the 1939-45 war. Further, since then the scale of standard of State help has progressed wonderfully. As a result, whatever the rules for charities may be, there is not the same need to provide sheltered housing in the context of Westfield. All in all, we are no longer financially viable. It is nothing short of a vicious circle of increasing costs and diminishing rents. The council can see no way out other than to sell the village and withdraw its charitable status. It is the opinion of the council now that it is imperative that Westfield Village be disposed of.¹¹³

Westfield was at an all-time low, and (for the first and last time) even struggling to attract ex-service tenants – a situation that had not been helped by a decision in 1959 to merge the local infantry regiment of the King's Own with the Border Regiment to form a new regiment (the King's Own Royal Border Regiment). As part of this amalgamation the barracks in Lancaster had been closed and many of the local regiment's traditional ties severed with

¹¹¹ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, January 21, 1963, pp.239-241

¹¹² *Westfield Minute Book 7*, December 14, 1970, pp.278-280

¹¹³ Excerpt of letter from Colonel Darlington, Westfield chairman, to the Charity Commission in 1976: *Westfield Minute Book 8*, October 25, 1976, pp.233-238

both the local area and Westfield. A suggestion was subsequently made, though never implemented, that Westfield should consider offering tenancies to disabled or necessitous former members of the police, fire brigade or nursing services on the basis that such individuals had also performed roles of public service. Further radical new proposals included selling off the community either whole or piecemeal, or entering into a partnership with a professional housing organisation. The latter option would be chosen.

In January 1980 the decision was taken by the Westfield charity to enter into a partnership with the Guinness Northern Counties Housing Association. The partnership involved the long term lease of the majority of the settlement's housing stock to the housing association on the basis that it would take control of the upkeep and day to day management of it. It was later added that it had been this particular housing association's willingness to maintain the village as an ex-service community that had proved key to the decision to join forces with it.¹¹⁴ However, the partnership had come into being after a decision had already been taken by the charity trustees to sell 22 of the properties to sitting tenants under a new government 'Right to Buy' scheme. The idea behind the sales had been to raise funds to help modernise some of the ageing housing stock, but after the deal had been struck with Guinness Northern Counties the Westfield charity reinvested the money instead and used (and indeed continues to use) the interest generated on the investment to assist its ex-service tenants, uphold the aesthetic standards of the community and support ex-service charities with remits sympathetic to Westfield's.¹¹⁵ Despite the sale of the 22 properties, and subsequent loss of control over their future occupancy, the Westfield charity had clearly remained committed to retaining its military heritage as far as was practicable. This was not the choice of all of its counterparts.

¹¹⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, January 28, 1989, pp.42-43

¹¹⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, December 7, 1981, pp.109-115

Faced by similar problems to Westfield, the bespoke industrial settlement at Enham in Hampshire, for example, had already decided to take a significant step away from its military roots by extending its remit to admit civilians with disabilities. This facility would ultimately become home to Remploy, the leading civilian provider of small scale factory work for people with disabilities.¹¹⁶ Other large settlements, including the first built by the still thriving Scottish Veterans Garden City Association at Longniddry in East Lothian, would also evolve into popular civilian communities although some, including Longniddry itself, have retained small property clusters specifically for disabled war veterans.¹¹⁷ Many of the Second World War commemorative housing schemes, such as Westfield's closest counterpart in Lytham St Annes in Lancashire, have long-since ceased to prioritise military veterans and been subsumed into their local authority's social housing stock. This was a fate that Westfield avoided as a result of its partnership with Guinness Northern Counties,¹¹⁸ and it would prove timely as a result of the increasingly active role Britain's Armed Forces had once again started to play in global conflicts such as Iraq and Afghanistan. These new conflicts resulted in a fresh influx of veterans, many of whom had young families. In addition, a British government scheme in 1990 that involved a massive restructuring of the Armed Forces ('Option For Change') would also result in a large growth in demand for ex-service housing, with many servicemen and women being hit by compulsory redundancy and, as a result, forced to give up their military accommodation.¹¹⁹ Britain's largest housing provider for ex-servicemen and women, Haig Homes, would report that most of its void properties had been filled as a result of this legislation.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ <http://www.enhamtrust.org.uk/About-Enham-Trust/Our-history--future/> (Enham Trust official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹¹⁷ <http://www.housesforheroes.org.uk> (Scottish Veteran's Garden City Association official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹¹⁸ There are now 113 properties on the community, with 90 available to rent

¹¹⁹ Introduced in response to a change in military strategy at the end of the 'Cold War', this particular scheme saw close to 250,000 servicemen and women leave the Forces either voluntarily or as the result of compulsory redundancy.

¹²⁰ MacLeod, *Coming Home*, p.36

In recent years the emphasis of many of the larger ex-service housing providers (including Westfield) has moved from disability towards necessity, with a report in 2014 having estimated that six per cent of Britain's homeless were ex-service personnel struggling to find work, housing or a place in society.¹²¹ It was in response to this that one of Westfield's First World War contemporaries, the Stoll Foundation, decided to change its focus considerably from the housing and retraining of the disabled to the housing and retraining of homeless ex-servicemen and women.¹²² The earning potential of disabled veterans has also proved a major factor in their struggle to cope, with a study by the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit concluding in 2005 that disabled people in general earned 50 per cent less than their more able-bodied counterparts. After additional benefit payments and tax benefits had been taken into consideration, the disabled were still said to have a real income of 30 per cent less.¹²³ It has been suggested elsewhere that the 'limited financial impact' of disabled people has been a major factor in the decision of the majority of commercial house builders to ignore them as a viable target audience.¹²⁴ Indeed, the historian for Haig Homes, Anna MacLeod, has argued that the severe financial pressures placed on local housing authorities to meet the variety of needs that commercial builders often fail to address has been directly responsible for the ongoing need for charitable organisations (such as ex-service charities) to continue to fill the void.¹²⁵ In recent years this has included a growing demand for the provision of adapted social and private housing for ex-service personnel, with Haig Homes having shifted much of its focus towards providing home adaptations for disabled veterans in properties of their choosing and often outside of military clusters.¹²⁶ However, there is evidence of a renewed interest and growing trend among military veterans to seek

¹²¹ MacLeod, *Coming Home*, p.36

¹²² <http://www.stoll.org.uk> (Stoll 100 charity official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹²³ For more on this strategy report see: Improving the Life Chances of Disabled People: Final Report, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/cabinetoffice/strategy/assets/disability.pdf> (National Archive website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹²⁴ M. Harrison, and C. Davis, *Housing Social Policy and Difference: Disability, Ethnicity, Gender and Housing* (Bristol, 2001), p.119

¹²⁵ MacLeod, *Coming Home*, p.29

¹²⁶ MacLeod, *Coming Home*, p.188

rehabilitation, retraining and even residence among their counterparts. In 2015, for example, a major redevelopment of 62 houses in East Manchester was completed for ex-service personnel and given the name of The Veterans' Village. In an echo of the words of the philanthropists of the First World War, Edward Parker, the CEO of one of the charities involved (Walking With The Wounded), was quoted as urging local companies to provide employment and training to go with the new housing to help ensure a 'lasting legacy'.¹²⁷ Another large facility started in the region at the same time, entitled the Veterans' Garage, involved the conversion of a derelict collection of hangers at Manchester Airport into a social hub where veterans could (and now do) learn new employment skills. The website of this charity quotes statistics from the Wirral NHS Study of 2012, in which it was revealed that the North West of England (including most of old Lancashire) had been providing the greatest number of civilian entries into the Armed Forces for some years, and that there were 526,000 veterans living in the region in 2012 of whom 19,400 were in receipt of pensions or compensation packages for injuries (physical or mental) incurred in service.¹²⁸

Given the nature of the statistics cited above, it is clear why residence at Westfield (the largest bespoke community in the North West of England for ex-service personnel and their families) remains in demand. Indeed, in 2010 a report was produced that showed that over the course of the preceding 12 months a 100 per cent occupancy had been achieved on the village, with 12 ex-servicemen having been housed of whom five had indicated on their application forms that they were suffering with disability and/or mobility problems. It was further added that waiting lists for the community had continued to increase throughout this period and stood at more than 100 would-be tenants.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ <http://www.manchesterconfidential.co.uk/property-and-business/a-home-for-heroes-bbc-veterans-village-underway> (Manchester Confidential website report) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹²⁸ <http://www.veteransgarage.co.uk> (Veterans' Garage charity official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹²⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, March 29, 2010, pp. 324-330

Conclusion:

There is a general consensus among social historians, including Gregory and Cohen, that the British government was ungenerous, if not parsimonious, in its attitude towards disabled ex-servicemen of the First World War.¹³⁰ The Westfield case study adds further weight to this claim as well as evidence of the vital role played by philanthropists (and those of a charitable disposition) in bridging the gaps. Westfield founder Thomas H. Mawson claimed that it was the negative attitude of the government that had forced him into far greater levels of philanthropic/charitable dependency than originally envisaged, and this thesis supports that claim. Indeed, it was lack of support from the state that had ultimately resulted in the downscaling of Mawson's vision to the provision of just one settlement for disabled veterans on the Westfield Estate in Lancaster.

The value of a bespoke housing estate at Westfield was clear: Lancaster was a large community that was also a garrison town for a frontline infantry regiment (the King's Own) which did not have any housing for its disabled veterans. Like many of its counterparts, the number of deaths among the men of Lancaster in the First World War had been high, and while the only statistics in relation to war disability in the area are anecdotal, it seems safe to accept that they too were significant. Furthermore, the local authority did not have any plans to provide housing specifically aimed at meeting the needs of such men, while the working class housing stock in the town had been in a poor state of repair for many years. Westfield had, as such, proved a valuable part of the post-war housing solution.

Anderson has rightly claimed that it was the Second World War, and birth of the Welfare State, that was to prove the most significant in terms of improvements for disabled people in Britain.¹³¹ However, despite better state and legislative support, significant gaps still

¹³⁰ Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.266; Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.4

¹³¹ Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, p.42

remained in relation to the provision of housing. Once again, it was charities (including Westfield) that sought to meet the need building more houses on their own settlements and providing inspiration and practical support for others organisations keen to follow in their footsteps and erect similar facilities. Even when the settlement's housing stock was in desperate need of modernisation in the 1960s and 1970s, the community continued to attract tenants although it would also face rejection for the first time from a number of would-be tenants whose levels of expectation had risen beyond the quality of the facilities on offer. In more recent years, charities like Westfield have remained at the forefront of social housing schemes for disabled veterans and I concur with MacLeod's argument that the reason for this has been twofold: local authorities (under successive governments) have rarely had the money to fund such specific and costly undertakings, and commercial operators have not seen the disabled as being a particularly lucrative target market.¹³²

As well as providing much-needed housing, Westfield also had a commitment to help provide employment opportunities for its residents. Flexibility had been at the heart of Mawson's treatise, and it was an approach that would serve Westfield well when it became clear that the community was not going to be large enough to support a large industrial operation. The Westfield founders decided to improvise and approach veterans' charities, local trade organisations and the Ministry of Pensions to set up workshops on the settlement. As a result, many of Westfield's veterans were retrained for work that was commensurate with their war disabilities. In addition, a number of large local employers in the area displayed paternalistic tendencies by not only supporting the Westfield project but also employing disabled veterans as part of the King's National Roll scheme. Evidence of the ongoing support of these employers was provided by a survey undertaken on Westfield in the 1950s which showed where the residents were working. Paternalistic interventions by the Westfield committee dealt with those residents who had fallen through the net, by

¹³² MacLeod, *Coming Home*, p.36

providing temporarily work on the community (such as gardening and odd jobs) if full time employment could not be found via the contact books of the volunteers sitting on the charity committee. As a result, unemployment, and the kind of social problems that might be associated with it, have never been a major concern throughout the village's history.

In recent years there has been a move towards the provision of home adaptations for disabled veterans in properties of their choosing - often outside of military clusters. However, Westfield has continued to remain popular and retain full levels of tenancy. Furthermore, a major new housing development undertaken in Manchester in 2015 aimed specifically at ex-service personnel (The Veterans' Village) provides clear evidence of a new trend for military veterans to once again seek rehabilitation, retraining and residence among their counterparts. It is an outcome that completes the circle for Westfield as its centenary approaches in 2019, while arguably providing further testament of the durability of the paternalistic ethos that has continued to lie at the heart of the community.

Chapter Two: Motivation

How striking the story of men and women, closely bound to one another by ties of blood and marriage who, through force of character, shape their own destinies according to the times they live in; and who, by doing so, influence the lives not only of their contemporaries but of generations to come. Such are the makers of history.¹

As shown in the preceding chapter, Thomas H. Mawson had always acknowledged that there would be an important role for charity in the formation and upkeep of his settlements, although lack of government support meant that his dependence on philanthropy and voluntarism grew to a far greater level than he had initially envisaged. A number of different stakeholders have been involved in the charitable process at Westfield, from philanthropists who have invested large amounts of money to volunteers who have given generously of their time. Professionals employed by the Westfield charity, as well as the actual residents, have also had an active part to play in the charitable process. In addition, many of those primarily involved in a voluntary capacity have also made gifts of a philanthropic nature, while philanthropists have acted as volunteers by giving time as well as money. Such interchangeability demonstrates the kind of nuances and complexities inherent in studies that focus on giving – indeed, a case study looking at the motives of just one individual might be perfectly capable of travelling the whole spectrum from selflessness to self-gain.

Understanding who is most likely to serve, or be most sympathetic to serving, your organisation as a philanthropist, donor or volunteer is of unquestionable value to charities that can then use the information for the betterment of their cause. It is for this reason that much of the material dealing with ‘motive’ in the general historiography of giving has involved the examination of contemporary trends in a bid to provide practical suggestions about how to identify and grow charitable support bases.² This thesis is, however, far more

¹ This quote is about the philanthropic Storey family of Lancaster: G. Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster* (London, 1964), p.21

² See for example: A. Sargeant and L. Woodliffe, ‘Individual Giving Behaviour: A Multi-Disciplinary Review’ in A. Sargeant and W. Wymer (eds), *The Non-profit Marketing Companion* (London, 2007); C.D. Batson, ‘Altruism and Prosocial Behavior’ in D.T. Gilbert (ed), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (New York, 1998) pp. 282-316

interested in historical perspectives and the way that time and precedence have influenced philanthropic and charitable impulses in the case of the Westfield settlement. Nevertheless, there are some pre-existing studies that provide useful frameworks for a thesis of this nature. In 2007, René Bekkers and Pamala Wiepking engaged in a comprehensive review of what they saw as the most influential material that had been produced about charitable motivations from the 1930s to the time of their own publication. The pair looked at 500 academic works in a bid to identify the mechanisms, or motivations, that could be said to have proved consistent forces behind acts of charity during the period covered. In the end, they produced a list of eight key motivators, summarised (by myself) as follows:³

1. Awareness of need (how high profile the charity is has an effect on support)
2. Solicitation (being approached directly is likely to have a positive impact)
3. Costs and benefits (will the donation/time given actually make a difference?)
4. Altruism (a general personal willingness to do 'good' without reward)
5. Reputation (it may be of personal benefit to be seen to be giving or involved)
6. Psychology (to do something positive, or feel needed, makes you feel better)
7. Values (support is more likely for a cause that matches your need or values)
8. Efficacy (the likelihood of a charity achieving its desired or intended result)

While the study by Bekkers and Wiepking was mainly concerned with themes of motivation in relation to the specific issue of financial donations within relatively short time frames, it is my belief that the same sub-divisions provide a strong template from which to explore motivational forces across a broader period, as well as explaining the kind of influences that come into play when people are deciding whether or not to donate their time as volunteers. It is, as such, my intention to use these motivators as occasional reference points and to explore whether or not they are as prescient in a study that encompasses a larger historical timeframe, or whether different categories come to the fore. The main focus of this chapter is the exploration of individual charitable motivations at Westfield, which is in turn central to the understanding of collective motivations. Furthermore, it is hoped that insights into the kind of forces that have influenced the engendering of long term individual and

³ R. Bekkers and P. Wiepking, *Generosity and Philanthropy: A Literature Review* (Amsterdam, 2007), p.2

organisational commitments may also provide useful insights into the very longevity of the Westfield village and also be of practical value to the community's present and future trustees. The chapter will focus quite strongly on the leading figures from the formative period of the settlement, and how much of an influence their approach has continued to exert on successive generations of Westfield philanthropists and trustees.

There are two main figures most commonly associated with the concept and creation of Westfield, the landscape designer and town planner Thomas H. Mawson and his most enduring philanthropic backer, Herbert Lushington Storey.⁴ As will be shown, the motivations of the pair varied considerably, although they converged on the most important issue – that of the altruistic desire to ensure that disabled veterans of the First World War would not be forced to live in penury. Mawson described the disabled ex-servicemen as 'a great army of shattered but heroic figures' in *An Imperial Obligation*,⁵ and would regularly return to such emotive imagery and the neglectful treatment of veterans in the past:

The maimed soldier of the Napoleonic wars stumping the country from village to village, and earning a precarious livelihood by dancing on his wooden leg, is a sight too humiliating alike to our self-respect and our sense of the fitness of things for repetition in any form today.⁶

At the official unveiling of the Westfield project in November 1918, Herbert Lushington Storey was reported as having spoken in highly evocative terms about 'the deep debt of gratitude' the country owed to the fallen, adding that he had been intensely moved by his experiences in London on the day after the Armistice:

In the midst of the cheering and shouting came a body of men, walking four abreast with arms linked, singing and shouting and rejoicing with the people around. A glance at the men, and all those around realised that the men were blind; blinded in the terrible war. It was a sight which turned one's joy almost to

⁴ See *Appendix v*

⁵ T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation* (London, 1917), p.7

⁶ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.71

tears. That was a side of the war which they must not forget now peace had come.⁷

All of this was in keeping with national sentiment and the motivations of others operating within the broader movement to create bespoke settlements for disabled veterans. For example, a fundraising leaflet for the large industrial settlement at Enham, Hampshire, stated that ‘never again shall the barrel-organ or the paving stone and the coloured chalks’ be the way that men who had ‘fought and bled and suffered untold mental and physical agonies’ be forced to beg a living.⁸ Likewise, the founder of the War Seal Mansions project in London, the theatre proprietor Sir Oswald Stoll, said it would be a ‘national disgrace’ if the disabled of the war were ‘condemned to slumdom’.⁹ While there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of such proclamations, there is also little doubt that many of those who gave time, money or both were often motivated by personal priorities. Sir Oswald Stoll, for example, believed in individualism and liberal self-determinism while the Quaker physician Dr Fortescue Fox, who was behind Enham, imposed moral obligations on his tenants that conformed with his religious beliefs.¹⁰ Such themes of social and religious betterment are very much in keeping with early philanthropic traditions, with the very concept of formalised giving having often been interlinked with the desire to ensure a place in heaven by giving to the needy – usually without engaging in any form of direct engagement or empathy with the recipient. It is what David Owen has called the philanthropy of ‘eighteenth century piety’.¹¹ However, by the dawning of the industrial age and the rise of what Karl Marx would label as the ‘bourgeoisie’, paternalistic or humanitarian philanthropy (which was no longer driven solely by religious bias) had become well established.¹² In this new age of philanthropy the

⁷ ‘Westfield Settlement’, *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

⁸ Quote from Enham Promotional Leaflet in the Imperial War Museum, London, archive cited in C. Dakers, *The Countryside At War 1914-1918* (London, 1987), pp.196-197.

⁹ Quote from interview with Sir Oswald Stoll in *The Daily Telegraph*, October 18, 1920, cited in D. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001)

¹⁰ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.120

¹¹ See chapter 1: D. Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (Oxford, 1965), pp.17-35

¹² For more on the broader theme see: C. Mooers, *The Making of Bourgeois Europe: Absolutism, Revolution and the Rise of Capitalism in England, France and Germany* (London, 1991) and G. Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness* (California, 2017)

middle classes sought to influence civic society and 'improve' the social and moral outlook of their beneficiaries. As Richard Brown has argued, the obligation was now to help the poor actively rather than passively.¹³ The way this active participation manifested itself at Westfield in terms of social control and influence will be discussed in detail in chapter five, but it is pertinent to state that while both Thomas H. Mawson and Herbert Lushington Storey were both men of faith (whose beliefs no doubt influenced their wider attitudes towards charity), neither religion nor the imposition of social mores appears to have been a key motivational factor for either when it came to their personal involvement in the provision of settlements for the disabled.

In the case of Thomas H. Mawson, the driving force behind his actions had been the desire of a parent to fulfil an act of personal commemoration – this following the death of his youngest son James Radcliffe Mawson on the battlefields of the Western Front in 1915. James had died while serving as a private with the 5th Battalion of the local Lancaster regiment of the King's Own, and his bereaved father would later commit his feelings at the news and his subsequent motivations to print in his autobiography:

He left us amid cheers and tears. Then came home breezy letters. In his last letter he told us: 'The men are splendid and beyond all praise. Whatever you and father can do for our wounded I am sure you will do – nothing is too good for these fellows.' His end came soon after. So ended one of my fondest hopes. His last letter home now became a command. It called for action for the wounded who were returning in vast numbers and a large proportion of whom were rendered unfit to follow their former occupations. Thus the death of my son was the starting point of an enterprise which for three years taxed my energies and resources to their utmost.¹⁴

Mawson's commemorative stimulus was common at the time, with many of his supporters also having acted 'in memorium'. Sir George Reeves Smith, who was the director of the Savoy Hotel Group and a key figure in the regrouping and brief revival of Mawson's national Industrial Settlements Ltd committee, appears to have been motivated to become involved

¹³ R. Brown, *Society and Economy in Modern Britain 1700-1850* (London, 1991), pp.342-367

¹⁴ T.H. Mawson, *The Life And Work Of An English Landscape Architect: An Autobiography* (London, 1927), pp.245, 247

(and subsequently provide the main impetus and funding for a disabled settlement at Preston Hall in Kent) following the loss of his only son in the war.¹⁵ Likewise, Mawson's first commemorative benefactor at Westfield had been the wealthy Lancashire industrialist Joseph Bibby, who paid for a pair of neighbouring properties in memory of two of his sons who had fallen in battle.¹⁶ Such acts support Julie Anderson's claim that many of the actions and decisions taken at the end of the First World War were driven by feelings of loss.¹⁷ It was an emotional state that had clear practical value to fundraisers, and something that Mawson made specific reference to in *An Imperial Obligation*:

We may also reasonably infer that our villages could greatly benefit by the donation of memorials of various sorts to the memory of those who have fallen in the war [...] a street might be named after a fallen hero or group of heroes [...] a block of flats, a single cottage or even each flat in a block may perpetuate a memory.¹⁸

Westfield fundraisers sought to personalise the process of giving from the outset via advertisements and promotional booklets urging people to keep their loved one's memory 'green' (or alive) by funding a property on the community.¹⁹ Indeed most of the thirteen properties built during the first phase of development at Westfield would be funded by donations made 'in loving memory', and with each property costing around £500 to construct it is easy to see why wealthy families and individuals (such as the aforementioned Joseph Bibby) came to feature prominently. Also prime among these donors were the Storey family and regiment of the King's Own. Indeed, three of the original thirteen properties can be tied directly to acts of memorium by the Storey family, while another was paid for by Herbert Lushington Storey in thanks for the safe return of his son Kenneth from the war. The King's Own paid for two cottages in memory of its war dead, while a Commander Morris and

¹⁵ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/37/101037887/> (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography subscription website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹⁶ 'Westfield Settlement: An Imperial Obligation', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

¹⁷ J. Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: Soul of a Nation* (Manchester, 2009), pp.42-43

¹⁸ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.59

¹⁹ Westfield Promotional Booklet, 1919 (Westfield Archive)

his wife paid for the old servants' quarters within Westfield House to be converted into accommodation for single men in memory of their son, Lieutenant A.G. Morris.²⁰ The family of another fallen officer of the regiment, the Elworthys, would pay for a pair of properties 'in memorium' during a further phase of development.²¹

Reliance on acts of personalised commemoration would prove common for most of the charities involved in the housing of disabled veterans, with the largest (Haig Homes) encouraging donors who could not afford to pay for actual properties to fund memorial plaques inside them instead. In a clear echo of the language being used at Westfield, the charity stated that there could be no more fitting memorial to someone who had died than to have their name 'enshrined in a home for a surviving but grievously injured comrade'.²² The Star and Garter charity had 400 beds for injured men with 'in memorium' inscriptions in the portals and, for the sum of £2,000, donors could endow a bed in perpetuity with a small bronze tablet acknowledging the gift.²³ This personalisation of the commemorative process was a tactic that would be revisited after the Second World War - at Westfield the wealthy local philanthropist and militarist Lieutenant Colonel Austin Porritt was successfully solicited to give £1,000 in memory of his son, Captain Richard Whitaker, who had been killed on the retreat to Dunkirk in May 1940.²⁴ The Storeys would also fund a further two properties in memory of two more deaths inflicted on the family as a result of the conflict (the sons of the pro-militarist Robert Storey),²⁵ while the King's Own donated all of its Second World War Memorial Fund (£3,127) to help build commemorative properties to honour its fallen.²⁶

²⁰ List of donors (Westfield Archive)

²¹ For more see: <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-benefactors> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²² A. MacLeod, *Coming Home: Haig Housing Trust* (London, 2014), p.96

²³ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.138

²⁴ <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-benefactors> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²⁵ For more see: Christie, *Storeys Of Lancaster*, p.231; Donor list (Westfield Archive); <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-benefactors> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, October 4 and October 25, 1948, pp.223-224 & 227-228

Donations in-memoriam provided an important and immediate boost, but it is notable that they rarely appear to have produced longer term commitments at Westfield. As will be shown throughout the course of the chapter, those who gave time to the project as well as money (including the Storey family and members of the King's Own) proved themselves far more likely to remain involved. Likewise, those who may have initially given their time as volunteers as an act of commemoration, including committee members such as a Miss Booth, would often go on to serve on the Westfield committee for decades.²⁷ In contrast, most of the 'distance donors', including Joseph Bibby, the Morris and Elworthy families and Lieutenant Colonel Porritt, appear to have effectively ended their relationship with Westfield once their immediate commemorative pledge/donation had been provided. In many ways this latter approach appears to have shared a great deal in common with the kind of 'giving without long term personal commitment' that might be associated with many early acts of Christian piety - an approach that has become increasingly common in the modern age, though not necessarily in connection with religious fervour. For example, many people now regularly make donations to charities via collection tins and telethons while remaining free of the demands associated with the far more participatory and personalised role of the volunteer. It is a process that has been described as a more 'emotionally compartmentalised' form of giving. Indeed, even longer term commitments to particular causes given in the form of direct debit donations fit this categorisation.²⁸

Thomas H. Mawson appears to have been able to compartmentalise his commitments, and may well have felt that his duty to meet his son James Radcliffe's 'command' to help the wounded had been largely fulfilled by the successful launch of the settlement and, in particular, the completion of two properties funded by his boy's regiment. Unlike the other properties on the village, Mawson asked the Westfield committee for specific permission to

²⁷ Miss Booth would serve for more than three decades and win national recognition for her selfless service: *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 26, 1949, pp.238-240, 243, 244-245

²⁸ For more on this broader theme see: W. Macaskill, *Doing Good Better* (London, 2015)

design these 'King's Own cottages' personally, one of which would be given the name of 'Ypres' - the title of the nearest town in Belgium to where his son had fallen.²⁹ These two properties had been completed and occupied as part of the first phase of development at Westfield in the early 1920s, and while Mawson would remain involved with the community until his death in 1933, there is no doubt that from this point forward there had been a change in the nature of his involvement. Indeed, Mawson's relationship with his fellow committee members became increasingly strained as his focus shifted more towards the professional involvement of his company, T.H. Mawson & Sons, on the community. Some of the committee (all of whom were participating in a strictly voluntary capacity) appear to have harboured suspicions that he may even have started operating out of self-gain.

Mawson had stipulated from the outset that while he did not intend to charge for the professional services he personally undertook on the settlement, 'he would be obliged to charge for draughtsmen's work and out-of-pocket expenses in connection with the same'.³⁰ This had been accepted. However, the lack of clarity about Mawson's role could result in tensions, with the Westfield finance committee first raising issue with a bill he submitted in 1920.³¹ Although the fee was subsequently paid in full,³² two years later another invoice was disputed and referred upwards to the charity's main executive committee.³³ The executive passed this payment too, but as Mawson was an executive committee member himself, it must have made for an awkward situation.³⁴ As a result, when funding had been received for the second phase of building work at Westfield, it was recorded that there had been considerable correspondence between Herbert Lushington Storey and Thomas H. Mawson

²⁹ For more see: Donor list (Westfield Archive); <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-benefactors> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

³⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, October 21, 1918, p.7

³¹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, February 23, 1920, p.211

³² *Westfield Minute Book 1*, April 26, 1920, p.37

³³ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, May 24 & June 23, 1922, pp.432, 438-439

³⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, October 12, 1922, pp.443-447

on the question of the architect's commission fees.³⁵ To add to the complexity of Mawson's professional investment and motivations, there is little doubt that the scale of his original vision (as portrayed in *An Imperial Obligation*) would have resulted in a significant rise in his reputation if it had reached fruition. Already an important member of the influential new town and planning movement linked to the 'Garden City' visionary Richard Unwin, Mawson was yet to gain a commission for the kind of large scale town planning scheme that might earn him a place at the top table of Britain's leading town planners and social reformers. The downsizing of his vision to a single parochial undertaking undoubtedly compromised any such ambitions. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to jump to conclusions about the motives behind Mawson's changing relationship with the settlement without understanding more about his background.

Born to humble beginnings in Lancashire in 1861, Mawson had left school at the age of 12 to study design and drawing. His training had been interrupted when his father called him back to help with a small property he had bought with a view to setting up a nursery and fruit farm. However, this project had been abandoned soon after when Mawson Senior was to die suddenly. After struggling for 18 months, Mawson's mother moved the family to London in the hope that her three boys might find a proper training, and Thomas was sent in advance (with just 20 shillings and his train fair) to secure a position for himself and his two younger brothers. Within three months he had found work for all of them. Having married, it was while on honeymoon in the Lake District in 1884 that Thomas decided to uproot the whole family and set up a landscaping practice back in Lancaster. By the early part of the twentieth century he had managed to achieve something of a monopoly on the design of many of the larger gardens and houses in the area, and commissions were also arriving from wealthy clients across England. Mawson had clearly made an impression on a personal as

³⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, November 27, 1922, pp.449-450

well as a professional level as a number of his clients (including Herbert Lushington Storey)³⁶ went on to take central roles on his national committee for the creation of settlements for disabled soldiers.³⁷

Mawson had invested a huge amount of time on his project for war veterans between 1915 and 1918, from the writing of *An Imperial Obligation* and meetings with civil servants and members of his own national committee to the hosting of public lectures and tours of the country in search of suitable locations for future settlements. All of this had been a major commitment for a man without private means who would have needed to balance such work with the solicitation of commissions for the company he was running in Lancaster. Indeed, he would state in his autobiography that his energies and resources had been 'taxed to their upmost' as a result of his early work on the disabled settlements.³⁸ In addition, Mawson was a pragmatist who reflected in his later years that his difficult upbringing had meant that his inclinations had always been 'severely restricted by practical considerations'.³⁹ He would, as such, have been well aware from the outset of the Westfield project that Herbert Lushington Storey was the man far better placed to drive the scheme forward courtesy of his greater social, political and financial contacts. Mawson would even write in his autobiography that 'the greatest lesson which I learnt [in life] was that democratic institutions work best when there is a strong and fearless autocrat as leader'.⁴⁰ The lengthy obituary notices that followed Mawson's death did not portray him as a leader of men but as a modest figure; stating that the staunch Congregationalist and lay preacher's humble origins and undemonstrative manner may well have served to overshadow his far

³⁶ Mawson was employed to complete work on the gardens at Herbert's Lancaster residence at Bailrigg in 1907: Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.140

³⁷ 'Death of Mr T.H. Mawson', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 17, 1933 (Westfield Cuttings File)

³⁸ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.247

³⁹ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, preface xiv

⁴⁰ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.29

from inconsiderable achievements.⁴¹ There is, therefore, a clear context to what appears to have been his decision to take a step back and allow Herbert Lushington Storey to lead the project while he reverted to his more familiar role as paid artisan. In many ways the relationship he shared with Storey is summarised by a communication between the two in 1928, in which Mawson revealed his professional pride in the Westfield project by writing to his lead benefactor to suggest a 'hanging' at the Royal Academy of a perspective of the village - before urging him to share the £20 fee that would be involved in doing so.⁴² Mawson would go on to write in his autobiography that Storey had been both a 'friend' and a 'client',⁴³ and he seems to have taken a similar approach to his relationship with Westfield.

When Mawson had first sent a copy of *An Imperial Obligation* to Herbert Lushington Storey, he had been looking for people of influence who might support his concept. In Storey's case he had solicited the backing of someone who not only had empathy with the idea, but also a personal and long standing family history of involvement in visionary philanthropic projects. Herbert Lushington Storey was the eldest son of Thomas Storey, a wealthy nineteenth century industrialist who, together with his brother Edward, had built an industrial empire from humble beginnings. The pair are credited as having been good employers and good citizens who contributed generously to the improvement of the community and its well-being, including the funding of hospitals, churches and facilities for education and culture. At the time of his death in 1889 Thomas Storey, a former Mayor of Lancaster, had been living on the Westfield Estate, on the edge of the centre of the town he had served so generously.⁴⁴ Herbert Lushington would prove the natural heir to his legacy – under his directorship the family's main business, Storey Bros, was employing 2,000 men before the outbreak of the First World War as well as large, but unrecorded, numbers of women and

⁴¹ 'Passing of a Distinguished Lancastrian', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 17, 1933 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁴² *Westfield Minute Book 3*, March 5, 1928, pp.655-657

⁴³ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.140

⁴⁴ 'Men Who Gave City A Life', *The Lancaster Guardian*, December 24, 1982 (Westfield Cuttings File)

children. Like his father, Herbert Lushington had become a prominent figure on public institutions, serving on the town council for eight years and holding the post of High Sheriff of Lancashire.⁴⁵ A pro-educationalist, it had largely been his vision to introduce University Extension Lectures into Lancaster.⁴⁶ At the time he was approached by Mawson about involvement in the project for disabled ex-servicemen, Herbert Lushington had been in the process of reducing his day-to-day involvement in Storey Bros, leaving him perfectly placed to take on a pro-active role in the scheme. However, while there was clearly a broader historical precedence of civic expectation for his involvement, an initial letter of support to Mawson shows that another motivation was also at play:

Your scheme attracts me so much that, with the approval of other members of my family, I propose to make possible a practical beginning by offering as a gift the residence of my father, the late Sir Thomas Storey, along with fifteen acres of excellent building land [...] the only condition I make is that preference should be given to Lancaster men and any disabled member of the 5th King's Own Regiment.⁴⁷

The request that Lancaster men be given preference was in keeping with Herbert's own reputation, as well as that of his family's, as dutiful local citizens and philanthropists, but the singling out of a particular battalion of the local infantry regiment requires further explanation.

The regiment of the King's Own had 15 battalions operating during the First World War (each of which would see at least 1,000 men pass through its ranks), while many more locals would serve with different regiments altogether. As such, under the specific terms of Herbert Lushington's gift, a large number of local men would only receive a secondary level of entitlement to Westfield residence. Furthermore, it appears that this step had been motivated by the desire to uphold a less widely known aspect the family's philanthropic heritage – militarism. Indeed, among Herbert's father Thomas Storey's early clients had

⁴⁵ 'What's The Storey', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 3, 2000 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁴⁶ *The Lancaster Public Library Journal*, May 1904 (Lancaster Public Library)

⁴⁷ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.262

been the Woolwich Arsenal, for whom shells had been provided for the Crimean War.⁴⁸

Although Thomas's involvement with the military seems to have been purely commercial, his brother Edward had been a keen amateur soldier responsible for the Storey Bros' main factory, at the White Cross Mill, becoming 'almost the home of the Lancaster Volunteers' in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁹ This commitment to amateur soldiering had been inherited, supported and actively promoted by Herbert Lushington Storey - so much so that when the new Territorial and Reserve Forces Act was introduced in 1907, to improve part-time soldiering,⁵⁰ he was at the forefront of the scheme in his home town. The new Territorial unit in Lancaster was the aforementioned 5th Battalion of the King's Own, and Storey Bros (led by Herbert) had agreed to provide it with a full company of around 125 men. It was a commitment that would see the firm pay for these workers to take time off en-masse for training and annual camps.⁵¹ Given this close personal, professional and familial relationship, the initial condition Herbert Lushington wanted attached to the gift of the Westfield Estate shows that the family's altruism had not been wholly selfless. Furthermore, at the outbreak of the First World War, Herbert's own military enthusiasms had extended way beyond the interests of this one local battalion.

In September 1914 *The Lancaster Observer* carried a report on a recruitment meeting at which Herbert Lushington Storey told those present that he had recently attended a board meeting at a company he was involved with in Manchester. The industrialist said that he had been 'astonished' to find that of the 5,000 men employed there, only 200 had joined up. Herbert said that he had told his co-directors 'it was a disgrace', and 'urged them to do all that they could to induce employees to join the ranks of the military'. The report went on to say that he had said that if he were a younger man 'he would not be long in coming forward'

⁴⁸ Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster*, p.46

⁴⁹ Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster*, p.47

⁵⁰ For more on the Haldane Reforms and amateur soldiering see: K.W. Mitchinson, *Amateur Soldiers* (Lancashire, 1999)

⁵¹ Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster*, p.171

to take on the German 'brutes'. The report concluded by stating that 32 men present at the meeting enlisted straight afterwards.⁵² Herbert, who regularly spoke at such gatherings, had clearly played a major role in encouraging not just men from his own business into the ranks of the military, but also those of the wider community. Furthermore, he had been in sympathetic company on Mawson's national committee for disabled settlements, with many of the other members having taken an equally pro-active approach: Lord Queensborough, for example, had been the main sponsor of the Cambridgeshire Pals' battalion (which suffered 970 fatalities in the war),⁵³ while Herbert Lushington's fellow Lancashire philanthropist and industrialist Samuel Waring had summoned all of the staff at his Lancaster business (Waring and Gillow) at the start of the conflict to tell them that he wanted to see every male employee over the age of 16 in uniform.⁵⁴ At a more parochial level, among the volunteers given prominent roles on the inaugural Westfield committee were a number who had been just as active in the recruitment process as their more wealthy philanthropic counterparts. For example, the headmaster of the Lancaster Grammar School, the Rev Shackleton Bailey, had been an enthusiastic supporter of his school's Officer Training Corps, with the school going on to lose 75 of its old boys on the battlefield;⁵⁵ the Vicar of Lancaster, the Rev Bardsley, had been pro-active in getting commissions for 'several young men', including his own son;⁵⁶ while the Mayor of Lancaster, William Briggs, had been a regular speaker at recruitment meetings with Herbert Lushington Storey before seeing his own son return from the war disabled.⁵⁷ As well as encouraging men to fight, a number of those involved in Mawson's national project had also profited from the conflict: for example, Samuel Waring's firm in Lancaster made considerable gains after switching its manufacturing

⁵² *The Lancaster Observer*, September 11, 1914, p.7

⁵³ 'Lord Queenborough', *The Illustrated London News*, October 1, 1949

⁵⁴ *The Lancaster Observer*, September 4, 1914, p.5

⁵⁵ J. Dennis, *The Last Post: The War Memorials of Lancaster and Morecombe* (Lancaster, 2006), p.29

⁵⁶ *The Lancaster Observer*, September 4, 1914, p.8

⁵⁷ *The Lancaster Observer*, September 11, 1914, p.7

base to the production of costly aircraft parts,⁵⁸ while the American retail tycoon Gordon Selfridge made huge sums from the sale of 'trench essentials' to the officer class.⁵⁹

How such enthusiastic supporters of the war, and those who had profited from it, felt about their actions retrospectively can (in most cases) only be the subject of supposition, but despite this there has never been a shortage of historians or social commentators willing to suggest that the post-war philanthropy of such figures may have been motivated by 'guilt' or the need to protect their self-image as a result of 'war mongering' or 'war profiteering'. Even Deborah Cohen, whose work on philanthropy is far more considered than most, has mentioned guilt as having been a substantial motivator, while qualifying that it was probably less common than expressions of gratitude or sorrow.⁶⁰ There had certainly been rumblings of discontent around the themes of self-gain and self-sacrifice both during and after the First World War, and such issues undoubtedly played a part in the sitting Member of Parliament for Lancaster, Sir Norval Helme, losing his seat in the post-war election.⁶¹ However, generalised assumptions can be dangerous. For example, there is no indication that Herbert Lushington Storey's personal stock suffered as a result of his early war enthusiasms, while Storey Bros actually fell on hard times during the war (despite a short lived shift to shell production) and continued to struggle immediately after it as the firm's manpower and market temporarily collapsed.⁶²

The fervent militarism of men like Herbert Lushington Storey appears to have been motivated by the kind of popular Edwardian sensibilities that included a deep commitment to the preservation of 'Britain and Empire'. It was a motivation that crossed all social

⁵⁸ Waring founded three new firms specifically to make aircraft parts. http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/samuel_james_waring (Grace's Guide to British Industrial History) last accessed April 19, 2017p.29

⁵⁹ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/36/101036010/> (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography subscription website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁶⁰ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.31

⁶¹ It was claimed that he had kept both of his son's out of uniform to help with the family business that profited from the war; therefore putting personal gain and well-being before the general good. He denied this but did not get re-elected. 'Sir Norval Helme's Talk To Workers', *The Lancaster Observer*, December 6, 1918, p.7

⁶² Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster*, pp.175-176

boundaries, but particularly those brought up in households that had benefitted from Britain's elevated status in the wider world. It should also be remembered that, nuances aside, the conflict proved popular with the majority of the public as well as the establishment.⁶³ Given these prevailing sensibilities, I believe there may be more appropriate terms of reference than 'guilt' for the motivations of many who supported or profited from the war – words, for example, such as 'duty' or 'responsibility'. This would better explain the presence of many non-militarists on Mawson's initial national committee, including such leading social, industrial and cultural reformers as Walter S. Rowntree, William Hill, Warwick Draper and William Whiting, as well as on the initial Westfield committee.⁶⁴ Of course, this does not rule out the fact that militarists and war profiteers may have been motivated to help disabled veterans as a direct result of their role in the conflict, but that the specifics of those motivations may have been far less cynically driven than is often cited. The more pressing issue for the numerous charitable concerns competing for funding at this time was the durability of the commitment of such individuals as opposed to the purity of their motivations.

Thomas H. Mawson wrote in his autobiography that once the decision had been made to disband the national Industrial Settlements committee and focus his energies on the project at Westfield, one of his biggest problems had been attracting outside support. He explained that many wealthy philanthropists had stated that Lancashire was 'quite rich enough to pay for its own schemes'.⁶⁵ Despite this, the Westfield committee tried continually (and largely unsuccessfully) to try and broaden the outreach of the community's philanthropic base across the ensuing decades not least by seeking high profile patrons. Among the first to be approached had been the King, but while it was reported that he had 'expressed interest', no further progress was made. Nevertheless, the Westfield propaganda team made the best

⁶³ Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp.22-36

⁶⁴ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.264

⁶⁵ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.267

of the situation by having posters produced in 1919 to publicise what they portrayed as the King's 'blessing' of the project.⁶⁶ Royal patronage would, however, continue to evade them, with the Prince of Wales said to be unavailable to fulfil the role of guest of honour at a ceremony to lay the village foundation stone.⁶⁷ Other headline grabbing figures would also prove hard to pin down, including Lord Derby (politician, philanthropist and militarist),⁶⁸ Lord Beatty (the former head of the Admiralty),⁶⁹ Major General Jeudwine (the head of the Territorial Army),⁷⁰ General Birdwood (who had led the Australian forces in the war),⁷¹ and General Byng (another senior figure of the conflict). The Westfield committee would ultimately be forced to turn to a far more parochial figure in the form of Lord Richard Cavendish. A former senior officer of the King's Own and the man recently named as the new MP for Lancaster, Cavendish was clearly sympathetic to the aims of Westfield, having been a leading name on the short lived Village Settlements for Disabled Ex-Servicemen committee that had held similar nationwide ambitions to Mawson's Industrial Settlements' committee.⁷² Earl Haig would be secured for the official unveiling of the village in 1924 an event at which Lord Derby would also be present. Nevertheless, the real and elusive goal remained that of Royal recognition, and Captain Alan Storey was clearly upset when a newly crowned monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, did not visit during a trip to Lancaster in 1951:

It was a great disappointment to us that their Majesties were unable to visit the village during their recent tour of Lancashire, but the tenants of the village did get a good view of their Majesties as they were leaving the [Lancaster] station, and we hope that at a later date a member of the Royal Family will come and see us.⁷³

⁶⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, February 12, 1919, pp.36-37

⁶⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, April 28, 1919, pp.72-74

⁶⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, April 28, 1919, pp.72-74

⁶⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, July 28, 1919, pp.119-122

⁷⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, August 25, 1919, pp.123-125

⁷¹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, August 28, 1919, pp.129-130

⁷² *Westfield Minute Book 1*, September 22, 1919, pp.132-133, 135-136

⁷³ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 30, 1951, pp.60-62, 65-68

Despite repeated attempts to broaden the charity's outreach, including efforts in the 1950s 'to interest Wilfred Pickles and Richard Dimbleby of the BBC', the wider world would remain largely unaware of Westfield.⁷⁴ However, as Frank Prochaska has argued, one of the 'abiding strengths' of local charities has been their ability to adapt and successfully respond to challenges by drawing on more parochial forms of 'informal benevolence' to overcome them.⁷⁵ This would prove the case at Westfield.

