Historic England

Domestic Housing for Disabled Veterans 1900-2014

Introductions to Heritage Assets

Summary

Historic England's Introductions to Heritage Assets (IHAs) are accessible, authoritative, illustrated summaries of what we know about specific types of archaeological site, building, landscape or marine asset. Typically they deal with subjects which lack such a summary. This can either be where the literature is dauntingly voluminous, or alternatively where little has been written. Most often it is the latter, and many IHAs bring understanding of site or building types which are neglected or little understood. Many of these are what might be thought of as 'new heritage', that is they date from after the Second World War.

This IHA gives an historical overview of the care offered to disabled ex-Service personnel in England in terms of dedicated housing provision from 1900, when this first became a national concern. Before the twentieth century, any State provision for housing disabled soldiers and sailors tended to be either within an institution or by payment of a pension. However, by then a charitable movement to care for, and especially to house, disabled veterans and their families was underway, and this developed greatly in response to increasingly destructive conflicts. This provision has left a legacy of a considerable range of historic buildings, singly or in planned groups, across England. To date, these have been little studied, notwithstanding their architectural and historical interest. Many remain the homes of ex-Service personnel, still fulfilling their original purpose.

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It is one is of several guidance documents that can be accessed
HistoricEngland.org.uk/listing/selection-criteria/listing-selection/ihas-buildings/

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Front cover
Disabled veterans and their families take possession of the new Regimental Cottage Homes funded by and built for The Kings' Royal Rifles at St. Cross, Winchester in 1904. Designed by Winchester architects Cancellor & Hill, specifically for disabled tenants, the staircases were described as 'broad and easy'. They were opened by Princess Christian whose son served with this regiment and died on campaign with it in South Africa. Each of the four cottage pairs had a bronze dedicatory badge affixed, as seen here.
Courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries

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Introduction

Important notice: Please note that many of the buildings mentioned in this publication are still in use as housing for disabled or elderly people. No one should expect to visit these sites except by prior arrangement with the managing body.

The current official UK government definition of a 'veteran' is the most inclusive of any country. Everyone who has performed military service for at least one day and drawn a day's pay is termed a veteran, and their dependents also qualify for certain benefits as part of the ex-Service community. In Britain, the term 'ex-Service' is also widely used, and the two will be used interchangeably here.

Wounds and long-term disability have always been risks of Service life, but government and public attitudes towards the support of disabled veterans have changed markedly over time. Changing forms of warfare at different periods produced different types of injury to combatants but as medical support for the Armed Services has become both more available and effective the range of survivable wounds has increased. This document gives an historical overview of the care offered to disabled ex-Service personnel in England. It focuses specifically on dedicated housing provision from 1900, when this first became a national concern.

Before the twentieth century, any State provision for housing disabled soldiers and sailors tended to be either within an institution or by payment of a pension to cover civilian lodging expenses. Great foundations, such as the Royal Hospital, Chelsea , for disabled soldiers (founded 1682; listed Grade I) and Greenwich Hospital for the Navy (begun 1694; listed Grade I), never offered enough room to house all those in need, and nor did they allow veterans to live with their families.

Public perception of the armed forces changed dramatically during the nineteenth century when reforms led to greater integration of the Army into the life of the country, especially through greater reliance on volunteer, territorial and reservist forces. By the start of the twentieth century a charitable movement to care for disabled veterans was underway, and this developed greatly in response to increasingly destructive conflicts. One of the key issues which such charities addressed was the need to provide housing for disabled veterans and their families. This provision has left a legacy of a considerable range of historic buildings, singly or in planned groups, across England.

Until recently, little had been published on the development of disabled veterans' housing (see below for Further Reading). Anna MacLeod's *Coming Home: A Hundred Years of Housing Heroes* (2014) now provides a very detailed history of Haig Housing Trust, which has incorporated many smaller charitable foundations over its century of existence[1]. That survey, and this more general introduction to the subject, serve to draw attention to buildings which reflect the growing public desire to provide for the welfare of disabled veterans and, in many cases, are of architectural interest.

Insititutions for the long-term care of severely disabled veterans form a separate category of building, often linked in design to hospital and asylum architecture. These are beyond the scope of this survey but an overview is provided in the Historic England designation selection guide on Health and Welfare Buildings (April 2011) available at http://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/dlsg-health-welfare-buildings/.

1 Historical Background

There was little State-organised care for veterans at all until the Elizabethan period, although the Privy Council had the power to grant 'almsrooms' in cathedrals or collegiate almshouses to disabled veterans. Following several years of unrest in the Army over pay, including a direct lobby of Parliament by disabled soldiers, a new pay system was introduced in 1593 which included pensions based on disability incurred on active duty. It was hoped this would discourage veterans from begging and encourage recruitment to the Army.

In addition, the 'Chatham Chest', set up about 1590, provided a form of basic insurance for officers and men of the Navy. Funded by a charge of 6d per month from pay, it gave compensation for wounds and injuries as well as pensions for widows. It was administered by officers at Chatham under the control of the Navy Board.

During the Civil War and Commonwealth period, national military hospitals were established by Parliament at the Savoy (1644) and Ely House (1648), London, each with space for 350 men. These establishments were discontinued after the Restoration in 1660. However, the number of surviving disabled pensioners rose during the second half of seventeenth century as a result of the Dutch Wars of the 1650s to 1670s. In 1617 41 men received disabled veterans' pensions, but by 1676 there were 885.

After 1679 the Act governing pensions was allowed to lapse and was superseded by the creation of Chelsea and Greenwich Hospitals, where disabled veterans could live. However, even these prestigious buildings, inspired by Louis XIV's Hôtel des Invalides, Paris (opened 1676) and its Irish echo, Kilmainham Hospital (opened 1684), did not provide sufficient space for all who needed support. In 1691, the Chelsea Commissioners were set up to take control of the payment of pensions to 'out pensioners'.

Later the survival rate for wounded servicemen gradually improved due to advances in providing care for the wounded, especially after the Crimean War (1853-6). At this time, the Army was entirely made up of professional soldiers, there was no conscription and little link to the wider population. In the late nineteenth century, reforms to the British Army encouraged close links between individual regiments and specific areas of the country, while regionally-based volunteer and militia battalions acted as a reserve force. As a result, more people had personal links to the fighting forces, and at the same time the status of fighting men was rising in the public esteem. It was important for recruitment and morale both in the Army and the Navy to demonstrate that disabled veterans would not be ungratefully treated.

2 The Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902

The issues around care for servicemen and veterans came to a head with the Second Anglo-Boer War, (1899-1902), when British forces suffered unexpectedly high casualties in the war against guerilla fighters from the South African Dutch (Boer) settler community. Poor sanitation and inadequate care in the British Army camps contributed to the heavy losses, accounting for 63 per cent of the 20,000 deaths. In addition, about 75,000 servicemen returned from South Africa: some wounded but many more suffering from diseases like typhoid and enteric fever, in many cases permanently disabled.

At that time there was no charity offering care for veterans themselves, although the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (now SSAFA) had been founded in 1885 by Colonel Sir James Gildea to support servicemen's dependents. The philanthropic effort to care for disabled veterans returning from South Africa was unprecedented. Charitable relief funds raised the equivalent of over £400 million at today's prices. Practical schemes for nursing and housing disabled veterans were championed by the royal family and the Commander in Chief of the Army.

Figure 1
Suffolk Regimental Memorial Homes, Out Rigsbygate, Bury St Edmunds, opposite the regimental home depot, opened by Princess Christian in 1904. An example of the regimental cottages created on similar lines across the country at this time. The original decorative dutch gables have been simplified.

Figure 2
Detail of memorial plaque dedicating one of the Suffolk Regiment cottages to Prince Christian Victor. These can be found on several regimental homes of the period and signify that national funds raised by Princess Christian and SSAFA contributed to the costs of building.

Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, (Helena Augusta Victoria, fifth child of Queen Victoria), already had a strong interest in nursing; she was a founder member of the Red Cross, and a hospital train named after her provided nursing care for British troops in South Africa. In 1899 she set up the Soldiers and Sailors' Help Society (SSHS) to provide permanent and temporary convalescent homes for the sick and wounded and, where necessary, to support disabled ex-servicemen in their homes. Sadly, in October 1900, Princess Christian's own son, Prince Christian Victor, died on active service with the Army in South Africa. She continued her work to support disabled veterans as a memorial to her son.

In 1901 Princess Christian set up The Prince Christian Victor Memorial Fund to finance the building of homes for disabled veterans and their families. Field Marshal Lord Roberts became President of the Fund, and through his tremendous influence on the Army every regiment involved in the South African campaign was encouraged to raise a subscription for at least one Regimental Cottage which would cost about £300 to purchase or build. These cottages (see Cover, and Figs 1-3) for disabled veterans of the campaign, often near their regimental home depots, are sometimes dedicated with a plaque to individual fallen officers or to Prince Christian Victor. The national Fund paid for the furnishings and took over the running of many thereafter. The cottages were based on the principle of 'self-help', with the aim that veterans could live independently with their families, growing their own food and, if possible, earning something to supplement their meagre pensions. However, despite being intended entirely for disabled or elderly veterans, the design of the two-storey houses took no account of tenants' impairments. By 1914 SSHS was managing about 50 such cottages, all of which are documented in *For Remembrance*, written by Col Sir James Gildea of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (above).

Figure 3
East Yorkshire Regimental Cottage Homes, Fulford, North Yorkshire 1905. The site was donated by Captain Key of Fulford Hall, whose son died while serving with the regiment in South Africa. Funds for the building were raised by the regiment.

Lord Roberts, who had also lost a son in the South African campaign and went on to lead the British forces there, was already a great campaigner for better care of serving and discharged soldiers. As Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in Ireland from 1895-9, he had seen the sheltered workshop for disabled ex-servicemen set up in Dublin by Lady Brabazon. In 1904, Princess Christian's organisation took over the Brabazon workshops in Dublin and also a new London workshop opened that year, in Montpelier Street, Knightsbridge. A further workshop opened in Edinburgh in 1906. Disabled veterans made baskets, toys, beds and other furniture for sale, work which was seen as part of the psychological and physical therapy on offer.

The London workshops included a house for use as a 'sick bay' when disabled workers fell ill, offering nursing care and massage. A canteen for cheap, nourishing meals was provided. Lord Roberts remained very involved with the organisation, and after his death in 1914 the workshops were renamed 'Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops', and more were set up around the country. Another one in London opened in 1915 on Fulham Road and 1916 saw them established in Liverpool, Newcastle and Colchester, with Lancaster and Burnley following in 1917.

Princess Christian's Brookwood Homes and Workshops for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors at Bisley, Surrey, was also run by the SSHS as a complementary development. It offered both long-term care for single disabled veterans as well as rest and massage for men from the Lord Roberts Workshops. Planned in 1900, the Brookwood Homes complex consisted of two-storey blocks, offering the maximum ground-floor accomodation, with covered linking passages. Each block housed 16 men in twin rooms, with an attached service block for nursing and domestic staff. Covered ways also ran to the grand Recreation House in the centre, which contained the Commandant's lodgings as well as workshops and a large hall with stage.

Significantly, the whole development was funded by charitable giving. It was partly built with direct donations of labour and materials by British building firms raised through The Building Trades Gift charitable scheme. Cash came from society fundraising events with a strong theatrical focus which were patronised by Princess Christian. Performers included W.S. Gilbert and the D'Oyley Carte company, the entertainer Dan Leno, and the actors Beerbohm Tree and Ellen Terry. Individual beds in the Homes were endowed by Queen Victoria and members of the Royal Family, setting a pattern for others with social aspirations to follow. The land for the Homes was donated by Lord Pirbright, a financier and politician. The renowned theatre architect Edwin O. Sachs headed up the Building Trades Gift campaign and designed the complex.

The sheltered workshops and the pattern of charitable fundraising for disabled veterans' housing established during the Second Anglo-Boer War was to influence new schemes set up – often headed by the same society figures – when these were again needed a decade later.

3 The First World War, 1914-18

During the First World War about two million British men received disabling wounds but survived to go back to civilian life. In addition, large numbers contracted tuberculosis (TB) in the trenches, a disease which could not then be permanently cured but only slowed down through careful long-term treatment .

The need for support was vastly greater than following previous campaigns but the same approach towards enabling veterans to live independently, in a family where possible, can be seen in the response. At the time, a distinction was made between 'totally' disabled veterans, who would need lifelong nursing care in an institutional setting, and 'partially' disabled men who could lead an independent life. This was in line with the way in which service pensions were assessed depending on the degree of disability and how it was likely to affect future earning capacity. The proportional assessment of pension entitlement was very complex but partial disability could include the loss of one eye, loss of hearing, lung damage from poison gas or TB, the partial loss of one arm or leg or psychological damage. The last was then termed shell shock or war neurosis, and is today most commonly defined as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

The small number of servicemen who survived spinal injuries which resulted in total or lower body paralysis at this time were largely cared for in institutions. Until the discovery of sulphanilamide drugs to control secondary infections in 1935, paraplegic and quadraplegic veterans needed continuing medical care.

During and after the First World War there was still very limited understanding of the ways in which adaptations and aids could enable independent living. Prosthetic legs were being designed in new, lighter materials and St Dunstan's (founded in 1915; now Blind Veterans UK) provided training for servicemen who had lost their sight with the intention of getting men out and into civilian life. While some early motorised tricycles were available to mobility-impaired veterans, and road tax on these was reduced, transport like this did not become widespread until after 1945.

Personal wealth greatly affected the outcome and future life chances of disabled veterans. Sir Jack Benn Brunel Cohen KBE was wounded at the Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele) in 1917 and had both legs amputated above the knee. He went on to become an MP and to campaign for disabled veterans in Parliament, travelling internationally. He noted that wealthier disabled ex-officers like himself might pay privately for a custom-fitted prosthesis, a motorised wheelchair, a personal attendant, a lift and other aids in their home, and a car adapted to their needs.

3.1 Economic independence

Meanwhile, other disabled veterans were sometimes unable to leave institutions because their families did not have access to adequate housing. Unless as many as possible of these young men could be enabled to live independently and support their families, it was clear that their long-term future would be grim and the burden on the State enormous. The

Figures 4 (left)and 5 (right)
Cottages designed in 1921 by William Harding Thompson for Village Centres Ltd at Enham, Hampshire. The architect has designed housing in vernacular style; the terraced row (5) was originally thatched. This estate, now known as Enham-Alamein, was purchased during the war by the Village Centres Council for the care, housing and training of disabled veterans. King George V donated £100,000 towards housing in Enham. The Centre was opened by the Minister of Pensions in October 1919.

author John Galsworthy campaigned for the retraining of disabled veterans for the long term. In 1917 he wrote an article for the *War Pensions Gazette* warning 'We are all, soldiers included, inclined to forget in these roaring times of war the dour and dire struggle for existence that obtains in the so-called piping times of peace. Our pensions may be liberal, as pensions go, but they are not enough to live on – much less support a family...'

The issue of housing had to be linked to the pressing issue of earning a living. Could disabled men compete for work with returning, able-bodied soldiers after the war? Should they be provided with sheltered workshops instead? Could they provide food for their families by farming or working allotments? Should they pay rent for their housing? This was not only a practical but a moral issue, and thus many schemes for veterans' housing tried hard to provide means for disabled veterans to develop independence and self-respect through work.

