Notes

References and abbreviations used in the notes and select bibliography

BL	British Library
<i>BMJ</i>	<i>British Medical Journal</i>
CH	Clemence Housman
Comm	Committee
Conf	Conference
corr	correspondence
CPS	C. P. Scott
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EHM	Edith How-Martyn
Exec	Executive
FOI	Freedom of Information
GRO	General Register Office
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Housman Society Journal</i>
HW	Helen Watts
<i>HWJ</i>	<i>History Workshop Journal</i>
JB	John Burns
LIG	Lloyd George
LSWS	London Society for Women's Suffrage
<i>MG</i>	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
Mil Dept	Militant Department
mins	minutes
MoL	Museum of London
MLWS	Men's League for Women's Suffrage
<i>PEN</i>	<i>Portsmouth Evening News</i>
TWL	The Women's Library
<i>VfW</i>	<i>Votes for Women</i>

WCG	Women's Co-operative Guild
WFr	<i>Women's Franchise</i>
WHN	Women's History Network
WHR	<i>Women's History Review</i>

Introduction

- 1 Here 'suffragettes' denotes those who deployed militant tactics, and 'suffragists' those using constitutional means. However, contemporary uses of this terminology were much less precise. Helpful here is Claire Eustance, 'Meanings of Militancy: the ideas and practice of political resistance in the Women's Freedom League, 1907–14', in Maroula Joannou and June Purvis (eds), *The Women's Suffrage Movement: new feminist perspectives*, Manchester University Press, 1998.
- 2 *Women's Franchise*, 2 Jul 1908, International Woman Suffrage Alliance [IWSA]; and IWSA history, 1929.
- 3 See Kathleen Canning and Sonya Rose, 'Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivity', *Gender & History*, 13:3, 2001.
- 4 A major example is Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement: an intimate account of persons and ideals*, 1931 and 1977, plus numerous subsequent texts.
- 5 Notably, George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England 1910–1914*, 1935, has just two chapters.
- 6 For historiography, see Chapter 19. Broadcast in June 2013 just as this book was going to press, BBC Radio 4's excellent ten-part series '1913: The Year Before' is therefore a significant contribution. Presented by Michael Portillo, it included not only Elizabeth Crawford on 'Women's Rebellion' but also Ireland and industrial strikes – thus updating Dangerfield's 1935 panoramic sweep.
- 7 Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: a reference guide 1866–1928*, Routledge, 1999 and 2001.
- 8 We hope this study will encourage similar research on Wales and Scotland.
- 9 *History Workshop*, 71, spring 2011.
- 10 The Elizabeth Garrett Anderson UNISON Gallery in the former EGA Hospital building on Euston Road, London.
- 11 Liddington and Crawford, 'Battle for the 1911 Census', pp. 116, 119 and note 82. The conclusions reached here do not contradict this earlier article, but can now be more authoritative and include the Gazetteer.
- 12 Liddington, *Rebel Girls: their fight for the vote*, Virago Press, 2006.
- 13 Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: the rise of the women's suffrage movement*, Virago Press 1978 and 1984, Rivers Oram Press 2000.
- 14 See Liddington, *Rebel Girls*, 'Suffrage detective: tracking the evidence', pp. xi and 335. For the analytical framework that emerged, see Chapter 19.
- 15 There are signs this is changing; see *History Workshop*, 71, 2011, editorial, 'Digital sources, access and "History of a Nation"?' Also, BBC Radio 4, Lisa Jardine, 'A Point of View: a convert to family history', 2 Dec 2011.
- 16 Helpful here is Laura E. Nym Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: citizenship and resistance in Britain, 1860–1930*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003.

- 17 Though note George Barnsby, *Votes for Women: the struggle for the vote in the Black Country 1900–1918*, Wolverhampton, 1995, booklet, p. 31. Also Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: a regional survey*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2006, p. 125.
- 18 Obviously, it is impossible to be precise about the number (probably few) who did escape this head-count; what is often missing for boycotters is personal information on age, occupation etc.
- 19 This structure is influenced by my *Female Fortune: the Anne Lister diaries 1833–36*, Rivers Oram, 1998, 'Note on Text', pp. 77–80; despite such contrasting source material, the shared need for selection criteria has guided my thinking here. More generally by *Rebel Girls* (2006); and by Sandra Holton, *Suffrage Days: stories from the women's suffrage movement*, Routledge, 1996.
- 20 Other diaries noting the census boycott include Dr Alice Ker, Birkenhead; and Kate Frye, East Anglia, see www.womanandhersphere.com.
- 21 The cut-off point of five hundred schedules was largely determined by the book length, and will hopefully inspire local historians and others to continue further research, both in England and more widely.
- 22 For a helpful introduction to the literature, see Kathryne Beebe, Angela Davis and Kathryn Gleadle, 'Space, Place and Gendered Identities: feminist history and the spatial turn', *Women's History Review*, 21:4, 2012.

1 Charlotte Despard and John Burns, the Colossus of Battersea

- 1 Andro Linklater, *An Unhusbanded Life: Charlotte Despard: suffragette, socialist and Sein Feiner*, Hutchinson, 1980, pp. 43–50. This remains an invaluable biography, though exasperatingly lacks references.
- 2 Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 44 and 62.
- 3 Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 83.
- 4 Margaret Bondfield, *A Life's Work*, Hutchinson, [1949], p. 75.
- 5 Crawford, *Reference*, p. 166, quoting Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy.
- 6 Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 106–7.
- 7 Kenneth Brown, *John Burns*, Royal Historical Society, 1977, p. 7; this is more scholarly than the earlier biography, William Kent, *John Burns: Labour's lost leader*, Williams & Norgate, 1950. Kent however talked to Burns before he died. Also, The Rt Hon John Burns MP, 'Careers in Pictures', *The Strand* magazine, Mar 1911.
- 8 Brown, *Burns*, pp. 8–9 and 12. He had also travelled widely.
- 9 Brown, *Burns*, pp. 58–9.
- 10 Kent, *Burns*, pp. 152–4 and 161.
- 11 John Burns's Diary, British Library, Add MS 46260 and Add MS 46281: minor punctuation added.
- 12 *British Medical Journal (BMJ)*, 16 Jun 1906. George Newman, *The Health of the State*, 1907, p. 123. Newman was Medical Officer of Health for Finsbury.
- 13 Brown, 'Burns', *DNB*.
- 14 1911 census; its definition of a 'room' included kitchen but not scullery, bathroom etc.

- 15 Historians are not helped because, as becomes clear, Despard did not fill in her 1911 census schedule.
- 16 Burns's Diary, Sat 9 Oct and Sun 14 Nov 1909.
- 17 *The Vote*, 19 Mar 1910.
- 18 Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 113–15.
- 19 For other interpretations, see for instance June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: a biography*, Routledge, 2002, pp. 93 and 97.
- 20 *WFr*, 28 Nov 1908. Mrs Duval was Battersea branch secretary.
- 21 Quoted in Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 125–6.
- 22 A. J. R., *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who*, Stanley Paul, 1913, p. 363; Emma Sproson Papers, Wolverhampton Record Office, p. 49.
- 23 Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 127 and 131.
- 24 NUWSS patterns varied across England; see *One Hand Tied Behind Us* for Lancashire.
- 25 *WFr*, 2 Jan 1908.
- 26 *The Times*, 31 Jan 1908; Alison Neilans and Irene Miller were among those arrested. Possibly as many as ten from the WFL were imprisoned.
- 27 Stella Newsome, *Women's Freedom League 1907–1957*, Woman's Freedom League, [1960] p. 4; the exact occasion is unclear.

2 Muriel Matters goes vanning it with Asquith: campaigning cross country

- 1 H. C. G. Matthew, 'Herbert Henry Asquith' *DNB*.
- 2 Quoted in Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up, Women! The militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union 1903–14*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, p. 97, HC Debates, 17 Apr 1892. Letter, 1920, quoted in Crawford, *Regional Survey*, p. 280; while obviously written twelve years later, it encapsulates Asquith's fears of the female.
- 3 Quoted in Rosen, *Rise Up!*, p. 98.
- 4 *The Times*, 31 Jan 1908.
- 5 Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women: a revisionist analysis of the campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866–1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 153.
- 6 *WFr*, 12 and 19 Mar 1908.
- 7 Churchill then stood successfully in Dundee, so retaining his ministerial post.
- 8 Muriel Matters Society, *Why Muriel Matters: a centenary celebration*, Adelaide, 2010.
- 9 *The Vote*, 'Concerning Muriel Matters', 19 Feb 1910.
- 10 1911 population figures. WFL had just a branch in Croydon, and another in Bromley.
- 11 Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*. As Crawford notes, he was very much the suffragettes' poet.
- 12 *WFr*, 21 May 1908.
- 13 *WFr*, 21 May 1908.
- 14 *Guildford Free Press*, 23 May 1908; *WFr*, 4 June 1908.
- 15 *WFr*, 4 Jun 1908.
- 16 *The Vote*, 14 May 1910.
- 17 *WFr*, 11 Jun 1908.
- 18 *WFr*, 25 Jun and 16 July 1908.