At the heart of the Westfield settlement's most enduring support network were two key groups, the Storey family of Lancaster and the local infantry regiment of the King's Own. The reason for their involvement had been linked from the outset to the parochial nature of the undertaking. This was very different from Mawson's early vision of a nationwide undertaking, but the downsizing of his vision had resulted in most of the high profile backers of his London based committee making the decision to transfer their support to more established charities. For example, Samuel Waring switched allegiance to the Lord Roberts' Workshops for the retraining of disabled men, while Gordon Selfridge transferred his support to another charity for disabled veterans and their families in London, The War Seal Mansions.⁷⁶ The major difference for Herbert Lushington Storey and his family was that they had invested their own estate and, to some degree, their own reputation in the wider enterprise. Meanwhile, the King's Own had committed specifically to Westfield as the project offered the kind of care to its veterans that could not be replicated elsewhere. Both parties had, as such, been drawn into a form of personal commitment (if not ownership) of the scheme that it would subsequently become difficult to abandon. This was a situation far removed from the aforementioned concept of 'distance giving'. In fact, Westfield's sister project at Preston Hall in Kent would need rescuing in 1925 by the British Legion after its

⁷⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 24, 1950, pp. 31-33

⁷⁵ F. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London, 1988), p.9

⁷⁶ An advert in 1917 lists Selfridge as being involved with the charity: 'The War Seal Foundation', *The Times*, March 15, 1917, p.39

initial philanthropic benefactors, including Sir George Reeves Smith, appear to have left the community to stand on its own two feet soon after putting in the initial time and capital to get it up and running.⁷⁷ Again, this was very much in contrast to the kind of ongoing, hands-on support that would be proffered by Westfield's charitable network. In many respects, parochialism can be seen to have provided a number of benefits, particularly in relation to the involvement of the Storey family.

While it is Herbert Lushington Storey's name that is most commonly mentioned in conjunction with the disabled settlement in Lancaster, it had required the support of his wider family for the formal offer of the donation of the Westfield Estate to be made. Furthermore, the Storeys' commitment to the subsequent community would not only survive Herbert's death, but continue to grow. It is an outcome that raises the issue of the motivations of the family as a whole, with their military enthusiasms undoubtedly having left them predisposed towards supporting the wounded of the war. Herbert's favoured unit (the 5th battalion of the King's Own) had been tied to the family firm as well as to the man himself, but another branch of the family had also invested personally and financially in a local Territorial Army unit - the 10th Battery of the 2nd West Lancashire Royal Field Artillery.⁷⁸ Herbert's younger brother Robert had been 'an enthusiastic officer' with this formation and even paid £6,000 to help fund its move to a new purpose-built headquarters prior to the start of the First World War.⁷⁹ The family would go on to stipulate that the 10th Battery be formally recognised on the Westfield village via the attachment of a plaque to a figurative memorial placed at the heart of the community in the 1920s. Robert Storey and another brother of Herbert Lushington's, Charles Blades Storey, had both served in the First World

⁷⁷ For more on the Preston Hall Colony see: <http://www.thelarkfieldsociety.co.uk/?p=789> (The Larkfield Historical Society official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁷⁸ Copy of the Storey Brothers' First World War Roll of Honour (Westfield Archive)

⁷⁹ Robert paid for it to move to a new base on Dallas Road, Lancaster. Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster*, p.231

War and been honourably discharged on the grounds of poor health.⁸⁰ Like the men of Westfield, they had suffered health issues directly related to their time in uniform. What Westfield stood for was clearly a strong match for the pre-established attitude of the family to militarism and armed service and, like many of the other early benefactors, there had been the previously highlighted motivation of familial loss.

Throughout the history of the village it has been the Storey family that has often served as the first and final line of philanthropic defence. In 1951, with Westfield about to sink into 'the red', Storey Bros wrote a deed of covenant committing it to provide £250 per annum to the community for the next seven years.⁸¹ At the end of this covenant it renewed the process for a further seven years and increased the sum to £300 per annum, turning a deficit of £687 in 1958 into a surplus of £189.⁸² Jack Storey would produce 'a most unexpected and generous gift of 3,000 Storey Bros shares' (worth around £2,000) in 1964, and merely asked that in return that the gift should 'not be discussed outside'.⁸³ Individual donations from family members throughout this period were often 'anonymous', including £1,000 from Charles Blades Storey in 1955,⁸⁴ a seven-year private covenant of £50 per year and £500 cheque from an 'unidentified' family member in 1958,⁸⁵ a £500 donation from Mrs Grieg (Herbert Lushington's sister) in 1960,⁸⁶ and a donation of £250 in 1965 from Mrs Charles Blades Storey.⁸⁷ The desire for anonymity in relation to so many of these donations both at this time and earlier (including during the Second World War when Storey Bros had profited from the manufacture of black-out blinds) shows that the gifts were not being motivated by

⁸⁰ Robert had not been allowed to go to war with the 10th Battery on health grounds, but paid his own ticket overseas and served with the French Army instead. In 1916 he returned home with an unspecified infirmity or disability. Charles, who was also a Boer War veteran, had received an honourable discharge on health grounds during service at Gallipoli. Christie, *Storeys Of Lancaster*, pp.231, p.234

⁸¹ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 23, 1951, pp.57-58

⁸² *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 28, 1958, pp.296, 298-299, 301-302

⁸³ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, July 27, 1964, pp.30-36

⁸⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 25, 1955, pp.183-185, 190-191

⁸⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 28, 1958, pp.307-311

⁸⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, May 30 & July 25, 1960, pp.99, 100-101, 103-108

⁸⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, October 25, 1965, pp.83-86

a desire for self-promotion. In addition, the family's commitment would continue to go well beyond the role of wealthy benefactors to embrace active participation in the voluntary process.

In the early 1930s, with his health seriously failing, Herbert Lushington Storey attempted to install his brother Frank as his successor by writing to the committee to suggest that he and his wife be invited on board.⁸⁸ However, if Herbert had seen Frank Storey as his natural successor, it was not a view shared by his nominee. Frank, who did serve on the committee briefly, either did not want the position or could not commit to it.⁸⁹ As such, the first person that the committee approached on the news of Herbert's death was his half-brother Charles.⁹⁰ The military veteran who had served in both the Boer War and First World War accepted, and his wife also volunteered her services.⁹¹ From this point forward the president of the charity would remain a Storey, with Charles handing over in 1948 to Captain Alan Storey, whose direct family would go on to provide a natural line of succession: Mrs Mary Bowring, the captain's daughter, took over soon after the death of her father in 1975,⁹² while her son Thomas succeeded her in 2014.⁹³ Like their founding father, Herbert Lushington Storey's successors would act as far more than figureheads – Mary Bowring, for example, had already served on the general committee for 18 years before taking on the presidency and Thomas had served for 25 years at the point of his succession.⁹⁴ Most importantly, the family's ongoing commitment to the voluntary process appears to have been just as vital to the morale of the rest of the committee as its philanthropic commitments had been to the well-being of the community as a whole. Indeed it was the

⁸⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, December 7, 1931, pp.767-768

⁸⁹ It should be noted that he may well have been too busy as the newly installed managing director of Storey Bros

⁹⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, January 29, 1934, pp.819-820

⁹¹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, April 30, 1934, pp.3-7

⁹² *Westfield Minute Book 6*, April 25, 1960, pp.90-91, 93, 95-98

⁹³ <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/trusteesbiographi.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁹⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 10, 1989, pp.276, 278

committee who continually sought to maintain the tradition of Storey succession in the decades that followed. After the death of Captain Alan Storey in the late 1970s, committee member Colonel Darlington provided an example of this by making the following appeal to his fellow volunteers:

As I expect you all know, not only were the Storey family instrumental in founding the village, not only did they endow it most generously, not only have they taken a great interest in Westfield from inception in 1923 until now, but we have had three presidents so far, each one a Storey. Without labouring the point, I do hope you agree that our next president should, if possible, be Mary Bowring, nee Storey.⁹⁵

There does not appear to have ever been an attempt to look outside of the Storey family for the role of president, and their ongoing succession has undoubtedly had a large part to play in drawing them deeper into the kind of relationship that engenders longevity. Furthermore, the passing of time has only served to strengthen the familial bond as the history of Westfield has become ever-more closely intertwined with their personal heritage. Such has been the depth of this bond, when the charity partnered with Guinness Northern Counties in the 1980s, and the various roles on the charity were being more clearly redefined, it was said that the president's role was:

To act as the conscience of the charity and where she/he considers necessary advise the chairman and council whether proposed action accords with the spirit of the original aims of the charity.⁹⁶

The Storeys, as the natural successors of presidency, had effectively been made the guardians of the Westfield ethos. The deep level of trust required for this had been nurtured over a lengthy period of time as a result of their dual roles as both philanthropists and volunteers. Indeed, when the charity merged with Guinness Northern Counties Mrs Bowring hinted at the deep personal responsibility she felt both to the wider community and her own family heritage; stating how 'traumatic' the evolutionary process of the community had

⁹⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, January 26, 1976, pp.201-203

⁹⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, August 1, 1994, pp. 19-20

been for her and the other long standing volunteers, whilst also hinting at just how important it was to her that her forebears would understand:

As my family initiated Westfield they would, being practical business people, support us in our decisions. I know for a fact that my father, Alan Storey, saw which way the wind was blowing. To make a decision such as this [relinquishing autonomy of the village to Guinness Northern Counties] is traumatic for us all.⁹⁷

Mrs Bowring's son, the sitting president Thomas, spoke of both of his parents' commitment to the survival of the community in a recent interview, and also of the sense of personal responsibility he and the family continue to feel towards the community:

They [my parents] spent a long time talking about how to save Westfield. It would be very churlish of me, being of Storey lineage, to shun an interest in Westfield village - because of the family connection. It is something we all have great pride in, the fact that our forebears set the place up and maintained involvement in it. It is really just an honour to be involved and to be related in the way that I am.⁹⁸

In the case of the other major partner in the project, the King's Own, there had been a clear benefit to the regiment's involvement from the outset - as mentioned in the preceding chapter, it had no housing for its injured veterans and had already suffered considerable casualties in the First World War at the time Herbert Lushington Storey invited it to become involved in the Westfield project in the summer of 1918.⁹⁹ The regiment not only had an obvious care of duty to its disabled veterans and a clear motivation to look after them but, in terms of future recruitment drives, to be seen to be looking after them. As a result, its initial involvement had almost certainly been tied to the priority its disabled veterans could expect to receive in relation to the allocation of tenancies. Indeed, the first selection sub-committee established at Westfield was said to have been set up in July 1920 to look at 'applications by disabled men of the King's Own Lancaster Regiment'.¹⁰⁰ The wording suggests that the process was going to be loaded in favour of the local regiment, and nine of the first thirteen

⁹⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 28, 1980, pp.54-56

⁹⁸ T. Bowring, Interview with M. Purdy, April 21, 2017 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁹⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, June 20 1918, p.3

¹⁰⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, July 26, 1920, pp.279-280

men to be given properties would indeed be 'Kingsmen'.¹⁰¹ During the second phase of building in the mid-1920s, thirteen properties were allotted to men of the King's Own and nine to men from other regiments.¹⁰² There is a large gap in the record keeping after this point, but half a century later (in 1979) a survey was taken on the village that suggests such quotas had remained consistent in the intervening years. 25 tenants were said to be ex-members of the King's Own (or its new partner regiment of the King's Own Royal Borders), six more from other Lancashire regiments, 33 from non-county regiments and seven from the Royal Navy or Royal Air Force.¹⁰³ Veterans of the King's Own had clearly benefited from their regiment's involvement in the settlement, although it is not possible to say whether the gain was disproportionate. The local regiment would naturally have attracted a higher number of local recruits, which might well have resulted in more of its veterans being applicable for residence.

There has only ever been one 'legitimate' way of influencing the selection process at Westfield, and this has been to fund a property. Major acts of philanthropy have, as such, commonly resulted in direct influence on the process of tenancy. Taking into account the gifts of ex-members of the local regiment, those of grieving family members paying for commemorative houses and direct donations from the regiment itself, the King's Own has been responsible for financing more properties on the community than any other group. Veterans of the regiment have subsequently had priority of residence at all of these dwellings - but only on the strict condition that the individuals in question met the Westfield charity's pre-established criteria of tenancy. So, for example, when a 'King's Own property' became vacant in 1959 and no 'suitable' veteran could be found on the regiment's books, a

¹⁰¹ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, August 24, 1920, pp.289-290; *Westfield Minute Book 2*, May 12, 1921, pp.339-340; *Westfield Minute Book 2*, June 11, 1923, pp.475-476

¹⁰² *Westfield Minute Book 2*, July 25, 1923, pp.479-481; *Westfield Minute Book 2*, April 11, 1924, pp.508-509

¹⁰³ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, July 23, 1979, pp.29-34

senior officer had to 'release it' to someone from a different regiment.¹⁰⁴ This was not a bad outcome for Westfield, which had always struggled to fund new housing, and there is no evidence to suggest that the King's Own has ever tried to unduly influence the tenancies of the other properties on the village. Indeed, while members of the regiment sat on the property selection committee from its inauguration in the 1920s until its disbandment in the 1980s, they never held a majority vote.

Like the Storey family's commitment, the durability of the involvement of the King's Own at Westfield, as well as that of a number of individuals associated with the regiment, would prove substantive, self-fulfilling and personal. An early example of this came from the most senior officer of the regiment at the close of the First World War, General Sir Archibald Hunter, who not only accepted the formal role of patron of the project (giving up time to help promote it), but also went on to pay out of his own pocket for empty hostel accommodation in Westfield House to be converted into a pair of flats for the widows of veterans.¹⁰⁵ In the years that followed the officers of the regiment (and their wives) would regularly raise money from fundraising events, while also serving as volunteers as a right of succession established in the 1920s – one that saw the commander of the Lancaster depot of the King's Own automatically take a seat on the executive committee. There were clear practical benefits to this for Westfield as the officers were generally pre-disposed towards a form of paternalistic altruism in relation to the disabled veterans, while often proving 'can do' types who could be relied upon to get a job done. Although the length of time some of these officers served on the charity could be limited, the kind of powerful motivational forces associated with longer term relationships (including those of tradition, duty and loyalty) were still commonly engendered by the military as a key part of their motivational processes. In fact Westfield appears to have been written into the history of the local

¹⁰⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, April 27, 1959, pp.45-47, 49-54

¹⁰⁵ *Donors' List* (Westfield Archive)

infantry regiment for many years, with one Lancaster councillor and former 'Kingsman', Councillor Les Shaw, having told the local press in the 1980s that during his time in service (after the Second World War) one day's pay per annum had been taken from the salaries of those serving with the regiment to help pay for the upkeep of the village.¹⁰⁶ This had resulted in a sense of attachment to the community among all ranks, and one of the most crucial donations ever made to Westfield would highlight the fact by coming from a former leading officer of the regiment and his wife, Colonel and Mrs Bois.

Colonel Bois had initially joined the Westfield committee in 1927 under the rule of automatic succession, but his relationship with the village continued after his retirement from active service. When the colonel died in 1942 his widow took his place on the committee, and it was when she died (in 1977) that the news of their legacy (valued at £21,250) was revealed.¹⁰⁷ Mrs Bowring, the then president of the Westfield committee, described the couple's 'great generosity' as having provided nothing less than 'a life-saving transfusion' at a time when the charity was close to financial collapse.¹⁰⁸ Westfield had clearly come to represent something very personal to Colonel and Mrs Bois, whose relationship had started as the result of a professional military tradition, before continuing in a voluntary capacity and concluding with an impressive act of philanthropy. It is a good example of how charitable motivations, commitments and actions can develop over time, and how charities may be able to benefit considerably by encouraging longer-term, more personalised, forms of commitment.

Of course, it was not only large sums that were presented to Westfield. The steady trickle of less glamorous offerings over the years has been considerable, even if it has failed to make a mark because of its lack of scale. The only significant structural symbol of smaller acts of

¹⁰⁶ *The Lancashire Evening Post*, March 29, 1984 (Westfield Cutting File)

¹⁰⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, January 30, 1978, pp.1-5

¹⁰⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 24, 1978, pp.6-9, 10-12

public giving at Westfield is a bungalow that was built in the first phase of the development after being paid for by the Westfield Women's Fundraising Committee, courtesy of the proceeds of a bazaar organised in the Lancaster town hall in the 1920s.¹⁰⁹ Whether people had spent money at the bazaar out of a sense of solidarity for Westfield, the pursuit of a bargain, or both, is open to debate, but it is worth considering Prochaska's claim that philanthropy is 'a test of respectability' that even the poorer members of society usually feel a social obligation to recognise.¹¹⁰ There is certainly evidence of a noticeable growth in charitable activity among the residents of the village at the start of what would prove a long period of financial hardship for the Westfield charity in the 1950s. The concept of the recipients of a charity making donations to support that self-same charity might seem highly unusual, but it will be shown later in the thesis that many of the village occupants had achieved a state of financial security by this time.

It was mainly the female members of the Westfield community who led the way when it came to charitable activities, though often at the instigation of one of the village trustees. The Westfield Women's Working Party, for example, was established in the 1950s by the wife of the village secretary and raised money from a range of activities including bazaars and table top sales.¹¹¹ Direct donations from residents were often for £2 or £3,¹¹² with one female resident (who was presumably not in a position to offer money) making up the curtains for the Westfield committee room in order to show willing.¹¹³ There was obviously an element of self-interest in the actions of the residents, but self-interest has always had a key part to play in the philanthropic process – from the attempts of wealthy Christians to earn a seat in heaven to the pursuit of a bargain or prize. Indeed, the forerunner to Britain's National Lottery had close links to Westfield via Hilda Leyel's once famous 'Golden Ballot'.

¹⁰⁹ Donor list (Westfield Archive)

¹¹⁰ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.29

¹¹¹ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, January 19, 1956, pp.203-204; *Westfield Minute Book 5*, October 27, 1958, pp.315-316, 318-319

¹¹² *Westfield Minute Book 6*, April 25, 1960, pp.90-91

¹¹³ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, October 25, 1965, pp.83-86

This ballot was a national initiative in which the winner of a lottery could win a life-changing sum, with half of the proceeds of the second and final ballot (£20,000) given to support the growth of Westfield. This money would subsequently pay for 21 properties on the village, as well as roads, drainage and ongoing investments. As part of a professional acting troupe Mrs Level had performed shows during the war in military camps and hospitals and become committed to the care of the wounded. She had been approached directly by Herbert Lushington Storey to help Westfield and her efforts would result in a row of four conjoined properties on the village being named 'Level Terrace' in her honour. However, the former actress and suffragist does not appear to have been keen to enter the spotlight at Westfield (despite being a well-known figure at the time) although newspaper reports show that she was present at the official opening of the village by Earl Haig in 1924.¹¹⁴ Her decision to shy away from the cameras at this time may well have been due to the fact that she was still recovering from the strains of having been charged with running an illegal lottery, which was how the authorities had decided to label her ballots. As a result, Mrs Level was forced to appear before a criminal jury in 1922, which ultimately threw out the case against her after she successfully argued that the ballots had been run purely for charitable purposes. As a direct outcome of this ruling, the face of fundraising in Britain was to be changed forever and ballots held to support charitable causes henceforth made legal.¹¹⁵

Herbert Lushington Storey always described Hilda Level as a 'personal friend', and it was from such relationships that he had garnered support for the Westfield project from the outset. In June 1918 he had invited a small group to attend a meeting in the Mayor's Parlour at Lancaster Town Hall, including the Mayor and Mayoress, the headmaster of the local grammar school, town councillors and Aldermen, the manager of the local bank, senior

¹¹⁴ The presence of Mrs Level is mentioned in a contemporary newspaper article: 'Earl Haig at Lancaster', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 28, 1924. There is British Pathe News footage of Hilda Level and the Golden Ballot available at: <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=27716> and <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=19574> (British Pathe News official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹¹⁵ For more on this whole story see: 'Hilda Level: The Golden Lady', <http://www.thegallipolioak.co.uk/?p=142> (Lancashire Military History website) last accessed April 19, 2017

officers of the King's Own, businessmen, socialites and representatives of wealthy and respectable local families.¹¹⁶ It was a gathering that might be described as having provided a fairly comprehensive representation of 'the great and good' of the district, but Storey had undoubtedly taken far more than social standing into consideration when making his choices. As Peter Grant has explained, the First World War resulted in a huge increase in philanthropic engagement (he estimates around two million people) and would result in charities taking a far more professional approach in order to stand out from the crowd.¹¹⁷ Organisations used 'an astonishing range' of new fund-raising techniques, many of which are still in use today, from flag days to direct mail outs.¹¹⁸ Hilda Leye's Golden Ballot is, of course, a case in point, and among the first sub-committees formed at Westfield had been a 'propaganda' committee whose focus had purely been on fundraising. As an example of how seriously Herbert Lushington Storey took the issue, he had personally paid for a fundraising specialist called Miss Philpotts to come from London for three months to advise the team working on the Lancaster settlement.¹¹⁹

Storey's more business-like approach makes it important to recognise the wealth of experience and practical value that many of his inaugural committee brought. For example, the Mayor and Mayoress, Alderman and Mrs William Briggs, had been responsible for running a highly successful 'distress fund' throughout the war years and a number of names from their committee would be asked to serve at Westfield, including the wealthy widow Mrs Anne Croft Helme, who had also worked with the Mayoress on two further war-related charities.¹²⁰ Storey's leading female socialites clearly had a successful and pre-established

¹¹⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, June 10, 1918, pp.1-2.

¹¹⁷ P. Grant, 'Voluntarism and the Impact of the First World War' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism: How We Got To The Big Society* (Oxford, 2011), p.29

¹¹⁸ Grant, 'Voluntarism', p.35

¹¹⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, January 14, 1919, p.26

¹²⁰ The pair established working parties to repair items of clothing 'for those in need' in Lancaster, *The Lancaster Observer*, September 11, 1914, p.8; and worked together on the Lancaster Advisory Committee on Women's War Employment *Minutes of the Lancaster Advisory Committee On Women's War Employment (Industrial)*, First World War document, date unspecified (The Merriman Collection, Lancaster)

pedigree for organising and running voluntary committees and the main function allotted to them unsurprisingly being that of fundraising. In fact, the sub-committee tasked with raising money featured the largest female quota - nine out of twenty members.¹²¹ This kind of apportioning of role by gender was symptomatic of the era, with the machinery of philanthropy having been hugely feminized in the nineteenth century, with an estimated half a million female volunteers were working full time in charitable roles by the 1890s.¹²² True to the period, it was the women of Westfield who organised and ran the more time consuming projects, such as flag days, bazaars, door to door collections and a 'gift house'.¹²³ As Grant has claimed, men 'dominated' the executive committees of the time while (to frame it in polite terms) women did the 'day to day' work.¹²⁴ Indeed, it would not be until the arrival of Mrs Bowring as Westfield president in the 1970s that a female would hold a senior position on the committee.

Placing issues of gender to one side, the motivation behind many of Storey's selections appear to have been practical: the politicians would be able to exert influence in the local corridors of power, the businessmen and industrialists to supply and attract philanthropic support, the professionals to provide practical skills from banking to accountancy, while the upstanding members of the community (including churchmen and a headmaster) would add respectability and wider public outreach. As a typical example of Storey's thinking, local bank manager Mr Lownds was invited to be part of the group and, on accepting, was immediately installed as treasurer.¹²⁵ Such an approach is in accordance with the work of Helen McCarthy, who claims that it was typical of charities run by the new middle classes in the inter-war years to focus on the occupational habits of their own peers. This resulted in a

¹²¹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, January 14, 1919, p.26

¹²² A. Burdett-Coutts, *Women's Mission* (London, 1893), pp.361-366

¹²³ It has been suggested anecdotally that the Westfield gift house in Lancaster town centre was the district's first charity shop, but it has not been possible to substantiate the claim.

¹²⁴ Grant, 'Voluntarism', p.45

¹²⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, June 10, 1918, pp.1-2

shift towards committee members from more functional managerial and professional backgrounds.¹²⁶ The argument holds true for Herbert Lushington Storey, although a further aspect of the same social theory - that the middle classes were feeling less secure of themselves and much more inclined to become socially inclusive in the make-up of their charitable committees as a result - is not supported by the Westfield case study.¹²⁷ Herbert and his committee had been happy to broaden their social base to include more than 70 associates in the early stages of fundraising (when more people were needed to be active in door to door collections, flag sales etc) but quickly shrank back to its initial, more socially one-dimensional core of around 20 members once the grass-roots fundraising had finished.¹²⁸

Herbert Lushington Storey's initial process of paternal solicitation of membership at Westfield has remained a constant across the charity's timeline, with new committee members recommended by sitting members before going on to serve a trial period and being welcomed (or not) as fully fledged trustees with voting rights. It is an approach that has meant that the social make-up of the committee has remained principally middle class, with individuals with specific expertise being targeted to meet the practical requirements of a particular time. For example, when funds ran low in the late 1950s, it was decided to invite 'some of the prominent men of industry in Lancaster' on to the committee in the hope that they might prove philanthropic; which to some degree they did.¹²⁹ In the 1960s, at a time when many of the residents were elderly and in poor health, a new batch of trustees included the area manager of the Ministry of Pensions and a local GP.¹³⁰ Similarly, the deputy chief constable of the Lancashire Constabulary was invited on to the committee in

¹²⁶ H. McCarthy, 'Associational Voluntarism in interwar Britain' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism: How We Got To The Big Society* (Oxford, 2011), p.64

¹²⁷ McCarthy, 'Associational Voluntarism', p.65

¹²⁸ Among those whose took part shorter-term were representatives of trade and labour councils, the YMCA, veterans' associations, other established charities, etal. *Westfield Minute Book 1*, December 4, 1918, pp.14-15

¹²⁹ Among the industrialists approached were representatives of Williamson & Son Ltd, Lansil Ltd, Nelsons Silk Ltd and Standfast Dyers. *Westfield Minute Book 6*, January 26, 1959, pp.28-36

¹³⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, April 25, 1966, pp.99-100, 102, 103-105

the 1980s when problems with vandalism and minor crime were rife.¹³¹ In the 1990s, after the Westfield charity had entered into partnership with the Guinness Northern Counties housing association, it was recorded that two new committee members had joined the charity team:

Councillor Shuttleworth is chairman of the Housing Committee of the City Council and also a member of the Lune Valley Housing Association Trust, so her knowledge and experience will be of the utmost value to us. Mr Collinson is a solicitor known to many of us and will be able to warn us if and when we are likely to run into legal problems.¹³²

It is interesting to note how little has changed between the make-up of Storey's first committee and the present incumbents, who include former councillors and members of the Armed Forces, historic fundraisers and socialites, solicitors and bank managers.¹³³ Westfield does not appear to have felt either the pressure or need to become more socially inclusive – a stance seemingly at odds with many of its counterparts during the twentieth century who, according to Mike Savage, felt under considerable pressure to at least appear to be more socially inclusive even if they had no intention of actually becoming so.¹³⁴ Westfield appears to have felt no recourse to conform to such pressures, and has remained unashamedly focused on finding the right person for a particular task at any given time via acts of succession from within its own social network. Indeed, it is not just the Storey family and King's Own that have been involved in the process of succession but other organisations and individuals as well. For example, for many years the manager of the local bank was expected to serve as the treasurer at Westfield, and when he retired or transferred to another branch, it was common practice for his successor to take over.¹³⁵ The aforementioned Mrs Bois joined the committee following the death of her husband while a serving committee

¹³¹ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, August 8, 1983, pp.168-179, 181-184

¹³² *Westfield Minute Book 9*, March 30, 1992, p.6

¹³³ <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/trusteesbiographi.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹³⁴ M. Savage, *Affluence And Social Change In The Making Of Technocratic Middle Class Identities: Britain, 1939-1955*, *Contemporary British History*, Vol.22, no.4, (2008), p.470

¹³⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, January 28, 1974, pp.129-134

member, Mrs Ley, is the widow of a former chairman of the charity.¹³⁶ It is an approach that has worked well for nearly 100 years, and supports the high ranking of personal solicitation in the aforementioned study of Bekkers and Wiepking into the motivation for acts of charity. In the case of Westfield, the element of flattery and peer pressure involved in a direct approach from someone from within your own social group may have proved difficult to refuse.

The social pressure to be involved in volunteering at Westfield would certainly have been at its highest in the early years, when turning down involvement with such a group may well have proved a considerable social 'faux pas' – many of the leading figures behind committees of this kind, including the Storey family, adhered to traditional social tropes in which the higher social orders were expected to play their part in ensuring the well-being (both fiscal and moral) of the lower orders. As Prochaska has stated, participation in charitable causes has always been viewed as 'a sign of social status and social ambition'.¹³⁷ However, it is also important to note his claim that 'there were many people who shirked their philanthropic duty' as it was too costly or time consuming.¹³⁸ It is impossible to measure the value of the 'social cache' that involvement in the initial Westfield committee brought, but it would seem fair to suggest that anybody with social aspirations in the district of Lancaster in 1918 would have found it very hard to reject a direct approach from such a leading figure as Herbert Lushington Storey. Indeed, for many there must have been a certain element of satisfaction at being singled out to be part of his initial collective of social and professional elites. However, after enjoying a high public profile, Westfield was quick to fall from the spotlight in the inter-war years and, aside from a brief revival of interest as a result of the Second World War, would remain largely ignored until the recent centenary of

¹³⁶ <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/trusteesbiographi.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹³⁷ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.30

¹³⁸ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.40

the First World War sparked a resurgence of interest. In 1998, for example, Mrs Bowring said that it never failed to 'astonish' her how few people knew of the charity's existence.¹³⁹ The motivation of social enhancement would, it seems fair to say, have been far greater in the early years than from the 1930s onwards.

A number of Westfield's committee members have received prestigious honours over the years in recognition of their charitable work, including (to name but a few) Miss Booth, who received an OBE in 1937, Mrs Croft Helme, who got an MBE in 1947, and Major Gibson, who received an MBE in 1961.¹⁴⁰ However, it would be mean-spirited to suggest that the receipt of such formal honours had been a key motivation for any of them. If this had been the case, it could be argued that they had paid a considerable price for it - in Westfield's formative years the volunteers continually struggled to find the money to grow the community, while later members (between the 1950s and 1980s) faced an even more challenging task in trying to keep it solvent. In addition to balancing the books, the trustees have been expected to act as the de-facto guardians, overseers and landlords of a large housing development and its tenants. Furthermore, they have been expected to make decisions about issues varying from the tedious to the life-changing; from the depth of a storm drain to the day to day needs of men with physical and psychological issues. In the early years, and depending on how many of the Westfield sub-committees the trustees sat on, the volunteers might have been actively involved on a weekly basis. As the community became more stable in terms of the number of its tenants and structural undertakings, the commitment eased considerably and might only involve attendance at a handful of meetings each year. In more recent decades, and particularly since the partnership with Guinness Northern Counties in the 1980s, the majority of the trustees have only been expected to meet on two or three occasions per

¹³⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, May 5, 1998, pp.63-64

¹⁴⁰ *War Memorial Village Lancaster*, Annual Report, 1937, p.4; *Minute Book 4*, July 27 & October 27, 1947, pp.201, 203-204, 206, 208; *Westfield Minute Book 6*, July 31, 1961, pp.142-145

year, although those with more significant roles (such as the chairman, treasurer and president) might well find their services called upon far more frequently.

Despite the heavy demands that have at times been involved in Westfield voluntarism, significant multiple retirements or resignations have proved rare. A number of long-standing stalwarts (including the then president, Charles Blades Storey, and the chairman and former grammar school headmaster, the Rev Shackleton Bailey) did however stand down together at the end of the Second World War, prior to the start of a new phase of building work and influx of new residents. Of advanced years, the pair put their decision down to the need for new blood and fresh energy to take the village on the next stage of its journey.¹⁴¹ The most common scenario has usually been for committee members to serve for decades until either age or infirmity has hindered further involvement. A number of the inaugural committee, like the socialite Mrs Croft Helme, would serve for close to 40 years,¹⁴² while five of the twelve members who make up the present committee have already served for twenty years or more.¹⁴³ Fortunately for Westfield, finding replacements for retiring members has rarely proved problematic as a result of the previously discussed approach to the solicitation of successors. Furthermore, it is an outcome that has often been at odds with national trends in 2007, for example, a report by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations made the headlines after stating that its latest research revealed a growing recruitment crisis for unpaid positions of managerial responsibility on charities. It added that the old paternalistic practice of relying on personal contacts to attract new members could no longer be seen as a dependable one.¹⁴⁴ Westfield has clearly bucked this trend, although this has not meant

¹⁴¹ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 26, 1949, pp.238-240

¹⁴² *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 26, 1949, pp.238-240, 243, 244-245

¹⁴³ <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/trusteesbiographi.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹⁴⁴ It was used most recently in 2015 to successfully attract Susie Charles, a Lancashire County Councillor and President of the Red Cross in Lancashire: <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/trusteesbiographi.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

that its overwhelming dependence on such a close-knit and parochial network has not been without its problems.

Following the Second World War, the Storey family's main business (Storey Bros) struggled to retain its place as a market leader in the oil cloth industry. The recent conflict had served to highlight the versatility and durability of an alternative product called 'plastic', and while Storey Bros began manufacturing PVC in 1945 it could not compete with more established firms or the arrival in the marketplace of large multi-national companies from overseas. For large periods of the 1960s and 1970s Storey Bros would struggle, and by the 1980s it was on the verge of collapse.¹⁴⁵ There are clear parallels here to the plight of Westfield, with the charity's accounts suggesting a direct correlation between the fate of the family firm and the Storey family's philanthropic support. The anonymous donations that had so often materialised in times of need had all but ceased, which would prove a significant factor in the decision to enter into partnership with a professional housing association. Westfield's close relationship with the Storey family had also had an adverse effect on the generosity of at least one major firm in the area called Williamsons. This firm was the main local competitor of Storey Bros and chose not to support Westfield in its formative years despite its wealthy and highly philanthropic owner, Lord Ashton, having been invited to become a patron.¹⁴⁶ Lord Ashton had fallen out with Herbert Lushington Storey on professional and political grounds, as he would with the town of Lancaster as a whole following a series of trade disputes. As a result, the kind of financial support that Westfield was so often desperately in need of would not be forthcoming from Williamsons until after Lord Ashton's death – initially via a £5,000 cheque from his daughter, Miss Whalley,¹⁴⁷ and an annual covenant of £100 from the newly named Williamsons and Sons.¹⁴⁸ To underline the kind of

¹⁴⁵ 'Men Who Gave City A Life', *The Lancaster Guardian*, December 24, 1982 (Westfield Cuttings File)

¹⁴⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, June 10, 1918, pp.1-2

¹⁴⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, October 29, 1945, pp.170-171

¹⁴⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, January 25, 1954, pp.140-142

support that Westfield had been missing out on, Earl Peel (the new chairman of Williamsons, and the man largely responsible for the healing of old wounds between the two firms) made a £250 donation at the ceremony to mark the opening of Westfield's post-Second World War expansion.¹⁴⁹ In addition, his wife's trust fund made donations of £500 in 1973 and £1,000 in 1974.¹⁵⁰ However, like Storey Bros, Williamsons had also fallen on hard times by the late 1970s.

It was not just the industrial leviathans of Lancaster who had been struggling after the Second World War, but also some of the oldest regiments of the British Army. In fact the regiment of the King's Own had been merged with the Border Regiment in 1959 as a result of government cuts, and as part of the amalgamation the barracks in Lancaster were closed and many of the regiment's traditional ties to the town severed. The soldiers of the Border Regiment had no historic link to Westfield, and while members of the new regiment remained on the committee, acts of philanthropy were rare. In 1969 the Westfield secretary was refused funds by the King's Own Old Comrades' Association to help carry out repairs at a property the regiment had paid for back in the 1920s. This kind of support had previously been taken for granted, but it was made clear that this would no longer be the case:

Although the house was paid for by regimental funds, it was given to Westfield and it is Westfield's responsibility to see to its state of repair; the regiment is gaining no financial advantage from the capital it expended because the rent goes to Westfield; with eight regimental houses in the village, the regiment could not run to such expenditure.¹⁵¹

Westfield's subsequent agreement with Guinness Northern Counties would, along with the financial boost accrued from the sale of a number of properties to sitting tenants, effectively end the charity's need to fundraise. Guinness had agreed to take over the day to day running of the community as well as all of the associated structural and maintenance issues. This had

¹⁴⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 17 & April 24, 1950, pp.24-26

¹⁵⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, October 29, 1973, pp.118, 120-121; *Westfield Minute Book 8*, July 29, 1974, pp.145-149

¹⁵¹ Correspondence of Col Dundas with the King's Own Royal Regiment Old Comrades' Association, September 18, 1969 (The Merriman Collection)

been the main financial burden for Westfield, and its removal meant that the charity could now use the interest from its long-term investments (including the aforementioned house sales) to meet its more limited commitments. However, while the need for donations had ceased, the changes in the charity's financial fortunes did not result in either the local military (which had merged again to become the Duke of Lancaster's Regiment in 2003) or the Storey family reducing their voluntary commitments. An ongoing sense of duty, responsibility, loyalty and tradition appears to have compelled both parties to remain engaged. Furthermore, all of these motivational elements had been derived from a wholly parochial response to what had initially been envisioned as a national undertaking.

Conclusion

Westfield's network of supportive philanthropists and volunteers were driven to help disabled ex-servicemen by a complex web of motivations that ran the full range from the selfless to the self-serving. Most of these motivations conformed with the eight key 'triggers' presented by Bekkers and Wiepking as the most consistent motivators for giving referenced by leading academics in the twentieth century – from awareness of need to the enhancement of an individual's own reputation.¹⁵² However, as Bekkers and Wiepking have conceded, most of the work that provided the basis for their research was focused on small periods of time. The Westfield case study has taken a far more historic (100 year) approach, and as a result of this some interesting anomalies have arisen. Indeed, I would argue that the very survival and ongoing success of the settlement has been tied to the kind of motivational forces that might only be expected to develop over a prolonged period of time, including tradition, loyalty, pride and emotional ownership. Such 'triggers' did not achieve the same levels of influence in Bekkers and Wiepking's research, and may well have been

¹⁵² Bekkers and Wiepking, *Generosity and Philanthropy*, p.3

precluded as a direct result of the more short-term focus of much of the material they sourced.

Westfield was meant to be one settlement among a large nationwide network, and the downscaling of the project presented fundraisers with a number of challenges – the outreach of their appeals, and bids for high-profile patronage, were inevitably damaged. However, the parochialism of the project would ultimately be turned into one of its great strengths, allowing the settlement's founders, Herbert Lushington Storey and Thomas H. Mawson, to exert their social and professional influences to attract donations, civic dignitaries and experienced voluntarists onto their committee. Although most of these individuals came from more privileged social circles, they were primarily chosen (sometimes quite cynically) for the skills they could bring to bear. In fact, Westfield does not appear to have felt either the pressure or need to become more socially inclusive – a stance seemingly at odds with many of its counterparts during the twentieth century who, according to Savage, felt under considerable pressure to at least appear to be more socially inclusive.¹⁵³

Most of Westfield's voluntarists were handed levels of responsibility that enticed them into considerable levels of personal commitment, which often began a self-fulfilling process - the longer such individuals remained involved the more the kind of enduring motivational themes referenced earlier could come to the fore. This proved particularly true for the Storey family, who effectively took on the mantle of guardians of the settlement by providing large philanthropic gifts as well as continuing to lead the voluntary committee. It was a situation that resulted in much of the Storeys' modern familial heritage becoming intrinsically tied to the settlement. A similar scenario developed with the local infantry regiment (the King's Own), whose senior officers accepted automatic succession onto the voluntary committee. As a result, ongoing support for Westfield became written into the

¹⁵³ M. Savage, *Affluence And Social Change In The Making Of Technocratic Middle Class Identities: Britain, 1939-1955*, *Contemporary British History*, Vol.22, no.4, (2008), p.470

fabric of the regiment for much of the twentieth century. Such relations take decades to mature, but some successful shortcuts have been identified by the Westfield charity. For example, spouses of long-serving members of the voluntary committee have been asked to succeed their partners while professionals, such as bank managers, have been urged to hand on the commitment of their service to their replacement. Such acts of parochial succession have ensured the continuation of a personal or professional form of lineage complete with the weight (and, in some cases, burden) of expectation and history.

There is clearly little doubt that rather than allowing the parochial nature of the settlement to become a problem for Westfield, it has been turned into an asset that has served to strengthen the bonds and commitment of those on whom its dependency has deepened. This is an outcome very much in keeping with Prochaska's claim that one of the great strengths of local charities has remained their ability to build networks that can circumnavigate most challenges.¹⁵⁴ However, the Westfield case study also shows how a strategic approach that ties the fiscal security of a charitable enterprise to the financial well-being of a small philanthropic base is not without danger. This was highlighted when the well-being of the company run by the settlement's main benefactors (the Storey family) became compromised and the kind of financial aid previously enjoyed was no longer forthcoming. Nevertheless, the Storey's ties to the community had by this time become so strong that members of the family continued to play a key role as volunteers in securing a safe and relevant future for the settlement under the wing of a professional housing association. In so doing they provided further evidence of the crucial role that paternalism has come to play at Westfield.

¹⁵⁴ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p.9

Chapter Three: Implementation

It is not in the man-made town, though near it, but out among God's creations in His country that we will place our crippled soldier, and our task is to find him means of livelihood, means of mental and spiritual culture, and a place in which to live among such surroundings.¹

Westfield was constructed to address a number of specific challenges it was feared disabled war veterans would encounter on their return to civilian life. As explained in chapter one, the primary concern had always been to find a way of negating the kind of economic hardships that it was feared disabled ex-servicemen would face in the post-war years. Thomas H. Mawson, however, was also committed to the role that quality housing and the wider natural environment might play in the psychological, if not physical, recovery of the disabled. There were clear sensitivities involved in such undertakings and Deborah Cohen has argued that many of the visionary philanthropists who embarked on similar projects did not prove themselves responsive or sensitive enough to the magnitude of the task. Speaking in general terms, Cohen has gone so far as to claim that all too often these philanthropists 'blithely disregarded' the desires of their beneficiaries to prioritise their own ambitions:

Charity was, of course, far from adequate when it came to the real business of caring for disabled men. Philanthropists had their own, often unorthodox, stakes in the war's victims; they often blithely disregarded their charges' desires.²

This chapter will explore the validity of such a claim in relation to the built and natural environment that was constructed, and continues to be maintained, at Westfield. It will do so by looking at the original structural vision for the community and the way this was executed, while also seeking to identify the ideological and practical blueprints that may have influenced the Westfield philanthropists and voluntarists at various points in the

¹ T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Settlements for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors* (London, 2017), p.6

² D. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), p.8

village's history.³ There have been many changes to housing and disability legislation throughout the history of the community, and this chapter will address those that have presented the most considerable challenges. It will also explore how sensitive the Westfield decision makers have been to these changes and the kind of impact this has had on the residents. This is a particularly important point, as it has long been accepted by those working in the field of housing for disability that the built environment can (to quote Robert Imrie and Peter Hall) play a key role in 'shaping the ways in which people lead their lives' while proving an 'enabling or disabling factor' in its own right.⁴ The main focus of this chapter will be the key phases of house building between the 1920s and 1950s, and the move towards greater understanding of the architectural needs, and rights, of disabled people in the 1960s and 1970s. The views of the present secretary and residents are also taken into consideration.