Already in 1916, inspired by work going on in France and Italy, a group convened what later became the Village Centres Council, to ensure adequate care and training for disabled veterans being discharged from service. A country estate, Enham Place in Hampshire, was purchased to provide housing, rehabilitation and long-term employment for disabled servicemen. Enham Village Centre (now Enham Alamein), opened in 1919. Some men lived there for a short time, but others, known as 'settlers' remained with their families for life. Further cottages and bungalows designed by William Harding Thompson in a vernacular style were built there by Village Centres Cottages Ltd, established in 1921 (Figs 4-5). An emphasis on traditional, rural *Englishness* was a feature of many designs for veterans' housing at this time.

3.2 Segregated or protected housing

The leading landscape architect and town planner T.H.Mawson, whose book *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Villages for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors* (1917; Fig 6) set out the case for segregated veterans' villages, designed housing in a strongly Arts and Crafts regional vernacular, as at Westfield Memorial Village, Lancaster, from 1918. Through segregation, and the provision of sheltered workshops, Mawson wanted to protect disabled veterans from what he saw as 'the struggle on the part of the crippled man with those who are able-bodied'. Additionally, he argued for the health-giving effects of villages surrounded by green space[2].

One positive aspect of the segregationist approach was the dawning of the idea that architects could design for accessibility. Mawson's book includes a note arguing that 'Villages entirely designed for such uses would have the advantage over centres

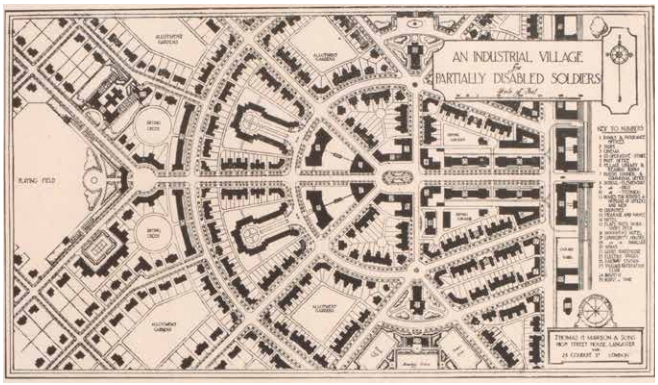


Figure 6
T.H. Mawson's ideal plan for a disabled veterans' village, from his book *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Villages for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors* (1917).
Courtesy of the RIBA

created in larger places, in allowing of special treatment to meet the peculiar circumstances of the case. Thus, all public buildings, religious and secular, would be contrived with broadened doorways, aisles and gangways for the accomodation of bath-chairs and wheeled litters.' However, this vision did not go beyond the design of public spaces specifically for disabled veterans' settlements and, it must be said, Mawson's own designs for domestic housing at Westfield show no awareness of access issues (Figs 7-8).

3.3 Tuberculosis settlements

A rather similar model to Mawson's was used for the villages created to isolate veterans with TB which followed the report to Parliament on TB in the armed forces by the Barlow Committee, which was set up in 1919. It was found that about 55,000 servicemen had contracted the disease while in the Forces and about the same number after discharge. The Barlow Committee recommended that the Government should spend a million pounds to set up village settlements to provide good housing for the men and their families, as well as industries in which they could work. The argument for such village settlements was two-fold. Society needed to be protected from carriers of the infectious disease. At the same time, the best hope for infected men was to live, with their family if possible, in a place with fresh air, medical support and sheltered employment

Figures 7 (left) and 8 (right)
Cottages on Haig Avenue at Westfield Memorial Village, Lancaster, amongst the 21 dating to the mid-1920s. T.H. Mawson established the general outlines and aesthetic for this development but detailed design was probably completed by his office. Right: Detail of Herbert Storey Cottage, one of the first built at Westfield Memorial Village, Lancaster. Thought to have been a design by T.H. Mawson personally, it refers back to earlier architectural traditions in the north-west. The cottage was donated in thanks for the safe return from the war of the benefactor's son. Herbert Storey, a local manufacturer, also donated the land for the village and employed some of the disabled veterans.
Both images © Rachel Hasted

suited to their physical capabilities. The model for this approach was the innovative Papworth settlement near Cambridge. This had been run from 1916 by Dr PC Varrier Jones, combining healthy country housing with medically supervised work in sheltered industries.

The British Legion, established in 1921 as a united body by several ex-servicemen's organisations, campaigned for the implementation of the Barlow Committee report's recommendations, but by 1925 only £20,000 had been voted by Parliament

Figure 9 (above)
Bungalow, 1923, at Preston Hall British Legion Village near Maidstone designed for veterans with tuberculosis. The verandah provides sheltered access to the fresh air, considered important in treatment at that time.

Figure 10 (top right)
Detail of donors' plaque on the Preston Hall bungalow. The Empress Club was a prestigious London women's club whose members included the Princess Sophia Duleep Singh. The Princess was an active Suffragette before the war and one of many such campaigners who became involved in fundraising for wounded and disabled veterans.
Both images © Rickedo on Wikipedia

for this purpose. By then just one small colony had been established, jointly by the Order of St John and the British Red Cross, in 1920 at the Barrowmore Hall estate near Chester which was donated by the owners. The British Legion decided to take action, and in 1925 accepted responsibility for a failing industrial settlement, set up for servicemen with TB during the war by a small charity, at Preston Hall, near Maidstone, Kent. Dr Varrier Jones of Papworth agreed to direct the medical side of the new settlement and the Legion was able to build additional hostel accomodation for single men and houses for families wishing to become 'settlers' there with grant aid from the Ministry of Health (Figs 9-10).

3.4 Colonies and small-holdings

There was a strong current of opinion during the war years that when peace came ex-servicemen should be encouraged to settle on the land and farm it. Clean air was vital to men who had been gassed and to those with TB. Men with PTSD were also considered to benefit from quiet, manual work and contact with nature.

Parliament passed The Small Holding Colonies Act 1916 to allow the State to acquire land on which to resettle experienced farmers and labourers after service. In 1916 an enabling Act was also passed to allow the State to accept the donation of an entire estate, at Bosbury in Herefordshire, as a permanent memorial to the son of the owner. Alan Buchanan had died on the Western Front and his father gave this estate to the Board of Agriculture to become a small holding colony for ex-servicemen. Organisations such as the Officers' Farming Association and the Ex-Service Men's and Women's Land League were set up to help veterans to train and take up land in this way. The movement was promoted by The Disabled Society in their *Handbook for the Limbless* as possibly suitable for disabled veterans. Poultry farming was taught at several training centres for disabled veterans.

In 1917 the architect T.H. Mawson published *Afforestation and the Partially Disabled*, the second of two books on disabled veterans' issues he brought out that year, advocating rural settlements placed not too far from towns for 'partially disabled' veterans. 'We must', he wrote (page 32), 'aim at attaining the life of an ordinary English village stripped of its isolation and monotony but retaining and intensifying the attributes of happy family life, neighbourliness, mutual social sympathy and true liberty.'

The influence of the Garden Cities movement and the development of professional town planning is clear in Mawson's vision, which included 'clubs, bowling greens, the village institute and the rest.'. Mawson described himself as a 'landscape architect' and taught at the first British Town Planning and Civic Design department, at Liverpool University, from its inception in 1909. He was a founder member of the Town Planning Institute along with Raymond Unwin, the architect of Letchworth Garden City and influential planner of wartime munitions villages such as Gretna (Dumfries and Galloway) (1915-16).

Several other developments for disabled veterans at this period show the influence of this new movement. One, by the Housing Association for Officers' Families (HAOF), Southwood Court, Bigwood Road, (London Borough of Barnet), was actually built for the charity by Co-partnership Tenants Ltd at Hampstead Garden Suburb on land leased to HAOF. It was designed by John C.S. Soutar, official architect of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust in around 1918, and was built and fully occupied by 1920. When the major housing development at Morden, Surrey, by HAOF and Haig Memorial Homes (see page 16) was being planned in 1929, the HAOF annual report noted: '...Morden village will be in fact a model garden city, self-contained and separate from the adjoining localities...'.

