CULTURAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY
2023, VOL. 20, NO. 3, 405–428
https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2023.2201055

Lord Woolton: A Life of 'Social Work' and Humanitarianism

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ABSTRACT
Between 1943 and 1963, Frederick James Marquis, Lord Woolton, was the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) and held key roles in the International Red Cross Movement in the aftermath of war. This article examines how the director of a department store chain, Lewis's, who became a member of the Conservative Party's Cabinet in 1951, was the chair of the BRCS at such a key time in its history – the reframing of the charity after the Second World War and the launch of the National Health Service. Woolton not only had experience in retail but also in social work in Manchester and Liverpool, in roles supporting the governments in both wars, famously as Minister of Food during the Second World War, and latterly in party politics. This research takes a biographical approach, utilising Woolton's memoir and his personal papers at the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, together with Red Cross archives, to explore how Woolton contextualised his career through his background in social work, constructing a humanitarian narrative in his memoir.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 07 March 2022
Accepted 05 April 2023

KEYWORDS
Lord Woolton; Red Cross; social work; life-writing; Conservative Party

Lord Woolton (1883–1964) is well-known as Minister of Food during the Second World War, and subsequently as Chairman of the Conservative Party, but his role as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) between 1943 and 1963, together with his wider international humanitarian work, is an under-explored part of his life, both within his own published accounts and in those of historians. The beginning of his tenure at the BRCS was a pivotal time in the charity's history, encompassing the last years of the war, the reframing of the charity after the war and the launch of the National Health Service (NHS). His work as chair of the BRCS needs to be understood in the context of his apolitical government role as Minister of Reconstruction from 1943–1945, through which he worked within the coalition government to produce the 1944 White Paper 'A National Health Service'. The formal relationship between the BRCS and the government's preparations for war continued in the late 1940s. Woolton was the director of a Liverpool-based department store chain, Lewis's, and a non-partisan technocrat minister within Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill's Second World War governments. He was subsequently a member of the Conservative Party's shadow and governing Cabinet. This article examines how he

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became involved in domestic humanitarian work as a young adult, before becoming the chair of the apolitical BRCS and a key figure within the leadership of the International Red Cross Movement in the aftermath of the war, and seeks to discover how he maintained this role alongside his political career.

The Memoirs of the Rt Hon. Earl of Woolton provides vital clues to the answer that his own humanitarianism was compatible with aspects of the Conservative Party's and the BRCS's traditions in the mid-twentieth century. Though only four pages are devoted to his Red Cross work, they highlight the challenges of working in both politics and humanitarian relief. This presented practical difficulties in terms of international relations during the Cold War and expectations of political neutrality, resulting in increasing reliance upon his female colleagues.[1] Woolton bridged the government, party politics and the voluntary sector with his dual roles and became very aware of the pros and cons of this status.

As this article explores, although Woolton's references to his Red Cross work are brief, he strikingly presented himself as a humanitarian from the beginning of his memoir. He did not use the term 'humanitarian' to describe himself, but rather his 'social work' which he began as a young man, informed by the university settlement movement, like other contemporaries Clement Attlee and William Beveridge, who were to become key to introducing the post-war welfare state. He referred back to the influence of this period of his life as a minister during the war, and used the same device in some of his speeches in the House of Lords. The Conservative Party had a long-established tradition of welfare reform interventions, and other humanitarian activists and supporters of health charities remained within the party in the mid-twentieth century, so Woolton's humanitarian beliefs were in line with these elements of the party's membership, which sought to preserve the role of voluntarism.

Woolton had been interested in the left-leaning Fabian Society earlier in life but he was adamantly against the 'socialist' nationalisation of services and did not join the Labour Party in the 1940s.[2] This was in spite of his enthusiasm for a national health service with universal free access. Woolton's ideas were rooted in a belief in free enterprise which was formed during his work in government during the First World War, and which is unsurprising considering his background in business and retail, and through his upwardly-mobile trajectory from growing up in a terraced house in Salford to his elevation to the House of Lords.

Woolton has also left us with typescripts of his diaries, rather than the original handwritten version, which reveal the extent to which he documented his life in the war years until early 1944, and which resumed in 1953 after a period of ill-health.[3] However, there are significant gaps which mean that his activities during key episodes in his humanitarian and political work, such as the presentation of the White Paper on the NHS, and the meetings leading up to the Geneva Conventions, are not recorded. Therefore, it is not possible to see exactly how much of his time was devoted to each task, nor his candid thoughts on this topic which are often revealed in his diaries regarding other earlier wartime themes. Fortunately, documents in the British Red Cross archive demonstrate that he usually attended the monthly meetings of the Executive Committee and his personal correspondence, held at the Bodleian Libraries, shows considerable dedication of time to this role. He was the Chairman of the General Commission at a key International Red Cross Conference in Stockholm in 1948, which

preceded the revised Geneva Conventions, and he wrote copious letters and composed policy documents regarding the charity.[4]

In his memoir, Woolton denied keeping a regular diary, even musing (and presumably reflecting) that diary writers are tempted to 'take an optimistic view' of their role in 'influencing affairs of State', and that not all friends would 'welcome such nocturnal reflections', with diaries recorded at night.[5] Perhaps he had no desire for people reading his diary during his lifetime, and this may mean it provides a frank account, not written for publication. Michael Kandiah and Judith Rowbotham's recent edited collection of his wartime papers includes some extracts from his diary, where he discussed his negative thoughts about Winston Churchill, for example, and Woolton's publishers recommended that he remove his overly critical passages from his *Memoirs*.[6] In their analysis of political memoirs, David Richards and Helen Mathers have discussed the 'culture of club regulation', referring to David Vincent's account of a tradition of 'honourable secrecy' dating from the second half of the nineteenth century, with 'discreet reserve' continuing into the next century.[7] From 1926, more formality was added with an expectation that ministers would submit drafts to the Cabinet Office, after Churchill had 'quoted too freely from confidential government papers', but this was tested by Richard Crossman's diaries in 1975, and although there was a subsequent review and report published in 1976, the recommendation of a 15-year 'maintenance of confidences' was breached by subsequent politicians.[8] Thus, Woolton wrote in a period when discretion was the rule, and he perhaps consciously applied this to his Red Cross work too, inspired by this key remit of the role of International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegates in working with sensitive humanitarian affairs.[9]

There are a variety of biographical sources which can contribute to a study of Woolton's work along with his memoir; these include a popular history by William Sitwell; Kandiah's doctoral thesis on Woolton's chairmanship of the Conservative Party, and his entry on Woolton in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*); and the afore-mentioned book of extracts from his wartime letters and diaries.[10] Woolton's personal papers are in the Bodleian Libraries, papers relating to his work exist at the British Red Cross archive and The National Archives, and a volume of his speeches, *The Adventure of Reconstruction*, was published.[11] Although Sitwell briefly mentions that Woolton accepted the role of Chairman of the BRCS, he does not discuss his work with the charity; the author was the editor of *Waitrose Food* so food is deliberately the focus of his book.[12] Kandiah does not mention that Woolton chaired the BRCS at the same time as the Conservative Party, and the *ODNB* entry also omits this appointment.[13] Beryl Oliver mentioned Woolton in her history of the BRCS, but did not discuss his approach to running the charity. However, she did highlight his role in the International Red Cross Movement, leading up to the Geneva Conventions.[14] Yet, within accounts of his life, Woolton's post-war national and international charity and humanitarian work, which he continued almost to the end of his life, has been curiously neglected. Demonstrating there had been awareness of this influence in his lifetime, his 'social work' was acknowledged by the Earl of Longford, Lord Privy Seal, following Woolton's death, when he paid

tribute in the House of Lords to Woolton's work at the University of Liverpool settlement, and recalled that 'social work remained one of his abiding interests throughout his life'. In his tribute, Attlee reminisced about hearing Woolton give a paper on 'social work' 55 years earlier.[15]