- 19 Museum of London, 1930. Matters married, Oct 1914; Tillard died in 1922 in Russia.
- 20 *WFr*, 27 Aug 1908 (Hythe).
- 21 Margaret W. Nevinston, *Life's Fitful Fever: A Volume of Memories*, A. & C. Black, 1926, pp. 214–15; *WFr*, 24 Sep 1908.
- 22 *WFr*, 27 Aug 1908.
- 23 *WFr*, 11 Jun 1908. Also, Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: imagery of the suffrage campaign 1907–14*, Chatto & Windus, 1987.
- 24 Barbara Caine, *Bombay to Bloomsbury: a biography of the Strachey family*, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 121.
- 25 Caine, *Strachey*, pp. 307–12.
- 26 Newnham College Club Letter 1908, quoted in Crawford, *Reference*, 'Caravans'.
- 27 Ray Costelloe, 3, 2 and 10 July 1908, *TWL*; *WFr*, 23 Jul 1908; *Oxford Chronicle*, 31 Jul 1908.
- 28 *WFr*, 20 Aug 1908; for Yorkshire tour, see *Rebel Girls*, pp. 205–10.
- 29 Mayhall, *Resistance*, pp. 46–9 ff.
- 30 *Illustrated London News*, 7 Nov 1908.
- 31 Nevinston, *Fitful*, p. 208.
- 32 WFL Organizing Committee, 23 Nov 1908 and 2–15 Jun 1909 and ff. *Vote*, 23 July, 20 and 27 Aug 1910.

3 Propaganda culture: Clemence and Laurence Housman

- 1 Thanks to Tara Morton for discussion.
- 2 Though both grew quickly impatient with MLWS.
- 3 See Jill Liddington and Tara Morton, 'Walking with Women's Suffrage in Kensington and Chelsea', *Herstoria*, spring 2011; also three talented Woodward sisters, linked to the NUWSS and WSPU, designing for ASL.
- 4 Angela V. John, *Evelyn Sharp: rebel woman, 1869–1955*, Manchester University Press, 2009, pp. 57–9. Suffrage enamellist Ernestine Mill also lived nearby.
- 5 *VfW*, 1 Sep 1911.
- 6 Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. 19. Bertha Newcombe's *The Apple Seller* (1910) depicts John Stuart Mill MP with the first women's suffrage petition. Emily Ford designed posters: her 'Factory Acts' decorated the NUWSS caravan.
- 7 Letter, 1933, quoted in A. E. Housman, *DNB*.
- 8 Elizabeth Oakley, *Inseparable Siblings: a portrait of Clemence & Laurence Housman*, Brewin Books, 2009 is particularly informative. Also note Ann Born, 'Clemence Housman 1861–1955', typescript, 1978, Housman mss.
- 9 Laurence Housman, *Unexpected Years*, Jonathan Cape, 1937, pp. 82–3. Linda Hart, 'Laurence Housman: a subject in search of a biographer', *HSJ*, 31, 2005, pp. 15–17, is incisive.
- 10 Jo Hunt, 'Laurence Housman – the Younger Brother', *HSJ*, 16, 1990, pp. 7–8. Oakley, *Siblings*, p. viii, notes AEH's family tree (1908) detailing achievements of all seven Housman siblings – apart from LH and CH, about whom he recorded nothing, other than date of birth.

- 11 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 170–1.
- 12 Now fairly unreadable and mawkish; however, Jonathan Wild reviews ‘the publishing sensation of 1900’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 Nov 2012.
- 13 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 194–5. *DNB* and Hunt say they moved in 1903; the blue plaque says Rothenstein lived there to 1902.
- 14 Housman, *An Englishwoman’s Love Letters*, John Murray, 1900, p. 25.
- 15 Rodney Engen, *Laurence Housman*, Catalpa, 1983, p. 28; Hart, ‘Biographer’, p. 27; Housman papers, 1912 letter.
- 16 Quoted in Hart, ‘Biographer’, p. 21; LH’s views here are complex.
- 17 Letter dated 8 May 1916, when LH was about to sail to New York; but although heightened by wartime, this doubtless represents LH’s relationship; many thanks to Elizabeth Oakley on this.
- 18 Housman, *Unexpected Years*, pp. 190 and 264–5. Stephen Housman, ‘The Housman Banners’, *HSJ*, 1992, p. 41.
- 19 Undated letter, 33B, Housman mss; probably Mar 1911.
- 20 In Housman, *Articles of Faith in the Freedom of Women*, Fifield, 1910, p. 7.
- 21 Housman, *Unexpected*, p. 190.
- 22 Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. 94 and note 129, citing *Ashbee Journals*. Also Housman, ‘Banners’, pp. 40–2.
- 23 Housman, ‘Banners’, pp. 42–3.
- 24 LH to Sarah Clark, 6 Dec [1912?], quoted in Tickner, *Spectacle*, note 61, p. 291. Also, Oakley, *Siblings*, p. 77; *VfW*, 23 Jul 1909.
- 25 LH elected to MLWS Committee and Literature Sub-Committee in April 1909.
- 26 Discussed in Holton, *Suffrage Days*, pp. 144ff.
- 27 See Hilary Frances, “‘Pay the Piper, call the tune!’ the Women’s Tax Resistance League”, in Joannou and Purvis, eds, *Perspectives*, p. 66; also Quaker Alice Clark resisted payment of taxes, 1907.
- 28 *WFr*, 19 Dec 1907, 16 Jan 1908; Mrs Sargent Florence was active, see Chapter 6.
- 29 *WFr*, 14 May 1908.
- 30 *WFr*, 3 Jun 1909.
- 31 *Vote*, 12 Feb 1910.
- 32 WFL Organizing Comm, [1 Feb] 1909. Muriel Matters’s flight was immortalized on film, and in a BBC broadcast, Feb 1939, describing her exhilarating flight and how the airship was blown off course, landing in Coulsdon, Surrey.

4 Parallel politics: Lloyd George plus Midlands suffragettes

- 1 On historiography, biographies of Lloyd George scarcely mention hunger striking or forcible feeding; while most suffragette accounts make scant reference to the Finance Bill. However, note C. J. Bearman, ‘An Army Without Discipline? Suffragette militancy and the budget crisis of 1909’, *Historical Journal*, 50: 4, 2007; yet this detailed research is marred by anti-WSPU axe-grinding.
- 2 Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, Longman, 1982 and 1996, p. 77.
- 3 Kenneth Morgan, “‘Rare and Refreshing Fruit’: Lloyd George’s People’s Budget”, *Public Policy Research*, 16: 1, Mar–May 2009; *DNB* quoting *Hansard*.