Alongside influences from the Garden Cities movement came ones from the Arts & Crafts movement, as can be seen in some of the projects set up by individuals for disabled veterans. In 1923 Annie Bindon Carter set up Painted Fabrics Ltd of Sheffield to employ amputees to manufacture art fabrics, while Ashtead Pottery (Surrey), also

set up in 1923, trained veterans as art potters. The Disabled Officers Garden Homes, Macdonnell Gardens, Watford, opened in 1932, provided looms for residents' wives to weave homespun textiles.

The debate between those who favoured building new veterans' villages on green field sites and those who wanted to integrate veterans' housing into existing urban communities led to a range of different building types being tried. On the whole, developments within easy reach of a town tended to fare better. Most of the cottage industries envisaged in early plans did not prove practical.

By the end of the war the numbers recruited to farming remained very small, and so The Land Settlement (Facilities) Act 1919 was passed, enabling County Councils to compulsorily purchase land which could be leased as smallholdings to veterans with no previous experience of farming. The plots were large enough for veterans to raise pigs and chickens, but it is not clear that they could be used for building. Leaseholders would have the right to buy their smallholding from the council later, if they could afford it.

An important influence in this 'back to the land' movement was Lawrence Weaver, Architectural Editor of *Country Life* magazine from 1910, Honorary Treasurer of the Housing Association for Officers's Families (established 1916), and later the driving force behind Ashtead Pottery (above). Weaver was co-opted into the the Ministry of Food Production and later the Ministry of Agriculture, where he was made responsible for smallholding and land settlement schemes. He gathered around himself a group of architects he had known before the war, now all ex-soldiers, including Maxwell Ayrton, Oswald Milne, Hugh Maule and Clough Williams-Ellis, and set about designing houses for the smallholders. He managed to get some farm colonies set up but government enthusiasm waned in the post-war period. Shortly after the inception of Douglas Haig Memorial Homes, Weaver was invited to be a Trustee. His views on architecture had a widespread impact on the design of veterans' housing and his 'little band of ex-soldier architects', as Williams-Ellis called them in his memorial tribute to Weaver, followed Weaver into this work.

An interesting example of the cross-over between Weaver's different interests is the Howes Place development, in Huntingdon Road, Cambridge, built in 1920 for HAOF on land leased from the National Institute of Agricultural Botany (NIAB). Weaver founded NIAB in 1919 when Commercial Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Fourteen houses were built here for HAOF, some with bedrooms on the ground floor for mobility-impaired officers. Many of the workforce recruited for NIAB were ex-Servicemen, including a good proportion with disabilities. In the same year, HAOF also built cottages designed by Ernest Gordon Ross Downer to be occupied by blinded officers on land at Hinksey Hill, near Oxford, partially financed by the National Institute for the Blind (known as St Dunstan's, and now Blind Veterans UK).

3.5 Integrated urban housing

Other disabled veterans' housing developments firmly rejected the isolationist or rural model. Sir Oswald Stoll's 'War Seal Mansions, Fulham, (begun 1917), was emphatically urban. It provided mansion flats with built-in healthcare services opposite a Lord Roberts Workshop.

The Poppy Factory, originally established by The Disabled Society in 1922 to make poppies for the second British Legion poppy appeal and staffed entirely by disabled ex-servicemen, moved from the Old Kent Road in the heart of working class South London to new premises on land in leafier Richmond in 1925. Aided by the Legion, this move made it possible to build flats to house the most severely disabled workers close to the factory. 'It was not desired to seclude the men in the heart of the country', reported the *British Legion Journal* (June 1925, p. 403). The Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone for Howson Terrace, 40-126 Petersham Road, Richmond in 1926. The brick terrace is in a rather severe Arts and Crafts style with reliefs on the facade showing poppy wreaths. The brickwork and mortar are of poor quality,

probably indicative of the post-war shortages of material and labour (Figs 11-12).

The terrace provided flats with one, two or three bedrooms on two floors, the larger flats being needed because the Poppy Factory sought to employ men with dependents. Workers had to be assessed as at least 80 per cent disabled but were expected to cope without special adaptations. A residents' bowling green and washing lines for the upstairs flats were provided, but there were no bathrooms or lifts. Subsequently other two storey-blocks were added behind the terrace, some bearing donation plaques including one from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). In 1929, Princess Mary laid the foundation stone for a further block of flats facing onto Richmond Hill (nos. 45-67). This bears a plaque showing a hand holding up a Cross of Remembrance with poppies and also a carved lion's head, symbol of the British Legion.

Figure 11 (above)
Howson Terrace, Petersham Road, Richmond, Surrey built 1926 showing the Poppy Factory workers' flats on three floors and an access staircase. The development is named after Major George Howson MC (1886-1936), an engineer who served on the Western front, who founded the Disabled Society to help disabled veterans and set up the Poppy Factory.

Figure 12 (top right)
Poppy wreath relief on the facade of Howson Terrace, Richmond, built as workers' housing for The Poppy Factory next door. All the factory's workers had to be assessed as at least 80 per cent disabled, so many could not travel far to work.

4 The Inter-War Period

4.1 Local and central government response

After the First World War came to an end, there was no specific government plan for the long-term housing of disabled veterans. The Housing and Town Planning Act in 1919 (known as the Addison Act) which set out, for the first time, to meet the huge demand for social housing through local authority direct provision, did not identify the specific needs of disabled ex-servicemen. Some local authorities, such as Bristol, did prioritise housing applications from ex-servicemen and their families generally, but as far as is known, nowhere was additional priority given to disabled veterans as a group through general council housing provision at this time. In the 1920s, government subsidies for house building became available from which some charitable veterans' housing schemes did benefit, but these were general measures aimed at the national housing crisis. First the Chamberlain Housing Act (1923) provided a lump sum subsidy to private builders. Then, under the Wheatley Housing Act (1924), a new, longer-term, annual subsidy payable to local authorities for new social housing was introduced: in all, some 508,000 homes were built as a direct result.

Figures 13 (top), 14 (middle) and 15 (bottom)
Top: The entrance gate to the North Memorial Homes, Leicester with commemorative plaque. Lychgates like this, usually found at the entrance to a churchyard, were popular forms of war memorial after the First World War. They refer back to old church traditions for burial of the dead in sanctified ground and therefore powerfully mark the memorial function of the veterans' housing.

Middle: The North Memorial Homes, Stoughton Road, Oadby,Leicester designed by T. Trevor Sawday and opened in 1927. Houses in vernacular revival style are postioned around three sides of a green on a sheltered site at the edge of the city.
Bottom: The Memorial Hall at the North Homes, Leicester occupies the fourth side of the green. It is designed in a formal Neo-Georgian style contrasting with the housing and features a wreath ornament above the central doorway. Community buildings such as this often featured in larger veterans' housing developments of the period.

Some local authorities had already taken action, as at Leicester where the Lord Mayor's Fund, set up during the war to raise £100,000 to supplement the council's ability to care for returning veterans, was partly spent on building the North Memorial Homes (Figs 13-15). Designed by T. Trevor Sawday and opened in 1927 in a landscaped setting which looked back to T.H.Mawson's work, these comprised two-storey brick houses in a mildly Arts and Crafts style grouped around a central green with a neo-classical community hall on the fourth side.

4.2 Housing provided by war charities and voluntary organisations

In the absence of a national plan for housing disabled veterans, large number of voluntary groups came forward to tackle the issue in different areas of the country, sometimes with finance or land contributed by local authorities.

Large-scale civilian building projects had not been possible during the First World War when access to materials and labour were restricted by the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA), and shortages continued for several years afterwards. Evidence of this, noted above in relation to Howson Terrace in Richmond, can still be seen in some of the brickwork at the Douglas Haig Memorial Homes (now Haig Housing) estate, Morden (London Borough of Merton) where very thick and uneven pointing was the result of building by apprentice labourers. As an immediate step to tackle the problem some charities started taking over existing properties, whether individual houses or blocks of flats, and renting them out to veterans. Of course, these were not ideal for the access needs of disabled men and anyway were in short supply.