Woolton's 'social work'

Frederick James Marquis was born in 1883, and in 1939 he was ennobled and titled Lord Woolton. He was elevated to a viscount in 1953, and an earl in 1955. Known as Fred, he grew up in a terraced house in Salford, the son of a saddler and an apparently 'well-educated' mother.[16] He was academically gifted, winning an exhibition to Manchester Grammar School before studying at the University of Manchester, taking a combination science degree, comprising physics, mathematics, chemistry and psychology. He described the last year of his degree, when he became interested in psychology, as studying the humanities. He had turned down a place at Cambridge as his father was unwell when he received the offer, and it would have been difficult for the family to afford it.[17] Having decided to become a sociologist, he also had to decline the Martin White Fellowship in Sociology in London as he could not afford to accept it. However, around the turn of the century, when he was an undergraduate at Manchester, the university settlement movement profoundly influenced Marquis' career. He had the opportunity to gain experience in 'social work' through Ancoats Hall, a settlement connected to the University of Manchester which provided 'financial relief and other charitable help', together with debates on Saturday evenings, which included intellectuals and authors such as George Bernard Shaw, G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, and where local people would discuss the 'hard facts of life' with social theorists.[18] Katharine Bentley Beauman traced the history of social work as a profession to activities including those of the settlement movement.[19] The movement began with the opening of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House in the East End of London in 1884, to bring people from different classes together for educational programmes. From the 1890s, many of the people involved also sought to investigate social problems and to train volunteers. Both of these settlements were associated with the University of Oxford, although there were also some residents at Toynbee Hall who came from the University of Cambridge. As Georgina Brewis has explored in her study of student volunteering, the broader settlement movement was associated with an increased interest from university students in social study and social service, and enabled students from different religious and social backgrounds to mix. The Manchester settlement, Ancoats, opened in 1895.[20] Piecing together his career from his memoir reveals that Woolton was probably at Ancoats a few years before Beveridge's time – 1903-5 – at Toynbee Hall.[21] Whilst both Woolton and Beveridge (1879–1963) were contemporaries in the settlement movement, and both went on to influence the post-Second World War welfare state, Woolton's social and higher education background was very different to that of Beveridge, showing the breadth of people who were involved with the settlement movement. Born in India, Beveridge was the son of a district sessions judge in the Indian Civil Service, and his elite education was at Charterhouse School and Oxford.[22]

By the early years of the twentieth century, 'social investigation' had become a major part of Toynbee Hall's activities and the Enquirers' Club was founded in 1904.

Beveridge's time as a subwarden included a programme on Poor Law Reform, and organising a Committee on the Unemployed, and a local labour exchange. Later in life, whilst working on welfare reform, he continued his association with the movement as President of the British Association of Residential Settlements for over a decade, beginning in 1940. Enquirers presumed they were learning skills for 'Westminster and Whitehall'. Indeed, future Labour Party leader Clement Attlee (1883–1967) also spent time working at Toynbee Hall.[23]

Attlee also had a very different background from Woolton. His father was a solicitor and his mother had doctors amongst her ancestors. One of his grandfathers had been to Westminster College and Cambridge. Attlee had grown up in a 'leafy' road in Putney and went to Haileybury College and Oxford. During his time at university, he identified as Conservative, but did not belong to a political club. Although he had friends who were interested in the university settlements, including Toynbee Hall, Attlee was not involved at that stage, even though he attended some meetings regarding settlements at university, but he aimed for the 'Bar' after graduating in 1904. His goals changed when he volunteered at a boys' club, and he subsequently became secretary of Toynbee Hall in 1909.[24]

More similarities can be drawn between Woolton and James Joseph (J.J.) Mallon (1874–1961), the warden of Toynbee Hall from 1919 to 1954. Woolton (then Marquis) met Mallon at Ancoats whilst an undergraduate. Mallon also grew up in the north-west, in Chorlton, Manchester. His father died when Mallon was only four, so he was destined for work rather than university, and trained as a jeweller, but later taught at the London School of Economics. Mallon developed an interest in 'stamping out' sweated labour, creating the Anti-Sweating League with Mary MacArthur. Marquis' future wife, Maud Smith, was volunteering with Mallon and through her, Woolton 'got to know him' and a 'life-long friendship' developed.[25] Their early work in the north-west demonstrates that although historians' focus has largely been on Toynbee Hall, other settlements informed the work of future prominent social reformers and contributors to public life.[26] Mallon became secretary to the National League to Establish a Minimum Wage and was increasingly involved with Toynbee Hall, and he unsuccessfully stood as a Labour Member of Parliament (MP) in 1922. Roles in public life included Ramsay McDonald's Economic Advisory Council, and as a governor of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) from 1937–39 and 1941–46. With Mallon gaining his experience at Ancoats, the settlement's influence has been noted by Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, as well as by Katherine Bradley; Woolton's experiences in this environment and in Liverpool belong to this story too.[27]

Before a return to working in settlements, Woolton spent the first two years of his career as a maths teacher in a school and in evening adult education. This was followed by a return to Manchester to work for the Cooperative Holidays Association as assistant general secretary for six months. This organisation was involved in wellbeing, organising walking and stream-bathing holidays for young people in contrast to a 'riotous' week at a seaside resort.[28] At the age of 24, so in around 1907–1908, a year or so earlier than Attlee began work at Toynbee Hall, Woolton was offered the wardenship of the David Lewis Hotel and Club Association (known variously as Lewis' Settlement, club, hostel or hotel), and he lived in the University of Liverpool's Settlement – two small houses which had doorways knocked through, and which housed men interested in philanthropy, who were not necessarily at the university.[29] Lewis' Hotel provided cheap beds for the night,

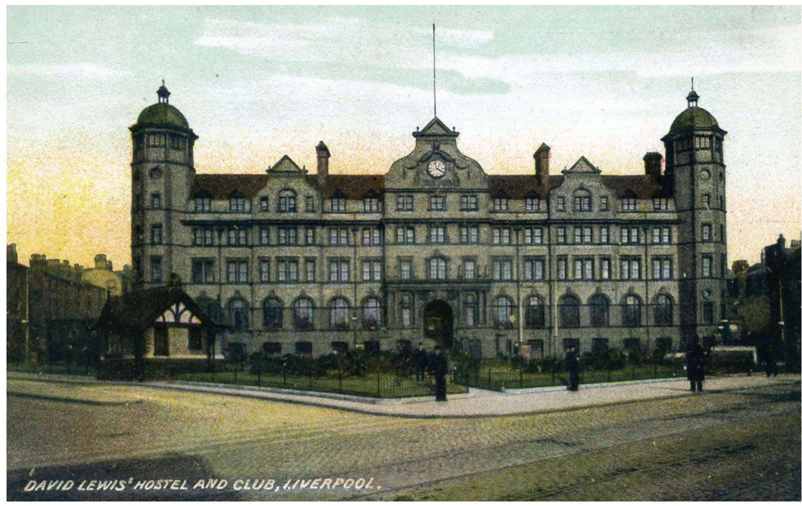

Figure 1. David Lewis' Hostel and Club, Liverpool. Postcard printed in Germany c. 1906–14. Personal collection of the author.