- 4 Bentley B. Gilbert, *David Lloyd George: a political life: the architect of change 1863–1912*, Batsford, 1987, pp. 385–6.
- 5 *WFr*, 6 May 1909.
- 6 *VfW*, 7 May 1909.
- 7 HW, 'Speech at Welcome Supper, March 1909', typescript, pp. 2–3, Helen Watts mss, Nottingham.
- 8 *Evening News*, 28 Jul 1908.
- 9 There are suggestions of two hundred members, including lace workers and dressmakers, but there is little evidence of their activity in the branch.
- 10 Speech given by HW, Birmingham, 18 May, 1909, typescript, HW mss; HW was also involved in the Girls' Realm Guild.
- 11 HW, 'Welcome Supper, March 1909', pp. 3–4. Helpful is Hilda Kean, 'Searching for the Past in Present Defeat: construction of historical and political identity in British feminism in the 1920s & 1930s', *WHR*, 3:1, 1994.
- 12 HW to Mother, Father and all, 24 Feb 1909, HW mss.
- 13 Mother to daughter, 25 Feb 1909, HW mss.
- 14 No date [mid-Mar?] MB to HW, HW mss.
- 15 'Welcome Supper', March 1909.
- 16 *VfW*, 2 Jul and 17 Sept 1909; Bearman, 'Army', p. 875.
- 17 'Copy of talk given at Morley's Café, Nottingham, 17 Sept 1909', HW mss.
- 18 *VfW*, 10 Sept 1909; Richard Whitmore, *Alice Hawkins and the Suffragette Movement in Edwardian Leicester*, Breedon Books, 2007, pp. 88–9.
- 19 'Morley's Café', 17 Sept 1909.
- 20 'Morley's Café', 17 Sept 1909; *VfW*, 17 Sep 1909.
- 21 Caprina Fahey, 17 Sept 1909, Hendon.
- 22 'Morley's Café', 17 Sept 1909.
- 23 Warwickshire 1911 figures: had been 500,000; but after the census Birmingham was extended (into Staffordshire and Worcestershire), increasing the city's population by about half.
- 24 Elizabeth Crawford, *From Frederick Street to Winson Green: the Women's Suffrage Movement in Birmingham 1866–1918*, 2000, pp. 11–14.
- 25 Purvis, *Emmeline*, p. 133; Bearman, 'Budget crisis', p. 877; there are minor reporting differences in the accounts.
- 26 Winson Green Visiting Committee minutes, 24 and 25 Sep 1909.
- 27 Visiting Comm mins, 28 Sept 1909. Those forcibly fed included Mabel Capper (Manchester) and Charlotte Marsh (see Chapters 15 and 16).
- 28 Angela V. John, *War, Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century: the life and times of Henry W. Nevinnson*, I. B. Tauris, 2006, pp. 80–2 and 101.
- 29 Quoted by Gilbert, *Lloyd George*, p. 395; Hattersley, *Outsider*, p. 258; Morgan, 'Fruit', p. 32.
- 30 *Evening News*, 26 Jul 1910, and *Lenton Times*, No. 10, HW mss. HW spoke at Midsomer Norton (near Bath) 27 Nov 1909; her speech, however, bogged down in detail about women's sweated work, lacked the clarity of earlier speeches. She was also arrested in Nottingham Jan 1910, but her case was dismissed, and this appears to be HW's final act of militancy.

- 31 Bearman, 'Budget crisis', p. 881, says most newspapers refused to condemn forcible feeding, and only the *Manchester Guardian* stood out.

5 Plotting across central London: census and tax resistance

- 1 Burns, diary, e.g. 8 and 18 Sep 1909.
- 2 Brown, *Burns*, pp. 149–51; Thane, *Welfare*, pp. 89–90.
- 3 Edward Higgs, 'Sir Bernard Mallet', www.histpop.org; Mallet obituary, *The Times*, 29 Oct 1932.
- 4 S. R. S. Szreter, 'Thomas Stevenson', *DNB*; Higgs, 'Stevenson', www.histpop.org.
- 5 A helpful overview is Edward Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: civil registration, censuses and the work of the General Register Office, 1836–1952*, Local Population Studies, 2004, chap. 5, 'The evidence of statistical revival'. Also Audrey Collins, 'Sorting out the Census', *Ancestors*, 2009.
- 6 Committee on the Census 1911, RG19/48B, 20 and 22 Oct 1909, TNA; Edgar Harper (LCC) also present. Archer Bellingham's earlier 'Summary of Suggestions', Jul 1908, had noted staff increases needed etc.
- 7 Comm Census, 27 Oct 1909, Stevenson not present.
- 8 See Higgs, *Life, Death*, chap. 5, for the complexity of these concerns; Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *HWJ*, 5, 1978; also Szreter, 'Stevenson', *DNB*. 1911 census, Stevenson, Barnet, Middlesex; Archer Bellingham, Wimbledon, Surrey.
- 9 Eustance, 'Militancy', p. 56; Linklater, *Unhusbanded*, pp. 141–2; Mayhall, *Militant*, p. 37; Frances, 'Pay the Piper, call the tune!', pp. 66–8.
- 10 Quoting Crawford, *Reference*.
- 11 Nevinson, *Fitful Fever*, p. 211.
- 12 WFL Organizing Comm, 9 and 30 Apr 1908, also 21 Dec 1908 when her suggestion that WFL form a Tax Resistance department was agreed.
- 13 Crawford, *Reference*; her husband remained in Leek, Staffordshire.
- 14 How-Martyn proposed it remain under WFL auspices; voting was 6 for, 9 against. WFL Nat Exec mins, 20 Nov 1909.
- 15 *Vote*, 11 Nov 1909.
- 16 WTRL, mins 8 Nov 1909.
- 17 *Vote*, 11 Nov 1909.
- 18 S. Housman, 'Banners', 1992, p. 44, identifies it as now 13 Linden Road. Oakley, *Siblings*, pp. 81–2 and 94; CH often stayed with Kate and her family in Bath.
- 19 Housman correspondence, Street collection, 44c, n.d.; Oakley, *Siblings*, pp. 97–8.
- 20 WTRL, 17 Dec 1909, 4 and 25 Feb 1910.
- 21 Frances, 'Piper', pp. 70–1; however, many of her examples are c. 1912 i.e. post-census.
- 22 WTRL, 6 May, 10 and 24 Jun 1910. Also, Housman, 'Banners', pp. 44–5, on statue etc.

6 The battle for John Burns's Battersea revisited

- 1 Nevinson, *Fitful*, p. 203; Linklater, *Despard*, pp. 134–5.
- 2 *VfW*, 29 Oct 1909.

- 3 *Vote*, 4 Nov 1909.
- 4 WFL Org Comm, 12 Oct and 2 Nov 1909 (thirteen letters objecting received). *Vote*, 4 Nov 1909 (Alison Neilans and Mrs Chapin). Eustance, 'Militancy', p. 55.
- 5 Asquith and Birrell were older; however Lloyd George, Churchill and others were younger.
- 6 Diary, 22 Sep and 1 Dec 1909, quoted, Brown, *Burns*, p. 154.
- 7 *Strand Magazine*, Mar 1911, Battersea Library collection.
- 8 *Vote*, 23 Dec 1909, notes mainly: Scotland (Asquith, Churchill), Wales (Lloyd George), north England (Grey) and west (Birrell).
- 9 *VfW*, 10 Dec 1909. Kent, *Burns*, p. 200, 'Jessie Kennedy'; Kenney was organizing in Walthamstow.
- 10 Batt Liby, cuttings book, Dec 1909; Brown, *Burns*, p. 155. Also *Punch* cartoon, 15 Dec 1909, Burns astride Battersea.
- 11 WFL Org Comm mins, 9 Nov 1909; WFL Nat Exec mins, 13 Dec [1909].
- 12 *Vote*, 30 Dec 1909.
- 13 Cuttings scrapbook, Battersea Library.
- 14 Kent, *Burns*, 205–6; *Daily Graphic*, Sat 8 Jan 1910, cuttings scrapbook, Battersea Library.
- 15 Batt Liby, cuttings book, e.g. *Globe* [1 Jan 1910].
- 16 *Vote*, 8 Jan 1910; Kent, *Burns*, p. 206, says WSPU also denied all knowledge.
- 17 See Crawford, 'A Rich Network of Association: Bloomsbury and Women's Suffrage', *The Charleston Magazine*, 1999, pp. 17–19, note 18 on her biographer incorrectly placing her in NUWSS.
- 18 Burns, diary, 17 Jan 1910; Kent, *Burns*, p. 207.
- 19 Burns, diary, 25 Feb 1910.
- 20 Quoted in Linklater, *Despard*, p. 137; *VfW*, 28 Jan 1910.
- 21 *Vote*, 5 Feb 1910. Internal 5th Ann Conf typed mins reveal far more dissension among branches, often small communities far from London.
- 22 *Vote*, 19 Feb 1910, 'White Flag of Truce'.
- 23 E.g. Lady Strachey, in Caine, *Bloomsbury*, pp. 300–1.
- 24 Sandra Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: women's suffrage and reform politics in Britain 1900–1918*, Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 69–70.

7 The Census Bill and the boycott plan

- 1 Census Comm mins, 18 and 22 Feb 1910.
- 2 The 'Memorandum upon the possible utilisation of Census records of duration of [each] marriage and number of children born to marriages'; a double negative has been deleted to enhance clarity. Also Memorandum and proposal for table of fertility in marriage.
- 3 Census Comm, 24 Feb 1910, pp. 60–2. The Stevensons married when he was thirty, she twenty-nine years old.
- 4 Census Comm, 28 Feb 1910; on Herman Hollerith's tabulator, with fast hole-punching and reading of cards, powered by electric current, see Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics*, chap 6.