An Imperial Obligation contained three different models for villages for disabled servicemen: the first a 'suburban colony' situated on the outskirts of an industrial town, the second an extension to an existing village in which some small form of industry was already established, and the third 'a virgin site' on which a whole new village could be created from scratch.⁵ Westfield did not fit snugly into any of these constructs, but would become a hybrid of the first and third options - a suburban settlement on the edge of a thriving commercial and industrial centre that would be built-to-purpose on 15 acres of mainly virgin land. As stated in the opening chapter, the decision not to provide a major industrial focal point at Westfield would only serve to place greater prominence on the community's role as a provider of affordable but quality housing with restorative qualities. In addition, Mawson's aesthetic templates, and the practical function that the built environment was expected to

³ See for example: J. Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London, 1991); P. Nuttgens, *The Home Front: Housing the People 1840-1990* (London, 1989); R. Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain, 1780-1914: Class, Capitalism and Construction* (London, 1989)

⁴ R. Imrie and P. Hall, 'An Exploration of Disability and the Development Process', *Urban Studies*, Vol .38, no.4, 2001, p.333

⁵ T.H. Mawson, *The Life And Work Of An English Landscape Architect* (London, 1927), pp.30-31

play, would remain unaltered by the downsizing of the original vision. Given the focus of this thesis, it is my intention to explore the principles of design at Westfield in relation to disability, rather than provide an in-depth analysis of the architectural influences *per se*.⁶ In exploring such a specific aspect of the community's design I intend to provide a better understanding of the processes (paternalistic or otherwise) that influenced the foundations of what would ultimately become the community's structural and environmental ethos something which has gone on to have a major influence on the day to day experiences and quality of life of all those who have subsequently lived there.

Thomas H. Mawson's vision for a network of settlements pre-dated Lloyd George's 'homes for heroes' campaign by more than a year, but the idea of constructing better housing and communities for the average family to increase well-being and productivity had preceded both. This was exemplified by the significant nineteenth century movement of industrial and model settlements championed by leading philanthropists such as Sir Titus Salt at Saltaire in Yorkshire, Lord Leverhulme at Port Sunlight in Lancashire, the Cadburys at Bourneville in the Midlands, and the Rowntrees at New Earswick in York. The landscape and architectural designer Richard Unwin had incorporated the key principles of what would come to be known as the 'Garden City Movement' at the latter of these settlements.⁷ In a clear statement of intent, Walter S. Rowntree had been invited to become a member of Mawson's first national committee for disabled settlements, while Lord Leverhulme, a personal friend and client of Mawson, provided financial support.⁸

The architectural templates provided by the new innovators of social housing had been in harmony with Mawson's own guiding philosophy. Unwin, for example, believed that every

⁶ For those who would like more insight into architectural designs, Mawson & Sons archive of drawings and plans is held by the Cumbrian County Archive, in Kendal. The Westfield files are clearly differentiated. See, for example, the files A99/1, A99/2 and A99/3

⁷ Unwin was subsequently responsible for bringing Ebenezer Howard's first 'Garden City' to fruition at Letchworth. See more in relation to all of this in: Nuttgens, *The Home Front*, p.41; and J. Burnett, *A Social History*, p.183

⁸ Leverhulme, for whom Mawson carried out a number of landscaping projects, provided financial support for an afforestation scheme planned by Mawson and Storey at Meathop in Lancashire

environment had a direct impact on the mental and physical well-being of those who interacted with it, claiming that the incorporation of elements of semi-ruralism into a housing development (such as attractive planting schemes and a sense of airiness and space via smaller concentrations of variable property types) could play an influential role in the mental stability of the occupants. It was a concept that was embraced and echoed by Mawson in his first book, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making*, published in 1900. This book had included his own treatise that men could be 'greatly changed and positively affected' by their physical environment.⁹ Mawson's commitment to the psychological benefits of attractive, spacious and natural environments would, of course, be of huge relevance to the future well-being of the ex-servicemen who inhabited his disabled settlements. It also explains why so many of Unwin's key principles for the Garden City Movement were revisited (and sometimes repackaged) in *An Imperial Obligation*, and why so many of them would later be implemented at Westfield – Mawson's first attempt at designing a community of his own. For example, Mawson would closely adhere to Unwin's insistence that no more than 12 houses be allotted to an acre in order to avoid over-crowding, whilst also ensuring that all properties (primarily designed in the Arts and Crafts' style) were set out in short terraces and cul-de-sacs that shared enough traits to create a sense of unity, but included enough differences to also provide their occupants with a sense of individuality. Also in keeping with Unwin's templates, the housing would look out onto wide, tree lined avenues that converged on a central cog or focal point. The overall goal was to create a sense of space and reconnection with the natural world.¹⁰ It was a new concept for Lancaster at the time, with most of the residential building work around the town prior to the First World War having been Victorian-style terraces, with variations in size, outlook and quality for the different types of wage earner. The working classes (on whom Westfield was

⁹ T.H Mawson, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making* (London, 1900), p.20

¹⁰ Nuttgens, *The Home Front*, pp.38-39

focused) had primarily been housed in smaller terraces with even smaller back yards to ensure maximum density.’¹¹

The belief that Unwin and Mawson held in the restorative and healing powers of aesthetic design had not, however, been limited to landscapers, architects and town planners, it had also been in sympathy with the principles of ‘good practice’ established in the Victorian era in relation to structural design and medical rehabilitation. Furthermore, it was an ethos that continued to be embraced during the Edwardian era.¹² In fact the broader concepts of the approach had long-since permeated into wider society, with the horrors of the industrialised battlefields of the First World War only serving to further stimulate idealistic attitudes towards forms of nostalgic naturalism and ruralism. Jeffrey Reznick, for example, has explained how this fed into the design of military hospitals for the wounded of the war, showing how many hospital designers sought to introduce more natural light alongside wider, open corridors that created the all-important sense of space along with patio-style doors that opened onto gardens to provide a direct connection to the natural world.¹³ The following quotation is from one of the largest military hospitals built during the conflict, the First Eastern in Cambridge:

[...] the ward blocks utilised the natural progression of the sun and wind as key elements in the treatment of patients by open air. The north side of each ward was protected by louvres, yet open close to the roof to ensure free circulation of air throughout. The south side opened entirely onto verandahs and small gardens [...] this arrangement provided a step-less exit for patients into the hospital gardens. Here they could continue their fresh air treatment [...]¹⁴

The concept of ‘fresh air treatment’ was seen as a simple but essential psychological tool by a medical community which had, by necessity, become far more heavily focused on surgical

¹¹ S. Constantine, N. Dalziel, M. Mullet, D. Shotter, A. Warde, A. White and M. Winstanley, *A History of Lancaster* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.195

¹² Felix Driver has written about the leading role of Victorian medical authorities and social reformers in the propagation of the argument that the physical environment of an institution could help in its role as an instrument of cure in establishments such as workhouses. See for example: F. Driver, *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System 1834-1854* (Cambridge, 1993), p.23

¹³ See chapter two of: J.S. Reznick, *Healing The Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain During the Great War* (Manchester, 2004)

¹⁴ Reznick, *Healing The Nation*, p.47

and prosthetic improvements as a result of the kind of injuries that had resulted from the war. Growing acceptance/recognition of psychiatric damage, such as shellshock, had also placed further import on pastoral and restorative treatments, although the officer class often benefitted more from this than the rank and file.¹⁵ The former Commander in Chief of the British forces in the First World War, Sir Douglas Haig, would make specific reference to the vital role of natural aesthetics at the official opening of Westfield in 1924 – stating that the community’s attractive surroundings would surely help the tenants find ‘peace’ again.¹⁶ The commitment of the Westfield founders, Thomas H. Mawson and Herbert Lushington Storey, to this principle were further underlined by their plans to create a sister settlement to the one at Lancaster further up the coast at Meathop in Cumbria believing that an afforestation scheme away from the bustle of the commercial world would be ideal for men suffering from shellshock and other ‘nervous diseases’.¹⁷ Mawson produced a short print run of a 46-page volume about the project which was published as a ‘sequel’ to *An Imperial Obligation*.¹⁸ Although the scheme at a former Red Cross facility for men with respiratory problems did not progress, it did generate debate in the local media – not in relation to the validity of the claim that it might help men with mental ailment, which appears to have been generally accepted, but as to whether or not it could ever prove itself economically self-sustaining.¹⁹

Given the thinking of the period, it is hardly surprising that most of the settlements set up to assist disabled veterans after the First World War placed the restorative power of the natural world at the heart of their design. The Scottish Veterans’ Garden City Association for

¹⁵ For more on such issues see, for example: F. Kennedy, ‘On the Nature of Nervousness in Soldiers’ in *War Medicine* (American Red Cross Society, Paris, 1918); F. Mott, *War Neuroses and Shellshock* (London, 1919); R. Cooter, ‘War and Modern Medicine’ in W.F. Bynam and R. Porter (eds), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine* (New York, 1997); P. Barham, *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War* (London, 2004)

¹⁶ See: ‘Earl Haig at Lancaster’, *The Lancaster Observer*, November 28, 1924

¹⁷ *The Lancaster Guardian*, December 13, 1919, p.4

¹⁸ T.H. Mawson, *Afforestation and the Partially Disabled*, (London, 1917)

¹⁹ Mawson entered into a high-profile debate with one critic through the pages of a local newspaper: ‘Victory Villages: Mr T.H. Mawson Replies To A Critic’: *The Lancaster Observer*, December 27, 1918, p.6

the housing of wounded servicemen, for example, was established in 1915 by the Edinburgh MP Hugo Wemyss and his wife at Longniddry, East Lothian, after they had visited a number of English 'garden cities' for inspiration.²⁰ Model villages for disabled veterans at Preston Hall, Kent (that Mawson's early national committee had been involved in), Papworth Village in Cambridgeshire and Barrowmore in Cheshire, grew out of hospitals or colonies built in rural or semi-rural surrounds for men with respiratory difficulties.²¹ The large facility at Enham in Hampshire (tagged-on to a semi-rural village that had been purchased in its entirety in 1919) included 1,000 acres of land with housing, farms and associated agricultural operations.²² A major housing development constructed by Haig Memorial Homes at Morden, Surrey, in 1929 was described in architectural plans as a 'model garden city'.²³ More humble concerns such as The Women's Scientific Co-Operative Farm for disabled soldiers and sailors at the 65-acre Vanguard Farm in Sutton Valance, Kent, and Goatland, created by the architect Mrs Annabelle Dott on the Yorkshire Moors, also operated in sympathy with the prevailing faith in the recuperative qualities of the natural world.²⁴ The environmental focus of such facilities (and there were many more) suggests that the aesthetic and rehabilitative ethos at Westfield had been constructed on solid contemporary foundations, and that neither Mawson nor his supporters could be accused of having acted in a singular or unthinking fashion by placing such concerns at the heart of their own approach to the housing and healing of disabled veterans. Nevertheless, it would be how they chose to execute their vision that would be most important, as houses built in an inaccessible fashion can (as Laura Hemingway has argued in a recent treatise on housing design for the disabled in the twenty-first century) severely restrict disabled individuals and

²⁰ C. Dakers, *The Countryside at War 1914-1918* (London, 1987), pp.198-199

²¹ For more on the Papworth Village Settlement see: <http://www.papworthtrust.org.uk/about-us/our-history> (Papworth Trust official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²² Enham Promotional Leaflet in the Imperial War Museum, London, archive cited in Dakers, *The Countryside*, pp.196-197; also see <https://www.enhamtrust.org.uk/about-enham-trust/timeline> (Enham Trust official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²³ R. Hasted, *Domestic Housing for Disabled Veterans 1900-2014* (English Heritage, unpublished research, 2016), p.10

²⁴ Dakers, *The Countryside*, pp.196-197

their families and result in levels of dependency that negatively affect their lifestyle choices.²⁵ Indeed, an article from the *Disability News Service* claims that receiving a permanent impairment does not automatically have to result in 'disablement' if a considerate approach is taken towards the right kind of practical support.²⁶

In discussing the housing needs of disabled veterans and their families it is necessary to try and identify the nature of those needs: a man who has lost both legs will, of course, face very different challenges from a man who has lost his sight. The record keeping in relation to such issues varies greatly in terms of both quantity and quality on Westfield, and would seem to have been tied to the whim of the secretary responsible for the upkeep of the minute books at any given time. For example, the village's first secretary, Captain Fraser Dawson, appears to have placed far more import on it than the next two incumbents of the post. This is not as problematic as might first appear, as most of the approach to the built and aesthetic environment at Westfield was established in the early years and then upheld in the ensuing decades. Understanding the ethos of the formative years is therefore central to understanding much of what was to follow.

The first meeting at Westfield to discuss applications from would-be tenants took place in August 1920, when it was stated that 36 disabled men had applied for residency. With the first three cottages nearing completion it was recommended that the following veterans be approved: Mr T. Cragg, a father of two whose left leg had been amputated, Mr J. Rumley, another father of two who had a 100 per cent disablement (paralysis) as the result of several 'severe' wounds, and Mr C. Howse, a father of five with a severe leg injury.²⁷ In November of the same year it was stated that a further property, 'Herbert Storey Cottage', would soon be

²⁵ L. Hemingway, *Disabled People and Housing: Choices, Opportunities and Barriers* (Bristol, 2011) p.1

²⁶ 'War and Impairment: The Social Consequences of Disablement', *Disability News Service*, November 2014, <http://ukdhm.org/v2/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/UK-Disability-history-month-2014-Broadsheet.pdf#p10> (Disability News Service website) last accessed April 19, 2017

²⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, August 24, 1920, pp.289-290

completed and that it would be allotted to a Mr S. Carney, 'who is totally disabled'. It was added that Mr Carney would only occupy this cottage temporarily, and would transfer to a bungalow once one was ready for occupation.²⁸ What this shows is that there was a basic recognition among the inaugural committee of the need for some form of correlation between the nature of a man's disability and the kind of housing he would require. It is an interesting insight, as the principles of sympathetic structural design for the disabled were still very much in a state of infancy.

Most of the historiography of housing for the disabled focuses on the institutionalised approach that pre-dated the twentieth century, before moving on to what is seen as the more enlightened approach that came after the first truly concerted nationwide campaign for better disabled access to buildings instigated by the Central Council for the Care of Cripples in the 1950s.²⁹ The period during and after the First World War has largely been overlooked, with far more focus being given to the general social housing agenda related to Lloyd George's 'Homes for Heroes' campaign. As mentioned in the introduction, the historiography on the housing of disabled veterans, and particularly settlements such as Westfield, has been marginal. Even the most insightful academic research produced to date on the settlements (by Cohen) only refers to the issue within limited confines as a small element of a much broader treatise.³⁰ The two most recent additions to the historiography, from English National Heritage and the military housing provider Hague Homes, provide excellent context for historians but have intentionally focused more on general historic themes than specific academic analysis.³¹ This paucity of academic discussion and research is

²⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, November 8, 1920, pp.311-312

²⁹ J. Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: Soul of a Nation* (Manchester, 2009), p. 186

³⁰ Cohen talked principally about the issues of social control on the settlements at the Stoll Mansions in London, Enham in Hampshire, and the Royal British Legion Village in Kent as part of her research into the different way the disabled ex-servicemen of German and Britain were treated after the First World War and the impact this had on their behaviour. Cohen, *The War Come Home*

³¹ Rachel Hasted's research for English Heritage to try and quantify the number of settlements and housing clusters created in the 20th century for disabled veterans in England contains some extremely useful architectural background and detail: Hasted, *Domestic Housing*; Anna MacLeod's history of Haig Housing Trust is excellent for general context into motivation and

surprising, as in many ways the disabled settlement movement of the First World War could be described as ‘pioneering’.

To understand the levels of foresight involved in the movement in relation to building for the disabled, it should be noted that it was not until 1963 that Selwyn Goldsmith wrote what is widely credited as the first serious architectural blueprint for disability design.³² In addition, local authorities would not be legally obliged to consider providing specialist accommodation for disabled people until 1973 – the latter at a time when a Government survey had shown that only five per cent of disabled people in Britain were living in suitable accommodation and that 25 per cent lacked even the most basic of amenities as a direct result of inaccessible design.³³ The primary evidence shows that the philanthropists involved in the movement for disabled settlements had grappled with many of these issues decades earlier. There were, of course, significant changes to legislation and architectural thinking in the latter part of the twentieth century that moved things forward immeasurably, and while it is not the ambition of this thesis to provide a full analysis, the influence in recent years of ‘Inclusive Design’ cannot be ignored.

Inclusive Design is described by the UK Design Council as an approach that does not treat access for the disabled as a separate specialism, but one in which designers strive to ensure that their work serves the needs of the greatest possible audience, irrespective of age or ability.³⁴ This is a relatively modern concept and one whose influence will be felt far more in future years at Westfield than it has to date, but even here the primary evidence shows that the First World War philanthropists had considered many of the basic principles of this ‘new’

practicality, although it does deal in broader historic strokes: A. MacLeod, *Coming Home: Haig Housing Trust – A Hundred Years of Housing Heroes* (London, 2014)

³² S. Goldsmith, *Designing for the Disabled* (Undetermined, 1963)

³³ E. Topliss, *Provision for the Disabled* (London, 1975), pp.83-86

³⁴ For more see: <http://www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/disability-and-ability-towards-new-understanding> (Design Council official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

approach, even if they did not always implement them. Thomas H. Mawson had certainly been aware of many of the practical considerations involved in designing for the disabled. For example, he acknowledged in *An Imperial Obligation* that one of the biggest challenges he expected to face on his settlements was the need to achieve a design ‘for aesthetic betterment as well as increased practicability’.³⁵ Mawson even made reference to specific concerns, stating that lifts might be provided at businesses on the settlement ‘not only for the easier conveyance of materials and articles of trade, but for use by those employees too crippled for the safe or easy climbing of stairs’.³⁶ In a synopsis to *An Imperial Obligation* he added that ‘all public buildings, religious and secular, would be contrived with broadened doorways, aisles and gangways for the accommodation of bath chairs and wheeled litters’.³⁷ This was in keeping with his recognition of the work of his contemporaries in the same field, and his claim that the key to best-practice lay in learning from each other:

We agree that we have all that could be desired already of societies for helping the discharged, and especially the disabled, soldier, but these all work along specialised lines and largely without co-ordination. What is required, therefore, is some means of collating the results obtained by others and adding many times to their efficiency.³⁸

Among those whose work he mentioned was that of the philanthropic London theatre and music hall owner Sir Oswald Stoll at The War Seal Mansions in London.³⁹ This settlement for disabled veterans had been funded by the War Seal Foundation charity, established by Stoll in 1916 to provide disabled ex-servicemen and their families with work and housing.⁴⁰ The mansions had been designed with practical rather than aesthetic concerns to the fore, including purpose-built apartments in flat blocks that featured wider doorways for ease of wheelchair access, elevators so that men with mobility problems did not have to climb stairs,

³⁵ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.13

³⁶ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.34

³⁷ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.103

³⁸ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.85

³⁹ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, preface p.xx

⁴⁰ Details courtesy of unpublished research dated 13 December 1913 by R. Hasted, *Veterans’ Village Settlements in England* (English Heritage, 2013)

lowered work surfaces sympathetic to those in wheelchairs, and bespoke washing and bathing facilities that gave even the most severely disabled of veterans the possibility of enjoying essential comforts without the need of help.⁴¹ At a more basic level, the Housing Association for Officers' Families would build a cluster of 14 houses at Howes Place, Cambridge, in 1920 that included properties with downstairs bedrooms for amputees and men with mobility concerns.⁴² However, despite Mawson's recognition of the value of such sympathetic structural features, the minute books of his national committee for the housing of disabled veterans (Industrial Settlements Ltd) hold no reference to there ever having been discourse about such issues.⁴³ Likewise, his autobiography does not mention such themes, which is in contrast to the regular and ongoing dialogue he enjoyed with those of his peers who shared his interest in natural aesthetics. In fact, the first implementation of 'sympathetic design' on the Westfield community would not be instigated by Mawson at all, but instead appears to have been imposed upon him.

In 1920 a letter was sent to Herbert Lushington Storey by the Dean of Worcester who, having heard about the Westfield project, wished to draw the northern philanthropist's attention to an already successful housing scheme called 'Gheluvelt' in his home area. This was a small commemorative development in Worcester for disabled ex-servicemen of the First World War that was made up of bungalows, and the Westfield committee decided to send a representation (that did not include Mawson) to inspect them. On their return, the fact-finders described the bungalows as being 'most suitable for badly disabled ex-servicemen', and Mawson's firm, T.H. Mawson & Sons, was duly informed to prepare plans

⁴¹ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.34

⁴² Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, p.11

⁴³ The minutes of the annual general meetings of Industrial Settlements Incorporated, 1921-1925 are privately held, but were commercially downloadable for a brief period from: <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/138040811/AGM-minutes-industrial-settlements> (now defunct website that sold historic documents commercially) last accessed June 25, 2015. The Westfield Archive has extracts of the documents.

for similar properties at Westfield.⁴⁴ The broader issue of just who was controlling the design process at Westfield will be discussed later in the chapter, but it is clear that the bungalows were not Mawson's idea. The first phase of building at Westfield would include eight of these single-storey properties, and the men chosen as tenants and stand-ins at the next selection meeting highlighted the need for more: Mr R. Edmondson, who had 100 per cent disability and paralysis, Mr J. Fryers, who was an amputee missing both feet, Mr J.W. Barker, who was said to be badly disabled through rheumatism and had also lost the use of a leg as the result of severe 'gunshot' damage, Mr J. Wood, whose right leg had been amputated, Mr J. Clarke, who had lost his left leg, Mr S. Carney, who had a 100 per cent disability (paralysis), Mr J.H. Lever, who had lost his left leg, and Mr C. Howse, whose disabilities included a 'severe' injury to a leg. In addition, the following men were put on the waiting list for the next available properties: Mr J. Clarkson and Mr J. Taylor, both of whom had lost their left legs, and Mr F. Clarkson and Mr M. Lancaster, who were also missing a leg.⁴⁵ It is hardly surprising that Iris Roberts, whose father (the aforementioned Mr Lancaster) was one of the first occupants, recalled that there had been a preponderance of men with mobility issues when she was growing up on the village:

My dad lost a leg in the war. He had a bit of a struggle walking. Mr Taylor lived next door; he had lost a leg as well. There was a man who would walk around the bowling green for the exercise; he had lost his legs [...]⁴⁶

While the primary evidence clearly suggests that the majority of the initial intake of Westfield tenants were men who had lost lower limbs, the next properties to be erected were a pair of two-storey cottages built at the behest of the regiment of the King's Own, which had funded them.⁴⁷ Soon after, in April 1924, the minute books told the story of two badly disabled ex-servicemen who had asked to be housed in bungalows instead of cottages

⁴⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, July 26, 1920, pp.279-280; *Westfield Minute Book 2*, August 19, 1920, pp.281-282; *Westfield Minute Book 2*, Sept 24, 1920. pp.298-300

⁴⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, May 12, 1921, pp.339-340.

⁴⁶ I. Roberts, Interview with M. Purdy, March 12, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁴⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 2*. March 13, 1922, pp.419-420; *Westfield Minute Book 2*, April 3, 1922, pp.426-427.

because of their mobility problems. In response, it was noted that all of the bungalows were occupied and that there were no further plans to build more. It was decided instead to ascertain if any of the existing occupants of the bungalows would accept alternative accommodation in order to make room for the new cases that had even worse mobility problems than themselves.⁴⁸

Surprisingly, given the clear demand for single-storey housing, all of the properties constructed in the mid-1920s (as part of a second phase of development) were two-storey cottages that, like the King's Own houses, came without modifications for men with mobility issues. It was a decision taken despite the fact that the minute books had only recently recorded the story of a Mr Hull, who had been offered one of the new properties but replied that he would not be able to live in it because his disabilities meant 'he could only make use of downstairs accommodation'. A Mr Howse, who was also suffering with 'severe' disabilities and had been given a bungalow in the first phase because of his poor mobility, later agreed to move into one of the new two-storey properties so that Mr Hull could have his bungalow.⁴⁹ Despite ongoing problems of a similar nature, the matter was still not addressed when a third building phase was completed in the early 1930s meaning many of the lower limb amputees were forced to live in the downstairs of two-storey properties as a result. Among these men was Herbert Billington, who had lost an arm and a leg in the First World War.⁵⁰ Mr Billington never managed to get a bungalow on the community but would ultimately transfer to a two-storey cottage that at least offered the dignity of a downstairs lavatory and a second ground floor room (in the form of a parlour) that could be converted into a bedroom.⁵¹ His daughter-in-law later recalled that she 'used to feel very sorry' for her

⁴⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, April 28, 1924, pp.511-513.

⁴⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, July 2, 1928, pp.667-669.

⁵⁰ See *Appendix vi*

⁵¹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, Sept 7, Sept 10, Sept 14, Oct 5 & Oct 16, 1931, pp.757-759, 761.

father-in-law as he would sleep downstairs 'because he couldn't get up the stairs in the house'.⁵²

For those amputees who were lucky enough to get a bungalow, there were still numerous problems to be overcome. Iris Roberts recalled that her father (a lower limb amputee) struggled to get up the substantial front and back steps that had been laid as part of the standard design of all but two of these single-storey properties.⁵³ It was a situation that upset some residents, with a Mrs Hrachiwina stating during an interview in her later years: 'That isn't catering for disabled people is it!' She added that one of the early residents of the bungalows had found it easier (though somewhat undignified) to climb over a large stone at the entrance to his property rather than use the steps.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the doors of the properties do not appear to have been made wide enough for wheelchairs – a report in the 1980s stated that two of the bungalows that needed to be rebuilt at the time (because of subsistence problems) were to be reconstructed with new and wider doorways to address the issue of wheelchair access.⁵⁵ Modern wheelchairs are, of course, far more narrow and mobile than the largely cumbersome items the veterans of the First World War would have used.

The approach of the early committees towards structural practicality does not appear to have been challenged at any point during the community's main periods of growth. In an interview in 2014 Thomas Prentice Mawson (the grandson of T.H. Mawson) said that he could not recall the subject of sympathetic design for the disabled ever having been discussed when he was the architect in charge of the final two housing projects overseen by the Westfield charity in the late 1940s and early 1950s. These developments (including eight properties on Peel Crescent and four on Porritt Avenue) had been built in response to the

⁵² I. Billington, Interview with M. Purdy, February 17, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁵³ Roberts, Interview with M. Purdy

⁵⁴ P. Hrachiwina, Interview with A. Drury, June 15, 2004 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁵⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, March 16, 1987, pp.248-249, 251-253, 256

need for housing for a new generation of disabled ex-servicemen created by the Second World War and once again they consisted of larger two-storey properties with steep stairs and substantive gardens. When asked about the consideration given to issues relating to the practicality of the designs of these properties, Thomas Prentice replied:

I honestly can't answer as to the sort of philosophical thinking of what was needed [in relation to sympathetic design] although I think this must have come to a fair degree as sort of feedback from either the committee of the village or their liaison, which might be the secretary of the time.⁵⁶

It is a surprising statement given that concerted efforts were being made throughout this period to put the issue of disabled access on the national housing agenda for the first time – the debate having grown considerably as a direct result of the type of injuries incurred during the Second World War.⁵⁷ Indeed, the British Legion was offering grants to adapt homes for disabled veterans (including funds to move bathrooms and toilets on to ground floors) throughout this period.⁵⁸ To highlight the wider recognition of such issues, the original plans for a major new development of war memorial homes started in Bournemouth in 1946 (prior to the aforementioned post-Second-World-War work on Westfield beginning) were changed to allow for more bungalows because of the huge demand for them. Likewise, a settlement modelled on Westfield at Derby (which opened in 1955) was built with raised flower beds, wider doorways and halls for wheelchairs and attached garages for mobility vehicles.⁵⁹ Thomas Prentice Mawson's suggestion that it might have been the Westfield committee or secretary who would have been responsible for raising such practical concerns, as opposed to the architect, is perplexing. While the Westfield committee had always endeavoured to solicit members with practical skills, they had never sought to attract anybody from an architectural background – presumably because this was the role expected of T.H. Mawson & Sons. Indeed, Thomas Prentice would claim in the same interview that his

⁵⁶ T.P. Mawson, Interview with M. Purdy, January 10, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁵⁷ J. Anderson, *War, Disability*, p. 186

⁵⁸ R. Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, p.19

⁵⁹ R. Hasted, *Domestic Housing*, pp.22-23

family continued to pride itself on having designed 'every blade of grass' on the settlement prior to the community's partnership with Guinness Northern Counties in the 1980s.⁶⁰ Just who was responsible for driving the structural ethos of Westfield is, as such, open to a degree of conjecture.

Although the original vision had been for a number of architects to be involved in designing Westfield (which would have been in keeping with the Garden City principle of achieving variety in style), it was not an ambition that was ever fulfilled. An advertisement had been placed in the local press asking architects from the surrounding district to submit designs for the first eight houses in 1919,⁶¹ but the contract ultimately went to T.H. Mawson & Sons and the process of tendering was never repeated again. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that Mawson and his successors were ultimately paid artisans and not beyond the influence of the Westfield committee. As such, the members of the Westfield housing sub-committee undoubtedly had a role to play in the decision to prioritise aesthetics over practical considerations. Indeed, in the most detailed record of interference in the architectural process, the lead philanthropist and autocrat, Herbert Lushington Storey, attempted to impose his view on aesthetic grounds. Unhappy with a cheaper, more uniform, design planned for the third phase of development in the 1930s, Storey suggested the properties be built more like the attractive cottages he had recently seen on a trip to the Cotswolds. Mawson's son Prentice (who was effectively running the family firm at this point) had to work with the village secretary, Lieutenant Cornel Wilson, and senior members of the Westfield committee behind Storey's back to find a way of persuading him that such properties would go way over budget and might also be seen as too extravagant to attract ongoing state subsidies. Storey was ultimately forced to back down, but could not resist paying out of his own pocket for two of the properties (subsequently labelled the 'Cotswold

⁶⁰ Mawson, Interview with M. Purdy

⁶¹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, August 28, 1919, pp.129-130

Cottages') to be designed in the style he wanted and whose heavy stone roofs would later need to be replaced at considerable cost to the charity.⁶² Similar details have not come to light about discussions (if indeed any took place) about the need to modify designs for the disabled. However, it is worth considering a number of relevant points.

While Thomas H. Mawson's early commitment to two-storey family cottages had clearly chimed with his own personal predilections as a landscape designer interested in the Arts and Crafts and Garden City movements, it is quite viable that his imposition of such styles at Westfield may still have been tied to practical goals. In the short term it was an approach very much in keeping with the directives of the Government Housing (Addison) Act of 1919, which stipulated that family homes (based on Unwin's Garden City principles) were what were most needed and would be most favoured when it came to state subsidies,⁶³ while in the longer term his designs provided an answer to early criticisms that bespoke housing schemes for the disabled would effectively become redundant once the First World War veterans had passed away. Indeed, Mawson had stated in response to the latter claim that it was his intention 'to make real villages growing from their own root, in which the children of our protégés would grow up and take their place'.⁶⁴ Essentially, he had taken the view from the outset that his communities would outlive their original purpose as homes for the disabled within the space of a generation, and would subsequently serve as attractive places for the wider public to live. The arrival of a Second World War and the conflicts that followed would complicate this vision, but Mawson (who died in 1933) could not have foreseen such an outcome. He had presided over the construction of the formative developments at Westfield with an eye to a peaceful future in which the community would ultimately stand or fall as a civilian facility inhabited by mainly able-bodied residents. While this does not provide an excuse for what appears at times to have been a failure to address

⁶² *Westfield Minute Book 3*, March 2, 1931, p.750;

⁶³ Nuttgens, *The Home Front*, p.10

⁶⁴ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.89

the specific needs of a number of the original occupants who had severe mobility issues, it does at least provide a broader context to his decision to seemingly ignore the need for single-storey properties – bungalows that would have demanded a far larger physical footprint on the limited 15-acre site if they were to meet the government’s remit of sizable family homes. Indeed, the fact that this was a village for families should not be underestimated, with the primary evidence suggesting that it was only applicants who were married with children who could expect a tenancy. It was not until the mid-period in the village’s life, when many of the children of the early tenants had grown up and moved away, that a large number of the houses could be described as being under occupied – primarily because they were too big for elderly couples, widows or widowers. In more recent years, many tenants with young families have returned to the community, and while some of the veterans involved may have had war or service related issues, they have not tended to be related to mobility.

Changes to legislation and improvements to disability aides resulted in a different (and seemingly more sympathetic) approach to practical design in the years after the final development that had been funded by the Westfield charity and overseen by Thomas Prentice Mawson. For example, among a proliferation of new products for the disabled in the 1950s had been large motorised wheelchairs that were difficult to house. Despite the practical problems these vehicles posed, the new generation of Westfield voluntarists were determined to accommodate them and funded the widening of pathways to a number of properties,⁶⁵ whilst also constructing special garages and sheds in which to house them.⁶⁶ Likewise, when the government offered adapted vehicles in the 1960s (nicknamed ‘ministry minis’) to those disabled tenants who could shelter them securely, the committee once

⁶⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 5. P44-46, 47-50, 51, July 31 & Oct 30 & Dec 18, 1950.*

⁶⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 6, November 30, 1959, pp.77-78*

again endeavoured to be supportive by building more communal garages.⁶⁷ However, by this time it was money that had become the major obstacle, particularly when it came to plans to build new properties that might meet the changing needs of the occupants. As a result, it was not until Westfield went into partnership with Guinness Northern Counties in the 1980s that the aforementioned problem of under-occupancy could be addressed and purpose-built, smaller properties erected for elderly couples, widows and widowers.

Just two flats for widows and widowers had been created on the Lancaster settlement in the early years, and Captain Alan Storey had raised concerns about this soon after becoming the third Westfield president in the early 1950s. His intervention came at a time when there were 19 family houses on the community occupied by elderly single residents, many of whom were finding the demands of maintaining them excessive. Furthermore, there were many veterans with large families still on the waiting list and eager to move into them.⁶⁸ The situation did not improve in the ensuing decades and it is worth noting that a large plot of land on the settlement (on Porritt Avenue) was gifted to Guinness Northern Counties 'freehold and free of charge' for the construction of eight one-bedroom flats for elderly single tenants soon after the Westfield charity entered into partnership with the housing association.⁶⁹ As a sign of the times, and the greater recognition of the need for accessible design, the Westfield committee would insist that the new ground floor flats be built on a 'mobility basis' for people in wheelchairs and that the stairs to the upstairs flats be wide enough to accommodate chair-lifts.⁷⁰ The housing association would subsequently erect 18 more flats (Ley Court) under a similar arrangement in 1994, with the Westfield committee going on to provide regular financial support for mobility aids such as handrails and stair-lifts in both these and other village properties. In 2005, in a move to improve accessibility across

⁶⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, January 30, 1967, pp.135-139; *Westfield Minute Book 7*, January 29, 1968, pp.172-176

⁶⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 30, 1951, pp.60-62, 65-68

⁶⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, January 17, 1983, pp.151, 153, 155-157

⁷⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, May 16, 1983, pp.158-163, 165-167

the whole of the village, the committee paid a considerable sum for handrails and better wheelchair access to Westfield House, the home of the charity's offices and residents' community rooms.⁷¹ However, there were other problems to consider, including the ongoing commitment to the wider environmental ethos of the Garden City Movement.

From the outset, every property on Westfield village had been built with a front and rear garden, with some also including additional side gardens. Rather than providing peace and relaxation for the disabled tenants, there was potential for the gardening commitments to become a source of strain. The first Westfield committee member to recognise this was the Mayoress, Mrs Briggs, who noted that the properties that were being built as part of the first phase of the development needed their gardens laying out and turning over. She stated that it was 'utterly impossible for these disabled men to dig over their gardens'. The committee agreed with her and resolved that the village secretary should engage a full-time gardener to help.⁷² This was a strange position for the charity to find itself in, as Mawson had again shown himself to be aware of such issues in *An Imperial Obligation*, stating that the demands of the gardens on his villages would need to be managed according to the abilities and desires of the veterans themselves:

[...] instead of giving each man a large garden which, in some cases, he is certain not to want however much others may, we have provided only a small one and arranged for allotment gardens and drying greens elsewhere, so that he may choose his house irrespective of the amount of ground he may desire.⁷³

As had largely proved the case in relation to the design of the houses, decisions were being taken that ran contrary to Mawson's original blueprint. Furthermore, while the committee's early recognition of the problem, and its willingness to fund a solution, had been admirable, lessons for the longer term had not been learned. Indeed, all of the properties built in the years that followed would continue to have large gardens, despite the fact that there was no

⁷¹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, September 26, 2005, pp.189, 191-196, 197-203, 204

⁷² *Westfield Minute Book 2*, October 31, 1921, pp.403-405

⁷³ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.45

real context for them within the wider community.⁷⁴ According to a local study, there had been a rapid expansion of housing stock in Lancaster from the 1870s, most of which consisted of Victorian terraces built outside of the town centre with limited outdoor space. The housing for the working classes was also terraced, but with variations in size, outlook and quality for different wage earners – and usually with small yards rather than gardens.⁷⁵ Mawson's decision to make such a feature of the gardens would have considerable implications on the well-being of the residents (as well as the financial resources of the Westfield charity) for the lifespan of the community. It was a situation that reached a point of crisis when the first generation of tenants reached old age. For example, in 1961 the Westfield committee agreed to fund additional gardening support after the village secretary (Colonel Dundas) warned that the by-now mainly elderly residents were incapable of maintaining 'the high standard' of the community on their own. The costs had been considerable at a time when the finances of the charity were in such a parlous state that nothing could be done to address the desperate need to modernise the majority of the properties.⁷⁶ However, it was a decision that was not without precedence; and one that can be highlighted by the kind of preferential treatment bestowed on the head gardeners.

Westfield's gardeners appear to have been in receipt of a far more generous rate of pay than their contemporaries from the outset, with the original incumbent (a war veteran called Dick Braithwaite) given a rent-free home for life as well as 'a war bonus' during the Second World War to help him cope with the rising cost of living.⁷⁷ His successor (another ex-serviceman called Walter Dixon) enjoyed regular pay rises as well as the benefits of the

⁷⁴ For more on this see: S. Constantine, N. Dalziel, M. Mullet, D. Shotter, A. Warde, A. White and M. Winstanley, *A History*; and A. White and M. Winstanley, *Victorian Terraced Houses in Lancaster* (Lancaster, 1996)

⁷⁵ S. Constantine, N. Dalziel, M. Mullet, D. Shotter, A. Warde, A. White and M. Winstanley, *A History of Lancaster* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.195

⁷⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, September 1961, pp.159-162

⁷⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, January 29, April 29 and July 6, 1940, pp. 90-91 and 96-98

new 40-hour working week in the 1960s.⁷⁸ At the time Westfield entered into partnership with Guinness Northern Counties, the housing association said that 'Mr Dixon was on the highest rate of wage' and that it could not 'in any way justify the annual cost of gardening met by the village'.⁷⁹ In order to retain Dixon's services the Westfield committee gave him a residence for life as well as an annual subsidy of £2,200 to boost his wage from the housing association.⁸⁰ When Dixon retired, his replacement was employed directly by Guinness Northern Counties with neither rent-free residence nor a Westfield subsidy, but, unhappy with the results of Guinness's seemingly lower expectations, the committee paid (and has since continued to pay) for additional gardening services out of its own funds to supplement the work being done by the housing association's own staff.⁸¹

Westfield's commitment to the healing value of the natural aesthetic has already been explored, but there can be little doubt that it was a commitment that at times became skewed. In fact, there is historic evidence of Westfield committees having been prepared to let concerns about the community's natural façade influence their decisions about tenancy during times of financial hardship - matching veterans with specific properties on the basis of their specific ability and willingness to look after a garden. For example, when two houses became vacant in 1959, an ex-serviceman with a lesser disability was given the more attractive property as it occupied a more prominent spot on the village. The assumption was clearly that this man would be better placed to uphold the higher standards expected of a garden that more people would see.⁸² Five years later a dwelling perceived as being 'the cornerstone of the village' (Herbert Storey Cottage) became vacant and the village secretary was described as 'anxious' to have it occupied as soon as possible - by a family who would be

⁷⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, January 31, 1966, pp.88-89, 91-92

⁷⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, Nov 29, 1982, pp.147-150

⁸⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, May 16, 1983, pp.158-163, 165-167

⁸¹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, March 19, pp.2007, 231-232, 239-240, 242, 244-245

⁸² *Westfield Minute Book 5*, Jan 12, 1959, pp.19-20

able to look after the garden in a way befitting for a property in such a prime position.⁸³

Although the main criteria of residence at the time remained that of war disability, it is a situation that highlights a considerable level of compromise that could see men of a lesser disability being favoured because of the potential impact on the upkeep (or lack of upkeep) of a particular garden and the effect this might have on the wider aesthetic.

Over the years, the Westfield committee's autocratic approach to environmental stewardship has embraced a wide range of issues from the colour of paint used for external gates, doors and fences ('Westfield Green' only) to the 'indiscriminate parking of vehicles' on the streets of the village. The parking issue was a particular bugbear for Colonel Dundas, the longest-running secretary (from the 1950s until the 1970s), who former resident Catherine Monks said would rigorously patrol the community and demand that any vehicles parked inappropriately be moved to a communal area at the bottom of Storey Avenue or one of the garage plots at Porritt Avenue.⁸⁴ Likewise, the equally long standing committee chairman Colonel Oglethorpe thought that telegraph poles were 'unsightly' and was most unhappy when a family moved onto the village in the 1960s and asked to install a telephone. In the face of adversity, the family resolved the situation by saying that they could get a shared line run from their daughter's house (which was close to the community) to circumvent the need for a telegraph pole on the village itself.⁸⁵ However, it would soon prove 'essential' to erect a pole on the settlement to cope with the growing demand from all residents to have telephones.⁸⁶ Technological progress had won, and by the time of the next major aesthetic intrusion in the 1990s (satellite dishes), the committee had lost much of its power to control the situation courtesy of a Conservation Order imposed by the local authority.

⁸³ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, October 26, 1964, pp.40-46

⁸⁴ C. Monks, Interview with M. Purdy, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁸⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, Oct 29, 1962, pp.228-234

⁸⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, April 1 & April 29, 1968, pp.178, 180, 182-184, 185-186

Despite the inconveniences and difficulties caused by Westfield's ongoing commitment to Mawson's original aesthetic ambitions, the residents appear to have been generally accepting and, in many cases, supportive. Furthermore, it is a claim that holds true for more modern tenants as well as their predecessors – and one that can be exemplified by their reaction to a decision in the 1980s (highlighted in the preceding chapters) to sell 22 properties to sitting tenants under a government 'right to buy' scheme. Free of the constraints of a landlord, many of the new home owners immediately began to make unpoliced 'improvements': hedges were ripped out and replaced by fences, gardens turned into hard-standing areas for off-road parking and new window frames and doors installed that, according to their detractors, jarred with the village's traditional aesthetic. It was a situation that created the first serious division among the occupants, with the row even reaching the columns of the local press. *The Lancashire Evening Post* would subsequently report that the City Council was considering an aforementioned Conservation Order to end the 'piece-meal' alterations on Westfield, with Lancaster councillor Les Shaw (a former soldier of the King's Own with a historic interest in Westfield) bemoaning the fact that 'people have built extensions, people are spoiling the place'.⁸⁷ One month later it was reported that the city council had approved conservation status, amid dramatic new headlines that suggested the village occupants had gone 'to war' with each other.

As Westfield's civil conflict became increasingly tense, one of the home-owners (Thelma Whittaker) complained to the press that she had come under severe criticism from neighbours for pebble-dashing the front of her house, while another (Philip Markham) added that he had spent thousands of pounds on his property and felt 'sick' that home-owners like himself were being 'blamed for the place losing its character'.⁸⁸ The village chairman, Wing Commander Derek Blunden, said that he felt the 'harm done' by the home-

⁸⁷ 'Protection order for war village', *The Lancashire Evening Post*, March 29, 1984 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁸⁸ 'Residents go to war', *The Lancashire Evening Post*, April 9, 1984, p.7

owners had been 'over stated'. The Conservation Order was to be welcomed as a way to bring an end to the matter.⁸⁹ As a result of a mistake in the administrative process, Westfield's conservation status was not formally registered, although all of the stakeholders were not aware of this and continued to behave for the best part of the next ten years as if they were legally bound by its restriction. Accordingly, the first two households to attach satellite 'dishes' to their properties did not take their lead on the matter from the Westfield trustees but from Lancaster Council's planning department, which held jurisdiction under the rules of the Conservation Order.⁹⁰ It was not until 1993 that the anomaly of the unregistered order came to light and was rectified. Pauline Campbell of Guinness Northern Counties, which had taken over the day to day management of the properties in the intervening period, subsequently explained that the community had been given conservation status 'because of the village's heritage' and to help 'keep it just as it is'. Indeed, Westfield was referred to in the headline as being a 'heritage village'.⁹¹ Such references show that all parties had come to the conclusion that Westfield's aesthetic tradition had become central to its identity and, as a result, worthy of protection. It was a mind-set that would culminate in the formalisation of a new policy agreement between the Westfield committee and Guinness Northern Countries in 2009 that featured fresh controls such as bans on further hedge removals and tenants being allowed to paint external doors without permission.⁹² However, somewhere in the midst of this, the community's commitment to the use of 'Westfield green' for the painting of window frames, gates and doors was lost.