social activities such as a temperance bar and theatre, and social research was undertaken, all in a large and impressive building, as shown in Figure 1. David Lewis (1823–1885) had established a business specialising in boys' clothing in the nineteenth century, which developed into a department store chain of which Woolton was to become a director. Lewis' legacy provided the funds for the 'hotel' which opened in 1906. Woolton developed a belief in social work mixed with self-help and encouraging a desire for self-improvement.[30] A few months after moving into the university settlement, Woolton was offered the wardenship, and this later led to lecturing in industrial history to social science students. He also undertook a research fellowship and was awarded an MA in economics from the University of Manchester.[31]

At the outbreak of war, Woolton was asked to report on prices, supplies of consumer goods and on the impact of war on business for the Local Government Board.[32] He was subsequently rejected for military service on medical grounds and worked for the War Office and the Leather Control Board. Coming to believe in more freedom in industry he resigned from the Fabian Society, and he argued in his memoir that his subscription was the only extent to which he had been involved in party politics.[33] He was asked to join a range of committees advising the interwar governments, including the Advisory Council of Overseas Development Committee, 1928–1931, and the Cadman Committee on Civil Aviation, 1937. His successful career at Lewis's department stores began in 1920, and he was asked to join the War Office again in May 1939, initially for his expertise in the clothing trade. He was recommended for a peerage in that year, which Sir Warren Fisher, Head of the Civil Service, apparently told him was because Chamberlain thought it would made it harder for him to decline a position in Government.[34]

David Edgerton has called 'Churchill's wartime administrations' a 'government of technocrats' with Churchill's choices often on the 'right' and 'personal cronies'. Woolton was different. Edgerton explains that he was one of six non-politicians selected by Chamberlain for his Cabinet, amongst others with backgrounds in the Navy, civil service,

law and the steel industry, plus Sir John Reith, an engineer and former head of the BBC who was appointed as Minister of Information.[35] Woolton was Minister of Food from 1940, starting this role within Chamberlain's government.[36] He became well known through the press and radio for giving cooking instructions, despite his admitted inability to cook.[37] He was seen as 'one of us', not 'one of them' by *The Daily Sketch* in 1942, and Woolton used his experiences in Liverpool, and of eating simple food, in communicating with the public. As well as working to improve diets nationally, he also worked with hospitals to improve nutrition.[38] When he died, the Marquess of Salisbury noted in the House of Lords that he told the truth and gained people's 'trust', even when his news was 'unpalatable'.[39] His crowd-pleasing policies included people only being able to order one course in restaurants to introduce more fairness between classes, and broadcasting on the radio to reassure the public.[40] Angus Calder believed that he was perhaps the most popular of Churchill's ministers.[41] In 1943, he was appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of Reconstruction. Kandiah argues that he was appointed to these roles because of his non-party status which was helpful with working with the Labour Party on these tasks.[42] In his diary, Woolton considered this new role as caring, stating that Churchill had told him at the meeting where he announced the new ministry to him that he 'had a reputation for being a person who cared for the well-being of his fellow-men, and that would enable [him] to get the public confidence in planning the future of England in the transitional period between war and peace'. He was uncertain about taking the role, and Churchill advised Woolton to discuss it with his wife, whom he recorded as saying '"Well yes, of course, all the experience you have had in life has just been a preparation for this, hasn't it, and so why should you hesitate".'[43]

Woolton's book is crafted as a memoir in order to emphasise his social conscience and how this was grounded in his experiences during his twenties. In his 'Foreword', Woolton states his book is

> not an autobiography: I have no desire to write one. It is an effort to record the passing aspects of public thought and the creation of public opinion. I have sought to penetrate the reasons that led to such changes as I have witnessed – and, in some cases, to venture to peer into the future.

It allows him to focus on episodes of his life, and to adopt a more literary, instructive style, in contrast to an autobiography which would have entailed writing about his whole life in more depth. As the etymology of the word implies, a memoir is based on memories, so he permits himself to provide impressions; as Thomas Couser describes, memory is a 'notoriously unreliable and highly selective faculty'.[44] This device therefore allows Woolton not to rely on his undisclosed diaries.

Rather than referring to humanitarianism as a term, he intermittently interrupts the memoir to refer to 'social work' and how early he embarked on this path. The fifth paragraph of his foreword states a central idea of the volume –

> Amidst a number of different fields in which I have worked, one idea has persisted in my mind – it is the conception of poverty as a social disease . . . . It was to find the solution to this problem that I started out in adult life: if I have been able to do something to lighten the path to its solution I am grateful for the direction in which, as it seems to me, fate has guided my steps.[45]

He ends his foreword with a sentence on inspiring young people regarding 'a land of opportunity' and having the 'will and the enterprise to add their quota to the life of the nation and the making of its worthy and exciting history', which reflects the account he will also tell of his life in business and politics.[46] Even his business career for Lewis's was qualified in his memoir as an alternative to a job he had been offered in the 'city', but rather than moving to London and money being a 'reason' for the work he was doing, he wanted money to be a 'consequence' of his work which would still be allied with his 'previous experience and have some influence on the social conditions of [his] time'.[47]

Chapter one opens with the story of a woman who had died of starvation in the house next door to where he was living as a student in Liverpool. His experience of witnessing poverty in the city and his housemates' 'rebellious indignation' regarding the short-comings and impact of the Poor Law, is recalled with use of the senses: 'living in this sordid street, the surrounding houses of which were insanitary and verminous, where the sickening smell of overcrowded humanity was such that as I write now, fifty years later, it still seems to nauseate me'. The first six pages of the book focus on this witnessing. He also discusses the influence of the beliefs of the founding members of the recently formed Labour Party in the early twentieth century which inspired him to investigate the 'slum district' in the 'south end' of Liverpool as a warden of the David Lewis Club. Immersing himself in the community for two years, he aimed to answer the question, '"Why are so many people poor?"'[48]