- 5 See Documents relating to the preparation of 1911 census, LGB Memorandum, Feb 1910, p. 2.
- 6 Census Comm, 4 and 7 March and 11 April 1910.
- 7 *Hansard*: 4 March 1910, Census Bill, first reading, Herbert Lewis; Burns, Diary, 22 Mar 1910.
- 8 Census Comm, 18 Apr 1910.
- 9 Census (Great Britain) Act, 1910, 4 (1) c, 3 Aug 1910.
- 10 Census Comm, 28 Jun 1910.
- 11 Higgs, 'The Rise of the Information State', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 14:2, 2001; also Higgs, 'The Statistical Big Bang of 1911', 1996.
- 12 'Memorandum upon ... children born to marriage'.
- 13 For contemporary debate on women's right to work, note Olive Schreiner, *Woman and Labour*, 1911, and Cicely Hamilton, *Marriage as a Trade*, 1909.
- 14 WFL Nat Exec Comm Mins, 20 June and 31 Oct 1910. At no minuted 1910 discussion of the census boycott was there any suggestion that WFL Executive was aware yet of the new questions to be put about married women.
- 15 WFL Mil Dept, 'Letters sent out' file, 20 Jun – 23 Jul 1910.
- 16 WFL Annual Report for 1911, p. 8, claimed that 'the scheme to resist the Census' was [first] discussed by the WFL executive in March 1909; and 'it was first announced publicly at a meeting in London immediately after the reading of the King's Speech in February, 1910'. Surely a clerical error?
- 17 WFL Exec Comm Mins, 20 Jun & 31 Oct 1910.
- 18 WFL Mil Dept, letters, 30 July [1910], (note mixing of 'suffragist' and 'suffragette').
- 19 WFL Mil Dept, letters, n.d., p. 43.
- 20 WFL Mil Dept, letters, Mil Report, 20 Jun–23 Jul 1910 ff; Alison Neilans, initialled by EHM.
- 21 Holton, *Democracy*, p. 70.
- 22 Rosen, *Rise Up*, p. 137.
- 23 WFL Mil Dept, letters, 29 July [1910], p. 44.

8 Lloyd George goes a-wooing versus Burns's 'vixens in velvet'

- 1 Addison, 1934, quoted in *DNB*.
- 2 See Thane, *Foundations*, pp. 78–81.
- 3 Gilbert, *Lloyd George*, pp. 418–19; Hattersley, *Outsider*, pp. 291–3.
- 4 WTRL mins, 4 Feb – 24 Jun 1910; Oct 7, WTRL deputation to WSPU satisfactory.
- 5 WTRL mins, 6 May, 10 and 24 Jun, 18 Jul 1910.
- 6 Frances, 'Piper', pp. 70–2, gives a more optimistic picture; but, as noted, most examples are post-census.
- 7 Lyme Regis, Dorset, *Vote*, 3 Sep 1910. Also Dr Knight near Folkestone. Dr Patch slips through history books (even 1913 directory and Crawford, *Regional*), until her wartime bankruptcy proceedings.
- 8 *Vote*, 10 Sep 1910.
- 9 WTRL mins, 19 Sep 1910; magistrate was Cecil Chapman.
- 10 *Vote*, 1 Oct 1910.

- 11 WTRL mins, 28 Oct and 4–14 Nov 1910 ff. It was agreed that League should consist of two groups: those willing to resist immediately, and those willing to resist if five hundred others also willing.
- 12 *Vote*, 10 and 24 Sep 1910; however, Pippa Strachey for LSWS remained decidedly less enthusiastic.
- 13 *Vote*, 24 Sep 1910; e.g. the case of Mark Wilks and his wife, a doctor.
- 14 WFL Mil Dept letters, 19 and 27 Sep and 22 Oct 1910; *Vote*, 24 Sep 1910.
- 15 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 286–7.
- 16 WFL Mil Dept letters, 27 Oct [1910].
- 17 WFL Mil Dept letters; also Men's Comm for Justice to Women etc.
- 18 WFL Mil Dept, report of Caxton Hall, 27 Oct [1910].
- 19 *VfW*, 7 Oct 1910.
- 20 E.g. 7 & 15 Nov [1910], WFL Mil Dept letters.
- 21 Fawcett to Lady Frances Balfour, 28 Nov 1910, and Hume, *National Union*, p. 92. Although Figure 17 was designed later, the distrust between Burns and the suffragettes had deep roots.
- 22 John Burns diary; minor punctuation added. 1 Dec: gets 5s for broken windows from police.
- 23 Burns diary; Brown, *Burns*, p. 160 notes four suffrage organizations worked to 'keep Burns out'.
- 24 Burns diary, 11 Dec [1910].
- 25 Gilbert, *Lloyd George*, p. 429.
- 26 Hume, *National Union*, p. 95.
- 27 10 Dec 1910, Mins, WFL Mil Dept letters file.
- 28 WFL Exec Comm Mins, 6–7 Jan and 30 Jan 1911.
- 29 *Vote*, 4 Feb 1911, with others from Scotland etc; internal WFL tensions included the resignation of TBG, conspicuous by her absence.
- 30 WTRL, mins, 30 Jan 1911.
- 31 'Race Suicide', Mrs Edward Francis, NEC, address, Caxton Hall, *Vote*, 21 Jan 1911.

9 The King's Speech: Jessie Stephenson parachutes into Manchester

- 1 Katherine Chorley, *Manchester Made Them*, Faber and Faber, 1950, pp. 114 and 149.
- 2 For other groups, see *One Hand Tied Behind Us*.
- 3 Helena Swanwick, *I Have Been Young*, Gollancz, 1935, pp. 166 and 181–2.
- 4 The Papers of C. P. Scott, 1846–1932, Handlist of Correspondence.
- 5 LiG to CPS, 17 Jan 1911.
- 6 HNB to CPS, 19 Jan 1911, from Hampstead on CC notepaper. Brailsford wrote at least two dozen letters to Scott.
- 7 EP to CPS, 9 Jan 1911 (part missing); also see Purvis, *Emmeline*, pp. 122–3 and 154–6.
- 8 Quoted in Crawford *Reference*.
- 9 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', pp. 228–9.
- 10 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', p. 234; Cowman, *Right Spirit*, pp. 21–3.
- 11 E.g. *VfW*, 3 Feb 1911, 'Campaign throughout the Country', listing organizers but

- not branch secretaries for the towns outside London includes Brighton, Portsmouth, Birmingham, Leicester, Bath, Bristol and Cheltenham.
- 12 Mary Gawthorpe, after long sick leave, retired from her WSPU post; Cowman, *Spirit*, pp. 161–2 notes complications about Dora Marsden.
 - 13 Stephenson, *No Other*, pp. 236–8.
 - 14 Stephenson, *No Other*, pp. 241–2; undoubtedly 10 Mar 1911.
 - 15 Stephenson, *No Other*, p. 238.
 - 16 CPS, *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott 1911–1928*, 1970, pp. 35–7, 2 Feb 1911.
 - 17 Stephenson, *No Other*, p. 238–41.
 - 18 *Vote*, 18 Feb 1911.
 - 19 *Vote*, 11 Feb 1911.
 - 20 *Vote*, 11 Feb 1911; also *VfW*, 24 Feb 1911 ff.
 - 21 WTRL mins, 10–24 Feb 1911.
 - 22 *VfW*, 17 Feb 1911, acknowledging WFL and LH.
 - 23 *VfW*, 24 Feb 1911,
 - 24 *The Times*, 13 Feb 1911.
 - 25 Scott, Handlist, notes just one early letter from Sadler; once Sadler arrived in Manchester there was presumably less need to write.
 - 26 DNB, Sadler aged forty-nine, lived in Weybridge, Surrey.
 - 27 *The Times*, 14 Feb 1911.
 - 28 *MGN*, 7 Feb 1911 ff.
 - 29 *The Times*, 16 Feb 1911; ARCS: Associate of the Royal Chemical Society; *Vote*, 18 and 25 Feb 1911.

10 Battleground for democracy: census versus women's citizenship

- 1 Census Comm mins, gap between 18 Nov 1910 (p. 185) and 26 Apr 1911 (p. 186).
- 2 Thane, *Foundations*, p. 79; Gilbert, *Lloyd George*, pp. 432–4.
- 3 Hume, *National Union*, pp. 100–1; Pugh, *March*, pp. 140–1. This second Bill devised by the Conciliation Committee modified the 1910 bill, by dropping the proposal to enfranchise women possessing a ten pound occupation qualification; this tightening aimed to allay fears of 'faggot voting' (i.e. endowment of small pieces of property on women, for extra votes).
- 4 *VfW*, 24 Mar 1911; *Dundee Evening Telegraph*.
- 5 *VfW*, 17 and 24 Mar 1911, *Daily Sketch* image.
- 6 *VfW*, 3 Mar 1911; also, measures 'to escape inclusion' (i.e. evade). *VfW*, 10 Mar 1911; and Census Ditty (Bath).
- 7 *VfW*, 24 Mar 1911; and 'Census Song'.
- 8 *VfW*, 31 Mar 1911.
- 9 *Vote*, 18 Feb 1911.
- 10 *Vote*, 4–18 Mar and 25 Feb 1911.
- 11 *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 14 Mar 1911.
- 12 *Vote*, 4 Mar 1911; WFL Nat Exec Comm mins, 24–5 Mar 1911.
- 13 *Vote*, 18 and 25 Mar 1911.
- 14 *Vote*, 18 and 25 Mar 1911.