Much of the purpose-built housing for disabled veterans of the First World War was funded by public subscription, as after the South African war. Fund-raising was often led by prominent actors or theatre impresarios such as Sir Oswald Stoll (Figs 16-17), or through regimental collections. The 'Golden Ballot' lottery for war charities set up by the actress Mrs Hilda Leyell was an important source of funding for Westfield Memorial Village,

Figures 16 (top) and 17 (bottom)
Top: War Seal Mansions, Fulham Road, London started in 1917 and completed 1923. Built for disabled veterans by theatre and cinema impresario Sir Oswald Stoll (who also built and owned the London Coliseum), this large block of flats on three sides of a central garden square contained on-site medical and rehabilitation treatment facilities for the tenants. Bottom: Detail of the mosaic War Seal emblem from the facade of War Seal Mansions. Stoll raised funds partly from the sale of halfpenny 'War Seal' tokens at his cinemas and theatres during the war years.

Lancaster – overthrowing, as it did, previous legislation banning lotteries completely. Seven million children across the British Empire were encouraged to donate pocket money to a fund in memory of the war's youngest VC, 16-year-old

Figure 18
Twelve houses for disabled veterans at one of the British Legion's larger sites, Legion Crescent, Rothwell Road, Kettering, Northamptonshire. The foundation stone was laid in 1928 by the Duke of Buccleugh who donated the land.

John Travers Cornwell, who in June 1916 died of wounds received at the Battle of Jutland, where he remained at his post in a gun turret on board HMS *Chester* after the rest of the crew had been killed. Part of the £18,000 raised was used to create six memorial cottage homes for disabled sailors and Royal Marines at Hornchurch, Essex, which were completed in 1928.

Industrialists who had supplied the armed forces in the war, such as tobacco dealers or boot manufacturers, gave prominent support to charitable housing schemes for disabled veterans. Society ladies had also taken a leading role in war charities and one, Mrs Willie James, had set up the Housing Association for Officers' Families (HAOF) in 1916 to help the widows and children of officers who died or were disabled in the war. As the name suggests, HAOF did not extend its help to the families of rank and file soldiers.

The British Legion concerned itself with the issue of housing for ordinary servicemen from its very first 'Unity' Conference in May 1921, and along with pensions and employment it remained one of the biggest issues on which the Legion campaigned. By 1925 delegates to conference were discussing whether the Legion should itself become a housing provider. The scheme which emerged (under architects Douglas Wood and A. Lloyd Thomas) set out to build 12 houses in each Legion Area of the country, 'each containing three bedrooms, sitting room, bathroom and kitchen', at a low rent, for very disabled veterans who could not afford other housing to suit their needs (Fig 18). The downstairs bathroom, as here, became a standard feature in many such developments at the time.

The programme was affordable as the Legion was able to attract the government Housing Subsidy for it, with land mainly donated to the Legion by individuals, local authorities and businesses.

The 1926-7 Annual Report featured a photograph of three new pairs of semi-detached houses at Felixstowe (Suffolk), headlined 'The Legion's New Housing Scheme'.By 1930, 134 houses had been built and the Scheme was closed. It was a small contribution in the face of very great need, but it showed that something could be done. The Legion's new President and long-serving committee member, Lieutenant Colonel G.R. Crosfield, CBE, DSO, TD, himself disabled in the war, now became a Trustee of a new national organisation which was just beginning to tackle the veterans' housing issue on a much bigger scale.

4.3 The Douglas Haig Memorial Homes Trust

This Trust, which in time became the largest national voluntary organisation providing housing for disabled veterans and their families, was set up in 1929 as a memorial to Field Marshal Earl Haig who had died the previous year. Earl Haig (1861-1928) was commander of the British Expeditionary Forces on the Western Front from 1915 until the end of the First World War. He had been deeply involved in work to support war veterans, and this was seen as his legacy. Athough in the terms of the trust deed, Haig Homes, as it was then known, was able to house officers, it worked closely with The Housing Association for Officers' Families – sharing an administrative staff and some Trustees – and concentrated on providing accommodation for other ranks, leaving the officers to be housed by HAOF.

The new organisation was able to benefit from the experience of Sir Lawrence Weaver, one of the founder Trustees of HAOF. Architectural Editor of *Country Life* from 1910, Weaver had, with his wife Lady Kathleen Purcell, already set up Ashtead Potters in Surrey as a personal project to train and employ disabled veterans. The pottery was set up from1923 with the involvement of architect Clough Williams-Ellis. Weaver later had the associated housing for his workers at Purcell's Close, Ashtead, built on land purchased by HAOF and let to Ashtead Potters Housing Ltd, Weaver's company (Figs 19-20). In 1928 the pottery closed and the housing was taken over by the newly-formed Douglas Haig Memorial Homes. Weaver's influence on the development of disabled veterans' housing was thus both practical and widespread. His existing contacts with ex-soldier architects (like Williams-Ellis) were influential in the commissioning of new housing of this kind.

Figures 19 and 20
Purcell Close, Ashtead, Surrey built in 1926-7 as workers' housing for Sir Lawrence Weaver and his wife Lady Kathleen Purcell who founded Ashtead Potters to employ disabled war veterans.

Right: Commemorative lamp standard on the green at Purcell Close, Ashtead.

Weaver's advice to Haig Homes was that most of the proposed housing should be built in Greater London and larger urban centres, where demand was highest. He saw 12 homes as the practical minimum at any site for future administration, and advised that residents should be charged rent. It was crucial to plan for employment in the neighbourhood selected. These views were very influential.

The charity decided early on that its official architects should, where possible, be ex-servicemen and they included the disabled veterans George Grey Wornum and Louis de Soissons. The Honorary Consulting Architect was Major HPG Maule DSO, MC of Forsyth & Maule. In line with this approach to supporting ex-servicemen, the sheltered workshops of the British Legion village at Preston Hall were always given an opportunity to tender for joinery contracts while Ashtead Potters Ltd supplied black glazed tiles for window sills and skirtings and the Earl Haig memorial ceramic plaques attached to the exterior of the Haig Homes. The plaque was designed by C. d'Orville Pilkington Jackson and then made by disabled veteran sculptor Percy Metcalf.

Grey Wornum designed some of the earliest housing commissioned by Haig Homes, such as Ogden Close, Muirhead Avenue, Liverpool in 1929 funded by a donation from Thomas Ogden of the Imperial Tobacco Company. A second Ogden donation enabled the building of Ogden Place, Sheffield, also in 1929. In each case Grey Wornum was assisted by a local firm of architects which supervised works on site. On other sites designs were commissioned from local architects, such as WL Newton at Westbury Park, Bristol, and H Duncan Hendry at Ashtead. Grey Wornum's largest development for Haig Homes was the extensive estate at Green Lane, Morden, on land donated by the London County Council (Figs 21-2).

Figures 21 and 22
Housing built for the Douglas Haig Memorial Homes charity at Haig Place, Morden, Surrey in 1932. The architects were veterans themselves: George Grey Wornum and Louis de Soissons.
© Anna MacLeod (Haig Housing).
Right: Commemorative plaque with portrait of Field Marshal Douglas Haig, 1st Earl of Bemersyde from the Haig Homes Morden estate. Designed by C. d'Orville Pilkington Jackson and then made by disabled veteran sculptor Percy Metcalf, these plaques were supplied by Ashtead Potters. Copies were placed on many Haig Homes estates.
© Rachel Hasted

Figure 23
The memorial archway entrance to the Battle of Gheluvelt Homes and park, Worcester (1920). The development was named in memory of an engagement during the First Battle of Ypres in October 1914 in which the Worcestershire Regiment secured victory for British forces at great cost.

Figure 24
Housing at Battle of Gheluvelt Homes, Worcester. The park and associated 12 houses for disabled veterans was designed and laid out by local architect Alfred Hill Parker 1919-24 on land purchased by Worcester City Council.