In this special issue, Helen Dampier and Rebecca Gill present humanitarian, Emily Hobhouse's background of 'witnessing' and writing about the experiences and testimony of the working class in her investigation for the Women's Industrial Council, published in 1900, which influenced her approach to relief work.[49] Although Woolton's memoir follows a genre of political memoirs begun with figures like American President Ulysses Grant in the nineteenth century, his narrative of witnessing the working class fits with that of Hobhouse, and with the life-writing style of the 1920s and 1930s, such as George Orwell's.[50] Woolton notes that friends had pressured him to write about the changes he had 'witnessed', and gave the word emphasis by using it twice in his foreword. The account of the death of his neighbour in Liverpool is described as 'burned into my mind' and he ends this description of Liverpool with '[i]t was an experience that was to fashion much of my thought and action for the rest of my life'.[51] Alex Zwerdling has explained that Orwell did not want to be 'an amateur (or worse, a professional) social investigator, down there on a visit'[52]; although Woolton was conducting 'social research', he takes care to express the ways in which he immersed himself through the settlement. Like Orwell, Woolton differed from the people amongst whom he lived, and his experience of organising the collegial environment of the settlement exemplifies this stark contrast. Yet both narrators could describe their sensory experiences, demonstrating they could bear witness. Zwerdling explains, regarding Orwell, 'I can testify that this happened; my body has endured it; my memory has stored it; I am not making it up'. Orwell was crafting a story of not just being an 'observer' but a 'participant'.[53] Bradford Vivian has explored the concept of 'witnessing as a rhetorically adaptable medium of *communication*', with 'witnesses' who feel 'obligated to preserve collective memories of past injustice or tragedy', with a view to preventing recurrence in the future.[54] Henry Dunant's *Un Souvenir de Solferino* (1862), which inspired the Red Cross Movement, is another

example of this style of detailed witnessing of suffering, in order to present an argument for change for the care of wounded soldiers.[55]

Woolton's chapters on 'The Background of Experience', 'Experiments in Social Reform' and 'The Dream' establish his depth of understanding of poverty in north-west England.[56] His maths teaching for children and adults involved working in a Lancashire cotton mill community in Burnley, where he witnessed people striving for advancement such as home ownership and management. He later co-authored a research paper about upward mobility in the Lancashire cotton industry and witnessed this again in boot manufacturing during his work in the First World War.[57] Again, he emphasised his own living conditions which serves to express that he was not a champagne socialist. For example, his accommodation had a bath-tub with a rubber pipe attached to the cold tap, in a stone-floored cellar.[58]

However, the early chapters of Woolton's book cannot simply be classed as a 'misery memoir' of working-class life; his experiences were foundational and instructional and therefore come over as positive in forming his ideas and his career. Rather, he provides a historical testimony to explain his own responses and the changes which he was personally able to make to attempt to improve conditions in British society. As David Blunkett reflects, politicians ask themselves 'what's the point in us being there if we don't think that our being there makes a difference? . . . "did we change things; were we able to make decisions that changed people's lives, that moved things on?"'[59] Richards and Mathers have argued that most politicians' memoirs are narratives of making a historical impact through achievements in office;[60] Woolton's memoir of his humanitarian and political life certainly fits that genre, and his account of his activities at the settlements reveals the beginning of his engagement with politicians. It contrasts with that of his BRCS colleague, Evelyn Bark, who rose to be the Director of the International Affairs Department. Her published memoir reads like a fast-paced adventure narrative, although her humanitarian activities are the focus after she joined the BRCS in the Second World War, and her accounts are deeply nuanced and emotive, therefore differing from some of the masculine humanitarian travel-writing narratives which have recently been explored by Bertrand Taithe.[61] The memoir of Robert Loyd-Lindsay, Baron Wantage, the first chairman from 1870–1901, was written by his wife, Harriet, following his death. It has resonance with Woolton's, situating his Red Cross work as arising from 'sentiments of humanity' and 'sympathy' which had developed in response to conflict, including sections on his experience as a celebrated Crimean War veteran and a leader in the volunteer movement (a 'citizen army'), who had already been troubled by the suffering of soldiers. Similarly to Woolton, Wantage carried out his Red Cross work alongside being a politician. He was an MP from 1865–85.[62]

Woolton's role at the David Lewis Club involved working and living amongst casual dock labourers, and he chaired a discussion between two speakers from the Ministry of Labour, including Beveridge, regarding the contentious issue of decasualisation of dock labour. He also met Keir Hardie (the first parliamentary leader of the Labour Party) and Attlee during this time. He visited the sick, and helped people with difficulties such as legal issues. Prior to the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907 which mandated medical inspection of children, as manager of the Harrington Street Council School, Woolton initiated a dental clinic as he was concerned about the link between poverty, ill-health and children's teeth. His

experience in Liverpool 'influenced [him] considerably in later life'.[63] As warden at the University of Liverpool's settlement, he sat at the head of the table of house-mates who included people who would become university professors, an MP, county education director, and a newspaper editor. This was, therefore, a place which was

> pulsating with ideas that were thrashed out – often until the early hours of the morning – among young men with much idealism, but with minds tempered by training to careful and precise thinking, and living in close touch with the habits and thoughts, the courage and the failings – and the indifference – of the people whose standard of living they were so anxious to improve.[64]

His living conditions again troubled him, and he mentions being 'nauseated by the smells of the Settlement', and after two years of living in this environment, he raised funds to build a more 'collegiate' environment behind the David Lewis Club. Seventeen residents lived there 'creating a centre for thought and conference'.[65]

Maud Smith was already involved in volunteering before she married Fred in 1912, having assisted the Anti-Sweating League. After their marriage, they lived in a flat above the settlement. They co-wrote a book on employment in Liverpool aimed at children and young people, and arranged for four boys to have funding for further education. Maud took charge of the settlement's centre for distressed families of soldiers and sailors during the war. She also worked with others to establish a maternity, and a pre-natal clinic, associated with the settlement, which were later taken over by the local authority. The clinics' work inspired Woolton to 'use the powers of a war-time Ministry of Food to make provisions for the health of children which I believe now to be a permanent part of our national life'. Linked to this, he had also been concerned about the impact of the lack of education in selecting and cooking food upon health and poverty in Liverpool.[66]

Woolton explicitly discusses his work with the Liverpool settlements as having 'important results, especially on my own thinking forty years later' with regard to his work developing the NHS. He also reflects on his experience of establishing the dental clinic for children, which included voluntary workers explaining the importance of taking care of teeth; although school welfare officers and health visitors were provided for by the 1950s, 'we are poorer and less effective because of the absence of the voluntary workers who follow up the professional operations by a friendly visit to the patients in their homes and whose personal concern would humanize the operation of state machinery'.[67] As Minister of Reconstruction, Woolton thought that the state needed to take over roles such as public health education, referring to his earlier 'social work', but he did not think that the state could fulfil everything, as problems were 'largely personal ones' and people with the time for 'deep sympathy' were needed to supplement the financing of facilities which the state would provide. Although the 'Socialist government' was returned in the 1945 general election, Woolton's work with the BRCS meant that he and its personnel could supplement the 'new welfare State'.[68] Woolton was not the only person to highlight the sympathy which could be provided by voluntary organisations within the welfare state. In 1948, Beveridge asked if 'combining soundness with sympathy' would be possible with the state taking over the responsibilities of the 'affiliated orders' in administering cash benefits for the sick.[69]