- 15 WTRL mins, 20 and 24 Feb 1911; and 'Census Dept', 10 and 24 Mar 1911.
- 16 WCG Annual Reports, May 1910–May 1912.
- 17 *Co-op News*, Jan – 8 Apr 1911; a nasty dispute over the resolution wording between adult suffragist Marian Maud A. Ward (who shared a house with Margaret Bondfield), and women's suffragist Annot E. Robinson, Manchester.
- 18 Membership figures, Hume, *National Union*, pp. 229–30; Fawcett corr, 28 and 29 Sept 1910, MCRL.
- 19 NUWSS Exec Comm mins (unconfirmed), 5 Jan 1911; *Common Cause*, 16 Mar 1911.
- 20 Strachey mss, EHM to Lady Strachey, 17 Feb 1911, and undated draft reply.
- 21 LSWS lobbied by Kineton Parkes (WTRL), P. Strachey file, 19–24 Feb 1911.
- 22 LSWS, lobbied by WFL (E. How-Martyn), 20–1 Feb 1911 and 15 Mar 1911.
- 23 Previously North of England Society for Women's Suffrage. The Manchester & District Federation included East Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire High Peak. Highly organized, its secretary was Kate Courtney (to early 1911); Swanwick resigned as honorary secretary, to edit *CC* in London.
- 24 Manchester & District Federation, First Ann Rep, 28 Oct 1911; it also worked with local WFL.
- 25 *Halifax Evening Chronicle*, 31 Mar 1911; also *Halifax Guardian*, 1 Apr 1911; he was Rev. W. L. Schroeder; minor punctuation added.
- 26 *Sheff Daily Independent* and *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 8 Feb 1911; speaker was Alison Neilans.
- 27 *Sheff Daily Tel*, 18 Feb 1911; WTRL speaker was Kineton Parkes.
- 28 *Sheff Daily Tel*, 14 Mar 1911, which remained very hostile. However, the sympathetic *Sheffield Daily Independent* took a 'flashlight photo' of Lawrence, Adela and a dozen suffragettes.
- 29 *Rebel Girls*, pp. 221–2. *Common Cause*, 9 Mar 1911; *Sheff Daily Tel*, 20 Mar 1911.
- 30 *Sheff Daily Tel*, 21–4 and 27 Mar 1911; undoubtedly suffragette Elsa Schuster.
- 31 *MG*, 3 Apr 1911, Evelyn Sharp and Maud Joachim; next day, Scott accused suffragettes of a grave 'offence against knowledge and civilization'.
- 32 WTRL mins, 10 Feb – 24 Mar 1911. Clem's absences from WTRL meetings suggest she was spending more time down in Swanage; I am most grateful to Elizabeth Oakley on this. LH spoke at least thirteen meetings (Dundee, Ipswich etc) in twenty-one days (e.g. his visit to Ilkley and Tomlinson sisters, likely to be c. 10–13 Mar). Like Clem, he often dated his letters in only the most peremptory fashion.
- 33 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', p. 237. Purvis, *Emmeline*, p. 54.
- 34 WTRL mins, 24 Feb 1911; *Vote*, 18 and 25 Mar 1911.
- 35 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', pp. 252–3; minor punctuation added.
- 36 Burns often 'cheered up' despondent officials.
- 37 *Sheff Daily Tel*, 30 Mar 1911.
- 38 *Daily Mirror*, 28 Mar 1911; *The Times*, 1 Apr 1911; Maud Arncliffe Sennett coll, BL.

11 Emily Wilding Davison's Westminster – and beyond

- 1 *VfW*, 6 Jan 1911, 'Closed Door'; also, Mary Lowndes, 'Justice at the Door', NUWSS, 1912.

- 2 Gertrude Colmore, 'The Life', in *Emily Davison* Liz Stanley with Ann Morley, *The Life and Death of Emily Wilding Davison: a biographical detective story*, with Gertrude Colmore's 'The Life of Emily Davidson' [1913], The Women's Press, 1988, pp. 12–21.
- 3 *VfW*, 11 Jun 1909 and n.d., quoted in Crawford, *Reference*.
- 4 Colmore, 'The Life', pp. 33–40.
- 5 See Stanley and Morley, pp. 186–7.
- 6 *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who*, 1913, p. 221. For debate on EWD as an unreliable maverick, see Stanley and Morley, pp. 92–3, 115–21 and 186–7; Cowman, *Spirit*, pp. 139 and 157–8.
- 7 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911.
- 8 JB's diary, 31 Mar – 2 Apr 1911. Rather endearingly, Burns was among the many husbands who filled in their schedule wrongly, entering marriage/children details for himself, rather than for his wife. Churchill did likewise; Asquith began similarly, and then deleted; Lloyd George completed his correctly however.
- 9 At 1 Marie Place, St George.
- 10 43 Cadogan Gardens, Chelsea. His wife Marie is not present, perhaps having gone on holiday during the census, with their two sons.
- 11 Asquith's first wife died in 1891, and he remarried in 1894. That Asquith records his own adult children shows what headaches the census faced with second marriages.
- 12 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911.
- 13 Giving this Westminster building as just a single room was somewhat of an understatement. Presumably EWD refused to give her age, and 'school teacher' occupation was possibly copied from elsewhere.
- 14 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911; repeated by Gertrude Colmore, see Stanley and Morley, p. 40. There are other examples of retrospective talking-up of census night bravery.
- 15 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911.
- 16 *VfW*, 7 April, 1911; Frederick Iredale. A note on the hotel schedule says 'see letters attached'; these probably related to Mrs Pankhurst, but unfortunately no longer appear present.
- 17 Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden*, 1933, p. 194, quoted in Purvis, *Emmeline*, pp. 159–60, who notes this includes some discrepancies.
- 18 Her name is mistakenly given as 'Miss W M Smith', plus two servants; schedule was signed by the Registrar himself; summary page confirm address as Ethel's home, Coign.

12 The Nevinsons' Hampstead – and central London entertainments

- 1 Woolf, *Night and Day*, 1919, pp. 281–2; they married in 1912.
- 2 Woolf, *Night and Day*, pp. 55 and 277. Crawford, 'A Rich Network of Associations: Bloomsbury and women's suffrage', *Charleston Magazine*, 19, 1999, pp. 17–18.
- 3 The WSPU headquarters by LSE is sadly demolished.
- 4 *Vote*, 4 and 11 Mar 1911; *VfW*, 3–31 Mar 1911.
- 5 *Ham & High*, 4 Mar 1911.
- 6 *Ham & High*, Sat 11 and 18 Mar 1911; see Chapter 10 for M. A. Ward in *Co-op News*.
- 7 Both joined the Men's League, but Brailsford, impatient at its lack of radicalism, left in 1910 to help form the Men's Political Union.

- 8 Angela V. John, 'A Family at War: the Nevinson family', in Michael Walsh (ed.), *A Dilemma of English Modernism*, University of Delaware, 2007, is helpful.
- 9 John, *Nevinson*, pp. 93, 96 and 100–1.
- 10 John, *Nevinson*, pp. 3 and 83, on reworking of masculinity etc.; also pp. 94 and 87 (1901).
- 11 See John, *Nevinson*, p. 93; e.g. *Vote*, 14 May 1909.
- 12 Nevinson, *Life's Fitful*, pp. 21 and 224; later dramatized, directed by Edith Craig; also *Vote*, 27 Aug 10.
- 13 Nevinson, *Fitful*, pp. 229–30.
- 14 Henry Nevinson diaries, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 33–4. Also *Ham & High*, 25 Mar 1911.
- 15 Henry Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 34–5.
- 16 Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 35–6. John, *Sharp*, pp. 48–50, for the Saturday Walking Club.
- 17 Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 36–7. The Lowy family live at 76 Holland Park, see *Gazetteer*.
- 18 *VfW*, 24 Mar 1911.
- 19 Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 38–9. For Trafalgar Square, see *Vote*, 25 Mar 11, Nevinson is not listed among speakers; also Kineton Parkes, Mrs Nevinson, Laurence Housman.
- 20 Very confusingly, it is transcribed as 'Mevinson' in findmypast.
- 21 Nevinson, *Fitful*, p. 230. Evaders may have included Amy and Lilian Hicks, and Daisy Koettgen.
- 22 Original presumably had his signature? Perhaps, a cowed enumerator made a mess and re-did it?
- 23 *VfW*, 7 April 1911.
- 24 Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 39.
- 25 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911.
- 26 *VfW*, 14 Apr 1911; also *Daily Sketch* 4 Apr 1911.
- 27 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911.
- 28 See *Gazetteer*, p. 246.
- 29 Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 39–40.
- 30 Brian Harrison tape, 8SUF/B/024, interview recorded Nov 1974, TWL. Marie Lawson was moving away from WFL and in 1910 joined WTRL, then moving towards WSPU.
- 31 Nevinson diaries, MS. Eng.misc.e.613/3, folio 39–40. 'The model' reference remains unexplained.
- 32 *Vote*, 8 Apr 1911.
- 33 The enumerator noted: 'stated to have returned home shortly after midnight Sunday and removed on Monday morning'.