Westfield's ongoing commitment to its aesthetic heritage continues to play a key role in the well-being of the community and is a major attraction to both long standing residents and

⁸⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 1984, pp.191-195

⁹⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 15, 1991, pp.306-308

⁹¹ 'Heritage village gets mark of distinction', *The Lancaster Citizen*, February 4, 1993, p.10

⁹² *Westfield Minute Book 11*, September 2009, pp.304-309, 311-312, 315-316

new arrivals. Joan Bleasdale moved onto the community with her husband in the 1950s and explained in an interview in 2012 that from being a child in the town she had been aware of 'what a lovely village it was'. She said that she had always noted that all of the houses had hedges around them and that she had thought, 'oh it's lovely, I wish we could get on there.'⁹³ Her motivations were strikingly similar to those of a newer arrival, a man called Mr Larton, who moved onto Westfield in 2011 after buying one of the 22 privately owned properties:

I mean you can walk through the village and there's gardening work, bushes what they have been doing, all sorts of little things, but put together they make the overall package. It's like the trees when they get trimmed come summer time, you've got a nice avenue to walk down with all the trees at a sensible height [...] it's a full time job [for the gardeners] and it's expensive, but it works.⁹⁴

Such comments would have delighted Thomas H. Mawson, suggesting that his vision to create an attractive settlement that would stand the test of time, irrespective of its initial role for disabled ex-servicemen, had been fulfilled. Indeed, the most recent advert for the sale of one of the privately owned properties serves to underline this fact:

Do you want to live in a leafy cul-de-sac close to the city? How about a period home with three generous bedrooms and spacious living? These homes rarely come available. It's a must see. The village, with its tree-lined streets, appeals to many from young growing families through to retired couples. Green areas, which are maintained by the village's own full-time gardeners, are open to residents' private use [...] we love the tree-lined streets and just how well presented the whole estate is.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, it remains hard to ignore the kind of historic tales that have made the job of the modern estate agents at Westfield so much easier. Anecdotal stories abound on the village about the fortitude of the disabled veterans in relation to the upkeep of the community, and particularly their gardens - with one First World War amputee said to have

⁹³ J. Bleasdale, Interview with H. Walton, November 29, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁹⁴ D. Larton, Interview with H. Walton, November 29, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁹⁵ <http://www.zoopla.co.uk/for-sale/details/38117741#PoVgEEcTIHBA4Lut.97> (Commercial property sale website) last accessed April 19, 2017

regularly returned to his home after completing a day's work to take off both of his false legs and complete the challenge of his front garden. Likewise, in 1958 the *Lancashire Life* magazine produced a feature on the settlement in which the writer placed great emphasis on the 'can do' attitude of the occupants, with a picture of a veteran called Mr Helme gamely cutting his hedges despite the hindrance of a missing arm.⁹⁶ Some of these tenants undoubtedly derived a sense of self-worth from their ability to hold their own within the community, and it is important to acknowledge that not all of them would have welcomed any form of special treatment or sense of differentiation. In addition, not all of the Westfield veterans suffered from the same kind of practical problems some required single-storey housing, wheelchair access and smaller gardens, while others did not. However, it is clear that whatever their needs they were never given the chance to raise them during the community's main periods of construction and growth.

As evidenced in the case of the properties sold to sitting tenants, it is likely that Westfield may have looked very different if the residents had been given a greater say in the design. The new homeowners of the 1980s were accused of being motivated by individual priorities rather than communal ones, of damaging the wider aesthetic and ethos of the community and its traditional sense of identity. It is also clear that such an individualistic approach would have presented the Westfield voluntarists with considerable financial and practical challenges – for example, the modification of properties to cater for specific individual needs can often result in additional costs in the short term as well as letting issues in the long term. In recent years both the Westfield charity and Guinness Northern Counties have been confronted by such considerations on a regular basis and forced, as a result, to try and strike a balance between the heritage of the settlement and the expectations of a socially responsible landlord. The present Westfield secretary, Mandy Stretch, has considerable

⁹⁶ *Lancashire Life*, October, 1958, pp.53-54 & 71

sympathy with her predecessors in relation to the seemingly unsympathetic approach they sometimes took towards the demands of individual tenants:

My feeling is that the residents tend to see things from an immediate and personal perspective, where as we have to take a much longer view and act as the custodians for the future. For example, you can make specific changes to properties at the request of a resident that would then make that property unlettable in the future. There was a case of that recently where the housing association made a lot of changes to one of the bungalows and the person moved out soon afterwards. It did not prove possible for a new tenant to be found who needed the same kind of material support to occupy the now vacant property. That was a very costly mistake.⁹⁷

Mrs Stretch's argument is that while social landlords should always do their best for their individual tenants, they should not be scared to disappoint a specific tenant if it is for the future well-being of the community as a whole.⁹⁸ In a modern assessment of disabled housing provision, Laura Hemingway would appear to broadly support such a stance. Hemingway says that it is important to take individual differences into consideration as 'people are affected by structural factors in different ways, depending on their lifestyles and circumstances';⁹⁹ but she adds that there has to be a realistic 'balance' between housing that focuses on individual needs and housing that addresses 'general living environments'.¹⁰⁰ These are moot points for Westfield where the range of disabilities and challenges that the community has needed to deal with over the years have been in a regular state of flux.

As previously mentioned, the Westfield minute books have been highly variable in relation to the maintenance of any kind of record of the specific disabilities of the tenants. However, it does appear that after the initial influx of men with severe mobility issues after the First World War, the preponderance of such tenants subsided. This was a situation that was in keeping with Mawson's original vision and may well be relevant to the community's commitment to building more traditional two-storey cottages as opposed to bungalows:

⁹⁷ M. Stretch, Interview with M. Purdy, April 21, 2017 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁹⁸ M. Stretch, Interview with M. Purdy, April 21, 2017 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁹⁹ Hemingway, *Disabled People*, p.61

¹⁰⁰ Hemingway, *Disabled People*, p.84

There will naturally be every gradation of disablement from those completely helpless to those only very slightly below the normal in physical power, and our aim should be to provide accommodation and work facilities, if not employment, for as many as possible between these two extremes.¹⁰¹

As explained in the opening chapter, the changing nature of war-related disabilities, and the number of men (and women) suffering them, has been linked to a myriad of factors, from better medical procedures in warfare to smaller wars with fewer casualties. Such factors had a substantial part to play in a fall in waiting lists at Westfield and the consideration of applications from would-be tenants with a lower level of disability than had previously been accepted. It was an issue that concerned the committee so much that a decision was taken to re-advertise for tenants in 1958 after only one of the 18 people on the waiting list was found to have a disability of more than 50 per cent (the level signifying a lost limb or blindness).¹⁰² Less than five years later, in 1963, there were just four men on the waiting list with war disabilities, and of these none had a disability of more than 20 per cent.¹⁰³ Likewise, at a meeting of the selection sub-committee in 1971 it was stated that there were only four applicants deemed worthy of further consideration, of whom two qualified on the grounds of disability and two on the basis of economic 'necessity'.¹⁰⁴ What this meant was that greater consideration now had to be given to applicants appealing for residence on the grounds of financial hardship or (to use the committee's own terminology) 'necessity'. This was a situation that naturally had very different implications for such practical/structural issues as housing design and garden maintenance. The primary evidence does, as such, suggest that in relation to the kind of war disabilities being seen on the community, the need for single-storey properties with less outdoor commitments may well have dropped considerably following the initial intake of veterans in the 1920s. It is an outcome that would be in keeping with the research of David Gerber, who believes that the rehabilitative and

¹⁰¹ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.1

¹⁰² *Westfield Minute Book 5*, October 27, 1958, pp.315-316, 318-319

¹⁰³ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, January 21, 1963, pp.239-241

¹⁰⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, April 19, 1971, pp.23-24

medical literature about the disabled veterans of the two world wars who lost a limb or limbs has been 'vastly out of proportion to their relatively small numbers'. Gerber warns of the dangers of allowing the experiences of this one group to be seen as representative of all disabled veterans, which is an important consideration for this case study and future work undertaken by historians on disabled settlements.¹⁰⁵ It is an argument that provides considerable validity to the decision to place greater emphasis at Westfield on the kind of aesthetic concerns that might help to heal the mind rather than the body.

There is no record keeping that indicates how many veterans of the community gained tenancy over the years as a result of mental health issues, although there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that there have been a number of residents who have faced considerable psychological challenges. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that any of the veterans (whether troubled by physical and/or psychological injuries or economic hardship) would not have benefitted from a calm and restful environment.

Conclusion

The Westfield settlement was built at a time when the majority of dwellings for the disabled were tied to poor-housing (such as workhouses) or medical institutions. As such, those involved in the new housing movement that grew out of the industrial-scale injuries of the First World War were, in many ways, pioneers. Most of the designers associated with the settlement movement opted to draw on established principles of natural rehabilitation and 'fresh air' treatments, which were in-turn sympathetic to the influential contemporary ethos of the Garden City Movement. This was very much the case at Westfield, where aesthetic concerns were largely prioritised over functional ones. Such an approach was not in the best interests of all of the residents, and especially those with severe mobility problems who would have benefited from more single-storey properties, smaller gardens and wider doors

¹⁰⁵ D.A. Gerber, 'Introduction: The Continuing Relevance of the Study of Disabled Veterans' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans In History*, (Revised edn, Michigan, 2012), p.2

for wheelchairs. However, Westfield's chief designer, Thomas H. Mawson, appears to have made the decision to ignore the kind of functional considerations that he had repeatedly referenced in his own blueprint (*An Imperial Obligation*) for the design of disabled settlements.

There was, of course, no way that Mawson and the Westfield founders could have foreseen that 'the war to end all wars' was actually going to serve as the prequel to a Second World War and century of ongoing conflict. Indeed, Mawson had believed that Westfield's longer-term role would not be tied to the needs of disabled servicemen, and his adherence to a particular aesthetic (at the expense of more practical structural concerns) was undoubtedly influenced by this. I am also mindful of Gerber's warning that historians should be careful of focusing disproportionately on the needs of amputees – a group that have only ever represented a small proportion of the wounded of war.¹⁰⁶ It is an issue of relevance at Westfield, where the number of amputees and men with mobility problems fell considerably after the 1920s. Indeed, the changing nature of 'disability' at Westfield over the decades has proved supportive of the decision to focus more on broader needs than specific ones. It is an outcome that adds historic weight to the more recent claim of Hemingway that communal needs are often just as important on disabled housing schemes as individual ones.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Hemingway has never suggested that individual needs should be ignored, and I believe that Westfield's failure to address the specific needs of many of its early residents cannot be excused on the grounds of future expectancy – the community received support (of money and time) on the basis that it was addressing the immediate needs of vulnerable individuals. In addition, the charity's failure to consult with its tenants about what they might want and need from the housing built for them during the main periods of development (between the 1920s and 1950s) have also left it open to criticism. Cohen has

¹⁰⁶ Gerber, 'Introduction: The Continuing Relevance', p.2

¹⁰⁷ Hemingway, *Disabled People*, p.84

claimed that a number of the founders of the First World settlements often ‘blithely disregarded’ the desires of their charges, and given the above evidence it is hard not to have sympathy with that charge in relation to the lack of priority given to functional design at Westfield in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁸ However, I would argue that in focusing on the negatives, Cohen has herself rather ‘blithely disregarded’ the wholly positive and pioneering role that so many of the founders of the movement for disabled settlements played in the development of what (more than four decades later) would be commonly referred to as ‘inclusive design’.

Despite the kind of practical problems encountered by some of the Westfield residents as a result of that specific community’s prioritisation of aesthetic concerns over practical ones, the settlement’s ongoing commitment to the maintenance of an attractive environment has generally been embraced by the majority of the occupants. In fact, both long standing and more recent village occupants have stated that the community’s attractive structural and environmental facade has become a compelling feature of their residence and a key element of both their own, and the village’s, sense of well-being and identity. Indeed, it is worth noting that the only major division to have developed among the residents was when the aesthetic heritage of the village was threatened by the introduction of private home ownership in the 1980s and a concomitant loss of control over the appearance of the properties that had been sold. In this respect time has proved kind (if not wholly forgiving) of the approach of the Westfield founders, whose successors (it must be stated) have shown themselves to be far more flexible and empathetic in their approach to the practical requirements of the village occupants.

¹⁰⁸ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.8

Chapter Four: Memorialisation

It has often struck me that while memorials are supposed to serve as tangible weighty structures denoting consensus, their design and style can just as easily divide as unite. It should be kept in mind that commissioning a large piece of public sculpture was usually a new experience for those groups that did so after 1918.¹

War memorials were to prove surprisingly fractious undertakings during the mass commemorative movement that resulted from the First World War. Disputes about the control of war memorial committees, as well as the decisions made by them, were not uncommon. These rows, which often made headlines in local newspapers, tended to centre around accusations that autocratic groups had taken control and started forcing through their ideas regardless of the views of the wider populace. Such claims, as Adrian Gregory points out, were even levelled at the Imperial War Graves Commission, whose decision not to repatriate bodies and place more secular-style headstones on graves was against the direct wishes of a silent majority of bereaved families.²

Alex King, whose quote heads this chapter, has done considerable research into the make-up of First World War memorial committees and concluded that the actual decisions about what form they took and where they were placed was usually made by a 'small minority' drawn from 'established social and political elites'.³ It is a view supported by the research of Jonathan Black, who has highlighted the case of the memorial committee at Macclesfield in Cheshire, which was 'dominated' by 'municipal worthies in their fifties and sixties who had been too old to serve'. In this example the sole Labour Party member on the committee could not get a 'seconder' for his proposal that bereaved families and veterans should be consulted about the form the memorial should take, and local representatives of veterans' associations were further enraged to hear that the Mayor (Alderman Frost) would unveil the

¹ A. King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford, 1998), p.26

² A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), p.255

³ King, *Memorials*, p.100

memorial and lay the first wreath. It was said in defence that it was not possible to change this arrangement as a plaque saying who had unveiled the memorial had already been cast with the Mayor's name on it. Black believes that the Mayor probably saw this as nothing less than his due, as he and his brother had paid a third of the costs for the memorial out of their own pockets.⁴ There are numerous stories of a similar kind from around Britain, all of which serve to support Gregory's assertion that the wishes of the bereaved and the veterans of the war were 'certainly not always paramount at a local level' when it came to memorialisation.⁵ Ultimately, it was a situation that could result in protests and petitions. Indeed, among the particularly bitter disputes that King has highlighted was one at Stoke Newington, where only those who had made a donation to the memorial were allowed to attend a public meeting to discuss the form it might take.⁶ Where members of the public and veterans' associations felt increasingly cynical about the process, King says that their levels of interest (which had often started high) would wane and result in them withdrawing from the process all together. For example, he points out that just 20 people showed up to hear the famous sculpture Sir Reginald Blomfield present his plans for a civic memorial in Leeds, and only 60 for a similar meeting in Carlisle.⁷

The Lancaster settlement for disabled ex-servicemen would ultimately come to be presented to the public by a social elite as a 'memorial village', although framing it in such a way had not been part of the original vision. This chapter will, as such, explore the themes of paternalism, philanthropy and autocracy in relation to the decisions taken about the role of commemoration at Westfield. It will also identify who was leading the process of memorialisation on the settlement and their motives for doing so, whilst analysing the kind

⁴ J. Black, 'Thanks for the Memory: War Memorials, Spectatorship and the Trajectories of Commemoration 1919-2001' in N.J. Saunders (ed), *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War* (London, 2004), pp.135-136

⁵ Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.259

⁶ Alex King, for example, has highlighted particularly bitter protests in Cockermouth and Stoke Newington: King, *Memorials*, p.91

⁷ King, *Memorials*, p.100

of concerns, compromises and nuances that may have surfaced and how they influenced the development of the community in the longer term. The two world wars provides an obvious focal point for the chapter, but I will also explore the response of the residents in more recent times to the proliferation of memorials on the settlement and how relevant commemorative themes remain to the wider ethos of the community.

As stated in the introduction, much of the pre-existing historiography of Westfield has been completed by undergraduate students and focused on themes of commemoration and remembrance – particularly in relation to where the community has traditionally sat within the wider context of this process after the First World War. Westfield’s function as a commemorative housing settlement ‘built for the living to remember the dead’ has generally been labelled as ‘unique’ in the pre-existing historiography.⁸ I mention this as this body of work has helped to create a picture that has become one commonly references on the settlement and within local historical circles. However, my research shows that many of the settlements for the disabled of the war not only pre-dated Westfield, but that a number had been specifically promoted as ‘commemorative’ facilities, including the ‘Battle of Gheluvelt Homes and Park’ development in Worcester from which (as highlighted in the preceding chapter) the Lancaster settlement got its inspiration for the design of its bungalows.⁹ The broader utilitarian principle of Westfield was also far from original, with ‘honour the dead, serve the living’ to effectively become a slogan for the largest veterans’ association, the Royal British Legion, in the 1920s.¹⁰ However, this does not mean that there are not elements of Westfield that were and remain unique: it is the only settlement designed by Thomas H. Mawson (a key figure in the wider model settlement movement) and certainly among a very small minority of facilities to have survived with so many of its

⁸ See in particular: H. Clarke, *How Unique Is Westfield War Memorial Village?* (Unpublished undergraduate dissertation BA Hons, Lancaster University 2011); and S. Vernon, *Westfield War Memorial Village, Lancaster: One of a Kind?* (Unpublished dissertation BA Hons Lancaster University 2001)

⁹ R. Hasted, *Domestic Housing for Disabled Veterans 1900-2014* (English Heritage, unpublished research, 2016), p.18

¹⁰ Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.263

original structural, environmental and ideological features still intact. It is my belief that the part that the commemorative process has played in this has been significant.

The official launch of the Westfield settlement took place at Ashton Hall (within Lancaster Town Hall) just over a fortnight after the guns had fallen silent on the Western Front. The event was filled to capacity by members of the public who had been encouraged to attend via promotional leaflets and posters and the use of the band of the local infantry regiment of the King's Own. Most importantly, the promotional items were headed 'The Lancaster War Memorial'. These leaflets and posters featured an illustration of a banner flanked by the same poignant image of a military amputee on crutches (drawn by the political cartoonist Raemaker) that had first made an appearance in Mawson's manifesto for a nationwide network of settlements, *An Imperial Obligation*.¹¹ As well as the evocative image, they stated the form that the town's new 'memorial' should take (a housing settlement for disabled veterans at Westfield) and whom it should be for ('the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment and all those men and women of Lancaster and district who gave their lives in the service of their King and country during the war').¹² Westfield was clearly being presented to the public as the town's major war memorial, as well as a stand-alone housing scheme for disabled veterans. This was not what the public had been expecting.

Thomas H. Mawson's ambitions had already been well publicised by the time of Westfield's unveiling, and anybody who had read *An Imperial Obligation* would have been clear about the value he placed on the role and symbolism of commemoration. The design of 'lesser buildings' on his settlements, for example, would be aimed at leading the eye 'to the more ordered architecture of the important buildings surrounding the Town Square and its bright-

¹¹ See *Appendix vii*

¹² A copy of one of these promotional leaflets, reprinted as a newspaper advertisement, is contained within the Westfield cuttings file

hued gardens and piece of choice memorial statuary',¹³ while the main branch roads would 'centre upon a war memorial or other good piece of commemorative statuary'.¹⁴ Mawson had clearly seen a more conventional form of memorial as providing the focal point for his communities and he would support this in his architectural sketches.¹⁵ However, while he had been inspired by the death of his own son and a desire to commemorate him in a fitting way, there was no indication that he saw the provision of a formal memorial as anything other than an important structural aside to his primary goal of supporting disabled veterans to re-engage with civilian life. Mawson had always proposed that his settlements would have the same kind of amenities and features that one might expect to see in any traditional English village, and after the recent war this could reasonably be expected to include a conventional war memorial. Furthermore, he had never suggested that his villages might serve as memorials for the pre-established communities that neighboured them. Sharon Vernon has claimed that Mawson sought to memorialise the loss of his son by 'erecting a war memorial', while Hannah Walton has argued that he was motivated by the desire to build attractive communities for the wounded as a fitting way of remembering his son.¹⁶ There is an important distinction between these two undergraduate arguments, and the evidence supports the latter - the rebranding of Westfield as a 'memorial village' was a new concept for Mawson that was different to anything proposed in *An Imperial Obligation*. The reason for this change of emphasis will be explored in more detail later in the chapter, but it is clear that it created misunderstanding and division in the wider district from the outset.

The Lancaster newspapers reported that the official launch of the Westfield scheme had been organised to give the general populace 'an opportunity of seeing and hearing' something about the project for disabled veterans in addition to the 'opportunity for the

¹³ T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation* (London, 1917), p.38

¹⁴ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.41-42

¹⁵ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.2

¹⁶ H. Walton, *Westfield War Memorial Village: Intentions and Realities* (Unpublished undergraduate dissertation, The University of Lancaster, 2013); S. Vernon, *Westfield: One of a Kind?*

expression of views in favour or opposition to the scheme'.¹⁷ This suggested a commitment to inclusivity by the Westfield grandees, as well as the implication that the scheme would be dropped if the public did not favour it. However, the primary evidence suggests that the Westfield activists who spoke at the official launch were fully committed to proceeding with the scheme regardless of the public's response and had approached the unveiling as a way of sharing their own preconceived vision rather than as a form of consultative exercise. Mawson, for example, would state in his opening address that 'only that which ennobled life could be a worthy memorial of the boys who had done so much for us'.¹⁸ In so doing he had made his position clear about what the most 'worthy' option for a Lancaster memorial was, before going on to tell those gathered that they had three 'established' options from which to choose:

The grey stone obelisk; the poetic or didactic memorial in the shape of a beautiful piece of sculpture; and the utilitarian kind of memorial - garden cities and beautiful settlements suited to the genius of English people.¹⁹

Mawson's preference for 'beautiful settlements suited to the genius of English people' was unsurprisingly endorsed by the other two key figures speaking on Westfield's behalf the headmaster of the Lancaster Grammar School for Boys, the Rev Shackleton Bailey, and the project's main benefactor, Herbert Lushington Storey. The press paraphrased the Rev Shackleton Bailey as claiming that the fallen of the war would strongly favour a utilitarian scheme such as Westfield:

They were not going to see disabled men wander about looking at artistic memorials without a penny in their pockets and a hope in life. That sort of thing had happened in the past. A war memorial was a commemoration of self-sacrifice for those who had died. They could not leave the dead out of account in considering a matter of that kind. The message from them was: 'Don't worry about is. Look after our pals. Put up memorials to us if you like, but first and

¹⁷ 'Westfield Settlement', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

¹⁸ 'War Memorial: Westfield Industrial Village', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

¹⁹ 'War Memorial: Westfield Industrial Village', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

foremost provide for those who fought by our side and who are maimed and handicapped in the battle of life.’²⁰

Herbert Lushington Storey chose a different approach, by opting to play on the public’s sense of national pride and loyalty to the Crown - inferring that they would not be fulfilling their duty as servants of the King if they did not prioritise the disabled. He did this by reminding them of a recent review of disabled ex-servicemen at Hyde Park, London, at which the monarch had said that it was injured men such as they who had the ‘first claim’ upon the nation’s gratitude.²¹ Storey’s words were reported to have elicited enthusiastic cries of ‘hear, hear’ from the audience, but there nevertheless remained a great deal of presumption in the pro-Westfield propaganda.

Few people would have argued that society owed a debt to the disabled of the war, but this did not mean that it was safe to assume that they wanted something that fulfilled such a task as their memorial to the fallen. In fact there was considerable room for confusion in the title of the proposed settlement - the words ‘Westfield War Memorial Village’ served to underline the fact that what was being proposed appeared to be something of an unusual hybrid: a war memorial, a living community and a physical space. Although it has been ascertained that the concept of Westfield was not unique, it was certainly not an approach to memorialisation that was either common or familiar. Utilitarian memorials had grown in popularity after the Boer War, but they had generally been for the benefit of the wider public in the form of parks, hospitals, water fountains and community halls.²² Such inclusiveness was not being proffered at Westfield, which would instead be a community where tenancy was restricted to a very specific group of ex-servicemen and their families. Indeed, the North West branch of one leading veterans’ organisation, the United Services

²⁰ ‘Westfield Settlement’, *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

²¹ ‘War Memorial: Westfield Industrial Village’, *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

²² The Anglo-Boer War Memorials Project discovered that of more than 1,000 memorials erected after that conflict, around six per cent were utilitarian: <http://www.casus-belli.co.uk/abwmp/> (Anglo-Boer War Memorials Project website) last accessed April 19, 2017

Committee, would subsequently refuse to provide financial support for Westfield on the grounds that it was deemed 'inadvisable' to support a scheme 'of this nature' that would only benefit a 'very small section' of local veterans.²³

In addition, some bereaved families or individuals may have been uncomfortable with the idea of a facility for war survivors being conjoined with a facility to remember the dead. Joanna Bourke has pointed out that the idea of the 'honourable wound' became ambiguous in the First World War, with it being well known among soldiers (and in all probability civilians too) that a 'Blighty' wound was often welcomed as the only sure way of escaping the horrors of the trenches.²⁴ Severely injured serviceman generally lived free of the burden of cynicism, but those with less obvious impairments might not be so lucky. The Eugenics Education Society would, for example, argue against pensions for those invalided out of war service as a result of illness.²⁵ While many of Westfield's early tenants appear to have been men with disability ratings of 50 per cent or higher (meaning the loss of whole limbs or sight etc), it would not have been possible to predict that was going to be the case from the outset. In fact, Mawson had said in *An Imperial Obligation* that he expected the tenants to be men with varying levels of disability. The Westfield committee's use of the Belgium political cartoonist Raemaker's image of a soldier with a missing leg as a focal point for much of its publicity material does, as such, suggest that it may well have been aware of the importance of playing to the public's perceptions of an 'honourable' disability in order to gain its sympathy and support.

It is not possible to say with any real confidence how the people of Lancaster felt about the idea of Westfield serving as their main civic memorial, principally because there was very little debate in the local press about it. The items that did appear were generally supportive

²³ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, July 26, 1920, pp.279-280

²⁴ J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996), p.62

²⁵ Bourke, *Dismembering*, p.59

of the broader principle of a facility to aid disabled ex-servicemen, which support the content of the aforementioned article on the Westfield launch that referred to the audience's enthusiastic cries of 'here, here' when Herbert Lushington Storey raised the need to repay a debt to such individuals. What is clear is that the leader writers in the Lancaster newspapers were firmly behind the scheme - with one even going so far as to claim that it had the potential to put what had been a key commercial destination in the preceding century back on the national map:²⁶

Lancaster is fortunate in that it is to become the locale of the first industrial village to be established for providing work and congenial surroundings for men who will come back to civil life handicapped and partly disabled [...] what an acquisition this will be for the town. Lancaster will once more rise to her rightful position as the county town of England's foremost county.²⁷

This item was, of course, wrong in its assertion that Westfield was going to be the first facility of its kind, but Westfield would be the first (and last) of Mawson's settlements to be built. It would also be the first facility of its kind in the county palatine. Unfortunately for Westfield, the level of enthusiasm expressed by the newspaper was not shared by the majority of the official civic custodians at the Lancaster Corporation. Whilst many of the corporation's representatives would speak positively about the Westfield project and the need to provide housing for disabled veterans, as a public body they had not been prepared to accept Westfield as the district's main memorial to the fallen. Indeed, the corporation inflicted considerable damage to the Westfield project by announcing a plan to build a memorial of its own at the same meeting at which the disabled settlement was formally launched. The Mayor of Lancaster, Councillor William Briggs, was the member of the municipal authority tasked with breaking the news - and also of attempting to justify it. The Mayor, who (along with his wife) had been an active member of the Westfield support group from the outset, was paraphrased in the local press as follows:

²⁶ The district had seen its position as a leading county town diminished as a result of the wealth that many of its Lancashire neighbours (such as nearby Preston) had generated from the cotton trade

²⁷ *The Lancaster Observer*, December 28, 1917, p.7

A meeting of the corporation in committee on the previous day decided that a town memorial should be got up to the fallen soldiers of Lancaster. It might appear that the two ideas conflicted, but he [the Mayor] did not agree with the suggestion that there was a conflict [...] he strongly supported both schemes.²⁸

The Mayor said he believed the corporation idea was that there should be a monument – an artistic monument – recording the names of all the local men who had fallen, so that the two schemes would not clash.²⁹

Essentially, what the corporation appears to have been claiming is that while it was in full support of the scheme at Westfield, it also felt that there was a need for a more conventional (artistic) monument that listed the names of the dead. This may not have been a wholly unreasonable stance: utilitarian memorials consistently failed to gain the same levels of support at the end of the First World War (and have continued to do so) as those focused solely on remembrance. In fact, a review by Hannah Clarke of the UK National Inventory of War Memorials in 2011 found that only seven per cent (2,526) were utilitarian.³⁰ A similar study undertaken parochially revealed that of the 22 First World War memorials registered in the Lancaster district (which included stained glass windows in churches and workplace plaques), Westfield was the only large-scale utilitarian one.³¹ Monumental memorials to the fallen were meant to provide a point of focus for communal grieving, and structures to aid the living were not always seen as the most sympathetic or sensitive of options. Many people were also opposed to the idea of being asked to fund projects which they felt the corporation or government should be financing. Furthermore, it was often argued that the commemorative element of such schemes would be forgotten in a relatively short space of time, unlike what Gregory describes as the perpetual ‘unambiguousness’ of more conventional monuments.³² Nevertheless, the primary evidence suggests that the corporation’s stance may have been as much about issues of parochial control as functionality, public empathy or commemorative longevity.

²⁸ ‘Westfield Settlement’, *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

²⁹ ‘War Memorial: Westfield’, *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

³⁰ Clarke, *How Unique*, pp.11-12

³¹ J. Dennis, *The Last Post* (Lancaster, 2006), p.65

³² Gregory, *The Last Great War*, p.261

The presence of a secondary agenda to the corporation's decision was first revealed in the report in *The Lancaster Observer* about the Westfield launch, in which it was revealed that there had been criticism about the lack of prior consultation about the project. It was stated that the Mayor had felt it necessary to defend the Westfield founders by telling those present that the project had not been the work of a 'hole and corner committee'. The use of such a phrase suggests that Westfield had been criticised in some quarters as the product of a select and secretive collective. The newspaper article added that the Mayor had continued his defence by stating that the idea for the settlement had actually been brought informally before the corporation 12 months earlier, and that the Westfield support group had only then been formulated out of a need to prepare for the wider involvement of the public at the meeting at which they were all now present.³³ This exchange appeared deep in the report and the matter was not expanded upon, while a rival publication downplayed the exchange even further.³⁴ Unfortunately, neither of the main newspaper articles provide any context for the claims or where they came from, although they leave little room for doubt that antagonism had been harboured. It would also seem likely that it was the projection of Westfield as the civic memorial that had caused the controversy, as the broader concept of a settlement for disabled families had been in the public arena for more than a year. There may also have been antipathy about the social make-up of the Westfield committee.

The first meeting of the individuals invited to be part of a Westfield support group had taken place in June 1918, and it appears to have been determined at this gathering that there was a need to establish a formal committee to advance the project, including the allocation of specific roles to specific individuals. This hand picked group of civic dignitaries, headmasters, churchmen, wealthy businessmen, bank managers and army officers certainly appears to have been very similar to the kind of socially elite collectives that had been attracting

³³ 'Westfield Settlement', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

³⁴ 'War Memorial: Westfield', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

criticism elsewhere in the country for having taken undemocratic control of the commemorative process. Of course, the social make-up of such groups did not automatically preclude them from an inclusive approach, but there was always the danger that they would send out a negative message to those predisposed towards such assumptions if they did not broaden the social outreach of their membership from the outset. To further complicate matters, there also appears to have been concern about a potential conflict of interest in relation to exactly who was going to benefit from tenancy on the village and the role that the principal benefactor, Herbert Lushington Storey, was going to play in determining this. It was an issue that Storey attempted to clarify and diffuse at the public launch: telling those present that while the initial proposal had been for the settlement to be exclusively used by veterans of the local infantry regiment of the King's Own, it had subsequently been pointed out to him that many Lancaster men who had wanted to join that particular regiment had been unable to do so and instead been drafted into other regiments. It had therefore, he explained, been decided to make the Westfield memorial available to all Lancaster men who had suffered disabilities in the war, regardless of regiment.³⁵ While clearly endeavouring to show that he was prepared to listen to external concerns and respond to them in a reasonable fashion, there remained little doubt about the chief benefactor's role as the figurehead and controlling influence. Indeed, his pre-established relationship with the King's Own, coupled with his early plans to favour it, continued to present problems. As a result, attempts were made at further clarification in the first promotional booklet created for the Westfield community:

Mr Herbert Storey's keen interest in the local regiment, the King's Own, is well known, and it was his suggestion, primarily, that the proposed settlement should in part be a tribute to the gallantry and devotion to the men of this regiment, while not excluding a similar recognition of the heroism of Lancaster lads and lasses in other branches of the services.³⁶

³⁵ 'War Memorial: Westfield', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 30, 1918, p.3

³⁶ Westfield War Memorial Village promotional booklet, 1919, p.7

Unfortunately, this attempt to once again head off charges of personal bias was not helped by the fact that the same booklet contained a copy of one of Mawson's original architectural drawings for the village, which clearly labelled the settlement as 'a memorial to the fallen heroes of the King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment'.³⁷ Taking all of this into account, it is easy to see why there may have been suspicions that the Westfield project was being driven by an influential autocrat whose pre-determined focus was not as inclusive as many might have hoped. It also meant that the lead philanthropist was operating from a position of weakness in his attempts to win over the local corporation.

Understandably worried by the announcement of the plan for a competing civic memorial, Herbert Lushington Storey and his fledgling support group proposed a merging of the two commemorative schemes on the Westfield site. This would involve the construction of a monument to the fallen of the district on the new disabled village to answer the corporation's concerns about the need to provide a focal point to remember the fallen.³⁸ A meeting was subsequently held between the Westfield grandees and the corporation to discuss this, but the minutes of the next Westfield committee meeting reveal that the idea was firmly rejected:

The desired amalgamation of the two memorials was found to be impossible as the corporation had definitely decided to go on with their scheme, which was to be something in the nature of a monumental structure.³⁹

There are no further details of this gathering, with the civic records simply confirming that it took place on January 3, 1919, and that a discussion took place about 'the form' the Lancaster war memorial should take.⁴⁰ The decisions that were taken were later approved

³⁷ Westfield War Memorial Village promotional booklet, 1919, p.7

³⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, December 23, 1918, p.17

³⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, February 24, 1918, pp.40-44

⁴⁰ Lancaster Corporation, Minutes of the Members of the Council in Committee, January 3, 1919 (Lancashire County Archive), p.117

by the corporation as a whole, but once again no written record has survived.⁴¹ However, this was not the end of the matter, with the first promotional booklet for Westfield published soon after and seemingly throwing down the gauntlet by stating that the disabled settlement would include a stand-alone memorial bearing the names of the fallen:

It is proposed to erect a memorial: the design for this would be carefully selected and the memorial itself placed in a prominent position in the settlement, where it would constantly be a reminder to passers-by of those who have gone west during these fateful years. On it would be suitably engraved the name of every service man or woman in Lancaster and the immediate neighbourhood who had made the great sacrifice, no matter to which regiment, ship or corps, he or she might have belonged.⁴²

The Westfield records reveal that a commemorative monument of this nature was still under consideration some months later when, in September 1919, the neighbouring Heysham District Council said that it might be prepared to donate funds to Westfield if its dead were included on the proposed monument to the fallen.⁴³ This was a considerable commission and one that was very different to the kind of function being served by smaller, far more personalised, memorials in workplaces and churches. Indeed, Westfield would clearly be encroaching on the kind of civic commemorative territory that the Lancaster Corporation was keen to claim as its own. Nevertheless, if Westfield's plan had been to force Lancaster's municipal masters in to a change of heart, it was not a successful one. Indeed, the whole scenario has parallels with a number of examples provided by Jay Winter in his work on the post-war commemorative process, in which he concluded:

However sacred the task of commemoration, it still touched all the chords of local loyalties, petty intrigues, favouritism, apathy and indifference [...] shaped by the character of the community which undertook it.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Lancaster Corporation, Minutes of the Members of the Council in Committee, February 12, 1919 (Lancashire County Archive), p.181

⁴² Westfield War Memorial Village promotional booklet, 1919, p.9

⁴³ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, September 22, 1919, pp.132-133, 135-136

⁴⁴ J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge, 1995). p.90

Despite such clashes with the civic guardians, the inaugural Westfield committee included three sitting Lancaster councillors.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the scheme proved highly successful in attracting broad support for its early fundraising efforts. Invitations, for example, had been sent out in December 1918 to ask for members of the following local bodies to become involved: the Lancaster Corporation, the Board of Guardians, the Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Trade, Trades and Labour Council, Lancaster and District Co-Operative Society, Discharged Soldiers & Sailors Association, Old Pals Association (King's Own), Sailors & Soldiers Families' Association, Sailors & Soldiers Help Association, the War Pensions Committee, Lancaster Free Church Council, the Prisoners of War Care Committee, the Lancaster Charities Collection Committee, the Lancaster & District Association of the National Union of Teachers and Lancaster Young Men's Christian Association.⁴⁶ It is quite possible that Westfield had been endeavouring to shed its 'hole and corner' image in throwing its net so wide, but it is also notable that none refused the invitation. The response of the veterans' associations is of particular interest given the kind of problems that arose between many of the local branches and their respective commemorative committees. Indeed, Westfield's close relations with such groups would be further underlined by the decision of the local branch of the newly formed Royal British Legion (an amalgam of the nation's largest veterans' associations) to effectively bestow its patronage on the settlement by establishing its first Lancaster and district headquarters and recreation rooms on the village in 1925.⁴⁷ It should, however, be added that the settlement's close relations with the Legion had clearly been tied to its primary role as a place of residence for disabled veterans rather than any ambitions it harboured to become a site of remembrance. In addition, the founder of the Lancaster branch of the Legion was Charles Blades Coverdale Storey, who was Herbert Lushington Storey's half-brother. With such prominent familial connections in

⁴⁵ Lancaster Corporation, Minutes of the Members of the Council in Committee, December 18, 1918, p.112

⁴⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, December 4, 1918, pp.14-15

⁴⁷ A future president of Westfield and war veteran, Herbert Lushington Storey's half-brother Charles Blades Storey, was among the founding fathers of this branch and a future chairman of it

place, it is perhaps unsurprising that the strong relations established between Westfield and the Legion outlived those it shared with most of the other groups on the list. Nevertheless, even the short-lived involvement of so many different district bodies (many of which ultimately endured for little more than the initial period of fundraising) show that while the social make-up and early actions of the Westfield founders may have resulted in criticism in some quarters, support had still been garnered from across the social, political and class divide. Unfortunately, it was a success that would fail to deliver the kind of financial panacea envisioned.

Westfield had struggled from the start to attract the kind of funding such an ambitious undertaking required, which meant that Mawson's original vision needed to be downsized. The lack of financial backing from the state, coupled with the parochial nature of the project (which limited broader philanthropic input) undoubtedly had a significant part to play in this. However, there was also disappointment at the level of local support. Whether or not this situation was the result of a lack of enthusiasm for the facility itself, a paucity of spare income in the post-war years, or both, is unclear. Unlike its close neighbours in Preston and Barrow, Lancaster had certainly escaped the worst of the depression in the inter-war years as a result of an economic mix that was not exclusively committed to the staple export industries of cotton and shipbuilding.⁴⁸ It is certainly worth considering the fact that the public had already paid for (or was in the process of paying for) a number of smaller memorials around the district (including the aforementioned church, society and workplace memorials) by the time the two contrasting plans for a large civic memorial came to the fore.⁴⁹ Indeed, it is also pertinent to point out that the corporation suffered a similar struggle to attract donations for its memorial as Westfield, with the local newspapers subsequently

⁴⁸ S. Constantine, N. Dalziel, M. Mullet, D. Shotter, A. Warde, A. White and M. Winstanley, *A History of Lancaster* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.237

⁴⁹ For full details see: Dennis, *The Last Post*

driven to the point of impatience by the lack of progress.⁵⁰ In fact it would take more than five years for the design and siting of the corporation's scheme to be agreed and both the Mayor and local press subsequently registered their disappointment at how little money had been provided by the general public – at one point the Mayor had felt the need to make a direct plea to the people of Lancaster to do their 'duty' to provide the grieving parents and friends of fallen men with a memorial where they could see the names of their loved ones enshrined.⁵¹ A number of the Mayor's comments, along with others made in the local press, suggest that Westfield (which had by then become a physical reality with the completion of its first properties) may have been enjoying strong support at this time which could only have added to the corporation's fundraising challenge:

Perhaps they were late in the field, or perhaps it was because there were so many other memorials in connection with churches, clubs and other organisations. Perhaps it was felt that Westfield village, which everybody appreciated, and when finished would be the finest memorial in the whole world, was sufficient.⁵²

Of course everybody recognises that Westfield memorial [...] is an ideal method of helping the men who were maimed in the war, but even these will agree that the men who did not come back and made 'some corner of a foreign field forever England', should be permanently remembered at home.⁵³

The civic memorial would cost £1,900 to build, with 900 relatives and 300 subscribers present for the unveiling in 1924. If any ill-feeling had remained between the corporation and Westfield at this point, the ever-pragmatic Thomas H. Mawson had been able to steer a course through it, as it was he who had won the commission from the corporation to design the new site of civic mourning.⁵⁴ A further irony, and one that would not have been lost on the Westfield committee (not least as some, like Mawson, had a foot in both camps), was that the decision to construct the corporation's memorial had been taken at a 'special

⁵⁰ *The Lancaster Guardian*, February 25, 1922, p.2

⁵¹ *The Lancaster Guardian*, March 29, 1924 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁵² *The Lancaster Guardian*, March 29, 1924 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁵³ *The Lancaster Guardian*, January 19, 1924, p.7

⁵⁴ Mawson was also responsible for the war memorial in the neighbouring Morecambe and Heysham, which he completed in 1921

meeting' behind closed doors.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the public had not been consulted about the decision to reject Westfield's proposal to merge the district's two major commemorative projects.⁵⁶ If such a debate had taken place, there were enough letters in the local press to suggest that the outcome might not have been a forgone conclusion - one angry correspondent, for example, responded to the criticism of the public's lack of funding for the civic memorial by claiming that if the corporation had built a second utilitarian memorial (in the form of a home or hospital wing for war-orphaned children) it would have been supported far more than a 'worthless' stone memorial.⁵⁷ At the official opening of the civic memorial the Mayor had highlighted the ongoing confusion of loyalties by reminding those present that they should never forget their duty to the ex-servicemen that were still alive, and in so doing help fund a further 50 houses at the Westfield settlement.⁵⁸

Public funding was (and remains) central to the commemorative process. Memorials cost large sums to design, construct and maintain. However, the highly emotive nature of such undertakings also means that they can usually be relied upon to attract considerable public sympathy and financial support – especially from the kind of wealthy local patrons whose support might prove contentious but ultimately crucial. It was something that Thomas H. Mawson had not only acknowledged in *An Imperial Obligation*, but also factored into his calculations for the financing of his communities. Mawson had been particularly aware of the potential presented by those who might be wealthy and willing enough to pay for personalised memorials:

We may also reasonably infer that our villages would greatly benefit by the donation of memorials of various sorts to the memory of those who have fallen in the war. Where large funds were available, a street might be named after a

⁵⁵ Lancaster Corporation, Minutes of the Members of the Council in Committee, November 19, 1918 (Lancashire County Archive), p.40

⁵⁶ Lancaster Corporation, Minutes of the Members of the Council in Committee, November 26, 1918 (Lancashire County Archive), p.64

⁵⁷ *The Lancaster Guardian*, March 1, 1924, p.6

⁵⁸ *The Lancaster Guardian*, December 6, 1924, p.7

fallen hero or group of heroes, and it and all its buildings be provided free of cost. In other cases a block of flats, a single cottage, or even each flat in a block might perpetuate a memory, while obviously we may quite reasonably expect that our churches, clubs, assembly rooms and other public buildings would be the gift of relatives or comrades of those who have fallen.⁵⁹

As established in the second chapter, his assumptions about the practical value of personalised acts of memorialisation was not found wanting, with many of the early properties on the Westfield settlement funded by donations made 'in memorium'.⁶⁰

However, at the time of writing *An Imperial Obligation* he could not have foreseen just how crucial such forms of giving were going to be.