Woolton and the early National Health Service

In his memoir, Woolton claimed that as Minister of Reconstruction he had been 'charged with preparing the blue-prints of the post-war period and an extended National Health Service'.[70] Woolton's first proposal in the House of Lords as Minister of Reconstruction was the discussion of the White and shorter papers of February 1944 on the comprehensive health service. Historians of the NHS have briefly drawn attention to Woolton's role. For example, Charles Webster and Frank Honigsbaum discuss the activities of the Reconstruction Committee in contributing to the drafting of the 1944 White Paper, which Woolton headed as Minister from November 1943. Webster explains in his history of the NHS that the Reconstruction Committee had asked Woolton to revise the White Paper to improve the 'firmness of tone' during January 1944, which involved 'radical restructuring and rewriting' which made it less positive than the first drafts, which were made prior to Woolton's transfer to the new ministry. Honigsbaum notes Woolton's role in opposing the idea of hotel charges for hospital patients, and his subsequent contributions to discussions regarding general practitioners within the health service in 1945.[71] However, Woolton's interest in the fledgling NHS has not been explored in detail by historians focussing on his life.[72] His broader endeavours in relation to health have been recognised, as he already had significant experience in considering the nation's health through his work as Minister of Food, including arguing for pasteurisation of milk in addition to activities regarding nutrition.[73] His diary reveals his strong beliefs and fairly successful campaign regarding the risk of unpasteurised milk to health.[74]

On taking over reconstruction, which had previously been run as a committee by Arthur Greenwood, the Minister without Portfolio, Woolton found his role was to co-ordinate the Minister for Town and Country Planning, the Minister of Health and the Minister of Works.[75] Woolton chaired a meeting in January 1944 to explore the position of the voluntary hospitals in relation to the proposed NHS, including maintenance charges in hospitals. His introduction to the meeting clearly stated that the government wished to provide free hospital treatment for all, and yet had 'no wish to destroy the voluntary hospital movement'. This was problematic as 'it would be foolish to ignore the risk that the introduction of such a scheme might tend to dry up the stream of voluntary contributions on which the voluntary hospitals relied'. Woolton led the representatives from hospitals and the ministers in discussing this gap in funding, including donations as well as contributory schemes.[76] Ahead of this meeting he had expressed to Henry Willink, the new Minister of Health, that he was not wholly sympathetic to some of the ways in which voluntary hospitals, 'put quite brutally', wanted to use 'fear' to stimulate charitable contributions from the public, such as through hotel charges: 'It's the function of insurance, and not of philanthropy, to deal with fear'. He argued that the voluntary hospitals' importance to the proposed national health service could be stated in Parliament to raise awareness.[77] Woolton had not always been wholly positive regarding the practicality of Beveridge's wider welfare proposals and expressed concern in his diary in February 1943 that they depended on almost full employment. However, he was supportive enough to be concerned that Lord President of the Council Sir John Anderson's response on behalf of the government had made it look as though it was not being supported, a stance which had received much criticism from the public.[78]

Woolton presented the National Health Service White Paper in the House of Lords from a humanitarian perspective, explaining that he 'may be a little over-anxious about this subject because it is one that is very near to my own heart, and one with which for some thirty-five years I have been personally and intimately concerned'. He harked back to his childhood interest in poverty in his neighbourhood, which he connected to his neighbours' ill-health. He remembered with 'pride' taking part 'in the early movement to try to establish dental clinics in the schools of this country'. During his time in industry, he had considered physical disabilities.[79] He discussed the purpose of the debate, telling his peers that it was in order to benefit from their views, taking on board suggestions such as a question about the future of homoeopathy. He emotively discussed the White Paper and how 'we' have presented it 'with great deliberation, having spent very many weeks in producing it'. He stated that there was a continuing role for voluntary hospitals as taxes, rates and insurance contributions could not pay for the whole scheme, so he saw charity as being interlinked with the new service.[80] Woolton's interest in the NHS did not wane after the end of his role as the Minister of Reconstruction. For example, in 1952 he was involved in leading discussions regarding the Dentists Bill and NHS charges, as a member of the Conservative Party in the Lords.[81]

Woolton's reservations about the affordability of the NHS and his emphasis that voluntarism should remain are evident. He discussed in his memoir that he intended the initial proposals to 'get into the health service not only freedom for both patients and doctors, but I wanted to keep the essentials of the voluntary spirit in hospitals' with hospitals managing their affairs, research subsidised by government, 'guidance and subventions' from local authorities, and 'freedom of choice between doctor and patient'.[82] He thought this might be considered a 'half-way house to the system of a nationalized service' but that it would be comprehensive. Woolton did not approve of Labour's version of the NHS and refers to the 'Socialist Government' in discussing how the NHS was reconceived.[83] The 'Socialists' was recommended by Woolton as a label for the Conservative's opponents, in order to sound 'partisan, theoretical and foreign' as opposed to 'Labour' which was a 'user-friendly word to industrial workers', and it was often applied by members of the Conservative Party instead of referring to the Labour Party by its name during the post-war years.[84]

Woolton's political views changed during the First and Second World Wars. Although he had at one time paid a subscription to the Fabian Society, he had grown to think that capitalism was the answer to relieving poverty.[85] In July 1945, he was still an independent on the opposition benches in the House of Lords. Although he was not keen to align himself with a party, he accepted Churchill's request to chair the Conservative Party as he could not agree with Labour plans for nationalisation which could curb the entrepreneurial spirit; he wanted free enterprise as well as social reform.[86] When he was asked to chair the BRCS in 1943, he was a non-party member of the Cabinet, but became the Chairman of the Conservative Party in July 1946, the year in which he started to take his BRCS responsibilities very seriously. From 1946–1955, he also held roles such as Lord President of the Council and Minister for Materials.[87] In October 1952, he suffered from a perforated appendix and was removed from the chairmanship of the Conservative Party. After his wife's complaints to Churchill, he was given the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he delivered the glove to the Queen at the coronation, and returned as Chairman. In 1955, he retired from this position.[88]

The Conservative Party was not Woolton's only option. Beveridge chose the Liberal Party when he stood as an MP in 1944. Like Woolton, he had 'never been a Socialist' even though he had been an associate of the Fabian Society after university. Beveridge felt that the Conservatives had failed to adapt to the changed economic conditions of the interwar period, and that they put 'national arms' before the 'collective security' of the League of Nations, and he thought that the party's reformers would not become dominant.[89] There had been caution regarding social reform from Churchill.[90] In relation to healthcare, there was also opposition to nationalising the hospitals and creating health centres.[91] Yet, the Conservative Party's reputation for privatisation and cutting back on welfare after the 1960s does not wholly reflect earlier attitudes of its progressively-minded members.[92]

Though Woolton's choice of the Conservative Party may seem surprising, there was also a much longer tradition of some members' involvement in humanitarianism. Tories expanded welfare using parish poor rates at the end of the eighteenth century and advanced paternalist ideas.[93] Conservative politicians had also campaigned for reforms, in areas such as factories and public health. This has even extended to a mythology around Benjamin Disraeli as a social reformer, with his 'One Nation' goal for social unity in spite of economic inequality, even though it is complicated to characterise him as such, particularly with his reputation for 'fiscal and financial irresponsibility' and plutocracy.[94] A group of Conservatives formed the Unionist Social Reform Committee in 1910 to express progressive social policy to the public. The Conservative Party still oversaw huge increases in welfare expenditure in the interwar period, and enabled 21 of 25 of Health Minister Neville Chamberlain's proposals for piecemeal improvements.[95] Yet, Woolton believed that the Conservative Party had a reputation for being hard-hearted in response to social distress in that period.[96] Indeed, interwar expenditure on unemployment payments had not been enough, and increasingly intrusive means testing caused protests in 1935. Even though payments were raised, they still fell below Seebohm Rowntree's calculations of the poverty line.[97]