13 Laurence Housman's Kensington, with Clemence in Dorset

- 1 Lara Marks, *Metropolitan Maternity*, Rolopi, 1996, p. 53; 1911 census, 365 Portobello Road.
- 2 Marks, *Metropolitan*, figure 8:1, p. 271, pp. 66 and 139–40.
- 3 Including ILP member Marion Phillips.

- 4 Writer Cicely Hamilton was secretary of WFL Chelsea branch; Zoe Proctor, *Life and Yesterday*, pp. 95–7.
- 5 Lynne Walker, 'Locating the Global / Rethinking the Local: suffrage politics, architecture, and space', *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 34:1 & 2, 2006, p. 182.
- 6 Jill Liddington and Tara Morton, 'Walking with Women's Suffrage in Kensington and Chelsea', *Herstoria*, 2011.
- 7 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 286–7.
- 8 I am most grateful to Elizabeth Oakley for H. S. Housman's unpublished typescript.
- 9 Undated letter, probably 5 Apr 1911.
- 10 Undated letter, probably 3 Apr 1911. H. S. Housman suggests then Miss Wilson, a Mrs Calthrop, a Mrs Stratton and Jane were invited by Clem to evade with her; probable, though no corroborative evidence. It remains unclear whether 'Miss Wilson' is indeed 'Gertrude'.
- 11 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 287–8.
- 12 Undated, presumably 3 Apr 1911.
- 13 Probably 5 April 1911; again, 'in-wardness' suggests familiarity, even spirituality, in Clem's romantic medieval vocabulary.
- 14 Thus Clem became more a resister than an evader. Did the Registrar know that this inconspicuous-looking middle-aged woman had influential friends – and brothers? See Gazetteer for Dorset, p. 321.
- 15 Or was she persuaded to comply remembering her two children born to her earlier marriage, both of whom had died?
- 16 Possibly she remembered the early deaths of her four brothers.
- 17 *BMJ*, 19 Jul 1947, and *Lancet*, 12 Jul 1947; thanks to Irene Cockroft for these references. After Black Friday, her possibly reservations about militancy? Clemence appears not to know of Ernestine's proximity, though surely they were well acquainted.
- 18 With close (soon even closer) links to Strachey clan.
- 19 They put their feminism into domestic practice, employing just one servant, thirty-four-year-old Sarah Chapman. Four of Sarah's five children had died, leaving just one still living. And below 'married 12 years' Bentham had written in brackets 'deserted 6 [years]' (this addition was deleted, presumably by the enumerator).
- 20 Wolfe, 1875–1974, member of the Civil Service Socialist Society; later, *Freedom Press*.
- 21 I am most grateful to Dave Annal, late of TNA, for this discovery. *DNB* for E. A. Maund.
- 22 Phyllis Ayrton; see Gazetteer, pp. 277–8.
- 23 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 286–7.

14 Annie Kenney's Bristol and Mary Blathwayt's Bath

- 1 Kenney, *Memories*, p. 123; Crawford, *Regional*, p. 133.
- 2 Bristol (1888 Act) was deemed to be in counties of both Gloucestershire and Somerset (on its border); but the 1911 census, for convenience, shows it in Gloucestershire. See Gazetteer, pp. 319–20.
- 3 Oakley, *Siblings*, p. 94.

- 4 OS maps, Clifton Down, 1902 and Bristol (NW) Clifton, 1901. Only Bristol West, which included Clifton, was Conservative.
- 5 Jane Marcus (ed.), *The Young Rebecca*, p. 149 (written 1913).
- 6 Quoted in Crawford, *Reference*, p. 314. Indeed, one of Annie's brothers went on to edit the *Daily Herald*, while two sisters trained as Montessori teachers, later opening their own school near New York.
- 7 Mary Richardson, *Laugh a Defiance*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1953, pp. 110–11; it overlooked the Wye Valley.
- 8 June Hannam, 'Blathwayt Diaries', in Claire Eustance, Joan Ryan and Laura Ugolini (eds), *A Suffrage Readers: charting directions in British suffrage history*, Leicester University Press, 2000, pp. 53–5. The Blathways also had a newly acquired gramophone.
- 9 Ex-NUWSS. Cowman, *Spirit*, pp. 30–1 and 51–3.
- 10 Hannam, 'Blathwayt', p. 56; possibly hypothyroidism. Crawford, *Reference*, p. 317.
- 11 Mary Blathwayt's diary [MB], Gloucestershire Archives.
- 12 Cowman, *Spirit*, pp. 82–4; Emily Blathwayt's diary [EB], 21 Mar 1911.
- 13 MB and EB diaries, 18 Mar 1911; EB, 13 Apr 1911. The details of Helen's move away from Nottingham remain unclear.
- 14 EB's and MB's diaries, 14 Mar 1911.
- 15 *VfW*, 10 and 24 Feb 1911.
- 16 *Vote*, 25 Mar 1911. *Cheltenham Chronicle* and *Gloucestershire Echo*, 31 Mar, 1 and 3 Apr 1911; the issue was about reaching fifty thousand population total, so that Cheltenham could gain county borough status.
- 17 *VfW*, 24 Mar 1911; Antonia Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes*, p. 176, for local 'Census Ditty'.
- 18 *VfW*, 17, 10 and 31 Mar 1911.
- 19 Oakley, *Siblings*, p. 88; *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 30 Mar and 1 Apr 1911.
- 20 Kenney, *Memories*, p. 168.
- 21 LB's diary, 31 Mar 1911.
- 22 MB's diary, 23 Mar 1911; MB's pocket diary, 31 Mar 1911; she then wrote up these jottings into her more formal diary.
- 23 EB's diary, pp. 188–9.
- 24 The schedule records that one of Emily's three children had died young; this death was much earlier, and Emily's diary does not mention it.
- 25 Mrs Rogers was wife of F. W. Rogers, Clifton, MLWS.
- 26 The address given on the schedule is that of the WSPU offices.
Helen Watts, twenty-nine, boarder with her brother (twenty-six, schoolmaster), Chilcompton, complies.
- 27 *Gloucs Echo*, 3 Apr 1911; *Cheltenham Chron*, 8 Apr 1911 for more laconic report.
- 28 Ada Flatman's schedule could be a copy of the original, with her statement omitted. The enumerator's summary page offers just the population totals for Bedford Lodge, College Road.
- 29 It almost looks like three hands: AK's, enumerator's and a third person. On foot of the summary page is added a note: 'See Form Enclosed', but this is seemingly no longer available.
- 30 *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 4 Apr 1911.

- 31 For Lilian and her mother Mahalah, see Liddington, *Rebel Girls*, pp. 267–8. Of Bristol's labour movement figures, the *Gazetteer* includes the example of Bertha Ayles (WLabL, ILP).
- 32 *Bristol Times & Mirror*, 4 Apr 1911.
- 33 Crawford, *Regional*, p. 132, notes that a second NUWSS branch was formed in industrial East Bristol, led by two ILP members.