This large and impressive development, part of the Upper Morden conservation area, was sited across the road from an equally grand development by HAOF. It is on a scale later associated with local government social housing, although with a quality of architectural grace and landscape design rare in most social housing. The design principles include generous interiors and large areas of surrounding, well-tended, green open space. With this estate, built by a national housing body, the concept of disabled veterans' housing began to move away from individual, local charitable endeavour, carrying the particular imposed values of the patrons.

4.4 Veterans' housing as war memorials

The emphasis, so strong after the First World War, on memorialising the war dead in ways that would promote the welfare of the living, including building good housing for disabled veterans, is perpetuated in the many memorial statues, plaques, gateways and flagpoles around which such housing often clusters. In the case of Worcester (Figs 23-4), the council placed its 1917 fundraising campaign prize tank *Julian* in the middle of the Battle of Gheluvelt Homes development (elements listed Grade II) as a memorial, where it stood until scrapped in the Second World War. Individual homes, as well as whole developments, were often named after battles or wars in which a regiment had taken part. Sometimes individual donors wanted houses named after their fallen family members, as had happened after the Anglo-Boer War. This was in line with the Services' tradition of naming barracks and depots and emphasised the on-going links between veterans and their units which continues today. However, being asked to act as a living war memorial did, on occasion, lead to friction between residents and managing committees over estate regulations.

5 The Second World War, 1939-45

According to Sir Brunel Cohen, writing in 1956, the total civilian casualties in Britain during the Second World War were somewhat under 50,000, while 227,090 service men and women returned to Britain wounded. The old concept of the armed services protecting civilians on the home front had been changed for ever by aerial bombing. Also, for the first time, women had been in the front line of defence and sustained similar injuries to servicemen. The Merchant Navy and fishing fleets had kept Britain fed while miners had ensured essential coal supplies during the war, both at a great price in deaths and injuries. The distinction between uniformed services and other essential war work could no longer be made, and all those disabled by their service needed to be acknowledged.

The treatment of veterans who had contracted tuberculosis shows this great social change. In 1944 the British Legion purchased the East Anglian Sanatorium, Nayland, Suffolk, founded in 1899 by Dr Jane Walker to provide fresh air treatment for TB patients.The sanatorium (now the Jane Walker Hospital; listed Grade II) was used in the First World War for the treatment of servicemen with TB but was now dedicated to treating ex-service women. The combined sites at Preston Hall and Nayland were now known as The British Legion Village and shared staff. The hospital side of this care was taken over by the NHS in 1948 and the discovery of streptomycin, which cured TB, led to the closure of all sanatoria in England in 1959.

With the passing of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944, which set a quota of disabled employees for firms with more than 20 staff, and provided sheltered workshops and training, there was an emphasis on making it possible for disabled adults to go out to work. Notably, the Act made no distinction between disabled ex-service personnel and civilians in eligibility for support although, informally, some preference was still given to disabled veterans and there were a few reserved occupations such as lift attendant.

5.1 Accessible housing after 1945

After the Second World War, when further advances in medicine led to improved survival rates for those with spinal injuries, there was a need for more housing which would enable wheelchair users to live independently. The British Legion worked closely with Dr Ludwig Guttman at Stoke Mandeville Hospital (Buckinghamshire) to help patients and their families adapt to home life after hospital treatment. The Legion bought a house in Aylesbury, near the hospital, and converted it into a number of flats where families could learn together how they could best manage at home. At the same time, the Legion provided grants to adapt homes, widening doorways, building bathrooms and lavatories on the ground floor, making accessible entrances and garages for mobility vehicles.

Work to develop design for accessible living space in other countries proved influential. The American Institute of Architects worked with the American Red Cross and paralysed veterans

to create adapted housing units in the 1940s. Their findings were published in *Progressive Architecture* in 1947 and blueprints for the designs were available on request. Books by leaders of the international Rehabilitation movement such as Professor Howard A Rusk at the Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University, provided further practical guidance based on testing designs in use. Rusk's *Living with a Disability* (1953) gives floorplans and photographs demonstrating all aspects of physical accessibility in home life. It was recommended in the British magazine *Rehabilitation*.

By 1944 the Ministries of Health, Labour and Pensions were already having discussions with the War Office about establishing a hostel specifically designed for the training and resettlement of paraplegic men. Originally this was intended solely for war pensioners, but by the time it opened it could admit any paraplegic man who could benefit. A key aim was to promote employment amongst disabled men by providing living accomodation close to a centre of light industry where suitable work was available. Recruitment was managed through Labour Exchanges.

Isleworth (London Borough of Hounslow), near a concentration of factories, was selected as the site of the hostel, and Duchess of Gloucester House was opened in 1949. It demonstrated all the accessible design features recommended by the Rehabilitation movement. It had a single storey with level access and corridors wide enough for two wheelchairs to pass. All doorways were extra wide and featured sliding doors that could be opened and shut 'at the touch of a finger'. All bathrooms were equipped to allow residents to use them without assistance. Garage accomodation for the men's motor tricycles and cars were integral to the design and featured lifting rings to enable independent movement between chair and car.

There were no institutional rules at Isleworth and accessible kitchens were provided so that residents could cook for themselves as well as using the dining room. However, sleeping spaces were all dormitories or twin-bedded rooms; no families were allowed.

Men who married were encouraged to move out to the Kytes Settlement, Watford (Hertfordshire), where a series of bungalows designed by architects Norman and Dawbarn had been created as 'accomodation for employment', built and managed by a charity. These were designed with level access, wide doorways and adapted bathrooms. The charity was rigidly opposed to 'sheltered employment' and encouraged its ex-service tenants to find work in local mainstream industries. All Kytes' tenants were expected to pay rent. The charity argued that if tenants did not have to waste energy struggling to cope with inaccessible accomodation, they would be perfectly able to compete in mainstream jobs.

Kytes was made possible by charitable funding from the Red Cross and the Order of St John, as was the slightly earlier, more traditional, development at Lyme Green Hall settlement, near Macclesfield, Cheshire. Looking back to the experience of running Barrowmore TB settlement in the region after the First World War, the charities converted the original Hall to house single paraplegic men with 29 bungalows being built in the grounds for married men. Medical support staff were available on site and sheltered workshops provided employment. 'Settlers' arrived from 1946.

Many paraplegic women remained stuck in institutions for lack of alternative accomodation or support. In 1948 a residential centre was established for women wheelchair users at 'Woodlarks', Farnham, Surrey, where women from anywhere in the country could come to live a semi-independent life in a hostel, making toys in a sheltered workshop.

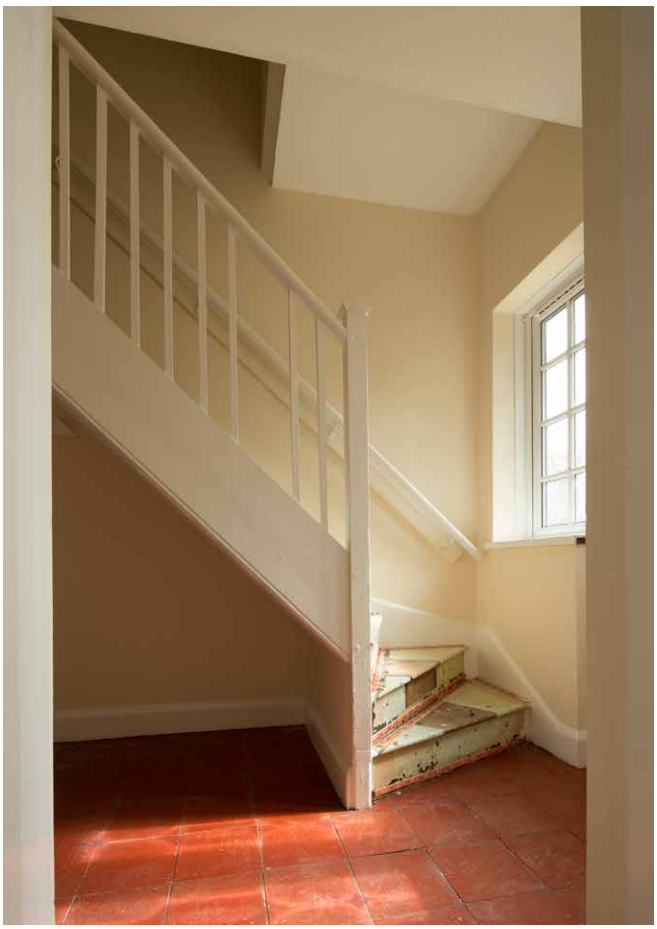
The introduction of the Welfare State, from 1948, saw more intervention by government, but voluntary organisations remained very important. Some disabled veterans received adapted cars from the State and new housing with attached garages, wheelchair battery charging spaces and covered passageways were constructed.