A minority of Conservative Party MPs fought for progressive policies in the 1940s. The Post-War Problems Central Committee was established under R.A. Butler's chairmanship in 1941, and Beveridge's proposals for health, social security and employment policies were not the only social reforms being discussed during the Second World War. The Conservative Research Department, also under Butler, undertook reports on topics such as education, youth unemployment, building programmes and declining industrial communities. Following the Beveridge Report, the Tory Reform Committee was established in 1943, advocating a commitment to post-war social reform, and eventually attracted 40 members.[98] The lack of public awareness regarding the Conservative Party's role in the proposals for universal health care in 1944 has been demonstrated by the controversy over Jeremy Hunt's 2015 and 2017 claims in relation to the party's involvement in the establishment of the NHS.[99] There was a commitment to the comprehensive system in the 1945 election manifesto, despite confusion concerning Willink's and the government's proposals for how the policies would be implemented.[100]

Selected Conservative Party politicians had also organised international humanitarian activities. Following the First World War, Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Arthur Stanley, who was both an MP (1898–1918) and the Chairman of the BRCS (1914–43), were the President and one of the Chairmen, respectively, of the Imperial War Relief Fund. This fund aimed to co-ordinate fundraising across the British Empire to aid post-war Europe,

and raised £839,627 over the five years of its existence.[101] Woolton was not alone within the Conservative Party in his involvement in international humanitarianism in the 1950s. In 1959, Christopher Chataway, an athlete who was elected as an MP in October of that year, and Timothy Raison initiated World Refugee Year (1959–1960), which was sponsored by the United Nations (UN) and internationally raised $620 million in 2011 prices, although the government was keen that only money was raised, rather than the expectation that Britain would host more refugees. The campaign was stimulated by an article and front cover of the progressive Conservative wing's magazine *Crossbow* in 1958, which was edited by Raison, who was elected as a Conservative MP in 1970.[102] Woolton was also not unique in combining his role in Conservative Party politics with leadership of a charity involved in health – Butler was President of the National Association for Mental Health (now known as MIND), and although not a chair, Enoch Powell, a Minister of Health, served as the Honorary Treasurer of the Chest and Heart Association (now the Stroke Association).[103] All the chairs of the BRCS preceding Woolton had been politicians, with Wantage and Stanley having been Conservative MPs, and Nathaniel Rothschild, a Baron by the time he was chair from 1901, had been a Liberal MP from 1865–85.[104]

Woolton was remarkably not the first choice as BRCS chairman. When Woolton was appointed he was a well-known and popular celebrity figure, having regularly appeared on the radio as Minister of Food, including giving pre-recorded Christmas Day morning broadcasts on the programme 'Kitchen Front', and continued to be on the radio afterwards, writing the script and presenting the annual appeal for the Wireless for the Blind Fund on Christmas Day 1943, which exceeded the £30,000 target.[105] In 1944, Mr Tussaud of Madame Tussauds requested to photograph him for a waxwork.[106] He continued to be a popular figure within the Conservative Party following the war, and despite his claim to have only just joined the party on the day after the election defeat in 1945, he rivalled Churchill in his popularity amongst members, and the party's Central Council thought that his involvement in government was still important to 'housewives' after the 1951 election.[107] No other candidates' names are documented within the BRCS Executive Committee minutes, but Willink noted in his unpublished memoir that he had declined the chairmanship but did not mention whether this was in the 1940s or in the 1950s or 1960s.[108] Woolton had not aligned with a party when he was approached in 1943, making him a more obvious choice at that time than he would have been after 1946, and yet if Willink was approached at any point he was, or had been, a Conservative MP and so party politics was presumably still not a barrier to appointment as chair.[109] Therefore, a political stance was apparently not a problem in the late nineteenth and for at least the first half of the twentieth century, with Woolton being the last chairman with a party-political background.

Woolton and the British Red Cross Society

Prior to 1946, Woolton had attended BRCS meetings infrequently, although he attended the first meeting under his chairmanship, and offered to provide support on important key policy matters. He had warned the Executive Committee in 1943 that this would be the case until he was 'released from office'. Initially, Woolton was concerned about taking on the role, as although he thought that the charity did 'very good work', he was 'not sure

that it's a very good organisation and there may be a job to do there'.[110] However, he was soon convinced and wrote in his diary that he had asked Sir Philip Chetwode of the BRCS to lunch with his colleague in order to 'get to know them better' and wrote 'I shall take this job'.[111] He noted in his memoir that he did not want to refuse, having found out that the Queen had supported the idea of his appointment. He was clearly in much demand, with the Midland Bank seeking him as Chairman in the same year, and in January 1944, the University of Manchester asked him to be their Chancellor, a role which he accepted.[112]

Field-Marshall Sir Philip Chetwode chaired the Executive Committee when he was absent. Woolton was indirectly represented by his wife, who was co-opted after expressing an interest in the management of the Rheumatism Clinic. Later, she became the Sussex Branch President, so both remained involved. Despite the demands of being Minister of Reconstruction, in 1945 Woolton contributed when he was asked to campaign for publicity about the continuing need to raise funds, writing items for the press including *The Times*, and appearing on the radio.[113] He also gave a speech as chairman at a meeting of the county branches in December 1944 in which he mentioned watching the packaging of prisoner of war parcels, stressing the continuing need for the BRCS after the war as 'social pathfinders' as well as volunteering in emergencies. He referred to the 'social work that arises from the Red Cross work'.[114] He also used his insights into the NHS to warn about spending too much on the BRCS' Rheumatism Clinic.[115]

BRCS humanitarian relief work at home and overseas increased in the aftermath of the war, furthering the post-First World War pledge in the BRCS's Supplementary Charter to mitigate suffering beyond wartime contexts. The organisation continued domestic support to the warfare and welfare state alongside this, with civil defence first aid training and the National Hospital Service Reserve, the Red Cross Youth, home nursing and welfare, medical equipment, volunteering in hospitals and homes, professional nursing, transport, day care centres, holidays for the disabled and elderly, the Beauty Care and Cosmetic Camouflage Service, fundraising, charity shops, the missing persons tracing service, and more.[116] The BRCS' records and Woolton's personal papers reveal some of his key concerns, including lengthy papers on the care of disabled veterans, and the role of the Red Cross in support of the state with civil defence in preparation for nuclear or chemical war, plus how to recruit more members.[117]

Woolton played a very prominent role in international leadership of the Red Cross Movement in the aftermath of the war. Following the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies meeting in Paris in November 1945, Woolton was asked to lead the work connected with International Red Cross Relations and Relief, including the relations with the new UN, and discussions with the ICRC regarding this matter, becoming Chairman of the Joint Committee of the Commission for the Revision of the Statutes and the Commission for International Relations. Woolton attended the UN meeting in London. The League's main role was to co-ordinate contact between national Red Cross societies. In July 1946, the Board met in Oxford, with Woolton as the Vice-Chairman. Woolton's report demonstrates the depth and scope of this work in relation to outlining policies, for example joint relief work with other organisations, supplies, principles around relief and blockades, relations with the ICRC, responses to peace-time disasters, refugees and displaced persons, the future of atomic warfare, and education regarding 'humanitarian and charity' principles; however, other national Red Cross

societies were taking the lead on some of these areas of policy.[118] All this was in preparation for further discussions with the ICRC at the International Red Cross Conference in Stockholm in 1948, and for discussions on a resolution regarding the League as part of the new UN as there had been within the League of Nations Covenant (which was not possible as it was too late), and the principles of the Red Cross Movement, so these were ongoing and responsible commitments, international in scope, in Woolton's post-war life.[119]