15 Jessie Stephenson's Manchester and Hannah Mitchell's Oldham Road

- 1 Less well represented was WTRL (also Actresses, Writers, Artists). Swanwick's autobiography shows her very busy, up and down, rationalist and bitterly exasperated with WSPU.
- 2 *VfW*, 17 Mar 1911.
- 3 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', pp. 249–50.
- 4 *VfW*, 24 and 31 Mar 1911.
- 5 Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up*, 1968 [out of print], quoted in *One Hand*, p. 23.
- 6 Mitchell, *Hard Way*, quoted in *One Hand*, p. 223. Including Colne Valley, see *Rebel Girls*, pp. 148–9.
- 7 Mitchell, *Hard Way*, pp. 170–5.
- 8 Manchester Central Branch ILP, minutes, 7 Mar 1911 (Kemp re Poor Law) and 16 May 1911 (Sam Robinson proposes Mitchells as new members, so they had probably attended a few months before that).
- 9 Mitchell, *Hard Way*, pp. 175–7.
- 10 *Vote*, 25 Nov 1909 ff. *DNB* for John Manning and Ruth Manning-Saunders. House demolished, only the gateposts surviving.
- 11 *Vote*, 25 Feb 1911.
- 12 *Vote*, 11 Mar 1911; chairs crowded on to stairs outside, and Russian toffee sold.
- 13 *Vote*, 4–25 Mar 1911. Sadly, the minutes of the Manchester branch of the Men's League start in Aug 1912; however, they includes a useful list of officers' names and addresses.
- 14 *Vote*, 25 Mar and 1 Apr 1911.
- 15 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', pp. 254–5. Here and generally, minor punctuation additions.
- 16 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', p. 253.
- 17 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', p. 254. Birrell visited Manchester, guarded by detectives and police, one woman was arrested, *VfW*, 31 Mar 1911
- 18 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', p. 255; an early sleeping bag prototype?
- 19 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', pp. 255–6.
- 20 Is the woman in glasses (bottom left) Eva Gore-Booth? What are the two banners, and is it a Votes for Women box?
- 21 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', p. 256, and handwritten addendum, p. 255.
- 22 *MG*, 3 Apr 1911.
- 23 *MG*, 3 Apr 1911.
- 24 *MG*, 3 Apr 1911.

- 25 *Daily Sketch*, 4 Apr 1911, claiming its photographer took it; Maud Arncliffe Sennett cuttings coll., BL. In fact, this image is taken from the original photograph, among the family papers of John Brock's late father, which were originally the property of his cousin, Mabel Capper.
- 26 Stephenson, 'No Other Way', pp. 260–2. One reporter, surely *Guardian*, and Robert Banks were apparently were still present. A demand for 7s 6d for 'Census Lodge' as occupied.
- 27 Postcard, Nellie Hall papers, on loan to Birmingham Museums Trust.
- 28 *Vote*, 15 Apr 1911.
- 29 *MG*, 3 Mar 1911.
- 30 *Vote*, 15 Apr 1911.
- 31 *Vote*, 15 Apr 1911; route entailed crossing the Mersey.
- 32 See Gazetteer for Annot Robinson (at foot of Oldham Road), probably evading; and at top, the Lees of Werneth Park (NUWSS).
- 33 CP to JB, 19 Sep 1909 (JB mss), quoted in Cowman, *Spirit*, p. 29.
- 34 Cowman, *Spirit*, pp. 54, 57 and 131. E.g. her handbill on 'The Labour of Married Women: a working woman's reply to Mr John Burns'.
- 35 Sadly, the letters from London to JB end in Dec 1909; see Judith Smart, 'Jennie Baines: an Australian connection', in June Purvis and Sandra H. Holton (eds), *Votes for Women*, Routledge, 2000, pp. 251, a most useful discussion. Indeed, JB seems virtually to disappear from mid-1910 to mid-1912.
- 36 A public meeting was advertised as not only non-party but also non-militant: *Stockport Express*, 23 Mar 1911. Also Stockport Labour Church, 'Merrie England' Bazaar 1907, Official Handbook, lists Mr G. Baines among those running the Men's Stall. It is unlikely that George, with wife away or ill, was able to be more active.

16 English journey: sweeping back down from Teesside to Thames

- 1 NUWSS branch minutes do survive, but have omitted here.
- 2 Mbro WFL mins, 8 Dec 1910 and 23 Jan 1911.
- 3 Mbro WFL mins, 10 Jan and 17 Feb 1911, Alison Neilans; Miss Hawkins: appointed agent.
- 4 *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 29 Mar 1911.
- 5 WFL member Elsie Hayton was an LEA teacher, and her father was local Registrar.
- 6 *Bradford Telegraph & Argus*, 3 Apr 1911. 'No hint is given of the number of suff'gettes who resisted, save that it is said to be large'. Ilkley link = Laurence H's 5 Misses Thompsons?
- 7 There were also local campaigns around health inequalities, led by Alderman Broadbent.
- 8 In nearby Halifax, where Emmeline had spoken, there were more boycotters.
- 9 *Sheff Daily Tel*, 3 Apr 1911.
- 10 *Nottingham Evening News*, 3 Apr 1911.
- 11 Barnsby, *Black Country*, p. 31.
- 12 *Suffrage Annual*, 1913, p. 363: '5 years a member of [WFL] Executive' (c. 1908–13).

- 13 Emma Sproson, handwritten memoirs, Wolverhampton, pp. 49–50; minor punctuation added.
- 14 Helen Boswell evades, a few minutes' walk away, large house. For evasions in Leicester, see Jess Jenkins, *The Burning Question: the struggle for women's suffrage in Leicestershire* (Leicester, 2012), chap 10. The Leicester registrar was particularly conscientious.
- 15 *Suffolk Chronicle*, 7 Apr 1911, plus other local papers; with thanks to Joy Bounds.
- 16 *Portsmouth Evening News* [PEN], 3 Apr 1911; Launcelot Surry more carping in his soured reminiscences. Dobbie, *Nest*, p. 46.
- 17 *VfW*, 3, 10 Feb 1911, and Hugh Franklin. CM earlier lodged with the Peacocks; Lilian Peacock was a key activist.
- 18 Sarah Peacock, *Votes for Women: the women's fight in Portsmouth*, City of Portsmouth 1983, pp. 8–9.
- 19 *Vote*, 11 and 18 Feb and 4, 11 and 25 Mar 1911.
- 20 *PEN*, 22 Mar 1911.
- 21 *VfW*, 31 Mar 1911; *PEN*, 25 and 27 Mar and 4 Apr 1911.
- 22 It was probably Number 14, sandwiched between Albert Buick's restaurant and Walter Gleave's fancy draper's, opposite Mills's booksellers. The arcade has much changed, and St James's Hall is in a heavily redeveloped area.
- 23 *PEN*, 29 and 30 Mar 1911. Play-reading by Leigh Lovel, Octavia Kenmore, *Vote*, 1 Apr 1911.
- 24 *PEN*, 3 Apr 2012. Again, police alerted to 'bogus enumerators', and close watch kept all day.
- 25 Undoubtedly Lilian Peacock; see Gazetteer.
- 26 *Vote*, 15 Apr 1911.
- 27 Also MAL coll, 'Midnight Supper Party on Wimbledon Common: Vanloads of Women'. Kitty Marshall's schedule records ten females, one male (Mr Marshall), Putney Heath. For details of prosecution of the drivers, see www.womanandher sphere.
- 28 The white strip over the Disability column is retained here, as an example of how schedules initially looked in 2009.

17 After census night: Clemence's resistance, Asquith's betrayal

- 1 Most of these press pages are taken from Maud Arncliffe Sennett's cutting books, BL.
- 2 *The Times*, 3 and 4 Apr 1911.
- 3 Burns's diary, BL.
- 4 Randolph S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol ii, 'Companion', part 3, 1911–14, 1069, p. 1471. See Chapter 10, note 36 above for diary reference.
- 5 *Hansard*, 5 Apr 1911, p. 2194, Oral Answers; Malcolm MP, Unionist, Croydon.
- 6 *Hansard*, 5 April 1911, Oral Answers, pp. 2194–5; also 30 June 1911, Written Answers, pp. 774–5; *MG*, 6 Apr 1911 (for cheers etc).
- 7 *VfW*, 7 Apr 1911, quoting *Pall Mall Gazette*.
- 8 *VfW*, 14 and 21 Apr 1911; and Laurence Housman at Queen's Hall, 10 April.
- 9 *Vote*, 8 and 15 Apr 1911.