The idea for Mawson's book on disabled settlements had followed the news of the death of his son James Radcliffe in the summer of 1915, with the first edition subsequently appearing nearly two years later in early 1917. At that time Mawson still had good reason to believe that the state would become his main financier, while the issue of formal civic commemoration had been a far from pressing concern as the war continued. Even the Commander in Chief of the British forces, Sir Douglas Haig, had been taken by surprise by the Armistice of November 1918, having said only a few weeks earlier that although the Allies were making big gains he thought the Germans could fall back and hold on well into 1919.⁶¹ It was for such reasons that Westfield's inaugural committee had not planned to formally unveil its project until December 18, 1918, at the earliest. The unexpected cessation of hostilities had undoubtedly been responsible for forcing a rethink.⁶² In fact it seems most probable that the decision to act quickly in bringing forward the date of the official launch to mid-November 1918 may well have been motivated by the desire to make a pitch to the public before anybody else (including the corporation) could get sufficiently organised to do the same. It would, as such, seem highly plausible that it was the arrival of the Armistice,

⁵⁹ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.59

⁶⁰ For more details on these specific donations see: <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-benefactors> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁶¹ G. Sheffield and J. Bourne, *Douglas Haig: War Diaries and Letters 1914-1918* (London, 2005), p.41

⁶² *Westfield Minute Book 1*, November 4, 1918, p.8

coupled with growing recognition of the state's recalcitrance to provide funding, that was to prove most influential in the decision to place greater emphasis on commemorative themes at Westfield. I would therefore argue that the pre-existing Westfield historiography has failed to contextualise the early commemorative development of the Lancaster village and, as a result, placed far too much emphasis on Mawson's vision as presented in the book that preceded it, *An Imperial Obligation*.⁶³ In essence, I believe that it was the practical realities that Mawson and his counterparts were faced with in the immediate post-war years that proved of most relevance when it came to the emphasis they ultimately placed on commemorative processes at Westfield.

The news of the Armistice brought themes of remembrance to the fore across the world, as communities, large and small, stopped thinking about 'the war effort' and began focusing on 'the war sacrifice' and how best to mark the magnitude of their loss. Many communities had discussed the issue of memorialisation during the conflict, but for the majority (including Lancaster) it had been the end of the fighting on the Western Front in November 1918 that had been responsible for bringing discussions about large civic memorials into sharper focus. Westfield needed to reflect this new commemorative landscape and find a role within it for fiscal reasons as much as political and emotional ones. As highlighted in chapter two, the motives of those involved in the commemorative process had been complex, but this did not mean that different motivations could not work together to create something for the common good. The fledgling Westfield committee would have been aware of the pressing need for a formal civic memorial and undoubtedly seen the scheme that they were already advanced with as offering a solution to benefit all. At the same time they would also have recognised that public donations were going to be important to the success of the project and that the rebranding of the Westfield settlement as a 'memorial' might well serve them

⁶³ See in particular: H. Clark, *How Unique*; B. Hornby, *The Realisation of a Dream? Thomas Mawson and the Westfield War Memorial Village*, (unpublished MA dissertation, The University of Manchester, 2009); S. Vernon, 'One of a Kind', pp.70-84

better. It is a construct that goes some way towards explaining why Herbert Lushington Storey remained so determined for Westfield to continue to be seen as a commemorative facility even after the local corporation had claimed the principal role for itself.

Storey's commitment to commemoration is best exemplified by an internal dispute that arose as the result of a request by his family in May 1924 that 'a tablet' be erected on Westfield in recognition of their gift of the estate for use as a disabled settlement. Herbert Lushington subsequently wrote to Thomas H. Mawson to suggest a memorial cross be placed at the central point of the village on which such a plaque or tablet might be placed.⁶⁴ However, just over a week later it was recorded that he had sent another letter to his fellow committee members stating that he had now paid for a model of a 'memorial group' to be prepared instead of a cross and that he had enclosed a drawing of it. The committee was far from happy:

The model represents a soldier giving a wounded comrade a drink. This group did not meet with much favour. The council thought that a sundial would look better and be more in keeping with the old English aspect of the village; it would also be more suitable for the inscription recording the generosity of the Storey family which had already been decided on. The council decided to defer this matter for discussion at the next meeting of the council when it was hoped Mr Storey would be able to attend.⁶⁵

Within the space of a week Storey had made a major decision about a large new piece of statuary, and its design, without consulting the rest of the Westfield trustees. While the committee appears to have been happy about the idea of formally acknowledging the Storey family's generosity on a memorial plaque, the majority do not appear to have been happy about the military emphasis of the memorial proposed. Instead, they favoured a sundial as the focal point for the community – something which, in their opinion, would be far more in keeping with the aesthetics of a traditional English village. Nevertheless, Storey would refuse to back down and finally get his way after weeks of debate - although he would end up

⁶⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, May 30, 1924, pp.517-519

⁶⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, June 8, 1925, pp.564-565

paying for the figurative memorial out of his own pocket. His motive for doing this was never made clear, but the military associations that both he and his family shared (as highlighted in chapter two) had undoubtedly been a factor. It is also worth noting that the Storeys had been a self-made success, and that they had achieved their elevated status by remaining wise to practical and commercial realities. Doubts appear to have existed from the outset about Westfield's ability, or commitment, to fulfil a traditional commemorative role; and to site a sundial at the heart of the community may well have given credence to such concerns, whilst proving detrimental to ongoing fundraising initiatives. It is an argument that gains weight given the fact that Herbert Lushington Storey's decided to use the unveiling of the figurative memorial to question the commitment of Lancaster's wealthier individuals and institutions to the Westfield project:

If I may be so bold as to say so, I don't think Lancaster has quite done its duty so far as this memorial [Westfield] is concerned. There must be many people in Lancaster who have not yet given. Would not someone like to give a cottage as a memorial to a son or a brother who gave his life for his country or as a thank you offering for a son or brother who went through the war and came back safe? We have a waiting list of over 100 ex-servicemen.⁶⁶

It is unlikely that the chief Westfield benefactor could have been quite so outspoken at the unveiling of a sundial, or that the press and public would have turned out for the unveiling of such an innocuous item. The need for the ongoing support of local acts of charity and larger scale philanthropic gifts had remained vital, with Westfield desperate to raise extra funds to build enough houses to meet an ever-growing demand for tenancies. Storey's decision had certainly been autocratic, and one that jarred with the aesthetic considerations of many of the Westfield committee, but the people of Lancaster had been promised a formal war memorial on the village as part of the initial fundraising process and it was a pledge that had now been met. Furthermore, Mawson had always envisaged an item of commemorative statuary as providing the focal point for his settlement, and the figurative memorial fulfilled

⁶⁶ *The Lancaster Guardian*, August 7, 1926 (Westfield Cuttings File)

that vision. The task of designing the memorial was not as contentious, although it would be far from conventional.

Instead of opting for a well-known artist, a local sculptress called Miss Jennifer Delahunt was chosen to complete Westfield's figurative memorial. At the time, Miss Delahunt had been the sculptress mistress at the Storey Institute in Lancaster – an educational facility built and funded by Thomas Storey to mark the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria at the end of the nineteenth century. The sculptress had been hand-picked for the job at Westfield by Herbert Lushington Storey in what appears to have been typically autocratic style – at the official unveiling of the memorial, Westfield's chief patron, Lord Cavendish, praised Miss Delahunt's work in his speech, whilst adding that he had known nothing about either the artist's appointment or the form her work would take until that day.⁶⁷ Storey's decision to award the commission to a female sculptress had been unusual, with few women accorded such commissions at the time.⁶⁸ Depicting a scene that could have been taken straight from the battlefield, the memorial featured two life-size figures in military uniform with one on his knees in distress and the other supporting him physically while offering the gift of water from his own bottle.⁶⁹ It was a literal interpretation of the Westfield concept of the able supporting the less able, and a far more realistic approach than the standard.⁷⁰ There was a further twist in that the two men featured were serving soldiers of the regiment of the King's Own, with one an officer and veteran of the recent war who regularly visited Westfield to see one of his former comrades who lived there. In a further break with convention, it was the officer who was portrayed as the man in weakness and the humble

⁶⁷ 'Hunter at Lancaster: Westfield Memorial Group', *The Lancaster Guardian*, August 7, 1926 (Westfield cuttings file)

⁶⁸ For more on this theme see: K. Palmer, *Women War Artists* (London, 2011)

⁶⁹ See *Appendix viii*

⁷⁰ Koven and Mosse have suggested that many memorials verge on the dishonest in depicting unrealistic 'myths' of war experiences that shy away from the realities of combat. See for example: S. Koven, 'Remembering and Dismembering' in *American Historical Review*, Vol.99, no.4 (1994), p.169 and G.L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memories of World Wars* (Oxford, 1990), pp.99-102

private soldier as the life-giving figure of compassion and strength.⁷¹ Despite such breaks with convention, the memorial appears to have been met with plaudits and would subsequently become an important focal point of the community. Nevertheless, its emphasis on the struggle to support life can be seen as a further example of the complex, and potentially confusing, nature of Westfield's commitment to the dead. In comparison, the corporation's memorial was far more direct in its clear and uncompromising focus on the fallen and (perhaps as a direct result of this) would never be seriously challenged by Westfield in its bid to establish itself as the focal point for the district's formal commemorative ceremonies.

Westfield's subsidiary-role within the commemorative programme continues to be highlighted annually on Remembrance Sunday, when it hosts its own service at a later time than the one at the civic memorial. The delayed start had initially been instigated by the Westfield committee to enable people to attend both events, with various members of the committee, as well as many of the tenants, having traditionally attended both. A 'Westfield wreath' would commonly be laid at the civic memorial as a mark of respect to the district's fallen. However, the number of townsfolk to make the journey the other way has always been, and remains, negligible. Indeed, the present village secretary, Mandy Stretch, said in a recent interview that the handful of 'outsiders' who come to the Westfield remembrance service each year cannot really be classed as outsiders at all – having all had direct and pre-existing involvement with the community.⁷² Connie Noble, a long-standing resident of Westfield, has said that she believes that the people of Lancaster have long-since lost any appreciation of Westfield's commemorative status:

I never thought of it [the village] being a war memorial, not as a child. It was built as a war memorial and yet it is surprising how many people in Lancaster

⁷¹ For more on this see: <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-memorials> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁷² M. Stretch, Interview with M. Purdy, April 21, 2017 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

don't know of its existence and don't know that this is a war memorial. They say, 'Is that where you live? Oh, I've been past it but I didn't know what it was'.⁷³

It is a claim supported by the findings of a two-day public engagement project undertaken by the University of Lancaster history department in Lancaster city centre in 2014, in which the department shared ongoing research with the local populace. The work of this author was a large part of the project and nobody who stopped to discuss Westfield was aware of its memorial status - most thought the community was simply a sheltered housing scheme for elderly war veterans.⁷⁴ It is an unsurprising outcome given the fact that there have been few attempts since the Second World War to remind the public of the village's commemorative credentials. Indeed, the only reason why there a concerted effort was made to raise the village's commemorative profile at that time was due to the need to attract funds to build new houses. For example, the front cover of a booklet to promote the fundraising drive of 1943 states that the village was not only to the 'everlasting memory' of those who gave their lives in the Great War, but also to the fallen of the present war.⁷⁵

The Westfield committee would ultimately benefit at the end of the Second World War from a nationwide trend one that suggests that many communities had lost their appetite for embarking on the same kind of large scale structural commemorative projects that had been undertaken at the end of the First World War. Instead, the names of the fallen were commonly added to pre-existing memorials, as would prove the case in Lancaster. In a situation that was similar to that at the end of the First World War, a number of local organisations had large amounts of charitable funds in their bank accounts that needed to be spent on suitable war-related projects. Freed of the kind of competitive and political tensions that had been present at the end of the earlier conflict, Westfield benefitted considerably - receiving large donations from the memorial funds of the King's Own Royal

⁷³ C. Noble, Interview with H. Walton, December 17, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁷⁴ The scheme was entitled 'Campus in the City' and was housed in an empty unit in the town's main shopping centre in February 2014

⁷⁵ Westfield War Memorial Village promotional booklet, 1943, front cover

Lancaster regiment and Lancaster Air Training Service, The Mayor of Lancaster's War Purpose Fund and (as acts of private memorialisation) from the Storey family and Lieutenant Colonel Porritt. A local philanthropist called Miss Whalley also gave a large donation, with all of the funding subsequently pooled to build 12 new properties in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

For those communities that were minded to embark on large new commemorative projects, the fact that facilities like Westfield had been running successfully for more than two decades was to provide a large degree of confidence in the viability of such schemes as well as useful templates from which to work. *The Empire News* described Westfield at the time as being 'one of the finest and certainly most useful memorials ever erected in these isles', before adding that 'it is worthy of study by those who will plan the enduring tributes to our fallen in this war'.⁷⁶ A memorial village for disabled veterans in Derby would be directly modelled on Westfield,⁷⁷ while a smaller version of the Lancaster settlement was created by the Middlesex Regiment.⁷⁸ The level of outside interest that Westfield generated was not, however, replicated in Lancaster, where there appears to have been a paucity of debate in the local press about commemoration of the fallen of the new conflict. As previously stated, this was to result in the names of the fallen being added to the pre-existing civic memorial. As a result, Westfield would continue to be denied a formal role in the district's commemorative process. The ultimate effect of this would be an ever-deeping internalisation of the community's commemorative traditions. Indeed, in a way not dissimilar to that highlighted in the preceding chapter in relation to the village's aesthetic ethos, the community would come to embrace the infrastructure and psychology of

⁷⁶ 'Living memorial to the dead', *The Empire News*, July 9, 1944, p.3

⁷⁷ 'Derby's war memorial to take the form of a model village for disabled ex-servicemen', *The Derby Evening Telegraph*, March 8, 1947, p.3

⁷⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, July 28 and October 27, 1947, pp.201, 203-204, 206, 208

commemoration on the village and transform it into an essential, and deeply personalised, aspect of their residence.⁷⁹

Nicholas J. Saunders has written extensively about material culture and conflict, claiming that physical items can attain a 'sense of the sacred' as part of the process of making sense of the past. Such items, he states, can also help people affected by war to reaffirm their commitment to personal moral priorities, including the remembrance of fallen comrades or family members.⁸⁰ There are numerous examples of this on Westfield, with many of the children who grew up on the community having recalled the near-religious approach taken by their elders towards the preservation of the commemorative infrastructure. For example, items like brass memorial plaques (attached inside a number of the houses to reveal a little about the individual the property commemorated) would be polished fastidiously. Irene Billington, the daughter-in-law of one of the early tenants, explained:

They [my in-laws] lived in Morton Cottage and I remember that when you went in there was a brass plaque with the details of Morton Bibby [the name of the man who the property commemorated]. My mother-in-law treasured that and we had to polish it with Brasso. When my son and I went with a view to buying the house many years later the plaque had gone. We thought that was criminal.⁸¹

Iris Roberts, another child of one of the First World War veterans, recalled having to clean the brass plaque inside her house and feeling such a sense of responsibility about it that she felt compelled to continually check her efforts with her mother. 'Are we doing it right?' she would ask repeatedly.⁸² A family called the Watsons used the plaque inside their home as the inspiration for the naming of a child their property had been funded by Herbert

⁷⁹ This more insular approach would be reflected at the time by the siting of a memorial to the village's own fallen of the war within the confines of Westfield House – a private spot to be contemplated by people living on the community rather than those from outside its walls. The memorial commemorated eight men associated with Westfield, of whom seven were the children of former First World War servicemen and sitting village tenants. See: <http://www.westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-memorials> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁸⁰ N.J. Saunders, 'Material Culture and Conflict: The Great War, 1914-2003' in N. J. Saunders (ed), *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War* (London, 2004), p.10

⁸¹ I. Billington, Interview with M. Purdy, Lancaster, February 17, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁸² I. Roberts, Interview with M. Purdy, March 12, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

Lushington Storey 'in thanks' for the safe return of his son Kenneth from the First World War, and when the Watsons had their own son (shortly after moving onto the village in 1922) they decided to name him 'Kenneth Storey' Watson in honour of the heritage of their home.⁸³ These examples are all from the first generation of tenants and their children, but the plaques have continued to be seen as an important part of the community's heritage. In fact those plaques that still survived at the turn of the twenty first century were (at the suggestion of the sitting secretary, Mandy Stretch) restored and re-attached to the external facades of their properties so that they could be seen by all.⁸⁴ The plaques remain in the care of the residents themselves. The fact that not all of the plaques had survived to be mounted externally suggests (as Mrs Billington bemoaned) that some of the tenants' relationships with the community's commemorative heritage was very different to that of others – with a number presumably having taken the plaques as keepsakes or to sell as collectibles.

Herbert Lushington Storey's figurative memorial would enjoy similar levels of attention, with a tenant called Mrs Dennison telling a newspaper in 2003 that the children of the village had been expected to help keep it clean as a way of instilling respect:

I also remember when we were not a school we used to take a bucket of hot soapy water and scrub the statue [memorial]. Daisy and Doris Smith used to do this and Peter Thompson and his mates used to polish it and when the sun shone it was a picture.⁸⁵

Although the Westfield committee did not go as far as its counterpart at the industrial settlement at Port Sunlight, at which the children were expected to sign a contract to respect the war memorial, many of the children of Westfield do remember the considerable pressure they faced to treat the memorial with due reverence. A Mrs Sweeney said that she had been raised to understand that the grass around the memorial was 'sacred' and not to

⁸³ Unlike Storey's son, the Watsons' child would not prove as lucky in war – Kenneth Storey Watson was killed in action at the age of 20 while serving with the RAF in the Second World War. See: <http://westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-memorials.htm> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

⁸⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, March 22, 2004, pp.142-143

⁸⁵ 'Memorial Village offered new start for war injured', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 7, 2003 (Westfield cutting file)

be walked upon,⁸⁶ whilst a Mrs Hrachiwina said that approaching the memorial had always been treated with the same kind of solemnity as 'going to someone's grave'.⁸⁷ Long-standing residents Angus and Catherine Redpath said in 2012 that 'even to this day children know to respect the monument', and added that while the younger residents might play around the memorial, they would never play on it.⁸⁸

In addition to providing a way of engendering respect for military sacrifice in their offspring, Westfield's adults appear to have used Storey's figurative memorial as a focal point for the reaffirmation of their own sense of community. Sylvia Scott, for example, recalled that her parents met with their neighbours at the structure to mark important occasions.⁸⁹ A similar point was made in 1997 by the then chairman, Wing Commander Derek Blunden, who said that if community spirit was 'out of fashion' in modern society, things like remembrance services and commemorative activities helped the residents of Westfield remind themselves of their common bonds.⁹⁰ It was a sentiment echoed in 2014 by a tenant called Wilfred Rawlinson, who said that the commemorative focus of the settlement remained incredibly important to 'us old soldiers, old veterans that have been in the forces'.⁹¹ Mr Rawlinson was speaking shortly after unveiling one of four new 'battle honour' name plates on a block of flats on the village - a ceremony undertaken to draw the properties and their tenants more clearly into the community fold and its commemorative traditions. Most of the other properties on the settlement had already been provided with a commemorative name during a process that had been started in the 1920s in what appears to have been a bid to bring a form of aesthetic uniformity. As mentioned in preceding chapters, the first phase of building on Westfield had primarily been funded by private donations, with the benefactors

⁸⁶ A. Sweeney, Interview with A. Drury, June 15, 2004 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁸⁷ P. Hrachiwina, Interview with A. Drury, June 15, 2004 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁸⁸ A. Redpath and C. Redpath, Interview with H. Walton, November 11, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁸⁹ S. Scott, Interview with M. Purdy, Lancaster, October 31, 2014 (Westfield Archive)

⁹⁰ 'A special village for heroes', *The Lancaster Guardian*, Friday, October 31, 1997, p.8

⁹¹ W. Rawlinson and F. Rawlinson, Interview with H. Walton, December 17, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

naming the properties they had paid for as they saw fit. All of these properties had the names they were given prominently featured on their front façade. In order to achieve aesthetic and architectural continuity, the properties subsequently erected needed to have similar name plates affixed to their frontages.

Most of the first phase of Westfield properties had received non-militaristic names of personal significance to the donors, but among these houses had been two funded by the King's Own which had been entitled 'Ypres' and 'Le Cateau' after two of its early (and most costly) battles of the First World War. When the money for a second phase of development arrived as a result of Hilda Leyel's Golden Ballot, one row of properties was duly named 'Leyel Terrace' in recognition of the principal donor, but there were no obvious titles for the remainder. A decision was subsequently taken to name all of the properties after battle honours of the King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment, including such visceral reminders of the recent conflict as 'Gallipoli' and 'Somme'. Sadly, there are no details of the debate surrounding this decision in the Westfield minute books or private correspondence held in the Merriman Collection. It was, however, a tradition that would endure - with the post-Second World War properties given such titles as 'Arnhem' and 'Burma' and the single-occupancy flats built by Guinness Northern Counties in the 1980s carrying names taken from the recent war in the Falklands. The flat blocks that the aforementioned Wilfred Rawlinson was involved in unveiling in 2014 would be named 'Korea', 'The Balkans', 'Malaya' and 'Aden' after the occupants put the issue to the vote. Interestingly, most of the tenants had been keen to see a conflict they had served-in represented, and Mr Rawlinson was deeply moved to unveil the name plate 'Korea' after the conflict in which he had fought and lost his best friend.⁹² To mark the centenary of the First World War, a row of eight properties on the village (on Haig Avenue) that had not been named after battle honours were instead named

⁹² 'Our Heritage: Plaque to Remember the 'Forgotten' War', *The Lancaster Guardian*, September 5, 2013 (Westfield cuttings file)

after the eight members of the King's Own who had won the Victoria Cross in the First World War. Furthermore, one of the residents of these properties, Joseph Bradshaw, had a blue plaque unveiled outside his home to mark the fact that he had won a Distinguished Service Medal in the Second World War at the D-Day Landings. Mr Bradshaw, a former member of the Royal Navy, had never spoken about the events surrounding the awarding of this honour, but it was noted that while he still did not wish to discuss his past heroics, he had been proud to invite his wider family to be present at the event.

The emotional, practical and psychological considerations involved in such commemorative practices, as well as the wider role commemoration continues to play in relation to the self-identity and self-worth of the residents (both individually and collectively), will be explored in detail in the final chapter. However, the upholding of such traditions serves to highlight how Westfield has continued to use its physical infrastructure to keep commemorative themes alive, personalised, prescient, and at the very heart of the community for the best part of a century. It is an achievement few memorials have managed, and provides a rather compelling rebuttal to the common criticism that the practical functions of utilitarian memorials invariably supersede their commemorative functions. To underline this point, growing concerns about the number of purely commemorative memorials that had been vandalised, stolen for scrap, uprooted, or thrown onto skips during the redevelopment of former churches, pubs and workplaces, was to result in a UK-wide National Inventory of War Memorials being launched in 1989 in a bid to identify and protect those still in-situ. In addition, a Friends of War Memorials group was established in 1997 to rescue and (where necessary) rehouse forgotten and threatened memorials.⁹³ It seems safe to assume that the presence of members from either of these groups will not be required on Westfield at any time in the foreseeable future.

⁹³ For more specific examples see: W. Kidd, 'The Lion, the Angel and the War Memorial' in N. J. Saunders (ed), *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War* (London, 2004), pp.162-163

In an interesting evolution of the commemorative process at Westfield, in the decades after the Second World War the community started to memorialise itself – including its philanthropists, staff and voluntarists. For example, a decision was taken in the 1950s for all of the streets on the community to be brought into line with Haig Avenue and given the names of the people who had unveiled them Herbert Lushington Storey (Storey Avenue), Earl Peel (Peel Crescent) and Lieutenant Colonel Porritt (Porritt Avenue). In addition, and perhaps most fittingly given the village's aesthetic focus, a Bois Memorial Garden would be unveiled to mark the large donation of Colonel and Mrs Bois in the 1980s, while two trees were planted in the same period in memory of the long-standing village secretary Colonel Dundas, and a birdbath in memory of his wife Kay. In more recent years, family members have funded benches as memorials in memory of the long standing (post-Second World War) village gardener Walter Dixon and a trustee called Mrs Parr, while a block of flats built by Guinness Northern Counties was named Ley Court in tribute of Brigadier Ley, the trustee and former village chairman who had played a key role in the negotiation of their construction. There has also been a huge rise in demand for the siting of permanent family-funded memorials to ex-residents within the footprint of their former homes something the Westfield trustees have taken a stand against out of fear that too many properties could be turned into shrines to specific individuals and, in the process, prove insensitive to the psychological needs of present and future tenants. Such has been the proliferation of memorials on the village, in 2015 an educational project involving Westfield and local primary schools saw the children presented with the challenge of identifying all of the different types of memorials that they could find on a brief tour. Such tales show that memorialisation and commemoration continue to play a central role in the Westfield community's ongoing story. Indeed, the final chapter in this thesis will address how growing levels of interest in personal, social and military history have resulted in a large increase in

demand for access to Westfield from family, popular and academic historians – and how this has affected, and is affecting, the identity of both the community and its residents.

Conclusion

Most of the pre-existing historiography of Westfield has failed to recognise that Westfield's initial rebranding as a 'memorial' was clearly driven as much by practical considerations (including the fundraising potential associated with civic commemoration) as emotional ones. It has also failed to recognise that it was the community's chief benefactor, Herbert Lushington Storey, who was the driving force behind Westfield's ongoing commemorative commitment. The primary evidence ties these two themes together, by suggesting that Storey's key motivation was indeed a reluctance to relinquish the kind of fundraising potential offered by the commemorative process. However, his autocratic approach mirrored many of the more negative constructs of paternalistic philanthropy.

In truth, the Westfield founders conformed to the kind of negative organisational groupings associated with the commemorative process by Black, Gregory and King. This was particularly true in relation to the claim that many First World War memorial committees were run autocratically by representatives of civic and social elites.⁹⁴ The Westfield project would be accused of having been nurtured by an undemocratic 'hole and corner' committee that had made highly presumptive decisions about the needs of the wider community, and such claims were not without foundation. The problems associated with such an approach were compounded by confusion about just who was going to benefit from the settlement – not least as a result of the level of influence being exerted by Herbert Lushington Storey.

⁹⁴ See: Black, 'Thanks for the Memory'; Gregory, *The Last Great War*; King, *Memorials*

There was also a lack of clarity about the balance of Westfield's utilitarian commitment to support the living and remember the dead. The level of uncertainty was sufficient to enable the Lancaster Corporation to effectively step in and fill the void with a specific memorial to the fallen. The corporation's refusal to accept a series of compromises from the Westfield grandees, which included a merging of the two schemes, would however reflect the kind of parochial power games Winter has shown as having been prevalent at the time.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the civic memorial's more conventional and clearly defined role as a tribute to the fallen was central to its successful usurping of Westfield as the main focal point for remembrance in the district.

Despite such setbacks, Westfield has continued to invest in commemorative processes. Indeed, a figurative memorial imposed on the community by Herbert Lushington Storey (against the wishes of most of his fellow volunteers) would ultimately provide the village with one of its most recognisable and most cherished features. This is important, as it shows how the passage of time can change people's perceptions and relationships with memorials and decision making processes.

Westfield's commemorative infrastructure has ultimately served a myriad of functions for the residents, from the practical to the symbolic. In many ways it has duplicated the research of Saunders, in taking on a near-sacred role.⁹⁶ It has also provided a focal point for the engendering of community spirit and common bonds of shared military experiences and values. Likewise, the ongoing enthusiasm to keep updating the village's commemorative infrastructure to reflect more recent conflicts has enabled it to transcend the seemingly far less personalised and emotionally specific relationship that most people share with local war memorials. It is an interesting outcome for a utilitarian memorial, as one of the reasons they

⁹⁵ Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p.90

⁹⁶ Saunders, 'Material Culture and Conflict', p.10

have traditionally been less favoured has been due to a fear that the passing of time would result in their commemorative function being forgotten. This study shows that it has clearly grown stronger at Westfield and even developed to embrace the community's own internal history. Such outcomes were neither envisaged nor pursued by the community's visionary founder Thomas H. Mawson, but resulted from the wholly autocratic approach of the lead philanthropist, Herbert Lushington Storey. I believe this is a further example of the complex, but highly valuable, insights that can be provided by case studies that embrace the challenge of longer timelines.

Chapter Five: Control

Philanthropists liked to imagine that they had created homes for their charges free of charity's odium. But familial ties are based on dependence and subordination, as well as love and respect. In the philanthropists' homes, ex-servicemen were cast as children, subject to the aspirations and discipline of their elders. Their financial burdens were alleviated, but the advantages they enjoyed were never secure. They had to behave themselves, express gratitude and live according to the rules.¹

Paternalistic philanthropy and social control are often seen as being synonymous, both having been commonly portrayed as unwelcome by-products of a charitable process in which a governing class or body imposes its standards upon a more dependent group - usually one of a lower social status. The very word 'paternalism' has strong negative connotations in relation to control, although, as John Kleinig has argued, it is not inherently immoral to act in a paternalistic way.² Kleinig claims that paternalism has acquired its negative connotations as part of a process that has continued to evolve since the word 'patriarchism' first came into use.³ The paternal analogy was originally used to justify the privileges of a ruling elite over the 'common' people, but Kleinig argues that in more recent times (particularly from the late nineteenth century onwards) it has often been used to suggest an unjustifiable form of authority, intervention or control - one in which adults are treated like children and patronisingly robbed of their right to self-determination.⁴

Deborah Cohen made the assessment quoted at the head of this chapter in specific reference to philanthropists involved in a number of the settlements created for disabled veterans at the end of the First World War, and would add that the recipients of charity often saw their opinions, natural inclinations and habits suppressed so that the values of their benefactors could be superimposed in a wholly authoritarian fashion:

¹ C. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), p.127

² J. Kleinig, *Paternalism* (Manchester, 1983), p.4

³ The Oxford English Dictionary traces the first use of the word 'patriarchism' to the mid-seventeenth century and 'patriarchalism' to the mid-nineteenth century

⁴ Kleinig, *Paternalism*, p.4

To succeed as the objects of charity, disabled men had to remain compliant, appreciative and cheerful. There was no recourse available to the incorrigible. Unlike the state, philanthropists owed nothing to their charges. All that was given voluntarily could also be taken away.⁵

Cohen would conclude that ‘however graciously delivered, charity was no substitute for rights’ in the hierarchical structures that the philanthropists created.⁶ Helen McCarthy appears to agree with this view of the philanthropic and charitable process both during and after the First World War, stating that ‘voluntary associations frequently reproduced the hierarchies and divisions existing in broader society, especially those of class, gender, religion and age’.⁷ Such issues are of clear relevance to Westfield, where a working class constituency was governed from the outset by a committee hand-picked from a socially elite group who controlled the decision making processes.

While the motivations and enduring social and professional make-up of successive committees at Westfield have already been explored in the second chapter of this thesis, the relationships and direct inter-actions between the various stakeholders, along with their expectations of each other, have not. This chapter will therefore look at the prevailing power structures and hierarchies on the community and how they came into existence, whilst also exploring the practicalities of the various positions held on the settlement, the expectations of their role and the levels of control these roles have traditionally enabled individuals to exert. In so doing it will explore a number of key paternalistic themes, including matters of personal preference and prejudice as well as hierarchical structures related to themes of class, militarism and gender. The main focus will be on the view from the top down and how the decisions made by those in control may have influenced the community’s development and, ultimately, the lives of those who have lived, and continue to live, there. The part played by the tenants and residents in the creation and

⁵ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.117

⁶ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.123

⁷ H. McCarthy, ‘Associational Voluntarism in Interwar Britain’ in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011), p.57

substantiation of the hierarchical structures on Westfield will be referenced where it helps to provide an explanation for, and contrast to, the actions of those higher up the chain of command. Nevertheless, the attitudes of the occupants to a number of the themes addressed will be discussed in greater detail in the final chapter. The record keeping of the village secretaries has proved central to this chapter, meaning that the period between the 1930s and early 1950s is less well represented, when the incumbents of the post (Wilson and Connell) were less meticulous than either their predecessors or successors.

Thomas H. Mawson's original vision had been to help his communities for disabled ex-servicemen to achieve self-sufficiency, not just in economic terms but also in terms of self-governance and self-determination:

The only element of compulsion about the whole thing would be those which obtain elsewhere. Every landlord must demand his rent, and that reasonable care shall be taken of his property, and every employer of labour certain definite services as a quid pro quo for wages paid [...] to such extent and to no other would the element of compulsion enter into the relationships between the committee administering the benefits of the village or the employers of labour and those of the partially disabled sharing the facilities provided for them.⁸

As seen, the plan had been to create communities complete with factories, workshops, agricultural small holdings, schools, churches, shops and more, with the villages as a whole run as workers' co-operatives.⁹ This latter concept had been an important part of the broader vision, with Mawson having personally projected the view that his communities would be free of the control, if not the financial support, of such powerful outside influences as the military, government and philanthropy. In achieving this he believed he would be responding directly to the desires of his beneficiaries, having lobbied the views of servicemen on the issue during a trip to Salonika during the war:

⁸ T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Villages for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors* (London 1917), p.78

⁹ For more on the specifics of the villages see: Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.17-50

The next questioner had been a leader-writer on one of the London dailies, and his questions were equally pertinent: 'Will the Government officials exercise any control in their [the disabled settlements'] management, and will they be regarded as philanthropic institutions? We object to the first, and as for philanthropy, we have still a little self-respect and cannot accept it.'¹⁰

This objection to 'charitable status' and concomitant potential for loss of self-determination and self-dignity was a concern that clearly resonated at the time. Cohen has pointed out that various newspapers reported during the war that it was not death but disablement, and the loss of independence, that was the soldier's greatest fear.¹¹ In an article on the history of disabled ex-servicemen during and after the First World War, the *Disability News Service* states that 'many disabled veterans complained that they had lost their independence and did not like being objects of charity'.¹² It was a theme raised on a number of occasions in the early years of the Westfield settlement, with Mawson and his supporters making it clear that they saw it as undesirable for disabled men to become dependent on charitable hand-outs. The headmaster of the local grammar school, the Reverend Shackleton Bailey, said in a sermon at Lancaster Parish Church that the Westfield scheme would have 'nothing of charity about it; they would not insult their heroes by offering them that'.¹³ He was subsequently quoted at the official launch of the project as saying that what he and the rest of the Westfield support group had liked about the undertaking was the fact that 'there was no taint of charity about it' and that 'they wanted to enable disabled men to be self-supporting'. Herbert Lushington Storey would add that the idea of Westfield was 'to help the men to help themselves'.¹⁴

In 1924 Alderman Briggs, the Mayor of Lancaster and chairman of the Westfield charity, had been at pains in a newspaper interview to stress the likely long term efficacy of the new

¹⁰ T.H. Mawson, *The Life And Work Of An English Landscape Architect* (London, 1927), p.285

¹¹ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.131

¹² 'War and Impairment: The Social Consequences of Disablement', *The Disability News Service* (2014), <http://ukdhm.org/v2/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/UK-Disability-history-month-2014-Broadsheet.pdf>10 (Disability News Service website) last accessed April 19, 2017

¹³ 'Mayor At Church: Rev Shackleton Bailey On Germany's Downfall', *The Lancaster Observer*, November 15, 1918, p.7

¹⁴ *The Lancaster Observer*, November 29, 1918, p.6

settlement for disabled ex-servicemen, stating that the income from the rents meant that 'there was every prospect of the village becoming a self-supporting institution and not a charity'.¹⁵ This was not, however, a realistic assessment, with the Westfield committee having decided to charge peppercorn rents from the outset that would 'not exceed the poor rates of £10 per year'.¹⁶ The decision to drop the industrial/factory element from the Westfield scheme, coupled with the provision of subsidised rents, inevitably had a negative impact on the community's potential to become economically self-sustaining. Furthermore, with the government already having proved an unwilling partner, Westfield was now primarily dependent on acts of philanthropy and charity – which naturally increased the influence and control of the leading philanthropists and voluntarists.

Failure to gain government support, along with the collapse of Mawson's national Industrial Settlements Ltd committee, also meant that the formative Westfield volunteers were quickly drawn into a far greater commitment than they were likely to have envisaged. Not only had they become responsible for raising the funds to build the settlement, but also for overseeing its construction and making decisions about who would be allowed to live there. Three years would pass before the necessary approvals and funds could be secured to build any houses at Westfield, meaning that by the time the first prospective tenants came to be interviewed, the volunteers of the charity committee had already developed a highly personal, if not proprietary, relationship with the project. As suggested in chapter two, this personalisation and direct sense of responsibility, or even ownership, was to prove a key motivational factor in the ongoing support of many of the volunteers. In such a scenario, it is not difficult to see how a managerial structure controlled by the benefactors, with very limited input from the beneficiaries, came into existence. It would, however, be the way that

¹⁵ *The Lancaster Guardian*, March 1, 1924, p.7

¹⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, July 25, 1921, pp.393-394

the volunteers sought to implement their controlling influence that would determine the future living standards, experiences, expectations and rights of the village occupants.

The first three Westfield tenants were selected in August 1920 from a list of 36 applicants. The selection sub-committee, made-up of three people and chaired by grammar school headmaster the Rev Shackleton Bailey, appears to have vetted all of the candidates.¹⁷ This process was a far more intensive and intrusive undertaking than that carried out by most social landlords, with the Westfield trio leaving few stones unturned in their bid to find 'the right type' of tenant. For example, any veteran who met the official criteria for residence (including high levels of war disability, a local background and the correct marital status) would still be subject to a home visit at their existing residence to judge their general levels of cleanliness and respectability. In addition, their employment and military records would be scoured and neighbours and associates interviewed for character references or gossip.

Maintaining such levels of control was an incredibly onerous task: there were 103 veterans, for example, in need of vetting for the 22 properties set to be built as part of the second phase of development in 1923.¹⁸ During the third phase of construction in the early 1930s, there appears to have been a hint of exasperation in the Rev Shackleton Bailey's explanation to his fellow committee members that progress on selection was inevitably slow - what else could be expected, he said, when there were so many prospective tenants and the tests on them so 'rigorous'.¹⁹ Following a fresh influx of applicants in the 1950s it was noted that many of the new prospective tenants lived outside of the region, but the committee felt that home visits remained essential and voted to pay for the village secretary and his wife to go and stay overnight in order to maintain a practice from which 'the expense involved was

¹⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, August 24, 1920, pp.289-290

¹⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, December 19, 1923, pp.495-496

¹⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*. November 2 & November 20, 1931, pp.762-763, 765-766

well justified'.²⁰ Such levels of intense personal scrutiny would not diminish until the 1980s, after the charity had entered into partnership with the Guinness Northern Counties housing association. In the years preceding, the village secretary and his wife were in a position of considerable power. The minute books and correspondence of the longest running secretary, Colonel Dundas, show that if he took against someone, the individual concerned had no hope of residence and no chance of appeal. In a file of applicants held in the Merriman Collection, there is correspondence from numerous veterans clearly desperate for housing, and in some cases it might be little more than their over-enthusiasm that would ultimately come to be held against them:

My wife and I would like to know if there is a possible chance of a house in the village [...] I have filled in the form in which you required as you will have had this already Sir would it be possible for you to let us know definite as we are anxious to know. We have had a look around and we think they are lovely and a beautiful place to live, we hope that we are and will be selected for a house at the village Sir, we thank you for your kindness towards this opportunity in which you have given us Sir, we hope that you will give us some details on the subject and we would ask for your kind obligation in what we ask of you Sir. We thank you again Sir for your kindness.

This couple had written a similar letter a week earlier, and apparently received a favourable reply. However, Colonel Dundas did not like what he saw as their pestering and wrote on the bottom of the correspondence: 'This man became a nuisance – I gave him a 'final blast off'.²¹ Similarly, the Colonel dismissed as 'impertinent' another veteran who had written in the 1960s to state that he had read a recent newspaper article suggesting that the village was struggling to find disabled veterans, and as he had a 30 per cent war disability he hoped that he and his family might soon be housed on the community.²²

The balance of power on the settlement and practicality of the plight of most of the applicants certainly left them powerless to challenge such a subjective system in the early

²⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 23, 1951, p.57-58

²¹ Correspondence of Colonel Dundas, April 30, 1966 (The Merriman Collection, Lancaster)

²² Correspondence of Colonel Dundas, May 15, 1963 (The Merriman Collection)

years. Following the Second World War, and introduction of the Welfare State, the disabled veterans were in a far less parlous financial state and, it might be assumed, far less vulnerable. As such, it might be assumed they were less likely to accept autocratic rule, but this was not to prove the case. Although the criteria for applications of tenancy have changed, not least in relation to levels of disability, the large waiting lists have remained for the majority of the village's history. As a result of this, tenants have continued to feel themselves 'lucky' (usually in the face of stiff competition) to get a house. If they ever felt that the vetting process was too intrusive, they would also be fully aware of the presence of others perfectly happy to take their place in the queue. It is a point supported by the grandson of Thomas H. Mawson, who was heavily involved in the settlement after the Second World War:

Generally, yes generally speaking most of them would say I'm lucky to be here – 'I've got a house that's looked after and they look after us very well really' - and they had a social club, a very active social club in one part of Westfield House.²³

Essentially, it was the paternalistic/charitable nature of the settlement (one that included being well 'looked after') that was one of the attractions of residence. If the price to pay for this was to accept a more submissive role, then this was something that most tenants (particularly in the early years) were willing to accept. For example, after being offered a property in the 1920s a blind veteran called Mr Capstick wrote to the committee to request permission to erect a shed in the garden of what would be his new home. He explained that the shed would be funded by the St Dunstan's charity and used as a workshop in which to make mats that he could sell to supplement his disability pension. The Westfield committee responded that the terms of the tenancy were clear, and that 'no trade, profession or business is permitted on the estate'. Mr Capstick, said to be struggling to keep a wife and two children on his disability pension, did not feel in a position to argue and quickly wrote

²³ T.P. Mawson, Interview with M. Purdy, January 10, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

back to say that he would accept the house and see if he could find somewhere else to site the shed.²⁴ The blind veteran would finally get permission to move the shed to his own back garden five years later - after it was pointed out that increased traffic on local roads meant that 'he was in great danger of being injured in the course of proceeding to and from his hut' on the adjacent Marsh estate.²⁵ A 'stone deaf' tenant, who relied on a dog he was keeping to warn him of visitors, was told that 'no-one could be a special case' in relation to the long standing ban on dogs and that he must get rid of it immediately. The man did so without a fight.²⁶

Those who felt inclined to buck the system once they had gained a property and established themselves on the community could always be threatened with eviction if deemed to have stepped too far out of line. In practice, only one couple has ever been taken through the formal eviction process in the community's near-100-year history, although there have been cases of others who have gone voluntarily after it has been suggested it might be best for them to do so. In the case of the formal eviction in the 1970s, after more than ten years of increasingly erratic behaviour and repeated attempts to find compassionate solutions for the tenants in question (including professional counselling) the committee felt it had no choice but to act.²⁷ Nevertheless, the threat of eviction was present and could be held over those who refused to be compliant. For example, a veteran who threatened to make a stand against a rule in the 1950s that tenants were responsible for paying for their own internal repairs (such as broken gas taps and burst pipes) was told he would face eviction if he ever saw his protest through.²⁸ A disabled resident who accused the committee of behaving in a 'dictatorial' fashion about a house swap was told that he was not living under a dictatorship

²⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, July 7, 1930, pp.728-729

²⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, January 28 and April 30, 1935, pp.14-15, 16, 20-21

²⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, July 23, 1979, pp.29-34

²⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, December 4, 1972, pp.85-86

²⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, June 12 and July 28, 1952, pp.99-100, 101

as he was free to go and live elsewhere whenever he liked.²⁹ It is, of course, always easy to unearth examples of unrest, but, in truth, the primary evidence suggests that such clashes between the tenants and their guardians have been rare, with most residents appearing to have been happy to comply with the rules and meet the 'standards' expected of them.

Exactly what the Westfield 'standards' were has never been formally recorded, but the primary evidence suggests they were in keeping with what might loosely be described as 'middle class values': the kind of concerns of respectability (from acts of moral propriety to projections of cleanliness and politeness) that one might readily associate with the enduring social make-up of the community's controlling group. As previously established, all of the key positions on the inaugural Westfield committee had been taken by individuals associated with the original socially elite committee. Indeed, an early offer to broaden the committee's social outreach had proved nothing more than a temporary gesture to aid the initial period of fundraising. The formative Westfield committee had instead gone on to become self-generating, with new members recommended by serving members or as the result of family, professional or organisational succession. Managerial control has, as such, always remained in the hands of a largely middle class collective of around 20 individuals or less.