At Stockholm, Woolton was the President of the General Commission, as well as remaining in the role of Vice-President of the Board of the League, as one of three people in this role, the others being from Brazil and France, with the American, Basil O'Connor, as the President. In his capacity of President of the General Commission, Woolton introduced the broad range of reports, including discussions about topics such as the International Relief Union, the financing of the ICRC, the exchanging of delegates between national societies and between the ICRC, relations with the UN, and teaching about and publicising Red Cross principles. In discussions regarding the wording of the Geneva Conventions, he passionately argued that the independence of national Red Cross societies needed to be strengthened. At the end of the conference, he was appointed as one of five members of the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross for the term 1948–1952.[120] It seems extraordinary that these activities were not recorded in Woolton's memoirs, but perhaps it was because of his discretion regarding such an important role, as he was still chair of the BRCS when he published his book in 1959.

Woolton was not just a figurehead but was involved in the running of the national organisation in a close and detailed way, although Vice-Chairman, Angela, The Countess of Limerick was responsible for much of the day-to-day running of the organisation with the Secretary-General. During Woolton's tenure at the BRCS, he increased the employment of paid professionals and an internal review on this topic, which focused on the interaction between headquarters and county branches, noted that there was more work with government than ever before. Amongst these large-scale changes, Woolton was also devoted to focused tasks, such as investing time in personally smoothing over tensions between colleagues in the Hospital Library Service, and supporting various challenges faced by the East Lancashire Tuberculosis Colony.[121] Until the mid-1950s, this time-consuming Red Cross work was undertaken alongside his 'inspirational' work for the Conservative Party in driving change in organisational practices, fundraising, driving up membership and boosting the role of the annual conference.[122] He was credited as the 'organiser of victory' in the 1951 general election.[123]

Despite Woolton's extensive connections with the governing Conservative Party, by 1958 he pleaded unsuccessfully for more government funding in recognition of the work of the charity in the service of the state. As in Stockholm in 1948, he was clear in emphasising independence and particularly highlighted that the BRCS was 'independent of Government control' and argued that this was accepted 'throughout the world' in contrast to Red Cross societies in most other countries, as well as foregrounding the charity's unique status as a 'recognised auxiliary of the Government under the Geneva Convention'. The BRCS had administered government funds for emergency relief measures, and for colonial emergencies, but initial costs for these colonial activities, and for overheads, had come from the charity's own funds. Therefore, aid was costing £70,000 - per year more than the charity's income and expenses at headquarters had been cut down

to the 'barest level for efficiency'. He tried to request £20,000 per year from the Exchequer 'for the next few years towards the cost of our work as the recognised auxiliary of Government in the Red Cross field', with the example that the BRCS had spent over £5,000 of its own funds on Anglo-Egyptian refugees alone, including administering Home Office hostels. This bid was rejected because of the charity's endowment fund.[124]

As Woolton's leadership neared its end, the BRCS contributed to the revisions of the International Movement's fundamental principles, and discussed them in detail in 1961. They included national Red Cross societies' independence from governments.[125] Yet before these principles were formalised in Vienna in 1965, Woolton died at the age of 80 in 1964, at his large home in Sussex, having stepped down from the BRCS the year before.[126]

Despite Woolton's post-war leadership roles within the International Red Cross Movement, in his memoir, he reflected on the problems which his work in government generated for his role with the Red Cross. He relied on Limerick as he

> soon found . . . that the Red Cross authorities in other nations found it quite inconceivable that I, who had been in a prominent position in the British government, should be – as the British Red Cross has always been – independent of government and free from any form of direction or subsidy from the government of the day.

He highlighted that he was not alone in having connections with his government:

> Moreover, I soon realized that my known political views – particularly regarding Communist Russia – made it impossible for other foreign delegates, most of whom had a close association with their own governments, to believe that when I spoke for the Red Cross I was not also speaking for the British government. I decided, therefore, that it was a good thing to leave this side of the work in the much more competent hands of Lady Limerick, who has conducted it with great distinction.[127]

Joan Whittington, the Director of Overseas Branches, worked and travelled closely with Limerick. Bark, Jeanetta Warner and the Duchess of Marlborough were also very active in foreign relations, jetting around the world. These women, and others who worked in welfare and nursing, appear to have been carrying on the cultural brokering work in health and welfare, but mixed with international relations with visits to countries such as China and the USSR, which Woolton was not able to do.[128] Increasing awareness of British women's ability to work as 'cultural brokers' with other women regarding sensitive health issues, and with women's movements overseas, has been discussed, for example with regard to nursing and foreign diplomacy, with the value of female diplomats' skills, such as 'empathy, intuition and a feel for female public opinion', gradually recognised in the twentieth century, and more so in the post-war years.[129] Despite Woolton wanting Limerick to take on the chairmanship when he retired, she declined and Lord Inchyra was selected.[130] Inchyra's appointment demonstrates increasing involvement in international relief, together with the move away from party politics. He was a retired civil servant with extensive leadership experience in the Foreign Office and as a diplomat, who sat on the crossbenches in the House of Lords.[131]

This article has examined Woolton's political speeches in relation to the NHS as well as his memoir, demonstrating that he drew on his life experience and witnessing, self-fashioning himself as a humanitarian publicly from the 1940s, as well as in his 1959 *Memoirs*. Yet his memoir has perhaps misled historians studying the last two decades of

his life, which traversed charity and humanitarianism as well as politics. Other egodocuments, such as his diary and letters, allow this to be reconstructed. BRCS chairs were not unusual in mixing politics with charity and Woolton exemplifies a long tradition of Conservative humanitarianism, although having some reluctance regarding party politics. Referring to Jose Harris' research, Matthew Hilton and James McKay have argued that the state and voluntary sectors are not entirely distinct but 'mutually co-constitutive'. They use Shelter and Child Poverty Action Group as examples – people's careers switched between the 'voluntary and political/statutory spheres'.[132] Inchrya's appointment indicates that Red Cross leadership changed with the International Movement's emphasis on political neutrality and independence in 1965 but he still had experience of working for the government. Woolton had by that time publicly admitted in his memoir that his links with government had made international relations challenging, and his contributions to meetings and correspondence demonstrate that this was at a time when the BRCS was explicitly stating its independence from government. The significance of chairing a major charity, with roles in the discussions regarding the Geneva Conventions of 1949, together with the importance of his earlier role in preparing for the NHS, have been lacking in accounts of Woolton's life, with the focus on the first years of the Second World War, and on party politics.