In general, level access and external ramps started to be more routinely considered by architects, while interiors might have extra-wide doors to accomodate wheelchairs and other adaptations.

A good example of these developments can be seen in the two disabled veterans' housing projects designed by architect Cecil Upcher for the Royal Norfolk Regiment at Sprowston, outside Norwich (Figs 25-6). The first row of two-storey cottages, opened in 1921, had ground-floor bathrooms but few other concessions to accessibility. Following the Second World War, the regiment consulted with existing disabled residents on what form additional housing should take. As a result, Upcher designed the fine curving row of single-storey accomodation which opened in 1951 (Listed Grade II; Fig 27) with very wide doorways and corridors, ramped access and attached garages. This innovative example of consultation with disabled people was visited and copied by other architects, such as Gertrude Leverkus when in 1956 she was designing the Dagenham Memorial Bungalows (London Borough of Barking and Dagenham) for paraplegic veterans.

5.2 Memorial housing after the Second World War

Individual regiments, services and cities once again sought to create memorials to the war dead



Figures 25-27
Top left: Exterior of Upcher's two-storey cottages at Sprowston near Norwich, 1921.
Below left: Single-storey curved terrace designed by Cecil Upcher for the Royal Norfolk Regiment after the Second World War and built adjacent to the First World War cottages at Sprowston, 1951. Following consultation with existing residents, the design tackles accessibility issues with flair.
Right: The staircase design in Cecil Upcher's two-storey cottages for disabled veterans of the Royal Norfolk Regiment, 1921, takes no account of the needs of men with mobility impairments.

Figures 28 (left) and 29 (right)
Facade of the Bournemouth War Memorial Homes looking onto the memorial garden in front. Designed by John Burton immediately after the Second World War, with more recent adaptations to the entrance.

Right: Design detail of rear gateway to gardens, Bournemouth War Memorial Homes, reflecting a style more associated with veterans' housing of the inter-war years.

that would be of benefit to survivors. Sometimes, the funding came as a mark of thanks from other countries. The Merchant Seamen's War Memorial Society, set up in 1920 to provide a convalescent home for sick and disabled seamen, received a very large donation from South Africa to set up the permanent Springbok village at Sachel Court, Alfold, Surrey, on a site it was already leasing. From 1947, this provided training in horticulture and farming for ex-seamen as well as long-term sheltered housing in a range of bungalows and flats. The village at Enham (above) was re-named Enham-Alamein in recognition of a major donation from Egypt.

Fundraising for the Bournemouth War Memorial Homes (Figs 28-9) began before the war ended when the local authority set up a committee to plan for the return of disabled armed services veterans. The foundation stone of the Homes was laid in 1946 on a site at Castle Lane West given by donors, and a charity to run the Homes was set up in 1947 with strong involvement from the council. The site offers 50 flats, bungalows and houses designed by Borough Architect John Burton who visited the Haig Homes site at Bristol for inspiration. Original plans for only a small number of accessible bungalows had to be increased when demand for these far outstripped supply.

Lytham St Annes Borough Memorial Homes in Lancashire were commissioned from local architect Tom Mellor in 1947 and continue the tradition of linking memorial housing to local vernacular styles. Mellor used cobble facing for the small oval chapel (Fig 30) at the front of the development which holds the book of remembrance of all those from the borough who gave their lives in the Second World War. The Homes were opened in 1950, by which time Mellor was working with Hugh Casson on the Festival of Britain.

The Royal Artillery had collected funds to create its famous regimental memorial (Listed Grade I) at London's Hyde Park Corner after the First World War. It was felt that a more practical memorial to the fallen of the Second World War would be housing for disabled survivors, widows and families. All serving Gunners contributed one day's pay towards the project. Instead of trying to run the project themselves, as regiments had done in the past, the Gunners worked with Haig Homes to provide 18 groups of homes around the UK which Haig continues to manage. The largest estate is at Artillery Place, Harrow Weald (London Borough of Harrow), designed by FN Sanders, which opened in 1950 (Fig 31). Six of the 24 houses here were specially designed for veterans with severe mobility impairments. Garages and adapted cars were provided by the Ministry of Pensions.

Figure 30
The memorial chapel at Lytham St Annes Borough Memorial Homes, Clifton Gardens designed by Tom Mellor from 1947. The cobbled facing revives an earlier regional style.

Figure 31
Royal Artillery Memorial Fund Housing at Artillery Place, Harrow Weald designed by F.N.Saunders 1950.
Courtesy of Anna MacLeod (Haig Housing)

Similar partnerships between Haig, the British Legion, Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund and the Corps of Royal Engineers produced Haig Homes estates dedicated to housing veterans from these organisations. These are often individually marked by identifying plaques.

The Derby War Memorial Village, completed in 1955, was described as 'A model village for the disabled' on its foundation stone. It was the result of a local fundraising drive led by the Rotary Club, inspired by one member who knew Mawson's Westfield Memorial Village in Lancaster and follows a similar design, with bungalows and houses grouped around a central green.
The Derby village was built on 20 acres of land made available by the city council and run as a charity. Priority for allocation of the 48 original homes was given to disabled war veterans, with those injured in industry taking up the remainder.

Accomodation ranged from small bungalows to two-storey family homes and flats (now demolished). The building is in brick with steep tiled roofs and projecting concrete door and window cases. The original windows and french doors had metal frames but these have now been replaced. Generous grounds and gardens were provided although a planned bowling green and social club were never built. All the housing had level access from the road and was designed with attached garages suitable for adapted vehicles. There is some evidence of wider doorways and halls suitable for wheelchair users, and raised flower beds were provided from the start. Several of the houses bear plaques commemorating donations including ones from local firms such as Rolls Royce, but also Derby cricketers.

6 The Period Since 1945

Demand for specially adapted housing from veterans of the Second World War continued to outstrip supply for some years after the end of hostilities. Building supplies were difficult to acquire and the new estates took time to build. In the following years, war in Korea (1950-3) and the Falklands Islands (1982), as well as military deployment in Malaysia, Cyprus, Northern Ireland and elsewhere, brought further casualties. Additional housing was added to existing estates from time to time.

Some of the smaller charities established to manage memorial housing for disabled veterans throughout the twentieth century have gradually become absorbed into larger organisations as the work of management and maintenance became more demanding or regiments were amalgamated. As a result, Haig Housing has become the largest provider of housing for disabled veterans.

6.1 Current provision

The need for suitable accomodation and support for disabled service men and women throughout their lives is still pressing. The Gulf War (1990-1) and subsequent conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have left service men and women with life-changing injuries which bring special housing needs. In some cases, it may now be more helpful to adapt the existing home than to move an entire family to a purpose-built estate. Haig Housing now offer 'shared ownership' schemes for properties in an appropriate location, as well as traditional estate tenancies.