Mawson had always seen his tenants as coming from less affluent social groups, as this was where the greatest number of cases of hardship might reasonably be expected to be found. It was also a practical approach given the government's 'Homes for Heroes' scheme, which he explained to the Westfield committee (in December 1918) was to be primarily aimed at supporting working class housing projects such as their own.³⁰ However, the blueprint Mawson had laid down in *An Imperial Obligation* had not taken into consideration the challenges of class management and hierarchical structures beyond his repeated

²⁹ Correspondence of Colonel Dundas with Colonel Oglethorpe, November 1, 1955 (The Merriman Collection)

³⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, December 23, 1918, p.17

commitment to the concept of self-determination. In retrospect, this seems somewhat naïve. In fact Mawson had drawn heavily in the second edition of *An Imperial Obligation* on what he saw as an example of successful collectivism at the factory settlement at Port Sunlight, a facility built in 1888 by one of his professional clients, Lord Leverhulme. In highlighting this scheme Mawson did not acknowledge the clearly paternalistic and hierarchical nature of the operation. For example, it was Leverhulme who decided how the workers' share of the factory's profits would be best invested - presumably as he did not think them capable of making the 'right' choices for themselves. So, instead of providing the workforce with their share of the money to spend as they saw fit, he invested it for them in improved housing.³¹

According to Cohen, behaviour of this type was typical among the philanthropists involved in the broader movement to house disabled ex-servicemen of the First World War. Sir Oswald Stoll, for example, funded the War Seal Mansions' settlement at which he stipulated the lights be turned out at 10.30pm, discouraged drinking and opposed acts of collectivism - the latter on the basis that he equated collectivism with communism, an ideology to which he was fervently opposed. The large industrial facility at Enham in Hampshire was founded by the Quaker physician Fortescue Fox, who also imposed moral obligations on his charges.³² Cohen says that while the actions of such men were well intentioned and saved many from destitution, their personal motives should not be ignored:

They had loftier ambitions. Above all, they viewed charity work as a means of social reform, the practical incarnation of their (often unorthodox) principles. Whether the cause was the revival of rural industry (Enham), the sanctity of the liberal individual (War Seal Mansions), or even Woman's suffrage (the Star and Garter), disabled men soon found themselves entangled in the philanthropists' schemes. Their own needs became a means to a larger end.³³

This indictment, in which 'he who pays the piper calls the tune', suggests little difference between the motives of the philanthropists involved in the housing of disabled veterans

³¹ P. Nuttgens, *The Home Front: Housing The People, 1840-1990* (London, 1989), p.33

³² Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.120

³³ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.117

after the First World War and their Victorian counterparts, a breed often motivated by religious and/or moral zeal to impose their 'superior' standards on the recipients of their charity.³⁴ In fact, the approach taken by many of the disabled settlements appears to bear striking similarities to a model of early Victorian paternalism provided by David Roberts: authoritarian but respectful of law, hierarchical but 'organic' in terms of people knowing their place, 'pluralistic' in that different hierarchical groups made up the whole, and driven by a sense of duty to provide firm moral 'guidance'.³⁵

Westfield's place within such a construct is complex. The original Westfield support group, or association, had been set-up as a democracy, but certain individuals had soon established themselves as 'first among equals': Herbert Lushington Storey had been named president, the Mayor, Alderman Briggs, as chairman, the headmaster of the grammar school, the Rev Shackleton Bailey, as vice-chairman, Mawson, the original visionary, as an executive committee member, and Lord Cavendish, the most senior officer of the regiment of the King's Own, chief patron. These men had been the figureheads for the official launch of the scheme, the key people involved in the negotiations with the local corporation, as well as the individuals most commonly quoted in the local press in relation to the Westfield project as a whole. Nevertheless, even within this top tier it was Herbert Lushington Storey who dominated – and there was little that he appears to have seen as being outside of his jurisdiction or influence. Storey's often twice-weekly correspondence with successive village secretaries runs from discussions about the purchase of motor mowers to the organisation of publicity photos.³⁶

The autocratic style of Herbert Lushington Storey could result in tensions at the top of Westfield's hierarchical structure, and the kind of problems exemplified by an incident in

³⁴ For more see, for example: T. Dixon, *The Invention of Altruism: Making Moral Meanings in Victorian Britain* (London, 2008)

³⁵ D. Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (London, 1979), pp.2-10

³⁶ The Merriman Collection, held at the Regiment of the King's Own Museum in Lancaster, includes a large number of letters from Herbert to the Westfield secretaries from the 1920s and 1930s

1925 in which Alderman Briggs, the then Westfield chairman, was aghast to discover that Storey and Mawson had acted without the consent of their colleagues in employing contractors for a costly repainting project. Briggs was described as having felt 'very strongly' that any question involving expense and policy 'must' be put before the whole committee before any action could be authorised. Nevertheless, as an example of the kind of power that the chief benefactor exerted, the chairman had merely recommended that the matter be deferred until he could write to Storey personally and ask him to attend a meeting (at his own convenience) to 'discuss' it.³⁷ Two months would pass before Storey was available and a face-saving compromise could be reached.³⁸ Mawson, whose offices were within walking distance of Westfield, was not summoned and his name barely mentioned throughout the episode. The value and influence of the originator of the scheme had clearly fallen, while Herbert Lushington Storey's status had remained strong and seemingly unassailable.

Despite the influence Storey exerted, his direct interventions into the lives of the actual tenants do not appear to have been as openly intrusive as those of many of his counterparts. Indeed, correspondence between Storey and successive village secretaries suggests that he had very little direct contact with the residents and was actually far more interested in the practicalities of managing and growing the settlement than managing the lives of the people who lived there. This is surprising as both he and the wider members of his family were not short on moral certainty. Most of the Storey family were staunchly Church of England or Congregationalist, and Herbert Lushington's sister Margaret, who was a regular Westfield benefactor, would recall in 1964 that she and her siblings had received the kind of 'Victorian' upbringing that had seen them gathered every morning in the dining room to hear a chapter read to them from The Bible by their father.³⁹ Despite this, there is no evidence of religious practice or compliance ever having been imposed on the Westfield residents, although

³⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, May 4, 1925, pp.560-562

³⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, July 6, 1925, pp.566-568

³⁹ G. Christie, *Storeys of Lancaster* (London, 1964), pp.59-60

leading members of the local Anglican clergy have always had a presence on the management committee. Like much of Mawson's early vision, the proposal that Westfield would have its own church never came to fruition. Levels of moral 'respectability' were, however, encouraged from the outset and, where necessary, imposed.

The first example of social control and imposition of 'respectable standards' at Westfield came just months after the first tenants had moved on in 1923, when it was recorded that it had 'come to the notice of the committee that several of the tenants in the village do not keep their gardens in order'. The village secretary was instructed to have a condition of tenancy prepared that was similar to the local corporation's: one that stated that tenants 'must keep their houses and gardens clean and tidy' and that those who failed to do so could be given notice to quit.⁴⁰ While the committee was only bringing its policies into line with those of many other social landlords, this move to a more formal managerial approach, and one tied to the threat of eviction, could only serve to underline the true nature of the balance of power. Furthermore, this more formal approach to control would soon go on to engage with far more overtly moral themes. The following item, for example, was committed to the minute books in 1933:

The committee pointed out that it had been brought to notice that three women [tenants of the village] were using the public washing place in the town, when there was every facility for them to wash clothes in their own cottages. The committee considered that this practice must cease and the secretary was instructed to inform the tenants concerned accordingly.⁴¹

This shows that the committee placed great store by the way the community was being perceived externally, although most examples of its moral and social interventions relate to practices within the village's own boundaries. The daughter of one of the early tenants, Sylvia Scott, recalled in an interview in 2014 that 'you couldn't put your washing out on a Sunday' when she was growing up on the village. Milk bottles had to be put out in the

⁴⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, June 11, 1923, pp.475-476

⁴¹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, July 3 and October 30, 1933, pp.812-813, 814-815, 816-817

morning, not the evening before.⁴² The similarity between such rules and those commonly referred to in relation to the autocratic approach taken at the Victorian factory settlement at Saltaire are striking the chief philanthropist at this Yorkshire village, Titus Salt, would regularly ride his horse around the streets and slash down washing lines hung across them on the basis that these were 'common' displays beneath the aspirations of his community. Salt would also reward his workforce for low levels of drunkenness and illegitimacy.⁴³

The Westfield committee would place its own marker down in relation to alcohol when the newly-formed Lancaster branch of the British Legion was informed that it could open a club on the settlement in 1925 - on the strict condition that it did not sell 'intoxicating liquor'.⁴⁴ It is unclear who the driving force, or forces, were behind this decision, although it was one that was very much in keeping with the values of Herbert Lushington Storey: a man who had purchased the former dining room of the Militia officers at Bowerham Barracks, Lancaster, in the early twentieth century and then offered it to the Army Temperance Association for the purpose of forming a local branch.⁴⁵ The initial attempt to control alcohol consumption would be upheld for many years, with the Westfield Bowling and Recreation Club told when it took over the facility from the British Legion in the 1930s that it could not open a 'small beer bar'.⁴⁶ The Westfield committee finally succumbed to beer sales soon after this, although it would not be until 30 years later (in 1975) that the sale of spirits would be approved.⁴⁷ The club closed in the 1990s but a new Westfield Residents' Association asked for the right to re-establish an alcohol licence in 2001, which was rejected.⁴⁸ The rules would finally be relaxed in 2008 when the residents were allowed to bring their own alcohol to functions. However, after a 'marked increase of tensions' and anti-social behaviour it was

⁴² S. Scott, Interview with M. Purdy, October 31, 2014 (Westfield Archive)

⁴³ P. Nuttgens, *The Home Front*, pp.31-33; J. Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London, 1986), pp.180-181

⁴⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, January 19, 1925, pp.549-551

⁴⁵ 'Obituary: Mr Herbert L Storey', *The Lancaster Post*, April 28, 1933 (Westfield cuttings file)

⁴⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, June 6, July 11 and September 5, 1932, pp.785-786,789-790, 793

⁴⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, July 28, 1975, pp.191-196

⁴⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, April 30, 2001, pp.88-91, 93-95

decided that no alcohol would be allowed to be consumed at community functions unless it was provided by the committee.⁴⁹ It is hard not to feel a degree of sympathy with the committee in its efforts to tackle a potential threat to the wider well-being of the settlement. Indeed, as Joel Feinberg has argued, most people living in 'civilised' societies accept varying levels of 'soft' and 'hard' paternalism based on the expectations and rulings of peers, professionals and the state – 'hard' paternalism being more actively coercive in 'protecting' competent adults from potentially self-harming choices.⁵⁰ This is particularly relevant when dealing with issues of public health, including the consumption of cigarettes and alcohol.⁵¹

There is strong anecdotal evidence to suggest that a number of Westfield's disabled tenants used alcohol as a form of self-medication, and often at levels that could result in issues of domestic/familial concern. This may provide an explanation as to why the committee was consistently reluctant about the access to alcohol on the community. However, while the committee were willing to try and influence the issue at the village club, they rarely sought to intrude on what went on behind closed doors so long as 'indiscretions' remained behind closed doors. When residents failed to do this, the committee was prepared to act swiftly. In the 1930s, for example, it was clearly of some annoyance to the voluntarists that the absent wife of one tenant was regularly reported as being seen out enjoying herself on the town. The committee subsequently contacted the woman to say that she must return to Westfield and reside on the community with her disabled husband or be held personally responsible for seeing him evicted from what had been given to them as a family residence.⁵² It appears that the woman returned. Two decades later, the committee told a widow that it would be in the interest of all parties if she left the village willingly within 14 days after the Westfield

⁴⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, March 30, 2009, pp.290-298

⁵⁰ J. Feinberg, 'Legal Paternalism' in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.1, no.1 (1971), pp.105-110

⁵¹ For more on this see: R.E. Goodin, 'Permissible Paternalism: Saving Smokers from Themselves' in H. LaFollette (ed), *Ethics in Practice: An Anthology* (New Jersey, 2002)

⁵² *Westfield Minute Book 4*, January 31, 1938, pp.60, 62

gardener had spotted a man (presumably a lover) leaving her house 'on three consecutive mornings'. The widow complied and left the community.⁵³

The committee's moral judgements were not limited to acts of sexual 'indiscretion', as highlighted by the case of a tenant who sought permission to have a grandchild live with him after the parents had separated. This man was told that the child could stay on the village, but only until the father was in a position to send for him - as they, the committee, had deemed this 'the best solution for the future of the child'.⁵⁴ In 1959 the Stokes family was given a property after a protracted debate about their interest in spiritualism. It was decided that 'the secretary be requested to clearly inform them that there were no objections provided they kept this as a family matter'.⁵⁵ However, Mr Stokes, who was unemployed and appears to have been suffering from depression relating to his war disability, would not escape paternalistic intervention - the village secretary, with the blessing of the committee, found his own solution to the veteran's medical condition by sourcing a job for him at the local asylum:

After much searching around the secretary obtained employment for Mr Stokes as a porter at The Royal Albert Institution. Since he will there be dealing with people more handicapped in life than he himself, this should give him increased confidence in his own capability.⁵⁶

Such decisions by the secretary and committee do not appear to have been tied to any form of professional expertise in areas of psychiatry, counselling or child welfare, but rather their personal moral codes.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that paternalistic interventions were a wholly negative practice on Westfield. As I have previously stated, many of the tenants were attracted to the fact that they were going to be 'looked after' in terms of their housing,

⁵³ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, October 11, 1951, p. 76

⁵⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, August 30, 1951, p.75

⁵⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, July 27, 1959, pp.61-65

⁵⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, October 26, 1959, pp.68, 70-71, 73

environment and facilities, with many more welcoming direct acts of personal intervention. For example, when a new family moved onto the village in the 1960s, the committee members used their social networks to ensure that the two children were found places at the local grammar school 'within seven days of arrival', while their unemployed father was set-up with a job within a similar time frame.⁵⁷ In the same decade, a tenant seeking to keep a young relative out of a children's home approached the village secretary, Colonel Dundas, for help 'to prevent this calamity'. The tenant was told by the committee that the boy could move onto the village with his grandparents and Colonel Dundas then took it upon himself to contact a senior area inspector of the NSPCC, the divisional education officer at Lancaster, as well as the Army Information Office, on the grandparents' behalf. Within four days the boy had reached Westfield, changed his school and passed his medical and preliminary interview for the Army Apprentice School at Carlisle.⁵⁸ Indeed, it has already been recorded in an earlier chapter how the committee repeatedly sought to keep unemployment levels down by finding work for affected tenants and their families. Such direct interventions have continued to the modern day, although those rooted in 'moral' assumptions generally ceased after the 1970s. So, for example, in the 1980s the committee chairman, Brigadier Ley, was prepared to travel to a tribunal in Manchester to argue against a proposed cut in the disability pension of one of the community's aging tenants.⁵⁹

In most cases it was the village secretaries who highlighted, or were first approached about, the need for interventions. The role of secretary had been initiated by Herbert Lushington Storey in 1918, when he decided to pay out of his own pocket for somebody to help replicate the work that he and the secretary at his family firm, Storey Bros, had been overseeing on a voluntary basis. Storey had selected Captain John Fraser Dawson for the job and gone about the task of appointing him in familiar fashion – informing the rest of the

⁵⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, May 30 and July 25, 1960, pp.99, 100-101, 103-108

⁵⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, October 29, 1962, pp.228-234

⁵⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 30, 1984, p.205

Westfield committee that a permanent secretary was needed, that he was happy to pay for the post to be filled, that he knew just the man for the task, and that it just so happened that the gentleman in question was in the building at that very moment and willing to be interviewed.⁶⁰ The demands of the position would prove far more challenging than the ease with which the first occupant acquired it: the secretary being expected to take up permanent residence on the community, liaise with tradesmen, keep abreast of new legislation, fulfil secretarial, administrative and financial chores, answer the queries of the committee, look after the welfare of the tenants and their families, collect rents and ensure that terms of residence were being upheld. How much this huge workload affected their general well-being is a matter of conjecture, but Captain Dawson would be forced to resign on the grounds of ill-health just a few years later in 1926.⁶¹ His replacement, Lieutenant Colonel Wilson, would last just five years before he too was forced to leave as a result of failing health.⁶² The next incumbent, Major Matthew Connell, managed a healthy 18 years,⁶³ but his replacement, Lieutenant Colonel Harper, died suddenly after just five years in the post.⁶⁴ Colonel Dundas, the last of the live-in secretaries, managed 22 years before his retirement. All of these men appear to have been in their fifties or sixties when they initially took on the position.

A middle management position, the role of village secretary was far more closely affiliated to those at the top of the hierarchical structure than those at the bottom. In fact, many of the secretaries would go on to become close friends with senior members of the Westfield Committee, and in so doing further strengthen the ties that bound the two main controlling groups. Letters held in the Merriman Collection show that Herbert Lushington Storey became particularly fond of the second secretary, Lieutenant Colonel Wilson, and, when in

⁶⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, October 18, 1919, pp.138-139

⁶¹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, March 1, 1926, p.583

⁶² *Westfield Minute Book 3*, September 7, 10, 14 & October 5, 16, 1931, pp.757-759, 761

⁶³ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, September 7, 10, 14 & October 5, 16, 1931, pp.757-759, 761

⁶⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 27, 1954, p.155

very poor personal health, still found the time to write to Wilson's successor to ask if he knew how he was doing and if he had an address at which he could contact him.⁶⁵ Colonel Frederick Dundas, the last of the military secretaries, was regularly addressed as 'Freddie' by the committee chairman Colonel Oglethorpe,⁶⁶ who would in turn be referred to as 'Geoffrey'.⁶⁷ Oglethorpe's successor, Colonel Darlington, would be addressed as 'John'.⁶⁸ This first name familiarity was in contrast to the way that the secretaries, including Major Connell and Colonel Dundas, addressed the tenants and appears to have replicated a great deal of the hierarchical ethos of the officers' mess:

Major Connell was very strict. Dad would call him 'Major' or 'Major Connell'. There weren't any first names. He [Connell] would call dad 'Mr Barker', I think.⁶⁹

He would be very strict the Colonel [...] every day he toured the village. One of the old Army chaps, he called him 'Ledgeworth', and he [Ledgeworth] said to him, 'It's Mr Ledgeworth to you!'⁷⁰

The line that separated the senior and middle managers could often become blurred, with Colonel Dundas confident enough in his relationship with 'Geoffrey' Oglethorpe to embark in gossip of a highly critical nature about other committee members. He was even comfortable in providing his own opinion in the 1950s as to whom he felt the next Westfield president should be:

The actual suggestion made by Askew was that 'we must ensure the continuation of the Storey name', and Mary Bowring [the daughter of Captain Alan Storey] was the only direct connection left. I should think she would be an asset to our numbers, and not become a useless ornament on the committee...⁷¹

Colonel Dundas, like his predecessors, would regularly provide news about the tenants to the committee. His correspondence with Colonel Oglethorpe could be particularly colourful -

⁶⁵ Correspondence of Herbert L. Storey to Major Connell, January 24, 1933 (The Merriman Collection)

⁶⁶ Correspondence of Colonel Oglethorpe to Colonel Dundas, October 10, 1961 (The Merriman Collection)

⁶⁷ Correspondence of Colonel Dundas to Colonel Oglethorpe, January 19, 1974 (The Merriman Collection)

⁶⁸ Correspondence of Colonel Dundas to Colonel Darlington, November 22, 1975 (The Merriman Collection)

⁶⁹ Scott, Interview with M. Purdy

⁷⁰ C. Monks, Interview with M. Purdy, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁷¹ Correspondence of Colonel Dundas to Colonel Oglethorpe, November 5, 1959, (The Merriman Collection)

following an altercation with one tenant, he wrote to the committee chairman to say that, 'I would dearly love just five minutes with our Mr P'. The latter was a tenant the Colonel had already described to the volunteers of the charity as being 'an objectionable type in every way'.⁷² The committee's dependence on the secretaries as their eyes and ears has remained a constant, and Colonel Dundas would go on to provide stories of village life (from births, deaths and marriages to academic achievements) for an annual report established in the 1960s. While this all-seeing, all-knowing approach undoubtedly had pastoral value in helping to maintain a sense of community, it also served to underline the near-omnipotence of the live-in secretaries. One former tenant recalled that Colonel Dundas maintained his daily patrols of the village even after he had been confined to a wheelchair in his later years - by getting his wife to wheel him around.⁷³ Like most of the early secretaries, the influence and deference shown to Colonel Dundas appears to have been tied as much to his bearing as a former commissioned officer of the British Army as to his official role as estate overseer and middle manager. This is not what had been envisaged at the birth of Thomas H. Mawson's vision.

Mawson stated in *An Imperial Obligation* that his settlements must 'guard against' having anything of the military barracks about them. 'Anything of that sort would be utterly repugnant,' he wrote.⁷⁴ While principally referring to the aesthetics of his settlements, he was also making reference to a wider ideology - one that he would return to in his autobiography in relation to a discussion (also referred to in an earlier chapter) with serving troops in Salonika in the latter stages of the war. Mawson would later record that these men had made it very clear that they would be against any form of militarism in their civilian lives:

⁷² Correspondence of Colonel Dundas to Colonel Oglethorpe, August 11 and August 23, 1967 (The Merriman Collection)

⁷³ Monks, Interview with M. Purdy

⁷⁴ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, pp.19-20

One man, a graduate of Edinburgh who had read theology, asked a very pertinent question: 'Can the lecturer assure us that their villages will not be under any sort of military patronage or dictatorship? If they are, you will find the British Army to a man opposed to them. Military control is necessary in war but we are determined not to tolerate it in peace time.'[...] it was evident that the men were anxious to return to the freedom of civil life again and to be forever free of military control.⁷⁵

While Westfield would never be under direct military control, the local infantry regiment had been invited to enter into a close affiliation with the project, senior members of this same regiment had come to hold influential positions on the committee as a right of automatic succession, and the live-in secretaries were all former officers of rank. Furthermore, as the failure to use tenants' first names and direct interferences in their lives have already illustrated, the live-in secretaries retained (albeit to varying degree) many of the habits of the military barracks. Major Connell and Colonel Dundas were seen as being particularly militaristic and intimidating:

Major Connell used to collect the rent. Whenever he came I hid. I was scared of him. If he was coming – 'put this up, tidy this here' [said our parents], we ran around like little mice. Major Connell was very strict. If anybody was running on the grass where he lived, he would be out in a shot. Connell was quite military. Major Connell would give the children a smack.⁷⁶

I remember 'the Colonel' [Dundas]. He was a stern gentleman! He really did rule the roost with a rod of iron. You definitely wouldn't play football near his house.⁷⁷

They always appointed a retired Colonel as the secretary and these guys were quite sort of used to taking command and being in command. My earliest secretary if I've got the sequence right was Matty Connell. I remember one specific incident, we met some resident coming the other way who sort of half saluted good morning and he said, 'You can't come out like that, you've got your jacket buttoned up crooked, you're not looking like a soldier, get the button sorted out'. 'Oh sorry sir, right' – you know, as if he was still there on the parade ground. I used to get little postcards from Freddie [Colonel Dundas] which would say, 'Tom report fourteen hundred hours next Saturday for conference re. so and so'.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, pp.285-286

⁷⁶ Scott, Interview with M. Purdy

⁷⁷ B. Robertson, Interview with M. Purdy, February 14, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁷⁸ Mawson, Interview with M. Purdy

It was Herbert Lushington Storey who had created the role of village secretary, but the fact that his first choice, Captain Dawson, was a former military man may have been incidental at this point. Certainly, when Dawson resigned in 1926 the initial priority had not been to replace him with another former military officer. A local man called Mr Davidson, who does not appear to have had a service background, was initially chosen by the selection sub-committee. However, when the matter went before the Westfield volunteers as a whole, it was recorded that 'before any appointment is made, Lt Col G. Wilson, DSO, be communicated with and asked if he would care to apply'. Colonel Parker, an officer of the King's Own, was then added to the selection sub-committee and Lt Col Wilson, a newly retired officer of the same regiment, interviewed and given the job.⁷⁹ This military coup set a precedent that would result in all future live-in secretaries being former commissioned officers of the Armed Services until the deal with Guinness Northern Counties in the 1980s. More importantly, it would result in the replication of a vital aspect of military command and control. The residents' response to this will be explored in detail in the ensuing chapter, although it is worth pointing out that it was an outcome that was always likely to prove far less controversial on a settlement inhabited by former servicemen and women.

The early propaganda for the Westfield village had stated that the community would be for members of the officer class down to the humble private, but the reality was that it was only men from the lower ranks who gained tenancies. There had been confusion about this from the start, with the committee member and socialite Miss Booth seeking clarification about whether a former officer who had risen through the ranks might be eligible for residence.⁸⁰ It was a question that addressed a number of class issues of the time, such as the pre-war assumption that men of more socially advantageous backgrounds usually went straight into

⁷⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, March 1, 1926 and April 12, 1926, pp.581-583, 585-586, 588-589.

⁸⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 1*, February 23, 1920, pp.213-217

the officers' mess as a result of their more privileged status.⁸¹ Such men would, presumably, be far less likely to find themselves in a state of economic 'necessity' if unfortunate enough to have suffered a war disability. What Miss Booth was highlighting was a new military phenomenon – that of the 'temporary gentleman'. As the work of Martin Petter has shown, the socially elite officer class suffered heavily in the early stages of the First World War, which in turn resulted in a minor revolution in the officers' mess as increasing numbers of men from lower classes were given commissions to help fill the gaps.⁸² Despite this, traditional stereotypes outlived the conflict, with a series of housing schemes and agricultural settlements established solely for disabled men of the traditional officer class and their families. Among these facilities was Goathland on the Yorkshire Moors, which was for 'disabled officers of the public school type and their families'.⁸³ Such schemes left many of the new, and less financially privileged, breed of officers (the kind highlighted by Miss Booth) in something of a social no-man's land in the post-war years. In fact it was a situation that would be repeated after the Second World War, with the issue of eligibility of tenancy for commissioned officers again raised hypothetically in 1946.⁸⁴ If any such applications were considered they did not result in the offer of a property, with the result that Westfield's live-in secretaries always retained 'rank' over their charges. Indeed, the only senior officer to become a resident of the village would be a Gulf War veteran – and then with the distinction of 'homeowner', as opposed to 'tenant', after he bought one of the village properties that had originally passed on to the open market under the 'right to buy scheme' of the 1980s.⁸⁵

It is worth noting that all of Westfield's military secretaries were members of this 'new' officer class – men who might have struggled to find positions of commensurate responsibility

⁸¹ For more on this broader issue see: N. Mansfield, *Soldiers As Workers – Class, Employment, Conflict and the 19th Century Military* (Liverpool, 2016)

⁸² M. Petter, 'Temporary Gentlemen in the Aftermath of the Great War: Rank, Status and the Ex-Officer Problem' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol.37, no.1 (1994), pp.127-152

⁸³ C. Dakers, *The Countryside At War 1914-1918* (London, 1987), pp.196-197

⁸⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 29, 1946, pp.178-179, 182-183

⁸⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, April 15, 1991, pp.306-308

or status to their military post in the civilian domain. Captain Dawson, for example, had been a businessman prior to the First World War and does not appear to have been a man of private means or leisure.⁸⁶ His successors were retired soldiers from relatively humble stock. In fact, such men appear to have been specifically targeted by the committee as they would presumably be more willing to see the charity's rather limited offer of free residence in the impressive, but aging, Westfield House (alongside a minimal wage) as being attractive. The attraction of a job that allowed the retention of military status, even if it did not provide substantive financial reward, was underlined by the number of applicants the post attracted after the Second World War - 175 when Major Connell retired in the late 1940s,⁸⁷ and close to 150 when his successor died in 1954.⁸⁸

Being the secretary at Westfield was not unlike being the officer in charge of a military depot or barracks, and most of the Westfield secretaries held first-hand experience of the role: Lieutenant Colonel Wilson, Major Connell and Colonel Harper had all been involved in the running of the barracks of the King's Own depot at Bowerham in Lancaster, while Colonel Dundas had been a staff officer used to coping with the stresses of administration and managing of underlings. Despite numerous examples of their often brash militaristic approach, even those men more naturally disposed towards the mantle of military martinet would be expected to establish a good balance between managerial and pastoral demands. The newspaper advertisements following the retirement of Major Connell, for example, stated that the successful applicant 'must be prepared to interest himself in the welfare of the villagers'.⁸⁹ When the first secretary passed away in 1926, the local press highlighted Captain Dawson's paternalistic credentials in stating that he had all-but looked upon the

⁸⁶ 'Westfield Village: Death of the organiser of Westfield', *The Lancaster Guardian*, April 10, 1926 (Westfield Cutting File)

⁸⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, July 26 & August 24 & 31, 1949, pp.253-256

⁸⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, October 25 & November 1 & 15, 1954, pp.163-165, 166-167

⁸⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, July 26 & August 24 & 31, 1949, pp.253-256

village and its occupants 'as a child'.⁹⁰ In a larger news item the following week, it was added:

Gloom came at Westfield when it became known that Capt John Fraser Dawson, the man who witnessed the growth of the village, had passed away at Westfield House. After the war *An Imperial Obligation* made its appeal to him and he was invited to take up the secretarial duties. From the start he threw himself heart and soul into the work and had the pleasure of seeing it grow. Dawson was beloved by every man in the village for he had striven to give them fresh hope in life.⁹¹

Such emotive claims were given further credence in a report on Dawson's funeral, in which it was said that one of the village tenants claimed that 'we have lost our best friend' and that the children of the village had carried a wreath saying 'he loved us all'.⁹² Dawson's paternalistic approach had clearly been greatly appreciated. Far less is known about his immediate successors, Lieutenant Colonel George Wilson and Major Connell, but the newspaper advert after Connell stood down was certainly successful in attracting a man of highly paternalistic sympathies in Lieutenant Colonel Claude Harper. Furthermore, Harper's wife was said to have been as deeply committed to the welfare of 'the widows and wives and their families' as her husband had been to the village as a whole.⁹³ Such was the impact of Mrs Harper, the job advert after her husband's death would seek not only a retired officer but someone 'who must be prepared, with his wife, to interest themselves in the welfare of the villagers'.⁹⁴ The committee spent six months searching for a suitable replacement, and from a list of nearly 150 applicants it finally opted for Colonel Dundas. Specific reference was made in the minute books to the fact that the Colonel's wife, Kay Dundas, had declared herself 'very happy' during an introductory tour of the village.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *The Lancaster Guardian*, April 3, 1926 (Westfield cuttings file)

⁹¹ *The Lancaster Guardian*, April 10, 1926 (Westfield cuttings file)

⁹² *The Lancaster Guardian*, April 17, 1926 (Westfield cuttings file)

⁹³ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 27, 1954, p.155

⁹⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 27, 1954, pp.155, 157-158

⁹⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, October 25 and November 1 and 15, 1954, pp.163-165, 166-167

The value placed on the approval of Mrs Dundas underlines the level of importance being given to the role of the secretary's wife at this time, and she did not disappoint with her tireless fundraising activities and charitable works both on and off the village. When she died, the committee had a permanent memorial erected in her memory in the form of a birdbath.⁹⁶ This was a far better outcome than that of her predecessor, the acclaimed Mrs Harper, who had been forced to move off the village when her husband died despite her repeated pleas to be allowed to stay.⁹⁷ The decision to effectively evict Mrs Harper seems likely to have been taken out of sensitivity to the new post-holders, but it does raise important questions about gender hierarchies and rights.

As established in an earlier chapter, the key function given to Westfield's early female volunteers was the more supportive one of fundraising. While clearly seen as valued members of most of the Westfield charity's early sub-committees, the women were not given the chairmanship of any of them. Indeed, the role of women on the community (including that of the secretaries' wives and the female residents) would mainly be seen until the 1960s as a subsidiary one tied to issues of welfare and fundraising. Westfield was a community that had been born out of the all-male world of military combat in the early twentieth century, and it was one on which military traditions still held considerable sway. As a result, it was the men who held all of the legal rights. This was not a situation that presented too many difficulties until there was a change in circumstances (such as the death of the male tenant or a breakdown in relations between a man and his wife) that raised the issue of succession of tenancy.

Familial succession has proved a problematic matter throughout the history of the settlement. It first arose shortly after the initial tenants had moved on, and a moral crisis was only averted by converting an unused hostel for single men (situated inside the old

⁹⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, July 28, 1975, p.191

⁹⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 27, 1954, pp. 157-158

servants' quarters in Westfield House) into a pair of widows' flats. However, with these flats already occupied when a veteran called Mr Brockbank died in 1926, the committee was faced with a dilemma it did not want to make Brockbank's widow homeless, but was acutely aware that there were a large number of disabled veterans waiting to be housed.⁹⁸ Rather than confront a problem that undoubtedly clashed with its instincts, the committee appears to have shied away from a decision and simply left Mrs Brockbank *in situ* with no formal right of residence.⁹⁹ Five years after this, one of the committee's most long standing supporters, Miss Booth, urged her counterparts to show clemency to the wife and five children of a Mr Holden, who was said to be dangerously ill. She asked that the family be allowed to remain in their property following his death, which was agreed.¹⁰⁰ Such issues kept returning, and following the death of a Mr Bullock in 1937, the committee made the formal pronouncement that Mrs Bullock could remain on the village 'as she was married before the war'.¹⁰¹ It was later confirmed that from this point forward those women who had married prior to their husband's war injuries could remain on the community whilst those who had married afterwards would have a right of appeal but no automatic right of succession. It was added that any widows who remarried would have to leave the village.¹⁰² There is little detail of the debate, but it is clear that the committee felt that women who had been married before the war might also be seen as victims of their husband's disability, whilst those who had married after the war had entered into the union fully aware of the difficulties that marrying a disabled man could involve. It was a ruling that would be put to the test the following year, when it was revealed that a tenant had died and that his wife was a 'post-war widow' who was 'badly off'. The committee opted to give this woman a 12-

⁹⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, May 3, 1926, p.594

⁹⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, October 4, 1926, p.609

¹⁰⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, September 7, September 10, September 14, October 5 and October 16, 1931, pp.757-759, 761

¹⁰¹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, January 29, 1934, p.820

¹⁰² *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 27, July 26 and October 57, 1937, pp.53-57, 59

month reprieve, and took a similar stance a few weeks later with another 'post-war' wife.¹⁰³

There is no evidence to show that either widow was ever evicted. In the ensuing decades, as the original tenants grew older, the number of female-only tenancies grew, with some members of the committee seemingly far more sympathetic to the plight of widows than others. For example, when four widows asked if they could transfer from large family homes to smaller properties in 1960, the response from some quarters was categorical:

Colonel Cowper felt that, whilst having every sympathy and consideration on their respective claims for smaller accommodation, the village was built for disabled ex-servicemen and that therefore men only should be considered for moves.¹⁰⁴

Colonel Cowper's stance that spouses should not be prioritised (which was by no means a singular one) seems harsh given the sacrifices made by many of the wives of the disabled veterans. These women had often seen their own ambitions super-ceded by the life-changing injuries of their husbands – men who had returned from war both psychologically and physically altered. In fact large numbers of the Westfield wives were forced to split their time between the roles of carer, mother, and, if their husbands were unable to work, breadwinner. Irene Billington remembered her mother-in-law as always having 'had an awful lot to do' for a husband who could not work and was so severely disabled he could not perform basic functions such as washing himself.¹⁰⁵ June Kenyon recalled her grandmother bringing up two children, looking after her household and disabled husband as well as going out to work in a variety of cleaning jobs. All of this seems to have been taken for granted, not least by her husband:

He was a bit of a one for thinking the women should do all the work around the house. My gran was very hard working and a very down to earth lady. He had never done anything for himself and couldn't cope when she died.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, April 25, July 25 and October 31, 1938, pp.68-69, 71-74

¹⁰⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, March 28, 1960, pp.87-88

¹⁰⁵ I. Billington, Interview with M. Purdy, February 17, 2014 (Westfield Archives: Interviews)

¹⁰⁶ J. Kenyon, Interview with M. Purdy, February 13, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus in the City)

Nonetheless, the indispensability of such women clearly counted for little in the traditional hierarchical structure, and it was a state of affairs that understandably left some of the wives feeling both powerless and short on pride. Sylvia Scott recalled her mother's discomfort at her family's reliance on Westfield's charity after her husband returned from the First World War with one leg and severe psychological problems that often resulted in hospitalisation:

My mother was happy on Westfield but she used to say, 'This is charity'. She didn't want hand-outs. We didn't have a lot of money. My mother had to live there. My mother didn't like to think that somebody was giving her something.¹⁰⁷

Women like this had few alternatives but to accept the state of dependency into which they had been placed. They were at the mercy of Westfield's volunteer committee for providing them with a home at an affordable price and for protecting them when they were at their most vulnerable following the death of a husband.

Much has, of course, changed over the lifespan of the village in relation to social, cultural and professional expectations and practices, with the widows of ex-service personnel living outside the village gaining the right to apply for formal tenancy following the construction of a block of flats called Ley Court in 1994. Furthermore, since the Second World War women have played a far more active role in the Armed Services, which has subsequently been reflected in an increase in the number of females becoming the named parties on Westfield tenancy agreements.¹⁰⁸ Women have also come to hold increasingly high-profile roles on the voluntary committee, starting with the decision to make Mary Bowring the new president following the death of her late father, Captain Alan Storey, in 1976. It was Mrs Bowring who would prove most vocal in challenging the controlling ethos of the community and its

¹⁰⁷ Scott, Interview with M. Purdy

¹⁰⁸ For more on this see: N. Goldman, 'The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces' in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol .78, no.4 (1973), pp.892-911; R. Woodward and T. Winter, 'Sexing the Soldier: The Politics of Gender and the Contemporary British Army' in M. McNeil and L. Pearce (eds), *Transformations: Thinking About Feminism* (London, 2007)

charitable attitude towards finances and service provision. In so doing she highlighted how many of the residents appeared to have come to take the benefits of Westfield's paternalistic approach for granted.

Mary Bowring had first joined the committee in 1960 at a time when the community had already been in dire financial straits. She believed that many of the problems could be traced back to a failure to uphold the key founding principle that the community should not carry the 'taint' of charity. In a bid to secure a longer term future for the settlement, she wanted to enforce a new approach in which the tenants would have to become more realistic about the benefits they had previously enjoyed. In relation to the community's supplemented gardening scheme, for example, she said in 1964 that the tenants had been given 'far too much' for free and that she wanted a 'differentiation between those earning good wages and a widow on a pension'.¹⁰⁹ Her pressure would result in the implementation of a rent rise in 1965 that was the first since the community had been founded in the 1920s. More rises would follow in the next ten years, with many members of the Westfield committee, including Mrs Bowring's father, Captain Alan Storey, frustrated by the reaction of some of the tenants:

We intended not to raise our rents until 1968 if our situation allowed us to continue until that date; it has not worked out. I have no doubt but that some people will moan, as this always happens, but I would ask them, before letting fly, if they would just consider how lightly treated they are in comparison to the rents asked in other quarters. For what you get, you should still be most thankful to have a residence in the village.¹¹⁰

Three years after this, following the implementation of a further rent rise that was still said to keep Westfield's rents at a level half of that of the market rate, the committee chairman, Colonel Oglethorpe, complained:

¹⁰⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, October 26, 1964, pp.40-46

¹¹⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, January 30, 1967, pp.135-139

I am told that there are actually tenants in Westfield who believe that they should still be on a rental of 5/ per week - the rent on which they started. To that I would just say, think! After 26 years of so-called peace, the public are no longer interested in disabled ex-servicemen to the extent that they can be relied upon to subscribe the surplus to keep the village in repair.¹¹¹

Such pronouncements show that the previously unquestioning nature of the relationship between the volunteers and their beneficiaries had been under threat during this period, with Captain Storey having felt the need to defend his committee and remind the tenants that they were unpaid volunteers. He had first gone on record to this effect at the Annual General Meeting (AGM) of 1959:

I have wondered from time to time whether some of the villagers really appreciate how much work is done by their council in what is virtually a 'labour of love' to keep the wheels turning smoothly. It is no longer a matter of just putting our hands out and asking people to put something in, especially in these days when everybody in the city is hard up: there are so many charities and other things going on, that it is difficult to beg with any hope of success.¹¹²

Captain Storey would return to the theme again over the course of the next decade, culminating in a defence of the whole voluntary committee at the AGM of 1969, at which he stated that the trustees were all 'loyal workers' and that, 'I do not think that you will find a better collection of people.'¹¹³

The unrest about rent rises was very much in keeping with a new mood of insurrection sweeping across the country at the time. General economic problems during the 1960s resulted in many local authorities imposing rent rises, which subsequently resulted in the politicisation of many tenants and rent strikes in a number of Britain's larger cities. Peter Shapely has claimed that a lot of the problems that surfaced between the tenants and their landlords resulted from a traditional 'top down' approach to the management of housing

¹¹¹ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, April 26, 1971, pp.25-28

¹¹² *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 28, 1958, pp. P.296, 298-299

¹¹³ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, April 28, 1969, p.223, 226

estates that had failed to give their residents a voice.¹¹⁴ Such a managerial approach had always been the norm at Westfield, but while there had clearly been murmurings of discontent on the community, they never approached the level of a full-blown rebellion. Nevertheless, the committee members had been put on the defensive for the first time in the village's history and Captain Alan Storey had been wise to pre-empt the situation and to seemingly take some of the sting from it by taking the unprecedented step of inviting the Westfield residents to enter in to a more open form of exchange at the AGM of 1960. The response to this had, however, proved wholly disappointing:

I would like to give a hearty welcome to all of you for taking the trouble to come here this afternoon, but, quite frankly, I would like to see many more of you from the village, and I hope you will mention this to all the others.¹¹⁵

At a time when tenant groups were being established around the country that, according to Shapely, reflected the fact that people were becoming more aware of their 'rights' and the belief that 'they had a right to articulate their worries and concerns', Westfield residents had clearly been happy to carry on in much the same way as they always had done.¹¹⁶ This was no more clearly demonstrated than in the 1970s when the overwhelming majority of tenants rejected an offer by the management committee to form a residents' association and have a representative voice sit on the main committee. 66 of the tenants voted against the formation of any such association, 10 voted in favour of it, and three abstained.¹¹⁷ The specific nature of the vote, coupled with the size of the majority, suggests that other factors were at play at Westfield than those cited by Shapely as having often resulted in reluctance among tenants to take part in the decision-making process, including a lack of confidence resulting from a limited education.¹¹⁸ At Westfield, the tenants appear to have been very

¹¹⁴ P. Shapely, 'Civil Society, class and locality: Tenant Groups in post-war Britain' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011), p.104

¹¹⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, April 25, 1960, pp.90-91

¹¹⁶ Shapely, 'Civil Society', p.99

¹¹⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, April 28, 1975, pp.185-190

¹¹⁸ Shapely, 'Civil Society', p.105

comfortable living under a system of paternalistic control that, in many ways, mirrored their former life in the Armed Services. It was certainly a system and way of life that had been nurtured over many decades by successive Westfield committees, and one that may well have encouraged a degree of complacency, if not lethargy, among tenants.

Looking back on the decision to hand over much of the control of the village to a professional housing association in the 1980s, the Westfield chairman, Brigadier Ley, said that in the 1990s one of the greatest concerns that he and the committee had held had been the affect such a move might have on the traditional relations between the volunteers and tenants. The Brigadier said that the committee had feared a 'loss of contact with the residents'; claiming that they had always sought to run the village 'rather as a large family'.¹¹⁹ This may appear to have been a rather idealistic view, but it makes sense from the committee's perspective given its enduring commitment to a structure that had always seen it occupy the role of head of the family. In practice, the partnership with Guinness Northern Counties would actually result in the committee's role becoming even more focused on issues of resident welfare. Free of the day-to-day challenges of running a small housing estate, the new Westfield charity committee could focus almost exclusively on addressing the welfare of the residents often in the form of direct grants for home improvements or by employing additional gardeners to maintain the attractive surrounds. As a result, the first major structural change it implemented was the formation of a 'case committee' in 1981 to look at worthy recipients of charitable grants both on the community and beyond.¹²⁰ The role of 'welfare officer' was also created to fill the void left by the loss of the live-in secretaries.¹²¹ Indeed the present village secretary, Mandy Stretch, was first employed on the community as a welfare liaison officer – continuing to provide a less intrusive link to the

¹¹⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, May 16, 1994, pp.9-10, 12-14

¹²⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, December 7, 1981, pp.109-115

¹²¹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, April 29, 1996 and October 28, 1996, pp.48, 50-51, 53

kind of paternalistic traits associated with the post from its earliest days.¹²² However, despite its commitment to maintaining as many of the old traditions of the village as possible, including pastoral provision, it is worth noting that the new non-militaristic and less controlling approach of the modern, post-housing association, era is not one that has been welcomed by all:

[...] it was much nicer living on this village under Westfield Council than it is under the housing association. Everybody was well and truly vetted - it's not the same now, just isn't. If you did anything wrong you were out. And the older tenants on here, when they've seen some of the Northern Counties' tenants coming in, they've said they wouldn't have been in that house now if it was Westfield Council. They were very, very strict, but at least there were rules and regulations and you knew what to do, what you couldn't do, and it was a code to live by and you knew where you were. You learnt what you can do and what you can't do, and it was a good code to live by.¹²³

Conclusion

Paternalistic philanthropy has come to be equated almost exclusively with negative connotations, not least in relation to issues of social control. However, it is difficult to argue with Feinberg's claim that paternalistic control is unavoidable in civilised society - it is just a question of degrees of what is acceptable in relation to 'the common good'.¹²⁴ The group defining such issues at Westfield has never been a socially inclusive or wholly democratic one, but it is wrong to assume that the residents have been unhappy or even powerless spectators as a result. Indeed, there have been many benefits to Westfield's paternalistic approach, including peppercorn rents, attractive housing and surroundings, subsidised clubs and leisure activities and, for those who have needed it, help with employment, school places, military pensions and more. In return for this, the tenants have been expected to conform to an unwritten set of standards primarily related to themes of 'respectability'.