Notes

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2. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 304–305.
3. Lord Woolton, Diary, 30 September 1940 to 9 September 1942; 18 September 1942 to 24 June 1960, Archive of Frederick James Marquis, 1st Earl of Woolton, MSS. Woolton, MS. Woolton 2 and 3, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries (hereafter OBL); Michael Kandiah and Judith Rowbotham (eds), *The Diaries and Letters of Lord Woolton, 1940–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 8–9, discuss the possible fate of the original handwritten version.
4. Minutes of Executive Committee meetings 1942–68, RCB/1/2/14-17, British Red Cross Museum and Archive (hereafter BRCMA); MSS. Woolton, OBL; Beryl Oliver, *The British Red Cross in Action* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 508.
5. Woolton, *Memoirs*, xi-xii.
6. Kandiah and Rowbotham, *Diaries and Letters*, 120, 170 and 224, and 13.
7. David Richards and Helen Mathers, 'Political Memoirs and New Labour: Interpretations of Power and the "Club Rules"', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 12 (2010): 503–504; quotations from David Vincent, *The Culture of Secrecy in Britain 1832–1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 315.
8. Richard and Mathers, 'Political Memoirs', 505.
9. See, for example, David P. Forsythe, 'Naming and Shaming: The Ethics of ICRC Discretion', *Journal of International Studies* 34:1 (2005): 461–474.
10. William Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2016); Michael Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship of the Conservative Party, 1946–1951', Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 1992; Michael Kandiah, 'Marquis, Frederick James, first earl of Woolton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, updated 2020); Kandiah and Rowbotham, *Diaries and Letters*.
11. The Rt. Hon. Lord Woolton, *The Adventure of Reconstruction: Peace, Expansion and Reform, Selected Speeches* (London: Cassell, 1945).

12. Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*, 293 and 297. Also see Brian Tarran, 'Lord Woolton: The man who used statistics (and more) to feed a nation at war', *Significance* 14: 3 (2017): 24–29.
13. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship'; Kandiah, 'Marquis'.
14. Oliver, *The British Red Cross*, 24, 500–504, 508, 512–513, 537, 550–551.
15. UK Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, vol. 262, 15 December 1964, columns 351–356.
16. Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*, 11; Kandiah and Rowbotham, *Diaries and Letters*, 15–17; Kandiah, 'Marquis, Frederick James'.
17. Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*, 13–14 and 16; Kandiah, 'Marquis'; Woolton, *Memoirs*, 7–9.
18. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 9–10.
19. Katharine Bentley Beauman, *Women and the Settlement Movement* (London and New York: The Radcliffe Press, 1996), 116–118 and 208–220.
20. Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond, 1880–1980* (New York: Palgrave, 2014), especially 13, 24–27 and 46–47; Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform 1880–1914: The Search for Community* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 45.
21. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 1–15.
22. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall*, 130 and 155.
23. Ibid., ix-xi, 124–126, and 136–143, including quotations; Bentley Beauman, *Women and the Settlement Movement*, 30 and 202.
24. Clement Attlee, *As it Happened* (London: Heinemann: 1954), 15.
25. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 10; Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 91–93 and 121.
26. See Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering*, 25–32 for more on provincial university settlements.
27. Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, pp. 91–93 and 121; Katherine Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: Charities and the Working Classes in London, 1918–1979* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 29–32.
28. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 11–16.
29. Ibid., 16–26.
30. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 11–12; Woolton, *Memoirs*, 16–25.
31. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 10; Woolton, *Memoirs*, 11.
32. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 42.
33. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 15; Woolton, *Memoirs*, 43 and 50–51.
34. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 15, 18 and 20; Sitwell, *Eggs and Anarchy*, 31; Woolton, *Memoirs*, 53 and 162.
35. David Edgerton, *Britain's War Machine: Weapons, Resources and Experts in the Second World War* (London: Penguin, 2011, 2012), 95–97.
36. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 19.
37. Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*, 50–51; Angus Calder, *The People's War* (EBook: Vintage Digital, 2012 [1969]), 140–141.
38. Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*, 288.
39. Ibid., 331–332.
40. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 23.
41. Calder, *The People's War*, 105.
42. Kandiah, 'Lord Woolton's Chairmanship', 21–22.
43. Woolton, Diary, 1 November 1943, 83, MS. Woolton 3, OBL.
44. See G. Thomas Couser, *Memoir: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15–24 for the difference between autobiographies and memoirs.
45. Woolton, *Memoirs*, xi.
46. Ibid., xii.
47. Ibid., 54.
48. Ibid., 1–6.

49. Helen Dampier and Rebecca Gill, 'Constructing a Humanitarian Self: Emily Hobhouse's Auto/biographical Traces, 1899–1926', *Cultural and Social History*, advance access, https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2022.2147411
50. Ben Yagoda, *Memoir: A History* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2009).
51. Woolton, *Memoirs*, xi, 1 and 6.
52. Alex Zwerdling, *The Rise of the Memoir* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 85.
53. For Orwell, see Zwerdling, *The Rise of the Memoir*, 87 and 93–94. Yet, Zwerdling discusses potential inaccuracies within Orwell's accounts, 93.
54. Bradford Vivian, *Commonplace Witnessing: Rhetorical Invention, Historical Remembrance, and Public Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 12 and 2.
55. J. Henry Dunant, *Un Souvenir de Solferino* (Geneva: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1862).
56. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 7–37, and 53–66.
57. Ibid., 11–14.
58. Ibid., 14.
59. David Blunkett quoted by Richards and Mathers, 'Political Memoirs', 516.
60. Richards and Mathers, 'Political Memoirs', 502.
61. Evelyn Bark, *No Time to Kill* (London: Robert Hale, 1960); Bertrand Taithe, 'Humanitarian Masculinity: Desire, Character and Heroics, 1876–2018' in *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century: Practice, Politics and the Power of Representation*, ed. Esther Möller, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 35–60.
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63. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 17–25 and 30; Kandiah and Rowbotham, *Diaries and Letters*, 24; see Bernard Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild: A History of the School Medical Service in England and Wales* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), 43–68, for details of the Act in relation to medical inspection.
64. Woolton, *Memoirs*, 26–27.
65. Ibid., 27–29 and 38.
66. Ibid., 10 and 34–40.
67. Ibid., 32–34.
68. Ibid., 324–325.
69. W. H. Beveridge, *Voluntary Action: A Report on Methods of Social Advance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015 [1948]), 84.
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81. UK Parliamentary Debates, Lords, vol. 175, 5 February, columns 1019–1026; 4 March, columns 467–474; 25 March 1952, columns 912–914; vol. 176, 6 May, columns 604–610; 13 May, columns 802–803; and 20 May 1952, columns 1164–1165. However, Webster notes that Woolton's handling of the debates on charges were a worry to the Ministry of Health, *The Health Services*, 196.
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Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to the helpful archivists in all of the repositories which I have used for this paper, and to the 3rd Earl of Woolton for permission to quote from his grandfather's papers, which are held at the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Helen Dampier, Rebecca Gill, Bernard Harris, Pat Thane and Peter Wilson have all been kind enough to read my drafts and I am very appreciative of their comments. Thank you to the panel contributors for input at the European Social Science History Conference in Belfast, 2018. Bertrand Taithe also offered wise advice when we 'workshopped' a broader number of papers for this issue in 2021.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

This work was supported by a Bodleian Libraries Sassoon Visiting Fellowship (University of Oxford), on 'War, Humanitarianism and the British Red Cross' (2017); the Wellcome Trust [219901/B/19/Z/Border Crossings]; and the Australian Research Council [project number DP190101171] funded by the Australian Government. The author reports there are no competing interests to declare.

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