Meanwhile, improvements in aids for independent living mean that existing housing stock may need to be altered and upgraded. This has consequences too for the modification of earlier

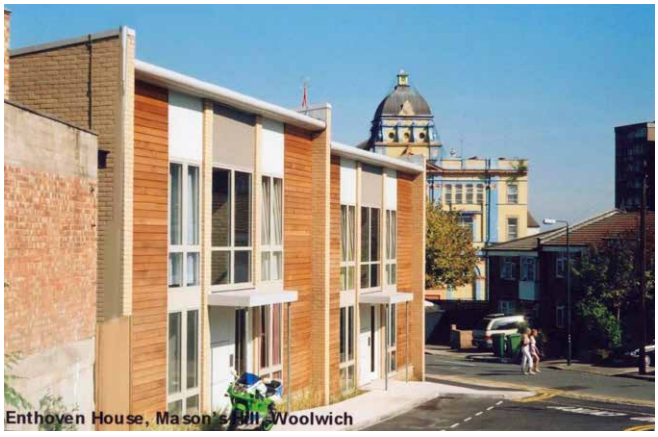


Figure 32
Enthoven House, Woolwich for Haig Homes, 1998. Designed by Mike Phillips at Knight Phillips to meet the needs of single ex-servicemen at risk of homelessness. Courtesy of Anna MacLeod (Haig Housing)

Figure 33
Countess of Wessex House, Hounslow. Designed by Living-Architects for Stoll, 2014 to provide integrated housing and facilities for disabled and non-disabled veterans. Courtesy of Living-Architects

buildings, which can be too altered for listing to be appropriate. Improvements to the living quarters of the earliest military hospital of all, at Chelsea, show that this can be undertaken sympathetically. Parking has become an issue at many older estates, not designed for an age in which so many disabled people rely on the car. Some unsuitable historic properties have been sold or rented out by veterans' housing bodies to generate an income for investment elsewhere.

New homes continue to be designed for the different needs of disabled veterans. A 1995 government White Paper identified that approximately 25 per cent of 'rough sleepers' on the streets were veterans of the armed services. The problem was most acute in London. Urban accomodation for single people, such as Enthoven House, Woolwich (Fig 32), built by Haig Homes in 1998 (architect Mike Phillips of Knight Phillips), was part of a successful response to that problem by the Confederation of British Service and Ex-Service Organisations (COBSEO). This brought together a range of bodies to tackle housing,mental health and social issues for veterans in a joined-up way. By 2014 'rough sleepers' from a service background had fallen to about 6 per cent.

As life expectancy has continued to grow, housing organisations have faced an increasing need for properties suitable for veterans facing age-related disability. The commitment to housing the partners and dependents of veterans for their lifetimes has also meant further demand for smaller properties. This has led to the division of some larger, often older, properties into smaller flats with modernised interiors and services, sometimes including additional lift access.

The Countess of Wessex House, Hounslow, designed for Stoll by Living-Architects and opened 2014 (Fig 33), is an example of the continuing trend to create a mix of accessible family accomodation together with flats for smaller households and single people. The scheme offers 36 homes on three floors, including three flats especially adapted for disabled tenants. The on-site community room, IT and training suites and landscaped surroundings are all designed to be wheelchair accessible.

In 2014, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that £40 million from the fines levied on banks for attempting to manipulate the London Interbank Offered Rate (LIBOR) would go to a Veterans' Accomodation Fund in support of the Government's Armed Services Covenant. This funding will help to provide a new generation of housing for disabled veterans.

7 Further Reading

For a general overview of disabled people's lives in England over the last 1,000 years, and for the buildings associated with disabled people, see: English Heritage 'Disability in Time and Place' web resource: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/disability-history/1914-1945/war/

Specific research on disabled veterans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is available in Geoffrey L. Hudson, 'Disabled Veterans and the State in Early Modern England', pages 117-44 in David A. Gerber (ed), *Disabled Veterans in History* (2000). For an overview of the great seventeenth-century royal hospitals at Chelsea and Greenwich see Dan Cruikshank and Elizabeth Drury, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea: The Place and the People* (2008); Philip Newell, *Greenwich Hospital: A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* (1984); and John Bold, *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House* (2000).

An insight into the lives of pensioners is provided by C. Boston, A. Witkin, A. Boyle A and D.R.P. Wilkinson, *'Safe Moor'd in Greenwich Tier': A Study of the Skeletons of Royal Navy Sailors and Marines Excavated at the Royal Hospital Greenwich* (2008).

Research on veterans in the nineteenth century has tended to focus on immediate treatment and medical regimes in the Army and Navy rather than long-term aftercare. Some of the hospital buildings of that period can be found in Harriet Richardson (ed), *English Hospitals 1660-1948: a Survey of their Architecture* (1998). A social history over its whole operational life of the biggest Army hospital, the Royal Victoria at Netley, near Southampton, provides some interesting insights:Philip Hoare, *Spike Island: The Memory of a Military Hospital* (2001).

The history of the Forces Help Society (as the Soldiers and Sailors' Help Society later became known) and of the Lord Roberts' Workshops can be found in Julian Paget, *No Problem Too Difficult* (published by the author, 1999). These organisations merged with the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association in 1997 and the book can be obtained from SSAFA which also has some archive material from the other organisations.

Col. Sir James Gildea's book *For Remembrance* (1911) documenting the memorial cottages built for disabled servicemen after 1901 is now quite rare, but there is a copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Valerie B. Parkhouse, *Memorialising the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902* (2015) puts memorial housing of this period into the context of the unprecedented public commemoration of the conflict. A very incisive analysis of this commemorative work is given by Andrew S. Thompson in the chapter 'Publicity, Philanthropy and Commemoration' pages 106-23 in *The Impact of the South African War*, David Omissi and Andrew S. Thompson (eds) (2002).

For the First World War and its aftermath, the literature is larger. A very good overview of differing approaches in Britain and Germany can be found in: Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany 1914-1939* (2001). Important studies of the way in which Britain sought to cope with the wounded and disabled veterans of the First World War, both during and immediately after the conflict, are two books by Jeffrey S. Reznick, *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War* (2007) and *So Comes the Sacred Work: John Galsworthy and Disabled Soldiers of the Great War* (2009).

Psychological damage to soldiers became a major issue during the First World War, and the long-term treatment of those with 'shell shock' is covered in many works. A good place to start is Peter Barnham, *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War* (2004). A very useful and informed contemporary account of the history of psychological and neurological war injuries can be found in work by Professor Edgar Jones, notably Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely, *Shell Shock to PTSD: Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War* (2005). The campaigning work of the Ex-Servicemen's Welfare Society (ESWS) to provide homes for those suffering from 'shell shock' is more fully documented in Fiona Reid, *Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain 1914-30* (2010).

Works which chart the history of support for disabled veterans by particular organisations from the First World War onwards include Brian Harding, *Keeping Faith: The History of the Royal British Legion* (2001).

David Castleton, *Blind Man's Vision: The Story of St Dunstan's* (1990) tells the story of that charity, now known as Blind Veterans UK. It maintains an excellent archive: http://www.blindveterans.org.uk/about-us/history/contact-collections-and-archives

Anna MacLeod, *Coming Home: A Hundred Years of Housing Heroes* (2014) provides a detailed account of the history of Haig Housing, the largest charity providing veterans' accomodation today. Since its inception, the organisation has absorbed several similar charities, such as the Housing Association for Officers and Families (HAOF), and this book provides a fascinating survey of developments over 100 years. A very detailed study of one such small charity, the Disabled Officers Garden Homes, Macdonnell Gardens, Watford is by Sqn Ldr Brian Relf, *Wounded in War They Would Work in Peace* (2014). This provides a valuable insight into the foundation and working of a small war veterans' charity and the experience of residents in the inter-war period. Haig Housing is now the sole Trustee of DOGH.

For an in-depth understanding of the development of ideas about the long-term rehabilitation of physically disabled veterans from 1918 to the 1950s in Britain, as the move from charitable to Welfare State provision took place, see Julie Anderson, *Soul of a Nation: War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain* (2011). Very little has been written about disabled servicewomen's experience of rehabilitation after the Second World War, and Anderson's book is the best source for this.

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Contributors
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