¹²² *Westfield Minute Book 11*, May 5 and October 19, 1998, pp.63-64, 66-67

¹²³ C. Noble, Interview with H. Walton, December 17, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

¹²⁴ Feinberg, 'Legal Paternalism', pp.105-110

These standards have been set and upheld by successive groups of volunteers who have continued to sit at the top of a clearly defined hierarchical structure.

McCarthy claims that voluntary associations ‘frequently reproduced the hierarchies and divisions existing in broader society’ in the years after the First World War, and this was true of Westfield at the time of its formation and has continued to remain the case throughout the lifespan of the village.¹²⁵ However, the Westfield volunteers and philanthropists do not appear to have been as zealous about their moral guardianship as many of their counterparts in the wider movement of disabled settlements many of which were founded and run with far more openly religious and/or ideological enthusiasm. In addition, the Westfield tenants traditionally arrived on the community as a direct result of military service, where high levels of paternalism and control have remained the norm. This undoubtedly explains why successive groups of residents were prepared to accept the presence of former senior military officers as live-in secretaries on the community, as well as the barrack-style mentality that some of them imposed.

There are numerous examples of personal intrusion on Westfield, many of which have been based on highly subjective personal, as opposed to professional, views. Nevertheless, direct interventions into private affairs have been limited, and often welcomed by families and individuals in times of hardship. Furthermore, most of the residents appear to have accepted the need for interventions aimed at protecting the general well-being of the community. Clashes between the beneficiaries and benefactors at Westfield have, as such, been rare. This may (in-part) have been due to a sense of powerlessness among the early veterans, but the broader timescale of this study has meant that much of this chapter has focused on the years after the birth of the Welfare State and significant changes to cultural, social and political attitudes. Many of these changes have enhanced the rights of disabled people, but

¹²⁵ McCarthy, ‘Associational Voluntarism’, p.57

it is surely of credit to Westfield that they resulted in few changes to the way that the community was already being run. Even when there was widespread discontent about rent rises on Westfield in the 1960s and 1970s, it never turned into open rebellion. Indeed, it is significant that the residents rejected the chance to create a formal association of their own to represent their 'rights'. The majority of residents were clearly happy to maintain the status quo.

Cohen has stated that there were many disabled veterans for whom 'life as the object of charity proved intolerable' after the First World War, but it is perhaps easy to underestimate the numbers who, to use her words again, 'lived contentedly as the recipients of benevolence, grateful for the opportunities given to them'.¹²⁶ The Westfield case study has continued to give credence to the latter for the best part of a century. Instead of providing a plethora of negative associations, the kind of paternalistic control traditionally exerted at Westfield has, in my opinion, provided a generally positive experience for the residents that has not only been accepted but, in many cases, embraced.

¹²⁶ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, p.117

Chapter Six: Identity

The word 'segregation' had been plentifully besmirched: the pensions' officials had seen to that, and for a time it met me everywhere. In vain I did point out to one group that the whole of our communal life was based on the principle of segregation from the cradle to the grave – that we segregate ourselves into sects to worship one God, in the National Liberal Club we are a segregation of Liberals, and across the park was a segregation of Conservatives [...] notwithstanding my protests, I became known as the man who wanted to segregate our soldiers and sailors.¹

One of the key criticisms of Thomas H. Mawson's plan for a network of disabled settlements was that it would result in the segregation of a vulnerable group and result in the loss of their independence and self-identity. Indeed, he wrote in his autobiography that in early 1916 a representative of the Ministry of Pensions had been categorical about the fact that his proposals had been rejected because they were 'based upon segregation' - something to which the Government was 'strongly opposed'.² At the heart of this opposition was the claim that:

[...] the 'herding together' of large numbers of maimed and crippled men with their families in a special community would cause such daily reminders of their lifelong disabilities as would make the whole undertaking odious to them.³

The state's argument appears to have been tied to traditional concepts of disabled facilities as institutional rehabilitative centres in which the inhabitants' lives were often prescribed, few opportunities were given to make decisions for themselves, and few opportunities available to escape the emotional context of their injuries. It was a valid concern, with debate about the value of different forms of care having continued to exercise the minds of Government, charities and pressure groups ever since. There have been two distinct approaches to disabled care which can be defined as the 'medical model' and the 'social model'. The medical model, in which disability is perceived as a medically defined impairment and 'personal tragedy', came to prominence in the nineteenth century alongside

¹ T.H. Mawson, *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect: An Autobiography* (London, 1927), pp.260-261

² Mawson, *The Life and Work*, p.260

³ T.H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation* (London, 1917), pp.13-14

the rise of institutionalised housing and the growing influence of the medical profession. Critics have said that this model is too paternalistic - one in which the opinions of the professionals take precedence over the opinions of their charges and there is a concomitant loss of independence. It seems that the Ministry of Pensions felt that Mawson's settlements would replicate the more negative aspects of this system. The social model, which came to the fore in the 1960s, shifted the focus of care towards the addressing of causes of disadvantage so that practical impairments could be overcome and greater independence achieved. This model was tied to the same kind of principles associated with accessible building design.⁴ However, David Clapham has warned that there is a danger with the social model that people wrongly assume that just because somebody is living outside of an institution they have established 'independence'.⁵ This is a concern that has also been raised by Peter Freund, who has argued that focusing too much on 'individualism' can result in the undervaluing of the kind of important social and emotional benefits that can be accrued from shared experiences and common problems.⁶ These are important themes to explore at Westfield, where the tenants have shared an additional level of commonality beyond disability – namely that their hardships resulted from their military service.

Adrian Gregory has spoken of the 'speed with which soldiers sought to redefine themselves as civilians' after the First World War and the problems this caused for the state, and there is strong evidence to suggest that many veterans of the war were indeed keen to return to 'normality' and make up for their 'lost years' in military service as quickly as possible.⁷ This is a trend that remained true for the servicemen of the Second World War, not least with so many having started out as conscripts. However, it would be wrong to assume that all such

⁴ For more on this see: L. Hemingway, *Disabled People and Housing: Choices, Opportunities and Barriers* (Bristol, 2011), Chapter 3, 'Understanding Disability: From Personal Tragedy to Social Disadvantage'

⁵ D. Clapham, *The Meaning of Housing: A Pathways Approach* (Bristol, 2005), p.216

⁶ P. Freund, 'Bodies, Disabilities and Spaces: The Social Model and Disabling Spatial Organisations' in *Disability and Society*, Vol.16, no.5 (2001), pp.689-706

⁷ A. Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), p.267

men were in haste to relinquish their military experiences once they had relinquished their uniforms. The research that has been undertaken into the attitudes of survivors of the First World War shows that reactions to service were complex and varied.⁸ It is a situation that is also true of disabled veterans, although David Gerber points out that there has actually been little attention paid to the understanding of disabled war veterans as a social group: one 'forged by common experiences of war, injury and disability, and by common grievances arising out of these experiences'.⁹ This chapter explores the veterans' relationships with their military service and disability and the part that residence on Westfield has played in their efforts (as well as those of their families) to redefine themselves in civilian life.

Deborah Cohen has provided a further point of consideration in relation to identity, claiming that there was an additional commonality of experience among disabled veterans in Britain after the First World War aside from their military service and injuries - namely their ongoing dependence on the support of philanthropy. She has argued that this was a situation that shaped the identities of many, leaving them reluctant to challenge the establishment too vociferously out of fear that they might appear rebellious and ungrateful to a public on whose charitable support and goodwill they remained reliant.¹⁰ It is a conclusion that supports many of the criticisms of the philanthropic processes that came to the fore in the nineteenth century and which have continued to resonate in the modern age. Indeed, Helen McCarthy has rightly claimed that for many twentieth century historians (and particularly those of the Marxist school of thought) paternalistic associations have often been portrayed as 'actors in a class struggle and instruments of social control, reinforcing social hierarchies and, more often than not, inhibiting progressive change'.¹¹ Ross McKibbin, for example,

⁸ See for example: E.J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War 1* (Cambridge, 1979); G.L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford, 1990); A. Prost, *In the Wake of War* (Oxford, 1992)

⁹ D.A. Gerber, 'Preface: The Continuing Relevance of the Study of Disabled Veterans' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans In History* (Revised edn, Michigan, 2012)

¹⁰ D. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), pp.188-192

¹¹ H. McCarthy, 'Associational Voluntarism in Interwar Britain' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011), p.48

wrote a particularly influential treatise in which he argued that voluntary bodies between the two world wars 'entrenched' middle class anti-socialism and reinforced 'working class fatalism'.¹² It is my intention to analyse the social relationships and class expectations of the Westfield residents to test the credibility of such claims. The chapter does, as such, move around the decades considerably, with emphasis placed on the new attitudes towards traditional social and class constructs that came to the fore in the latter part of the twentieth century.

The issue of social segregation was a particularly frustrating one for Thomas H. Mawson who, as the introductory quote to this chapter shows, felt that the whole concept had been wrongly besmirched – segregation was a choice for most people in relation to where they worked and lived, whom they chose to socialise with, the religious and political faiths that they followed, etc. Choice was the key factor in his argument and (as discussed in the preceding chapter) Mawson had been at pains to stress that his settlements would be places that people chose to live in. In practice, many of the traditional criticisms of segregation would not be as relevant for Westfield as they would for its more rural counterparts, as the settlement was a stone's throw from Lancaster's main train station, less than a mile from the busy town centre and had a major public recreation area (the Giant Axe fields) sited directly opposite its main entrance. In addition, the village stood on the edge of a well-established road leading to a rapidly expanding neighbourhood of working class homes principally occupied by employees of the large nearby factories sited on the banks of the Lune Estuary. Furthermore, the downsizing of the scheme and decision to make Westfield's primary function that of a housing estate (as opposed to a factory settlement with its own shops, school, church and the like) meant that the occupants were forced to leave the community and interact with the outside world on a near-daily basis. The Lancaster settlement could, as such, be seen as offering the best of both worlds – easy integration with the outside world

¹² For more on this see: R. McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951* (Oxford, 1998)

coupled with the ability for residents to close in upon themselves as and when they felt the need to do so. Essentially, the levels of isolation experienced by Westfield's occupants could, to a large degree, be determined and controlled by themselves and their guardians on the Westfield charity committee. This was a very different proposition to nineteenth century 'institutionalism', and a feature of the settlement that would continue to be prominently referenced in newspaper and magazine articles at various points though out the community's history:

Set in the heart of Lancaster yet so well planned as to seem, from inside it, remote from the outside world, is Westfield War Memorial Village.¹³

A community within the larger community, but with a sense of its own identity and a leisured mode of living quite its own...¹⁴

Westfield's ability to close itself off was not one that appears to have been exercised a great deal in its formative years, when integration and openness were particularly important - not least as the support of the general public had been needed to help provide funds to expand. Indeed, considerable efforts were made to try and engage with the public, welcome them onto the settlement and dispel any potentially damaging misconceptions. For example, in November 1921 it was noted that there had been 'common talk in the town' about the level of rents on the settlement being too high for the average working person, implying that the community was elitist. The Rev Shackleton Bailey had responded that it was 'a great pity that such unfounded rumours got abroad' and suggested that an interview be given to the press immediately to counteract the false gossip. It was also mooted at the same meeting that the people of Lancaster be encouraged to pay for a 'Town Cottage' on Westfield to give them a greater sense of personal investment in the community, and further proposed that a garden party be organised to get the public to engage with the facility on a social level. Thomas H. Mawson suggested photographing Westfield and having the pictures made into

¹³ 'Living Memorial to the Dead', *The Empire News*, July 9, 1944, p.3

¹⁴ 'Village is a living memorial', *The Lancashire Evening Post*, November 19, 1959, p.11

slides to show at local cinemas.¹⁵ It has not proved possible to verify whether or not the slide shows took place, but the principle behind such attempts to unite internal and external constituencies would have been very much in keeping with Mawson's early vision - that the attractive nature of his communities, coupled with elements of general and specific memorialisation, would help to bring the public onto them to interact with the occupants and spend money in their shops and businesses:

[...] there could be no possible harm in the very natural tendency for those in the neighbourhood to make pleasure excursions to it as a place of exceptional interest from its associations as well as, we will hope, from its architectural beauty.¹⁶

Westfield would not grow to a size that warranted such commercial enterprises, but it still needed to think in commercial terms if it was to survive – and that meant integration. Although Westfield had been foiled in its bid to establish itself as the district's main civic memorial (which would have helped greatly in relation to wider and ongoing public interaction) it had proved successful as projecting itself in its formative years as something of a showpiece, attracting visits from coach tour operators from around the county. Herbert Lushington Storey would even pay for a photographer to visit the village and take pictures to be made into 'little books' or separate images that could be sold 'to people who come to look round'.¹⁷ In one incident the daughter of an early veteran of the village recalled the family going on a 'mystery' coach trip on which they had been transported straight back home for a tour of Westfield.¹⁸ However, such levels of outside interest appear to have receded quickly, which may not have been a wholly unwelcome outcome - in an interview in

¹⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, November 22, 1921, pp.406-408

¹⁶ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.69

¹⁷ Correspondence of Herbert Lushington Storey to Major Connell, July 21, 1932 (The Merriman Collection, Lancaster)

¹⁸ S. Scott, Interview with M. Purdy, October 31, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

the 1970s one of the daughters of the early tenants, Winifred Williams, explained that the visitors could leave the disabled men and their families feeling like 'a bit of a freak'.¹⁹

What the primary evidence shows is that by the mid-1920s, when the financial support of the general public (and attempts to extract more) had diminished considerably, Westfield had started to become more physically entrenched, inward focusing and controlling about issues of public access. In May 1926, for example, the subject of 'right of passage' through the village was discussed for the first time,²⁰ and less than six months later a further discussion took place about the erection of an iron boundary fence to end 'incidents of trespass'.²¹ The following year it was recorded that the settlement had been completely enclosed (principally with iron fencing) except for three controlled points of access.²² These access points included the main gated entrance to the village as well as a smaller entry to the west of the plot (that also included a gate that could be locked in the evening) and a narrow walkway to the more rural, eastern side of the community. A decision would be taken to 'brick-up' the smaller gated entrance in 1935 to prevent the village 'becoming a public thoroughfare' as the result of an expansion of the corporation's neighbouring working class housing estate known as 'The Marsh'.²³ There were practical considerations to this decision as well as psychological ones, as Westfield's roads, for example, were not adopted. A further benefit was that the community's social interactions with the outside world could now be controlled and limited primarily to those invited to be there, such as family, friends and (perhaps most commonly of all) non-resident members of the village's recreation club.

¹⁹ 'The peaceful village that always remembers', *The Lancaster Guardian* (undated newspaper cutting in The Merriman Collection). The article mentions the Westfield chairman as being Colonel John Darlington, which would place it in the late 1970s or early 1980s

²⁰ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, May 3, 1926, pp.590-594

²¹ *Westfield Minute Book 3*, September 6, 1926, pp.605-607

²² *Westfield Minute Book 3*, June 13 and July 4, 1927, pp.631-635

²³ *Westfield Minute Book 4*, January 28 and April 30, 1935, pp.14-15, 16, 20-21

The recreation club had started life inside the imposing Westfield House as a base for the local branch of the British Legion, with members enjoying the use of the community's bowling green. This green had been seen as a key feature of the settlement from the outset in that it conformed to the image of the idyllic English village whilst also encouraging the veterans to rehabilitate both socially and physically. As a sign of the value placed upon it, work was 'well advanced' on the green before the houses around it were completed.²⁴ Both the bowling green and recreation club were for the use of the village's male tenants and, in the early years, non-resident members had to be ex-servicemen. The minute books for 1926 show that these non-residents were expected to pay more than double the amount of their Westfield counterparts for annual membership.²⁵ Their willingness to do so had undoubtedly related as much to a growing trend for veterans to seek each other's company in their leisure hours as the undisputed quality of the green itself.

The proliferation of veterans' associations in the 1920s showed that while a large number of ex-servicemen had been keen to join forces in a bid to fight for post-war 'justice' (such as better pensions), others had simply been reluctant, or psychologically unable, to cope without the comfort offered by the comradeship of those who had shared in a life-defining experience.²⁶ This may have been particularly true of wounded men, and Jeffrey Reznick has argued in his work on disabled servicemen and their rehabilitation that the 'generation of 1914' had been a group bound together as much by a comradeship of healing as a comradeship of the trenches. He believes that such men were often very comfortable with, and comforted by, the concept of segregation, having become used to it during the long process of medical rehabilitation – a process that involved wearing the distinct bright blue uniform and red tie of the convalescent servicemen that marked them out as a segregated

²⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, April 4, 1921, pp.333-335

²⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, June 11, 1923, p.473

²⁶ See for example: N. Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans. Politics and Society, 1921-1939* (Westport, 2005); C. Kimball, *The Ex-Service Movement in England and Wales, 1916-1930* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Stamford University, 1990); G. Wootton, *The Politics of Influence: British Ex-Servicemen, Cabinet Decisions and Cultural Change, 1917-1957* (London, 1963)

group with their own nickname of the 'blue boys'. Disabled veterans who could no longer serve were given special badges to wear during the war so that people could identify them as 'non-shirkers'.²⁷ It is an argument similar to one Mawson presented in *An Imperial*

Obligation:

They talk of 'herding together' the disabled as though there were something essentially wrong in a number of men who have passed through the same great crisis, braved the same perils, and suffered similarly to a greater or less extent, enjoying one another's society throughout their after-life and becoming faster friends when times of peace return than they were when good comrades on the field of battle. Of such critics I would ask, 'Where is the disabled man most happy, when does he least feel his disablement?' Surely when he is in hospital surrounded by his fellows who are all recovering strength and health as he is from similar disablement, rather than after his discharge when he is sent home [...]²⁸

In order to prove his point, Mawson made reference in his autobiography to a ballot held at the end of the war for the 214 disabled veterans then in residence at the rural settlement for men with respiratory problems at Preston Hall in Kent. These men had been asked to vote on how they felt about remaining on such a segregated community (with an open invitation for their wives and children to join them) instead of returning to their pre-war lives. Mawson's pro-segregation argument had been well supported, with 165 of the 214 voting in favour of remaining.²⁹ The large and ongoing waiting lists for Westfield properties would seem to provide further support for his argument, although a point raised in the previous chapter should also be taken into account - namely that the decisions of many of the early residents may, at least in part, have been driven by a lack of options. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence to support the fact that most of the Westfield residents (as well as the committee) had been keen from the outset to retain an element of segregation and the sense of control it brought them over their immediate environment – one that gave them the option of allowing the outside world in on their own terms as and when it best suited

²⁷ See: J.S. Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain During the Great War* (Manchester, 2004)

²⁸ Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation*, p.83

²⁹ Mawson, *The Life And Work*, p.301

them. Central to this whole process has been the importance the tenants have placed on their identity as military veterans.

Niall Barr points out in his work on the Royal British Legion that most veterans' associations after the First World War offered far more than support networks to help necessitous ex-servicemen or their widows and families. Key to their success had been the segregated social clubs and events on offer at which the veterans could talk freely about, and in many cases celebrate, their war service. He argues that the Legion was, and remains, 'attractive to men who had found some meaning and purpose out of soldiering'. In response to this the organisation would embrace 'military symbols and trappings' alongside a commitment to the remembrance of 'old campaigns and battles'.³⁰ Westfield provided the home for Lancaster's inaugural branch of the British Legion for many years, but its commitment to martial pride had pre-dated the Legion's arrival and continued long after its relocation to another site in 1930. It is a claim substantiated in communal terms by the early and ongoing commitment to the village's commemorative infrastructure (as explored in chapter four), but also supported on a more personal/individual level by the historic enthusiasm of many of the Westfield veterans to actively embrace their own military histories. For example, the daughter of a Second World War serviceman called Cyril Campion recalled that he was so taken by the name of a house that had been built on the village in the 1950s that he gave up a property that he had only just purchased in Lancaster in order to move into it. 'Burma', as it was named, had been the place that Mr Campion had served, won a Military Medal for bravery, and received severe injuries that had included a debilitating wound to one of his hands. His daughter said that her father had been 'very proud and happy to live there' and delighted that the house was doing its bit to keep the memory of his own war campaign alive.³¹ Likewise, when a decision was taken to rename four blocks of flats on the village in

³⁰ Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy*, p.65

³¹ S. Jackson, Interview with M. Purdy, November 28, 2013 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

2013, the village secretary, Mandy Stretch, said that the most contentious issue in choosing the names for these flats had been the number of residents living in them who had wanted their particular block to be named after a military campaign in which they had served.³²

There is an infamous anecdote circulates among the older Westfield residents about a university lecturer who took a group of his students on a tour of the village and pointed out that one of the elderly veterans who had been disabled on the Somme was living in a property named 'Somme'. His decrying of the apparent insensitivity of this situation had been heard by the tenant's wife, who duly rushed out to inform the lecturer he was wrong to take such a view – far more important, she had said, had been the advantages that life on the village had bestowed on them.³³ Among those advantages were not only low rents and attractive surrounds but an inherent respect for the men's military service - a respect that was often upheld to the end. Maureen Bond, for example, vividly remembered her grandfather (the First World War veteran Herbert Billington) receiving a full military send-off from the community when he died after the Second World War,³⁴ whilst the daughter of a Second World War veteran called Walter Woodburn recalled that all of the men of the village had turned out to salute her father's coffin when it was taken from the village in the shroud of a Union flag. 'That was 1988 and I will never forget it,' said Catherine Monks. Her father had been in receipt of a 100 per cent war pension when he moved onto Westfield and had suffered from 'very poor' health as a result of the time he had spent as a prisoner of war in a forced labour camp. Despite his traumatic experiences of service, his daughter said that he had remained 'very military'. Furthermore, he had been 'very proud' when her brother had subsequently joined the Armed Forces.³⁵ Indeed, none of the children of the veterans

³² M. Stretch, Interview with M. Purdy, April 21, 2017 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

³³ This tale was first recounted to me at a meeting of the weekly Westfield luncheon club soon after starting my thesis in 2015 by a number of the elderly residents present

³⁴ M. Bond, Interview with M. Purdy, February 14, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

³⁵ C. Monks, Interview with M. Purdy, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

interviewed by myself remembered their parents ever having stopped them from playing war games or discouraging them from future enlistment.

Seven children of First World War veterans on Westfield were wounded or killed in the Second World War, including two brothers,³⁶ but it is clear that such ongoing sacrifices did not dim the enthusiasm of many of the village residents to engage in formal displays of personal military pride. In an interview in 2014, Phil Monks said that when he had been a regular at the Westfield club in the 1970s a lot of 'the older chaps' had worn their regimental blazers both at the club and on outings.³⁷ It is a recollection that highlights just how important the men's military service remained to their sense of identity and how residence on Westfield helped to facilitate that need. In addition, much of the primary evidence suggests that many of the Westfield tenants chose to identify themselves first and foremost as military veterans rather than 'disabled' ex-servicemen. As a result, they often displayed a complete lack of sensitivity or sentimentality towards their own war injuries.

As a young girl Mavis Washington had been among a group of primary-school children from Salford housed as evacuees on Westfield during the Second World War, and in her later years she reflected that it had been surprising how quickly they had come to terms with the levels of disability they had been confronted with. She put this down to the casual, and at times jocular, approach of the veterans themselves:

There was a man who lived next door, evidently injured in the First World War - he didn't have any legs, he had pot legs which he used to show us. He'd roll his trousers up a little bit and show us these pot legs with little holes in them - we thought it was hysterical that he had these funny legs.³⁸

The way that the veterans chose to present themselves to the world (and particularly the children) may, of course, have been different from their private realities. However, Gerber

³⁶ See: <http://westfieldmemorialvillage.co.uk/history-memorials> (Westfield War Memorial Village official website) last accessed April 19, 2017

³⁷ P. Monks, Interview with M. Purdy, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

³⁸ M. Washington, Interview with M. Purdy, January 18, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

warns historians to be careful about jumping to negative conclusions in relation to projections of personal positivity among disabled ex-servicemen, claiming that the representation of such veterans in academic and popular history, as well as in novels and films, has almost exclusively focused on themes of 'suffering and pain' (often to make an anti-war statement). The possibility that many of these men might actually be contented or happy, he argues, is rarely considered or projected.³⁹ It is an argument supported by the research of Gregory Weeks, whose work with disabled Australian veterans of the Second World War shows that many of the men he interviewed saw themselves as 'lucky' to be alive and keen to embrace the future.⁴⁰ Indeed, the primary evidence shows that a large number of the Westfield veterans added to their families while living on the village, embraced new employment opportunities, and made the most of the community's social facilities. Herbert Billington, who had lost an arm and a leg in the First World War and been forced to sleep in the front parlour as he could not climb the stairs of his cottage, remarried and fathered a number of children after moving onto the settlement.⁴¹

Mavis Murray, another of the Second World War evacuees, said that although she had been a very young child when she first moved onto Westfield, she had quickly adjusted to the disabilities of her host (a First World War amputee) because of what appeared to be his lack of sensitivity towards his injuries. She recalled sleeping on a mattress on the bedroom floor, at eye-level with a false leg that was kept underneath the bed in which the veteran and his wife slept. However, what had initially been a daunting sight soon turned into a familiar one, and it would not be long before she was looking forward to trips to a prosthetics workshop in Ardwick Green, Manchester - not least as it often resulted in visit to the nearby Belle Vue

³⁹ D.A. Gerber, 'Preface: The Continuing Relevance'

⁴⁰ G. Weeks, 'Fifty Years of Pain: The History of Disabled Austrian Veterans After 1945' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans In History*, (Michigan, 2012), p.230

⁴¹ I. Billington, Interview with M. Purdy, February 17, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

Zoo.⁴² Irene Billington (who lived on Westfield with her grandparents) said that familiarity had been the key element in the shaping of most of the children's attitudes. 'You didn't really notice the disabilities because you lived there', she explained.⁴³ It was a sentiment echoed by Sylvia Scott (the daughter of another First World War veteran) who said: 'We were very used to seeing men with something wrong with them – an injury, eye-patches, crippled men, you know.'⁴⁴ The recollections of a Mrs Dennison also serve to reinforce the argument that the familiarity engendered by segregation helped all parties become less self-conscious about disability – stating that it had been common to see parents with 'one arm or one leg' happily playing with their children in the playground.⁴⁵

Paid for in 1922 by Herbert Lushington Storey, the Westfield playground had been sited behind the workshops where the children could 'be away from everybody' presumably to protect certain residents from the kind of noise levels that might prove a nuisance.⁴⁶ It was the kind of practical consideration that the children of the settlement would quickly become familiar with. Malcolm Bradshaw, for example, said that when he and his family moved on to Westfield in the 1950s, the majority of the tenants had still been the wounded of the First World War. He added that the children had needed 'to be aware' of the needs of these men as they had been vulnerable – older men, perhaps in wheelchairs or reliant on walking sticks, 'blind and with lost limbs'.⁴⁷ Joseph Bradshaw, a son of a disabled First World War tenant (but no relation to the aforementioned Malcolm), believed that growing up on the settlement made many of the children more sensitive to the needs of others:

There were some really sad cases. I think you respected them because your father was disabled. I think I learnt to show more respect for people instead of running away and giving cheek, throwing things about. If you were living in a

⁴² M. Murray, Interview with M. Purdy, January 15, 2013 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁴³ I. Billington, Interview with M. Purdy

⁴⁴ Scott, Interview with M. Purdy

⁴⁵ 'Memorial Village offered new start for war injured', *The Lancaster Guardian*, November 7, 2003 (Westfield Cuttings File)

⁴⁶ *Westfield Minute Book 2*, October 12, 1922, pp.443-447

⁴⁷ M. Bradshaw, Interview with M. Purdy, March 12, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

street in town you would have been kicking a ball about on the street and it might have been hitting the doors. On here [Westfield] you never played ball in the street, it was always the cow field or the play field - because you knew you would be upsetting some old chap who was blind or maimed.⁴⁸

A sympathetic approach had been particularly important for men suffering with severe psychological trauma. The father of Sylvia Scott, who appears to have been a victim of extreme 'shellshock', would often lie on the settee 'lost - like he was lost'. Sylvia and her siblings and friends quickly learnt that peace and quiet was the most important form of support they could offer during such periods.⁴⁹ Joseph Bradshaw added that the children had always given a tenant called Mr Watson a wide berth after recognising that their games had been too much for him to cope with. In truth, he had left them little room for doubt - springing up from behind a hedge if they played noisily nearby and shouting 'aaaaggh' at the top of his voice as he smashed his walking stick on to the roof of the shrubbery.⁵⁰ The fact that the children learned to respect the needs of such men was seen by many of them as having been a positive aspect of their personal development and one that shows that bespoke family communities for the disabled can provide unique benefits as well as challenges.

The word 'community' is usually associated with membership of a close-knit group, and the kind of simple comforts accrued from knowing that your neighbours, who you might know on social terms, could be called upon for support in a time of crisis. Such fundamental considerations have ceased to be a truism for many in the modern age, but they have remained central to Westfield's identity. Furthermore, they have proved as important to the spouses of the veterans as the veterans themselves. Indeed, while many of the disabled ex-servicemen sought psychological solace in the company of counterparts in the Westfield club, so too did their partners in another room in the same building. The 'ladies' room' in

⁴⁸ Bradshaw, Interview with M. Purdy

⁴⁹ Scott, Interview with M. Purdy

⁵⁰ J. Bradshaw, Interview with M. Purdy, July 2, 2013 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

Westfield House was a space in which relationships could be nurtured that would ultimately facilitate discussion of the kind of issues unique to the partners of damaged men. Long-standing resident Connie Noble said that when she and her husband had moved onto the village after the Second World War, all of the veterans had been suffering from a severe (50 per cent or more) war disability. This, she said, had been something that had served to give the wives a 'common interest'. However, she added that they had soon forged bonds that went beyond the role of being 'part of a brethren with the men'.⁵¹ Maureen Bond (who grew up on the village) said that she remembered little of the men – it had been the women whose presence had always been most visible, if not dominant, to her. She added that this was because there had been 'a strong sense of community among them'. In fact, many of the female residents appear to have held different practical roles on the village, with Mrs Bond's 'nana' the person you would go to in times of shortage, because of the habit she had got into of 'stockpiling' during the years of war rationing.⁵² It is notable just how many of the female interviewees reinforced this image of the village as a large and mutually supportive network - Catherine Monks, for example, said that she had always felt 'lucky' to live on a 'proper community' where (despite there being close to 100 houses during her time of residence) everybody knew everybody else,⁵³ while Iris Roberts recalled that the women and children would regularly go on outings together.⁵⁴ In an interview in 2014, Irene Billington painted a particularly vivid image of life on Westfield after the Second World War:

There was a great camaraderie in that village. 'Nana' made toffee and charged a bit for it and all the money went back into the village. When I lived on the village and my son Peter was a baby he would always cry outside and there would always be a neighbour come along and start rocking the pram. The club was well used and the men would be there with their beer and the windows open in the summer. The bowling green as well was very well used, and there were trips out. Nana played whist over at the house. She always had the kettle

⁵¹ C. Noble, Interview with H. Walton, December 17, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁵² Bond, Interview with M. Purdy

⁵³ C. Monks Interview with M. Purdy

⁵⁴ I. Roberts, Interview with M. Purdy, March 12, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

on in case anybody called, in fact she would walk into town with the kettle on a low light in the house. There was always cake in!⁵⁵

If such idyllic descriptions of community life appear to belong to a bygone era (and may well give rise to warnings of ‘nostalgia in testimony’ among oral historians)⁵⁶ it is worth considering the views of a number of the sitting tenants: Ken Maudsley, for example, said in 2014 that ‘there is still a good community feel’,⁵⁷ while Freda Rawlinson added that the fact she felt like she was still part of a ‘real community’ remained crucial to her sense of contentment.⁵⁸ Joan Bleasdale attempted to sum-up residence on the community in the twenty-first century in the following way:

Everybody is friendly [...] if anybody is in trouble there is always somebody to help. You know, we are not really bothered about anybody outside, we are like one little island on our own you know. It hasn’t changed [...] it is still as friendly.⁵⁹

Her choice of simile (likening Westfield to an ‘island’) once again underlines how the residents continue to embrace their ‘segregated’ status, and the way that they value the sense of community that it has helped to foster. It is an outcome that supports the work referenced earlier by Freund and Clapham, who claim that living as part of a community, complete with the associated comforts of shared experience, can be hugely beneficial to the facilitation of successful independent living for disabled or vulnerable people.

Laura Hemingway has highlighted an additional key element for successful independent living among disabled people and their families, stating that they need access to ongoing practical advice.⁶⁰ This is something that Westfield has always endeavoured to provide both informally and formally: the former via the residents own social networks and the latter via the Westfield volunteers’ natural inclination towards acts of paternalism. Indeed, the

⁵⁵ Billington, Interview with M. Purdy

⁵⁶ See for example: U. Neisser, ‘A Case of Misplaced Nostalgia’, *American Psychologist*, Vol.46 (1991), pp.34-36

⁵⁷ K. Maudsley, Interview with M. Purdy, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁵⁸ F. Rawlinson, Interview with H. Walton, December 17, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁵⁹ J. Bleasdale, Interview with H. Walton, November 29, 2012 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

⁶⁰ Hemingway, *Disabled People*

present Westfield secretary is on site on a daily basis to discuss the kind of issues that go beyond those relating to the functional concerns dealt with by the housing association, Guinness Northern Counties. The community rooms in Westfield House (which are funded by the charity committee) are used for subsidised social functions that bring the residents together, whilst also providing a base for military and disabled charities (such as the British Legion and Combat Stress) to host drop-in sessions. In addition, the community room and bowling-green continue to provide opportunities for older residents to engage with fellow residents as well as people from outside of the village. The latter, it should be added, on a far less frequent basis than the former.

As stated earlier, once the inaugural period of fundraising had been completed at Westfield the community became less inclusive. Indeed, an element of suspicion appears to have developed about the threat non-residents posed to the autonomy of the community and its ability to set its own social manifesto. It was a situation exemplified by the rise, demise and partial revival of the old recreation and bowling club. This club had effectively grown out of the local branch of the British Legion, and had proved popular with ex-servicemen from outside of the community from its inception. However, in 1959 the village secretary (Colonel Dundas) warned that it had 'virtually become a Lancaster club' and that it would be best to limit non-resident membership to 75, while adding that it would be best if the posts of chairman, secretary and treasurer were always given to village residents in a bid to maintain internal control.⁶¹ The matter came to a head in the 1970s, when the colonel pointed out that the non-resident members (many now said to be men without any kind of military background following the end of National Service in 1960) wanted to increase their quota to 100. He feared such a move would allow the non-residents to feel they were 'taking over', as there were only around 30 village residents left on the books. The colonel went on to speak of the 'disgraceful behaviour' of some members, and 'particularly' that of the non-

⁶¹ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, April 27, 1959, pp.45-47, 49-54

residents.⁶² Prior to the facility closing (following repeated incidents of anti-social behaviour), he said that 'to all intents and purposes' it had become 'a Marsh club' with a proportion of roughly seven residents of the neighbouring Marsh council estate to every single Westfield member.⁶³ Likewise, the bowling club (which appears to have separated from the recreation club quite early on) was the subject of a report in 1983 in which it was said that 'the majority' of the members no longer lived on the village but in 'The Marsh area'. It was added that the 'outside members' had tried repeatedly to obtain control of the club and that the Westfield committee could not continue subsidising an undertaking which benefitted people 'who are not entitled to benefit from our charity'.⁶⁴ The Westfield bowling team would effectively cease for a number of years although the green would continue to be used by the residents. In 2004 the bowling club was revived as a mixed-gender team and taken over by the residents, but it was agreed that from this point forward it would always be made up of 'a majority' of Westfield residents. In addition, it was stipulated that the team captain should always be a resident of the village.⁶⁵

It is notable that most of the problems relating to the Westfield clubs appear to have been placed firmly at the door of the residents of The Marsh estate. Indeed, the occupiers of this community have most commonly appeared in the Westfield minute books in a negative light. This was certainly true of the children of The Marsh, whose desire to share Westfield's superior playground facilities would often result in them climbing over the boundary wall and, in so doing, inflict damage on hedges and fences.⁶⁶ It was a situation that may have been tolerated to some degree in the early years, but not by Colonel Dundas, who would

⁶² *Westfield Minute Book 8*, April 30, 1973, pp.101-104

⁶³ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, October 29, 1973, pp.118, 120-121

⁶⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 9*, August 8, 1983, pp.168-179

⁶⁵ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, March 2004, pp.135, 139-143, 147-148

⁶⁶ See for example: *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 31, October 30 and December 18, 1950, pp.44-46, 47-50, 51; *Westfield Minute Book 5*, July 30, 1956, pp.225-228; *Westfield Minute Book 5*, August 26, October 14 and October 28, 1957, pp.271, 273-274, 275-276, 278-279

ultimately get committee approval in 1960 to embed broken glass into the top of the wall to keep intruders at bay. The relevant minute book reference notes:

The secretary stated at various times innumerable louts from outside were coming into and through the village, either via the Westbourne Road entrance or more frequently from The Marsh over the playground wall. At the moment we are having a bad turn [...] various male tenants had endeavoured to chase off these intruders but being disabled they had little or no chance of catching anyone.⁶⁷

The clear inference had been that the perpetrators of the anti-social behaviour had come from The Marsh,⁶⁸ which has been the same assumption made about many of the intrusions that have taken place since. For example, it was recorded as recently as 2006 that those responsible for a spate of anti-social acts on the village were known to be 'a group of children from the neighbouring housing estate'.⁶⁹ Despite such ongoing tensions, Westfield has retained a close (if sometimes reluctant) relationship with its immediate neighbour – and often chosen to define itself in relation to it.

The foundations of The Marsh estate pre-date Westfield by three decades, with work on the community having started in 1889 in response to the creation of the large Williamsons' chemical factory on the nearby banks of the River Lune.⁷⁰ Most of the properties were for the factory workers and (in stark contrast to Westfield) were small with yards and no gardens.⁷¹ However, despite the clear gulf in their contemporary living conditions, the vast majority of the Westfield residents had come from the same working class backgrounds as the occupants of The Marsh and continued to interact with them on a daily basis. An employment survey carried out on Westfield in the 1950s, for example, shows that large numbers of village residents were employed in the same kind of roles as their neighbours

⁶⁷ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, October 31, 1960, pp.109-114, 117

⁶⁸ *Westfield Minute Book 8*, January 31, 1972, pp.53-54, 56-58

⁶⁹ *Westfield Minute Book 11*, March 20, 2006, pp.206, 211, 215-217

⁷⁰ A. White and M. Winstanley, *Victorian Terraced Houses in Lancaster* (Lancaster, 1996), p.10

⁷¹ S. Constantine, N. Dalziel, M. Mullet, D. Shotter, A. Warde, A. White and M. Winstanley, *A History of Lancaster* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.195

and probably worked side-by-side with them in the local factories.⁷² Many of the children of Westfield attended a primary school on The Marsh and would continue to remain well integrated with their peers from outside of the village via secondary schooling, recreational clubs and activities in the town centre.⁷³ Indeed, some of the village children appear to have been involved in helping their neighbours overcome Colonel Dundas's barriers by doing their bit to break up the broken glass embedded on the top of the wall that separated them.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it is clear that a number of the village residents felt that their residence on Westfield had elevated them to a higher, or 'posher', social level than their neighbours. Irene Billington said this was certainly true of both her grandmother and herself:

Nana used to say if she was on the bus and they asked about the stop, 'I do not live on the Marsh, I live on Westfield!' She was not posh but proud, but she definitely put herself above those on The Marsh. She wasn't happy at all when Terry [one of the Salford evacuees who was staying with the family during the Second World War] was seeing a girl off The Marsh. I think we were spoilt living on Westfield. When we moved off I couldn't bear the council house we were in.⁷⁵

Maureen Bond also recalled that her nana thought she was 'posher' than 'them on The Marsh',⁷⁶ while Connie Noble stated in an interview in 2012 that there was certainly 'a little bit of a snob value to living on the village'. Mrs Noble added that most Westfield residents felt rather 'proud' to live on the village.⁷⁷ This sense of satisfaction, if not self-superiority, is something that their neighbours have always been aware of. Marsh resident Isabella Curwen said in 2014 that although she had worked alongside a number of the village's veterans in a tailoring shop in the town centre, she had never dared to venture on to the settlement because of its exclusivity. She added that 'they were always a bit bullish about letting us on

⁷² At the Annual General Meeting of the Westfield Committee in April 1951 the president, Captain Alan Storey, gave a full breakdown of where everybody on the village who was working was employed: *Westfield Minute Book 5*, April 30, 1951, pp.60-62, 65-68

⁷³ Roberts, Interview with M. Purdy

⁷⁴ *Westfield Minute Book 6*, July 31, 1961, pp.142-145,147-152

⁷⁵ Billington, Interview with M. Purdy

⁷⁶ Bond, Interview with M. Purdy

⁷⁷ Noble, Interview with H. Walton

as kids, and that sticks with you'.⁷⁸ RAF veteran Ken Maudsley, who was born on The Marsh but now lives on Westfield, said that he had always thought that the people of the village had 'looked down their noses at us'.⁷⁹ Such perceptions may explain the nickname Westfield resident Joseph Bradshaw recalled the occupants of The Marsh traditionally having used when referring to the village, 'The Holy City'.⁸⁰ Indeed, a Lancaster resident called James Burrows claimed that the 'The Holy City' nickname was once used by people from across the wider district in relation to Westfield.⁸¹ Both men said that they thought that this moniker had been embraced as an ironic reflection of the fact that Westfield and its residents had seen themselves as being 'a bit special'. Furthermore, it was a charge that was not without substance - the higher quality housing and investment in the natural environment and superior leisure facilities, as well as the expectation of higher social standards, had all served to encourage a sense of social superiority or exclusivity.

The most visible way to reinforce Westfield's superiority had been via the aesthetic façade, and Westfield's leading volunteers regularly referenced the general appearance of The Marsh, as well as other social housing estates in the district, when they felt that their own standards were in danger of being compromised. In the 1960s Colonel Oglethorpe (the sitting Westfield chairman) would argue that the Westfield charity should subsidise a costly garden maintenance programme on the basis that 'you only had to take a look round any of the estates in Lancaster to see just what happens when gardens are completely neglected'.⁸² This form of justification by comparison would be used again a few years later by the village secretary (Colonel Dundas), who advised the committee members to 'walk down The Marsh to see what neglected gardens look like' before rejecting a call for further garden subsidies.⁸³

⁷⁸ I. Curwen, Interview with M. Purdy,, February 15, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁷⁹ Maudsley, Interview with M. Purdy

⁸⁰ J. Bradshaw, Interview with M. Purdy

⁸¹ J. Burrows, Interview with M. Purdy, February 13, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews - Campus In The City)

⁸² *Westfield Minute Book 7*, April 2, 1965, pp.63-64

⁸³ *Westfield Minute Book 7*, January 26, 1970, pp.244-245 & 248, 250-252, 255-256

The bullish commitment to the projection of a superior natural aesthetic clearly had the desired effect on many who came into contact with the community, with Mavis Washington recalling that the village's appearance in the 1940s had seemed almost other-worldly to an evacuee like herself who had come from a tiny back-to-back terrace in Salford:

I can remember just wandering at will in the village [...] it was like peaceful, beautiful, it was so quiet and it was lovely because there were trees there and grass and things that I hadn't seen before. There were no trees in Salford, we didn't have trees we just had cobbles and streets. It was a different world. It was quiet, it was peaceful, it was a little wonderland with trees.⁸⁴

However, it had not only been the evacuees from poorer parts of Lancashire who had reacted to Westfield in such a way. As already mentioned in relation to the properties on The Marsh, most of the working class housing in Lancaster had been of a far less generous or attractive nature, with one local study stating that 'the working classes were accommodated in smaller terraces with small back yards to ensure maximum density'.⁸⁵ Given this local context, it is unsurprising that a 'Lancaster girl' like Barbara Berrington recalled of her trips to Westfield that 'it was lovely on there - all lovely gardens', or that 'we used to think it was really posh'.⁸⁶ Likewise, Maureen Kirkbride (who would also visit a disabled relative) said that 'the village was like heaven after you'd lived on a street in town'. Mrs Kirkbride added that the community was 'always perfect and neat and tidy with flowers and grass', and that 'they had lovely gardens, not yards like us'.⁸⁷ John Bradshaw remembered the village 'as being very serene and quiet' and added that everybody (including his injured granddad) had kept their gardens 'immaculate'. As an explanation of his idyllic vision of Westfield, Mr Bradshaw stated: 'We lived on The Marsh...'⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Washington, Interview with M. Purdy

⁸⁵ S. Constantine, N. Dalziel, M. Mullet, D. Shotter, A. Warde, A. White and M. Winstanley, *A History*, p.195

⁸⁶ B. Berrington, Interview with M. Purdy, February 13, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁸⁷ M. Kirkbride, Interview with M. Purdy, February 14, 2014 (Westfield Archive: Interviews – Campus In The City)

⁸⁸ J. Bradshaw, Interview with M. Purdy

If Westfield's sense of superiority was most visibly projected by its attractive surrounds and superior leisure facilities, there were other features of residence that had an impact on personal and familial identity. For example, evacuee Mavis Washington explained that she had always felt that many of the occupants had enjoyed greater affluence than their peers, including the Southward family, with whom she had been housed:

I was given a bedroom of my own and I was given nice clothes and I had new shoes - and it wasn't even Whit Week! At the Southwards I just got shoes when I needed them so it felt quite posh being there. I had more or less everything I wanted there. Hazel [the daughter of the family] went to tap dancing classes and ballet lessons and so I went as well. It was a time in my life that was the best of my childhood. I can remember just wandering at will in the village - it was like peaceful, a beautiful village, it was so quiet and it was lovely because there were trees there and grass and things that I hadn't seen before. I got a bit posh.⁸⁹

Fellow evacuee Mavis Murray remembered being offered the exotic delight of 'pineapple chunks' with 'Carnation cream' by her host family.⁹⁰ In fact such 'indulgences' appear to have become common on the community after the Second World War for a combination of factors: the first serious rent rise had not been imposed until the 1960s, and even then the rents had remained well below the market rate. As a result, the disabled veterans had paid little rent for decades while they, or family members, held down a job and were in receipt of a pension. Anna MacLeod reports on a similar situation in her history of Haig Homes, stating that a large number of the grown up children of that charity's tenants were still living at home in the 1950s and contributing to the family income at a time when one or both parents were working, in receipt of a disability pension, and enjoying subsidised housing.⁹¹ As a result of the kind of boost this provided to household incomes, large numbers of the residents of disabled housing projects found they were affluent enough to pay for things like new shoes and ballet classes for their children. In fact, the Westfield village secretary's annual newsletters between the 1950s and 1970s show that social stratification had not only

⁸⁹ Washington, Interview with M. Purdy

⁹⁰ Murray, Interview with M. Purdy

⁹¹ A. MacLeod, *Coming Home: Haig Housing Trust – A Hundred Years of Housing Heroes* (Fighting High, 2014), p.99

taken a hold but been actively embraced. It was a situation exemplified by the section in the newsletters reserved for 'village gossip', which would grow in size (presumably as a result of popularity) throughout the period. It is notable how 'the gossip' became increasingly focussed on the achievements of the children of the community (oft educational) that might once have been the preserve of a more affluent class. To provide an example from each decade: in 1957 it was reported that the grandson of one of the residents had won a scholarship from the Lancaster Grammar School and was sitting entrance exams for Cambridge University,⁹² whilst in 1966 a daughter of the village gained a place at the London School of Contemporary Dance,⁹³ and another was awarded a degree in French and Italian in 1974 from the University of Leeds and planned to teach English in Florence.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, it should be noted that Westfield had not been unique in relation to improved social mobility.

The Second World War gave birth to the concept of what David Marsh has referred to as 'the affluent society'. A healthy job market, high wages, the expansion of home ownership and greater educational opportunities for the working classes all had a major impact on wider society.⁹⁵ In fact, Robert Millar believes the result of this affluence was a re-examining of social relationships as people's backgrounds (and social status) could no longer be determined purely by traditional markers of birth-right, meritocracy and occupation.⁹⁶ As the Westfield case study shows, by the latter part of the twentieth century the accumulation of wealth had become more accessible to all and people increasingly measuring their sense of class, or how 'posh' they were, by what they owned and where they lived. The arrival of this new society did not result in the eradication of 'snobbery', but the shifting of the criteria on which it was based; including the assertion that 'good taste cannot be bought'.⁹⁷ Rough

⁹² *War Memorial Village Lancaster Annual Report*, 1957, p.6

⁹³ *War Memorial Village Lancaster Annual Report*, 1966, p.6

⁹⁴ *War Memorial Village Lancaster Annual Report*, 1974, p.7

⁹⁵ D. Marsh, *The Changing Social Structure of England and Wales* (London, 1965), p.267

⁹⁶ R. Millar, *The New Classes* (London, 1966), pp.51, 19

⁹⁷ Millar, *The New Classes*, pp. 153, 33

edges can, of course, be smoothed out and the kind of middle class expectations and values that had been imposed at Westfield (as examined in the previous chapter) may well have proved useful in this. As such, whilst many working class communities, families and individuals across Britain undoubtedly shared in the improved fortunes of the period, it is clear that a significant number of Westfield residents gained additional benefits as a result of their residence on a paternalistic settlement in which they had been expected to aspire to higher social standards and enjoyed subsidised housing. Furthermore, it is an outcome that provides a direct challenge to the familiar projection of paternalistic philanthropy as the provider of a wholly 'negative' form of class intervention.

In recent years, Westfield and its residents have become comfortable about embracing their sense of self with the creation of a community 'brand': a logo in traditional 'Westfield green' featuring the figures from the main memorial now adorns stationary, a website and even a flag that flies outside Westfield House. Somewhat ironically, this formal projection of individuality (or 'otherness') has been driven by a growing outside interest in the community and its heritage. The centenary of the First World War has been a major factor in this, although signs of a new type of historical awareness first surfaced in the 1990s with requests for Westfield to provide a focal point for the kind of academic study that has culminated in the completion of such a project as this – a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and partnered by the University of Lancaster and the Westfield War Memorial Village. Westfield's willingness to participate in such projects should not come as a surprise, as the growing levels of interest in the village's history had been embraced by Westfield chairman Hilda Shuttleworth in 2006, when she successfully suggested the committee fund a booklet outlining the history of the village.⁹⁸ The following year the settlement's links to Thomas H. Mawson were featured in a number of new

⁹⁸ Westfield Minute Book 11, Sept 2006, pp.228-229

publications,⁹⁹ with the president, Mary Bowring, telling the Annual General Meeting that ‘the village can only benefit from such publicity’.¹⁰⁰ With the Westfield charity having long since ceased to fundraise, it is to be assumed that Mrs Bowring had felt that the increase in publicity would help to attract suitable future tenants. However, there was also a clear sense of pride starting to develop in the village’s longevity, which was reflected in a decision to start offering formal guided tours as part of the annual National Heritage Open Day celebrations in 2008 and an agreement to spend £2,000 on events to celebrate the village’s ninetieth anniversary in 2009.¹⁰¹

Demand from people wanting to visit Westfield for reasons of study, family history or out of a general sense of curiosity have continued to grow in the twenty-first century, with many local people who had previously seen Westfield as a ‘private’ facility having felt emboldened enough to walk through the gates. Although the community remains accessible to all (the main gates have not been closed for decades), ethical concerns about growing levels of personal intrusion resulted in the funding of a website in 2014 (as part of this CDA) to encourage people to visit the village ‘virtually’ instead of physically. A consultation was also organised by the Westfield charity in 2015 in which the occupants were asked how they felt about the growing number of requests for organised tours and how they would like the charity to respond. Whilst they were keen to avoid a repeat of the kind of situations that had left some of their predecessors feeling like ‘freaks’, the majority of the residents said they wanted to remain inclusive and merely asked that Sundays be respected as days of privacy.¹⁰²

Recognition of the historic value of the community among the occupants has undoubtedly been enhanced by the rise in interest of recent years, but it is worth considering that their

⁹⁹ The most notable was: J. Waymark, *Thomas Mawson: Life, Gardens and Landscapes* (London, 2009)

¹⁰⁰ Westfield Minute Book 11, March 2007, pp.231-232

¹⁰¹ Westfield Minute Book 11, Sept 2008, pp.272-273, 275-276, 278, 282-283

¹⁰² M. Stretch, Interview with M. Purdy, April 21, 2017 (Westfield Archive: Interviews)

willingness to 'share' the community with the outside world may also have been motivated by a sense of personal custodianship, self-confidence and pride.

Conclusion:

One of the main criticisms that Thomas H. Mawson faced in relation to his plans for disabled settlements was overcoming criticism and concern relating to traditional (and generally negative) preconceptions about segregated communities and the 'herding together' of disabled men. The fact that so many ex-servicemen and women subsequently chose to live at Westfield goes some way towards supporting Reznick's claim (and Mawson's belief) that disabled veterans are often deeply united by the process of healing and take comfort from being amid others in a similar position.¹⁰³ Indeed, the work of Barr on the growth and role of the veterans' associations in the twentieth century adds further weight to the argument that far from wanting to relinquish their military pasts, many ex-servicemen (both able-bodied and disabled) have a desire to hold on to them.¹⁰⁴ It is a claim very much supported by this case study, with many of Westfield's veterans having chosen to embrace their military service as an ongoing and central feature of their civilian lives. It also remains as true in the present day as it did at the time of the village's inception.

This thesis also supports Gerber's belief that too many academic and popular historians and storytellers have portrayed disabled ex-servicemen as being trapped in a cycle of negativity, seemingly without having contemplated the possibility of positivity.¹⁰⁵ My research shows that many Westfield veterans have refused to allow their disability to become the defining feature of their lives and, as Weeks has argued, instead seen themselves as fortunate to have a future.¹⁰⁶ This may well explain the relaxed attitude that so many of the Westfield

¹⁰³ Reznick, *Healing the Nation*

¹⁰⁴ Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy*, p.65

¹⁰⁵ Gerber, 'Preface: The Continuing Relevance'

¹⁰⁶ Weeks, 'Fifty Years of Pain', p.230

veterans displayed towards their injuries - an approach that has had a significant impact on the children of the village, with a number of these (who are now adults with children and grandchildren of their own) stating that growing up on the community made them far more aware of (and responsive to) the challenges faced by vulnerable and disabled people. This was clearly a positive outcome that could only have been nurtured on a community where the visible presence of trauma was common enough to engender a sense of familiarity.

Clapham and Freund believe that a sense of community and shared experience have a vital role to play in the achievement of independent living for the vulnerable,¹⁰⁷ and it is a point that is strongly supported by this study. By giving a voice to the spouses and children of the disabled ex-servicemen at Westfield, this chapter has shown that the claim holds true for the families of the disabled veterans as much as it does for the veterans themselves.

Furthermore, the traditional paternalistic inclination of the Westfield committee (which has included the provision of informal and formal meeting spaces and advisory sessions) has had a large part to play in facilitating such an outcome.

A sense of 'otherness' has been nurtured on Westfield (primarily by the volunteers) that has encouraged a collective sense of superiority. As a result, many of Westfield's traditionally working-class residents have come to see themselves as being more socially elevated than their counterparts outside of the village walls. In an oft-quoted treatise, McKibbin has claimed that paternalistic philanthropy in the twentieth century was rooted in the kind of traditional class hierarchies that consolidated middle class values and suppressed working class ambitions.¹⁰⁸ However, while the Westfield case study substantiates much of his argument in relation to the role of the middle class volunteers as upholders of established social mores, his claim that they stifled 'working class ambition' is not substantiated. Indeed, the evidence shows the opposite to have been true, with many of the Westfield residents

¹⁰⁷ Clapham, *The Meaning of Housing*, p.216; Freund, 'Bodies', pp.689-706

¹⁰⁸ McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*

clearly having been more interested in raising themselves up the social ladder than fighting for the kind of revolutionary ideals that might result in social stagnation. It is equally hard to find validation for Cohen's claim that the disabled veterans of the First World War allowed their revolutionary tendencies to be subsumed in order to appease their charitable paymasters.¹⁰⁹ The Westfield residents appear (on the whole) to have accrued benefits and taken strength from their membership of a close-knit collective. It appears to be for this reason that they never seriously challenged the hierarchical structure. Indeed, far from being powerless and unwilling participants in a middle class plot (McKibbin) or prisoners of a form of charitable dependency (Cohen), the residents of Westfield appear to have embraced and actively supported the circumstances of their residence.

It is my belief that Westfield has provided the majority of its residents with a sense of contentment and security by allowing them to hold on to their pre-existing military identities, while embracing new social and economic opportunities. This has helped many of the residents to forge new identities for themselves, as opposed to trapping them in old ones. Most importantly, Westfield's paternalistic inclinations have remained a central element to the facilitation of this outcome.

¹⁰⁹ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, pp.188-192

Conclusion

Paternalistic philanthropy is commonly portrayed as a form of charity representative of a bygone (Victorian) era. Critics of the process claim that throughout the modern age (the twentieth century onward) it has remained the preserve of a civic elite intent on imposing its own moral values on the lower classes.¹ Furthermore, a number of the philanthropists involved in the specific movement to support disabled veterans of the First World War have been accused of having 'blithely disregarded' the desires of those they were meant to be helping.² The aim of this thesis has been to explore the role of paternalistic philanthropy and the validity of such claims in relation to the near-100 years of care provided by the Westfield War Memorial Village in Lancaster. It has done so by exploring the complexities of the roles, motivations and expectations of the philanthropists and voluntarists who have managed the settlement and the veterans and their families who have been dependent (to varying degrees) upon them.

The vast majority of the settlements built for disabled veterans after the First World War were funded by philanthropy, and usually by wealthy, paternalistic individuals or dynasties. However, the work undertaken by these people, their motivations for getting involved and the outcomes of their efforts have received little attention. Of the limited work that does exist, most has served to re-enforce pre-existing social and political stereotypes that focus on the more negative motivations of the benefactors and the imposition of seemingly unacceptable levels of control and indebtedness. It is my assertion that acknowledgement of the practical value of the help provided by the philanthropists and voluntarists has often seemed reluctant by comparison - and largely sympathetic to Finlayson's claim that the value of self-help and charity in the twentieth century (particularly in relation to warfare)

¹ R. Whelan, *Involuntary Action* (London, 1999), p.14; N. Deakin and J. Davis Smith, 'Labour, charity and voluntary action: The myth of hostility' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages Of Voluntarism* (Oxford, 2011), pp.72-74

² D. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), p.8

has been largely ignored by academia.³ This study has endeavoured to provide a more balanced representation of the philanthropic process one that does not ignore negative associations, but does allow for recognition of any benefits accrued.

The British government had not been prepared to take on the kind of financial commitments involved in becoming the primary provider for the estimated 1.7 million of its servicemen who had returned home from the conflict with some form of disability. Furthermore, the fulfilment of Lloyd George's promise of providing 'homes for heroes' had proved short-lived and wholly inadequate. There had also been no specific provision within this pledge for disabled veterans, and most local corporations failed to meet the challenge. As a result, the care of the wounded of war primarily remained where it had always done – in the hands of large scale philanthropy and smaller scale charity. In addition to the lack of bespoke housing, no legislative demands were imposed on employers to provide opportunities for disabled veterans, which once again left the emphasis on charity to provide retraining and employment opportunities. At Westfield, there would be no independent industrial operation on the site, although the provision of temporary retraining schemes and the paternalistic nature (and contact books) of the charity's committee members would help to keep unemployment levels to a minimum. The birth of the Welfare State resulted in a far greater level of centralised protection and improvement for disabled people as a whole, but it is notable that it was philanthropists who once again stepped-in to ensure that suitable housing opportunities were provided for a new generation of disabled veterans. Indeed, many of the housing schemes built after the Second World War would be influenced by their First World War counterparts. Furthermore, it is many of these schemes that continue to house a large proportion of Britain's disabled, elderly or necessitous veterans in the present day. It is, as such, clear that without voluntary intervention in the housing and employment

³ G. Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the state in British Social Welfare 1911-1949' in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol.1 (1990), pp.183-185

market many ex-servicemen and women, as well as their families, may well have faced (and continue to face) considerable hardship.

Philanthropy (in all of its guises) played a major part in the provision and evolution of nineteenth century life, and as the social historian John Stevenson has stated, at any point up to 1945 British Society was still largely made up of people whose habits and attitudes had been forged in the late-Victorian or Edwardian periods.⁴ This has to be a central consideration when exploring the approach of the founders of what might loosely be described as 'the movement' for bespoke communities for disabled ex-servicemen. It is certainly true of Westfield's early support networks, and undoubtedly goes some way towards explaining the commitment of these philanthropists and volunteers to more traditional charitable templates. Westfield's chief benefactor, Herbert Lushington Storey, came from a family steeped in Victorian philanthropic traditions and the same appears true for many of the individuals involved in his formative Westfield committees. There is little doubt that the social make-up of these voluntary committees, as well as the way they often sought to impose their 'standards' prior to the 1980s, conformed to negative perceptions of charitable associations and, indeed, post-war memorial committees. Initially drawn from the exclusive contact book of an autocratic and wealthy philanthropist, members of this same social circle have continued to be the mainstays of the Westfield committee ever since. Chosen for the kind of practical skills that they have been able to offer (from solicitors and accountants to serving members of the military and socialite fundraisers), the social bias of these trustees has traditionally resulted in middle class 'standards' or 'values' being imposed on the mainly working class tenants. It is an outcome that conforms to what Karl Marx might have described as the charity of the 'bourgeoisie', in which the middle classes sought to 'condescendingly' influence civic society and 'improve' the social and moral outlook of their

⁴ J. Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945* (London, 1985), p.17

beneficiaries.⁵ Twentieth century historians sympathetic to this argument (with McKibbin very much to the fore)⁶ have subsequently suggested that such philanthropy has acted as a deterrent to working class ambitions and better served the needs of the benefactors than the beneficiaries. In fact, paternalistic philanthropy is said to have been actively used at times as a weapon of the establishment to maintain the status quo and quell the revolutionary zeal of the poor. However, while Cohen is undoubtedly right in her claim that the generosity of the voluntary sector reduced the potential for insurrection among disabled veterans of the First World War,⁷ this case study has unearthed no evidence to suggest that those involved in the process at Westfield were driven by any kind of desire to stifle working class ambition. On the contrary, my research shows that residence on Westfield actually raised the social aspirations of many of the tenants.

The motives of the philanthropists and volunteers involved in the Westfield project, as well as its national forerunner (Industrial Settlements), have been complex. In many cases they almost certainly involved elements of self-gain, such as the elevation of personal reputation or furthering of personal agendas. However, while there is plenty of evidence of well-intentioned (but often misguided) acts of religious or personal piety within the settlement movement, Westfield does not appear to have been run in as dogmatic or zealous a fashion as many of its counterparts. It is nonetheless true that the Westfield residents were at the bottom of the hierarchical structure on the community and expected to conform to the kind of 'standards' valued by their middle class guardians. In addition, would-be Westfield residents were heavily vetted before being granted a tenancy in a bid to ensure 'the right type' of person gained admittance to the village. This process (which ended to a large degree in the 1980s) could be highly intrusive. However, the primary evidence shows that the

⁵ C. Mooers, *The Making of Bourgeois Europe: Absolutism, Revolution and the Rise of Capitalism in England, France and Germany* (London, 1991) and G. Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness* (California, 2017)

⁶ R. McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951* (Oxford, 1998)

⁷ C. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), Conclusion

committee only rarely intruded in private matters (usually when they came out from behind closed doors) or upheld harsh rules, such as the eviction of widows. In addition, the paternalistic impositions of the Westfield committee and its secretaries were often welcomed by the wider community as being in the interests of the common good. In addition, many of the individuals affected would welcome the benefits that such interventions might bring. For example, Westfield committee members would use their extensive social contacts (nurtured as a direct result of their more elite social status) to find work for the unemployed and schools for the village children. All of this came alongside the provision of subsidised outings and activities as well as quality housing (for a peppercorn rate) in a highly attractive setting. As a result of such subsidies, many of the residents of settlements like Westfield (including those of Haig Homes) would enjoy greater affluence than their peers who lived outside of such communities in the years after the Second World War. It was a situation that helped to facilitate a degree of social mobility, with many Westfield residents coming to view themselves as 'posher' than their working class counterparts on the neighbouring 'Marsh' council estate. Far from being powerless and reluctant participants of the philanthropic process, this study shows that the residents of Westfield have generally accepted the terms of their residence (compromises included) while embracing the practical, economic and social benefits that they often accrued as a result. It is possible that some of the early tenants may have felt powerless to do anything other than accept the terms offered, but it is notable that even after the introduction of the Welfare State (which brought greater rights and security for the disabled) there were few clashes between the Westfield beneficiaries and their benefactors. In fact, the residents would reject the offer of a formal body to represent their 'rights' during one of the most fraught periods in the community's history in the 1970s. Feinberg has argued that paternalism is not only unavoidable in civilised society but usually welcomed - so long as it

does not overstep the mark of what is accepted as being for 'the common good'.⁸ It is an argument well supported by this thesis, although it should be remembered that the Westfield case study involves a group whose experiences and attitudes have been influenced by a combination of unique external factors, including militarism, war service, injury and necessity.

The British military is a highly paternalistic organisation, and those who have spent time in its service may well be more inclined towards tolerance (and even acceptance) of social control than their civilian counterparts. Westfield would test such levels of acceptability from the outset by introducing retired commissioned officers as its village secretaries. A number of these men would subsequently treat the settlement and its inhabitants as an extension of their former military lives, but while this may have been intimidating for many of the children, it would appear that most of their parents were not only comfortable with the arrangement but came to place considerable value on the community's ongoing commitment to military practices, pride and symbolism. The near-sacred attitude of the veterans (as well as many of their families) towards the village's commemorative infrastructure - alongside their enthusiasm to keep updating it to reflect more recent conflicts - has served to underline this claim. Barr states that veterans' associations are important to those who derive meaning and purpose from their military service, and it is clear that this has remained a truism for many of the Westfield veterans.⁹ Such an outcome highlights the risk of making assumptions about the kind of relationships that disabled ex-servicemen and women share with their military experiences. In fact, Gerber has warned that it is wrong to assume (as he says the majority of academic and popular narratives do) that disabled ex-servicemen are locked in a cycle of negativity in relation to their injuries and

⁸ J. Feinberg, 'Legal Paternalism' in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.1, no.1 (1971), pp.105-110

⁹ N. Barr, *The Lion and the Poppy: British Veterans. Politics and Society, 1921-1939* (Westport, 2005)

time in service.¹⁰ Weeks has also added that many disabled veterans are intent on embracing the future and feel lucky to be alive when the circumstances and nature of their injury might well have proved fatal.¹¹ It is an argument upheld by the relaxed attitude that so many of the village children remember the Westfield veterans displaying towards their injuries. Furthermore, some of the children would claim that growing up in such an environment made them far more empathetic towards the kind of challenges faced by vulnerable and disabled people. This is an interesting outcome, and one that suggests that segregated, or communal, living for the disabled can have a positive effect for both the disabled and their families. Clapham and Freund have argued that shared experiences and a sense of community can have a vital role to play in the achievement of independent living for the vulnerable,¹² and it is an argument that is clearly supported by such outcomes.

The original Westfield vision had been for the community to be self-contained and fully autonomous with its own employment opportunities, shops, school, church etc. However, the downscaling of the project appears to have worked in its favour by forcing the occupants to interact with the outside world, while still being able to retreat into the comfort of isolation as and when the psychological need arose. Most importantly, the residents were able to rely on informal support networks on the village that were born out of a mutual understanding of common problems relating to war disability, while the paternalistic inclinations of the Westfield volunteers resulted in ongoing access to more formal internal and external support and advice. The concept of 'segregation' had been viewed with distrust from the beginning of the project, but it is clear that Thomas H. Mawson was correct in his

¹⁰ D.A. Gerber, 'The Continuing Relevance of the Study of Disabled Veterans' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans In History* (Revised edn, Michigan, 2012), Preface

¹¹ G. Weeks, 'Fifty Years of Pain: The History of Disabled Austrian Veterans After 1945' in D.A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans In History* (Michigan, 2012), p.230

¹² D. Clapham, *The Meaning of Housing: A Pathways Approach* (Bristol, 2005), p.216; P. Freund, 'Bodies, Bodies, Disabilities and Spaces: The Social Model and Disabling Spatial Organisations' in *Disability and Society*, Vol.16, no.5 (2001), pp.689-706

early argument that limited segregation (built on choice rather than imposition) was a very different proposition to traditional forms of institutionalism.

In practice, there are no real grounds to doubt what Mawson, his supporters and their successors presented as the key motivation of their involvement in the settlement movement – namely a genuine altruistic desire to help disabled men and their families. Furthermore, the amount of time, money, or both, that many subsequently gave to the process should not be underestimated. It is a common criticism of post-Second World War generations that they have not been as interested in replicating the civic mindedness of their forebears, with claims that most have sought to limit their social responsibility to the kind of acts of ‘distance giving’ that are usually impersonal and rarely go further than a direct debit donation or the dropping of money into a street collector’s tin.¹³ This is in stark contrast to the kind of time that successive Westfield volunteers have been prepared to invest in a bid to ensure the community’s ongoing success. To criticise such individuals for remaining true to a more traditional approach to philanthropy (often on little more than the basis that the template they have been using has fallen out of fashion) seems misguided. Prochaska, for example, has argued that while many historians have come to view traditional philanthropy ‘with distaste’, their views have ‘more often than not’ been based on misconceptions to do with religious and class associations. He points out that such critics can be too keen to overlook the fact that is far easier for people (regardless of their personal motivations or social, political or class traits) to ‘shirk’ their ‘philanthropic duty’ than it is for them to actively embrace it.¹⁴ I support this opinion, and believe that the Westfield case study provides a very strong argument for historians to give as much consideration to the practical outcomes of paternalism, philanthropy and voluntarism as they do to the political and cultural sensitivities.

¹³ G. Jordan and MW. Maloney, *The Protest Business: Mobilizing Campaign Groups* (Manchester, 1997), p.6

¹⁴ F. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London, 1988), pp.39-40

In her work on disabled veterans in the post-war years, Cohen has claimed that much of the philanthropy that came out of the First World War was 'prosaic', arguing that the symbolic role it played in reducing the previously mentioned threat of insurrection was far more important.¹⁵ However, it was the philanthropists and volunteers of the same era who established new professional standards for charities while coming up with many fresh concepts (from charity shops to national lotteries) that would shape the way their successors have continued to operate in the modern age. Peter Grant has argued that there is a need for far greater recognition of the role that the First World War played in the development of modern charitable processes, and the Westfield case study supports his claim.¹⁶ I would go further and make a similar, but additional, argument to Grant in relation to the specific role that the philanthropic settlements have played in the development of accessible architectural design for the disabled. Much of the housing provided by the First World War philanthropists proved pioneering, including early recognition of what would ultimately come to be labelled (four decades later) as 'inclusive design'. Westfield was (to its detriment) far less concerned with structural practicalities in the early years than some of its counterparts, but it did succeed in its attempts to utilise aesthetic concerns to help heal psychological wounds. Furthermore, while many of the decisions taken in relation to the design of the disabled settlements were viewed as autocratic and/or controversial at the time, in many cases they would subsequently be embraced as essential features of residence. It seems likely, for example, that Westfield's chief designer, Thomas H. Mawson, imposed compromises on many of his early constituents with mobility problems in an attempt to ensure that the community remained attractive and viable for a future generation of occupants with very different needs. I believe that this was not the right choice, and that his primary duty was to focus on the needs of his immediate constituents. However, his

¹⁵ C. Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (California, 2001), p.189

¹⁶ P. Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War* (London, 2014)

commitment to aesthetic priorities would be upheld by successive generations of Westfield residents and trustees and come to be seen as an essential element of the village's life. Indeed, the residents' commitment to the protection of their environment would result in a Conservation Order in the 1980s. Likewise, Herbert Lushington Storey's controversial decision to impose an architecturally dominant figurative memorial at the heart of the community would ultimately prove a success - boosting fundraising opportunities as well providing a focal point for the residents to reaffirm their sense of community and shared experiences. The passage of time can be kind to bold (or autocratic) decision makers.

The ambitious (100-year) time-span of this thesis has been one of its most challenging aspects and undoubtedly resulted in compromises, but I believe that it has proved one of its great strengths. The material above shows how important it is to give due consideration to long-term ambitions, trends and outcomes when making decisions about philanthropic processes. Studies that take limited snapshots of charitable undertakings are in danger of failing to recognise, or even consider, such key factors. Indeed, the present Westfield secretary believes that many modern charities are fearful of making contentious contemporary decisions because of how they might be judged contemporaneously, even though the longer-term benefits might be obvious. It is for this very reason that Bekkers and Wiepking (who have conducted extensive research into the historiography of 'giving') have highlighted the need for more studies of the charitable process to take a longer-term view.¹⁷

The commitment of this case study to a more expansive timeframe has revealed a number of factors that could be of value to modern charities, including the kind of positive role that the engendering of long-term paternalistic commitments can have on both the funding and running of charities. Westfield has clearly benefitted from actively nurturing such relations, and it has done so by bringing a mix of personal and parochial pressures to bear. It has

¹⁷ R. Bekkers and P. Wiepking, *Generosity and Philanthropy: A Literature Review* (Amsterdam, 2007)

achieved this via acts of direct solicitation and a highly successful policy of familial and professional succession. Furthermore, the evidence shows that the longer an individual, family or organisation remains involved with a charity, the more self-fulfilling the whole process becomes - encouraging more durable motivational themes (such as pride, tradition, loyalty and ownership) to come to the fore. It is an outcome that might present critics of traditional charitable practices with something of a dilemma, as longer-term commitments tend to instinctively nurture more proprietary and paternalistic tendencies. In the case of Westfield, it is the existence of such instincts that have proved vital to the community's survival. For example, the Storey family provided the land for the settlement, the funds for many of the houses in the first phase of development, as well as numerous anonymous donations to keep it out of 'the red' in times of hardship. The whole process started for the family with an act of altruism motivated (in-part) by an element of self-gain (civic reputation and pro-militarism), but transformed over time to incorporate themes of familial pride, tradition and expectation. In fact, successive family members have continued to give their time to the charity to the present day, even though the partnership Westfield now shares with a professional housing association has made the community far less dependent on paternalistic traditions. Philanthropy, motivation and voluntarism are evolving processes that do not fit easily into the limited kind of spaces that academic study so often provides for them.

The great social reformer William Beveridge said in 1948 that he hoped the new Welfare State would not suppress the 'vigour and abundance' of voluntary civic action in Britain as this remained one of the 'distinguishing marks of a free society' and an 'outstanding feature of British life'. More controversially, he also claimed that modern society was indebted to Victorian philanthropy and the approach of those wealthy and paternalistic philanthropists who had been driven by a willingness to help social reform as much as the pursuit of

personal financial gain.¹⁸ It is an idealistic view of Victorian charity that many might see as going too far,¹⁹ but surprisingly resonant in the case of the Westfield War Memorial Village. The processes, traditions and templates of paternalistic philanthropy and volunteering have not only proved vital to Westfield's foundation, survival and ongoing well-being, but also been generally welcomed and celebrated by a highly vulnerable group of beneficiaries who have also gained considerably from their exposure to the process. As Kleinig has endeavoured to remind his readers, the word 'paternalistic' originally came into being as a way to describe the natural instinct of a parent or guardian to protect and care for a child – and that is hardly a negative association.²⁰ It may be a deeply unfashionable argument to make in the twenty first century, but I believe that the Westfield case study shows that there is a need for contemporary historians to re-assess prevailing attitudes of negativity towards paternalistic philanthropy.

¹⁸ W. Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: A report on the Methods of Social Advance* (London, 1948), pp.10-13

¹⁹ M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society* (Oxford, 2011)

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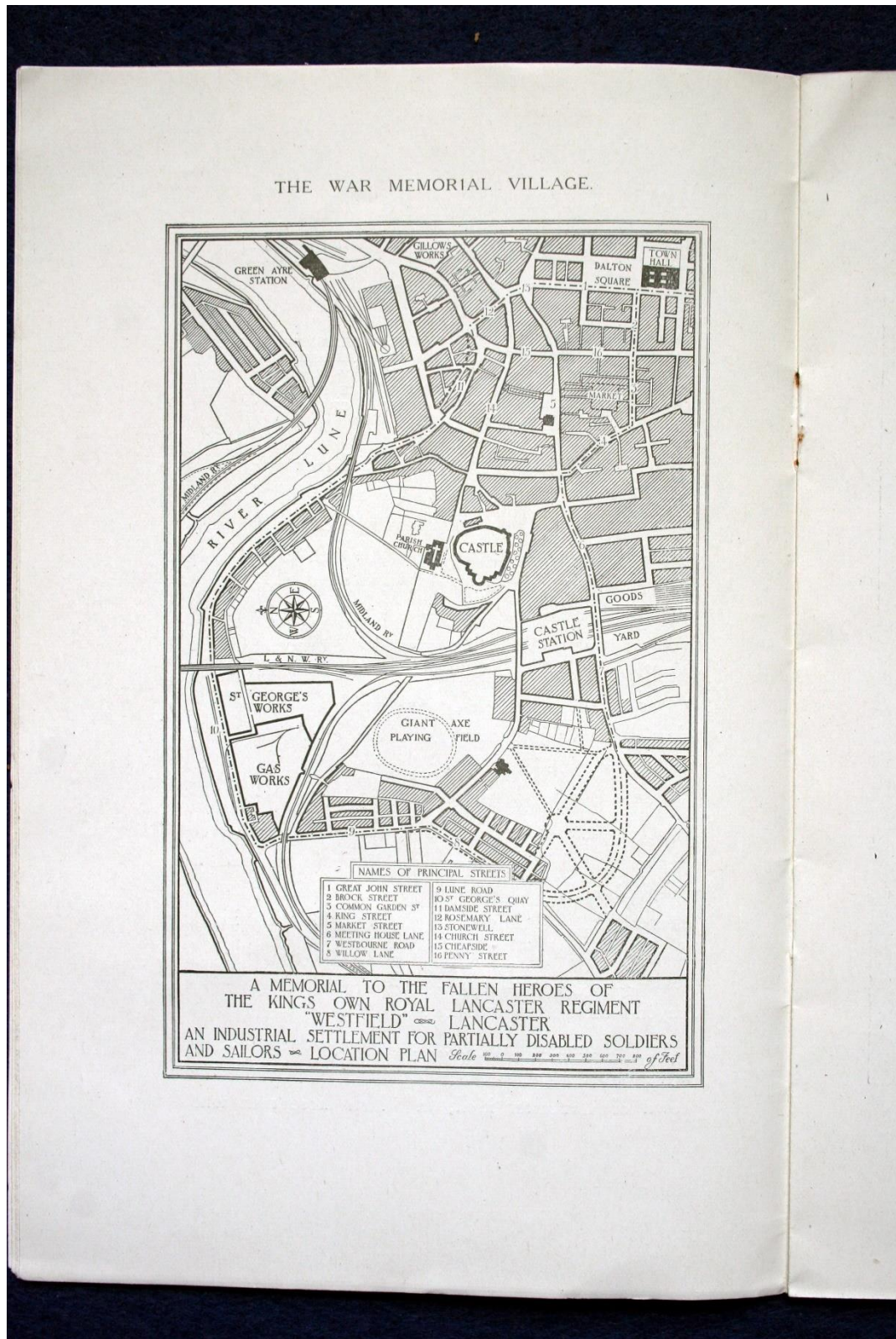
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Appendix (i) An early drawing of the Westfield settlement from an early Westfield promotional booklet. It shows the village's proximity to the Castle Railway Station, Lancaster Castle itself and the neighbouring town centre. (The War Memorial Village Lancaster, self-published promotional booklet 1919, p.6; copy held in Westfield Archive)



Appendix (ii) A photographic view of Westfield's main driveway that was featured in a promotional booklet for new Second World War housing. (The War Memorial Village Lancaster, self-published promotional booklet (1943), p.6; copy held in Westfield Archive)

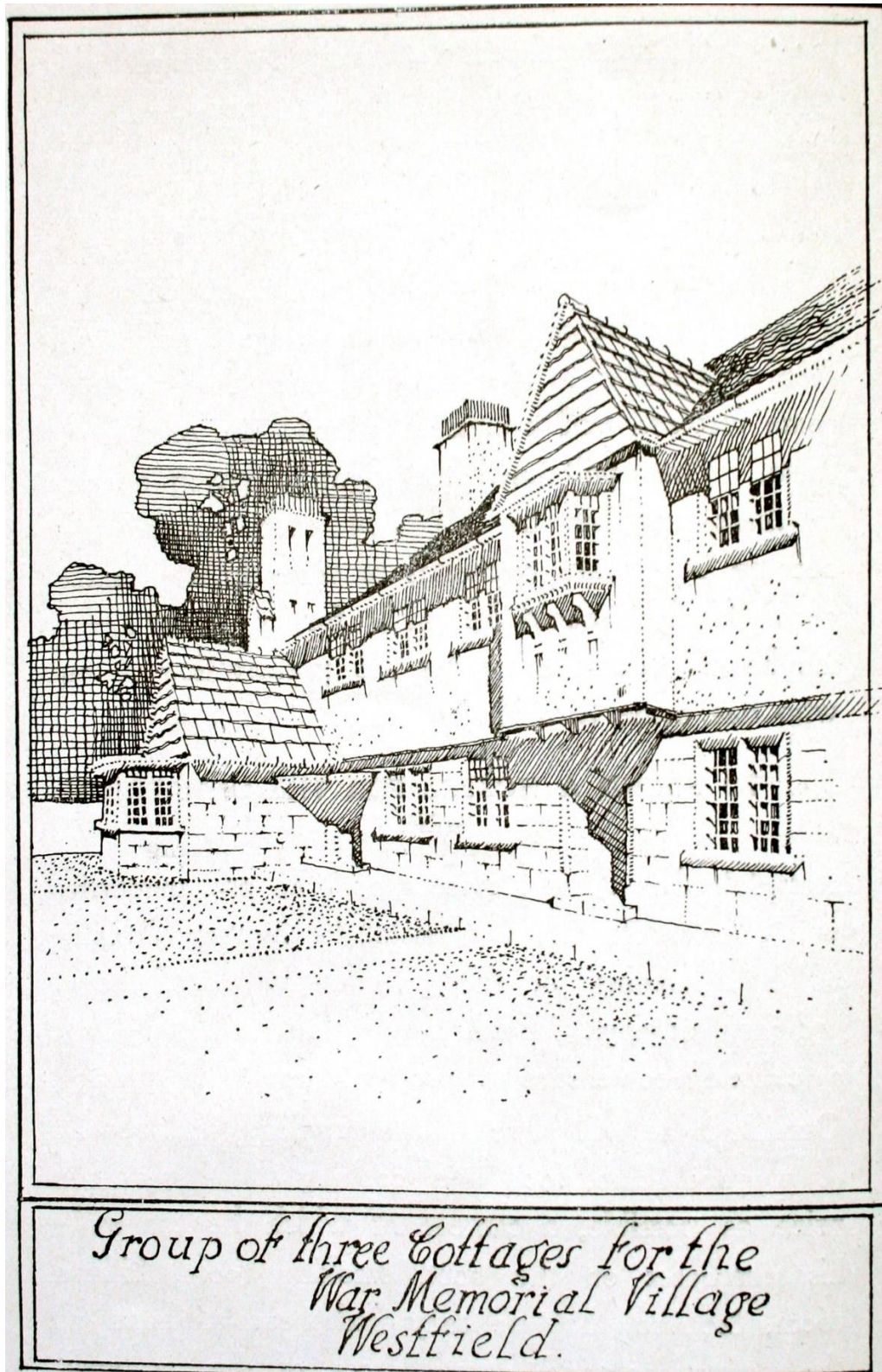


Appendix (iii) Image of a model Garden City settlement among T.H. Mawson & Sons Westfield collection that shows his inspiration for the community. (Architectural Files of Thomas H. Mawson & Sons of Lancaster: WDB86/A99/1-4; courtesy of Cumbria County Record Office, Kendal)



A RECENT EXAMPLE OF MODEL HOUSING.

Appendix (iv) A sketch by T.H. Mawson & Sons of the Arts and Crafts inspired housing planned for Westfield. This image was included in the first Westfield promotional booklet. (The War Memorial Village Lancaster, self-published promotional booklet (1919), p.12; copy held in Westfield Archive)



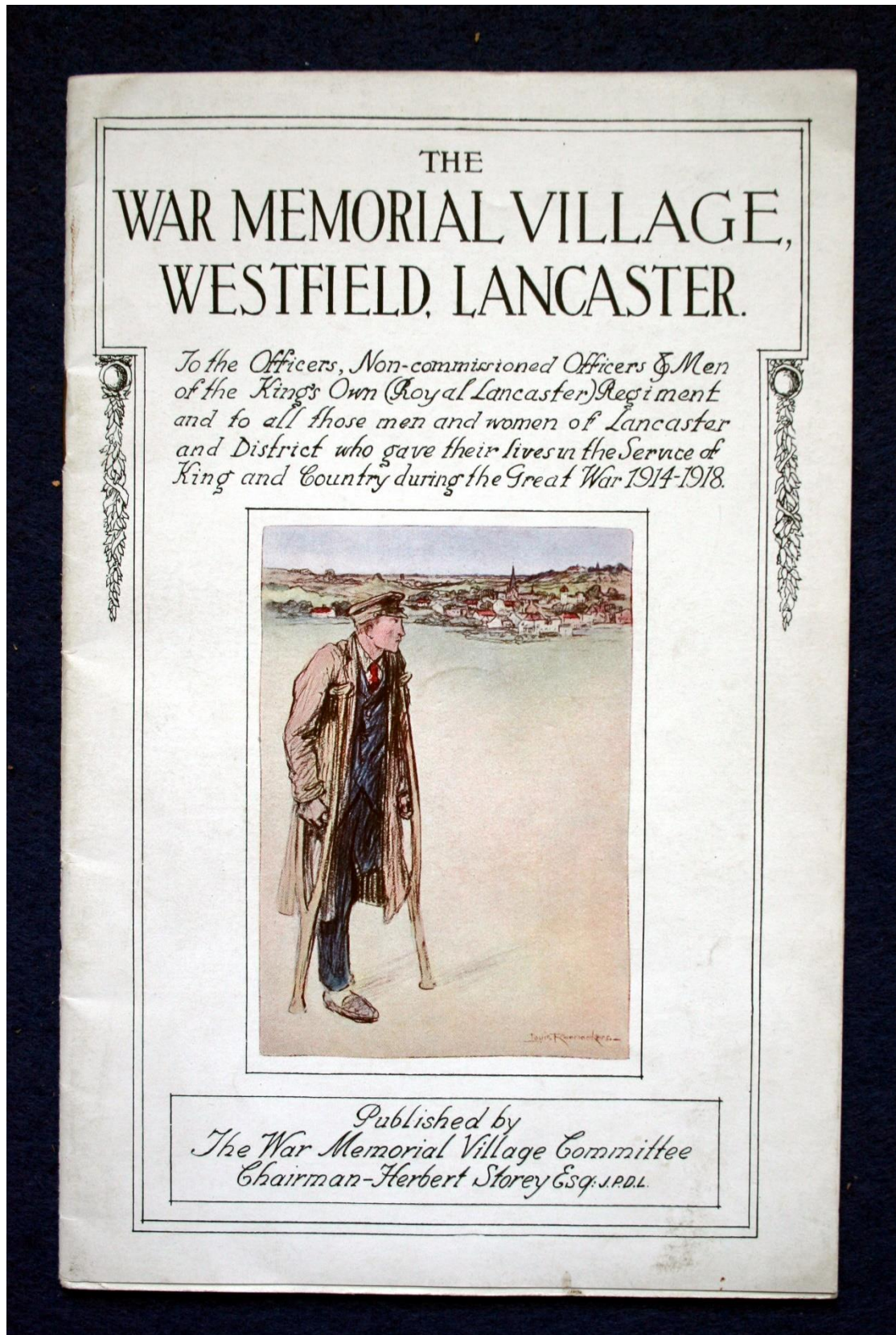
Appendix (v) Photographs of the village founders Thomas H. Mawson and Herbert Lushington Storey. (Uncredited photographs held in the digital 'historic photos' file at Westfield Archive)



Appendix (vi) Herbert Billington, who had lost an arm and a leg to a German shell, lived in the front parlour of a two-storey house as there were not enough bungalows. (Photo courtesy of the Billington family; copy held in the digital 'historic photos' file at Westfield Archive)



Appendix (vii) The image of a limbless veteran by Raemaker which was used on most of the early Westfield advertising material. (The War Memorial Village Lancaster, self-published promotional booklet (1919), p.1; copy held in Westfield Archive)



Appendix (viii) A contemporary picture of the figurative memorial commissioned and funded by Herbert Lushington Storey in the 1920s. (Uncredited photograph; copy held in the digital 'historic photos' file at Westfield Archive)