- 10 Hume, *National Union*, pp. 104–6, quoting HNB to Fawcett, 7 May 1911.
- 11 *Vote*, 17 June 1911; no trace apparently remains of this Census banner.
- 12 Tickner, *Spectacle*, pp. 122–31: ‘the largest and most triumphant, the most harmonious’ of all demonstrations.
- 13 For Bellingham-Prout corr, see Chapter 18; also *Gazetteer*, p. 294.
- 14 Census Comm Mins, 26 and 27 Apr 1911.
- 15 Burns’s diary, BL.
- 16 ‘Census of England and Wales, 1911’, ‘Preliminary Report with Tables of the Population’, pp. iii–xiv, Jun 1911; figures for England and Wales.
- 17 Reports can be accessed at www.histpop.org, including lucid introductory essays by Edward Higgs.
- 18 *Hansard*, Written Answers, 30 Jun 1911, pp. 774–5.
- 19 Burns’s diary, BL.
- 20 *Vote*, 15 Apr and 20 May 1911; also Dr Winifred Patch (Highgate) and Francis (Brighton). WTRL mins, 7 Apr – 26 May, 9 Jun and 21 Jul 1911.
- 21 *Evening Star*, 26 May 1911.
- 22 Interview, c. 1983, Betty Boyd-Brown aged about ninety-three, recorded by Nan Tuckey. Thanks to Joy Bounds.
- 23 *Vote*, 3 Jun 1911. This is little known to suffrage historians; however, 1913 *Suffrage Annual* claims that Constance was the first woman to go to prison for tax. Robert Ratcliffe, ‘History of the Working Class Movement in Ipswich 1900–1918’, thesis, pp. 73–5.
- 24 *Suffrage Annual* 1913, p. 363. Barnsby, *Black Country*, pp. 14–15. WTRL mins, 21 Jul 1911. Crawford, *Reference*, notes the dog was shot by police.
- 25 WTRL mins, 26 May 1911.
- 26 Housman, *Unexpected*, pp. 283–4. *VfW*, 29 Sep 1911.
- 27 Housman, *Alice in Ganderland: a one-act play*, Women’s Press, pp. 3–4.
- 28 WTRL mins, 29 Sep 1911.
- 29 TWL image is slightly different from that in Oakley, *Siblings*, p. XIX (*Standard*, 30 Sep 1911) including Kinton Parkes; pp. 84–5, and quotes *The Times*, 30 Sep 1911.
- 30 Housman, *Unexpected*, p. 285.
- 31 HO/44/1169/214572, 2 and 3 Oct 1911.
- 32 Housman, *Unexpected*, p. 285; Oakley, *Siblings*, pp. 85–6.
- 33 Quoted in Holton, *Suffrage Days*, p. 174, which notes suffrage leadership reservations about tax resistance as a tactic.
- 34 *VfW*, 13 Oct 1911; Stephen Housman, ‘Banners’, p. 45.
- 35 Reproduced in Oakley, *Siblings*, p. XX.
- 36 Pugh, *The March*, pp. 140–1 and 199–200, on Liberal misgivings.
- 37 Purvis, *Emmeline*, pp. 259–60 and cover image.
- 38 ‘Census of England and Wales, 1911’, Vol. I, ‘Administrative Areas: Counties, Urban and Rural Districts etc’, [Jul] 1912, pp. xxvi–xxvii, noting regional variations, and suggesting various factors, though not the boycott. (Table 4 gave figures just for England as 34 million, of whom 17.6 million were female, a ratio of 1,073 females to 1,000 males.)
- 39 ‘General Report, with Appendices’, 1917.

18 Telling the story: suffrage and census historiographies

- 1 The following section owes much to Elizabeth Crawford's research for our *HWJ* article, 2011; see Chapter 19.
- 2 *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who*, ed. by A. J. R. [...], Stanley Paul & Co, 1913, pp. 112, 114–15.
- 3 A. E. Metcalfe, *Woman's Effort: a chronicle of British women's fifty years' struggle for citizenship 1865–1914*, B. H. Blackwell, 1917, pp. 170–1.
- 4 Both long out of print; reference copies of *Suffrage Annual* and *The Woman's Effort* read in Women's Library and British Library respectively.
- 5 G. Colmore, *The Life of Emily Davison: an outline*, Woman's Press, 1913, p. 40.
- 6 E. Pankhurst, *My Own Story*, 1914, US and Eveleigh Nash UK, pp. 190–1 and 193–4, Virago 1979 edition; Jill Craigie, 1978, Introduction; Emmeline's dictation began the first day of journey to New York.
- 7 E.g. Rosen, *Rise Up, Women!*, p. 167. In the circumstances, Emmeline's memory was understandably somewhat hazy.
- 8 1911 Census, Vol XII, 'Fertility of Marriage', Part II, 1923, p. vi.
- 9 A. Kenney, *Memories of a Militant*, E. Arnold, 1924, p. 168. Annie had reason for her census memory to be overlain; in 1920 she married, had a son, and led a secluded domestic life.
- 10 E. Sharp, *Hertha Ayrton, 1854–1923, a memoir*, E. Arnold, 1926, p. 231. Again, copies of this are rare, sometimes being catalogued under physics. For her census statement, see *Gazetteer*, p. 281.
- 11 Ray Strachey, *'The Cause': a short history of the women's movement in Great Britain*, Bell, 1928 and Virago 1978, p. 310.
- 12 Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, Longmans, 1931, Virago 1977; there is little mention of WFL either.
- 13 Nor was the census boycott mentioned in Christabel Pankhurst's memoir of the suffrage campaign, *Unshackled*, Hutchinson, 1959, apparently written at this time but published only posthumously.
- 14 Nevinson, *Life's Fitful Fever*, pp. 229–30; with cover illustration by C. R. W. Nevinson. Copies are now virtually unobtainable.
- 15 John, *Nevinson*, pp. 197–8; she died in 1932.
- 16 Housman, *The Unexpected Years*, pp. 286–290. Afterwards, Frederick Pethick-Lawrence commented: 'I'm glad you forced our hand'.
- 17 Mayhall notes the commemorative role of the Suffragette Fellowship (see note 22). Note however R. Fulford, *Votes for Women*, Faber, 1957, p. 240, a brief account of the boycott, attributing it to the WFL. However he suggests just 'a few hundreds', making it sound a bit of a jolly jape.
- 18 Antonia Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes*, Michael Joseph, 1973, and 1974 edition pp. 7–9 and 176–7.
- 19 Harrison coll, 8SUF/B/021, Nov 1974. Among the oral collection's perilous transmission story, this tape had been listed as 'missing', yet the catalogue summary tantalizingly noted that it included the census protest; I am grateful to TWL staff for

- locating it so I could at last listen, in Mar 2012. However, see Gazetteer, Paddington; Cicely in fact complied, so this is probably a mis-memory,
- 20 See the *Radio Times* Special (1974). Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder: A Documentary*, Penguin 1975, pp. 172–3, quotes Emmeline's *My Own Story*, and has interior photo of Manchester boycott, but with no detail provided.
 - 21 Virago reissued *Suffragette Movement* in 1977, and *My Own Story* in 1979. Linklater's *Despard* was published in 1980 and Dobbie's *A Nest of Suffragettes* on the Blathways in 1979.
 - 22 L. Mayhall, 'Creating the "Suffragette Spirit": British feminism and the historical imagination', *WHR*, 4:3, 1995. Also Hilda Kean, 'Searching for the Past', *WHR*, 3:1, 1994.
 - 23 Holton, *Suffrage Days*, pp. 173–4; includes a photograph of Housman speaking in Trafalgar Square on the boycott. Also Angela V. John and Claire Eustance, (eds), *The Men's Share? masculinities, male support and women's suffrage in Britain, 1890–1920*, Routledge, 1997, on the Men's League etc.
 - 24 Eustance, 'Meanings of Militancy', in Joannou and Purvis (eds), *Women's Suffrage Movement*, 1998, pp. 58–9; also Frances, 'Pay the Piper, call the tune!', on WTRL, in the same collection.
 - 25 Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, UCL Press, 1999 and Routledge 2001, p. 721; she used the 1841–1891 census returns for biographical clues about women otherwise little known.
 - 26 Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 8, 34, 44, 61
 - 27 John, *War, Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century*.
 - 28 Notably, Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: a biography*, Routledge, 2002, p. 159, quoting Ethel Smyth. Also Cowman's meticulously researched *Women of the Right Spirit*, 2007, citing organizers' little-known memoirs.
 - 29 For instance, Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census; the Victorian censuses and historical research*, HMSO, 1996.
 - 30 E. Garrett, A. Reid, K. Schurer and S. Szreter, *Changing Family Size in England and Wales: place, class and demography, 1891–1911*, Cambridge University Press, 2001 and 2006; pp. 9, 20, 105, 321–2ff and 435; the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. However, their choice of eleven local studies across England (pp. 25–30) excluded large cities: unhelpfully there is no Bristol or Birmingham, no Leeds or Liverpool – exactly the urban centres where the suffrage movement was particularly strong.
 - 31 Higgs, 'The Statistical Big Bang of 1911: ideology, technological innovation and the production of medical statistics', *Social History of Medicine*, 1996, pp. 413, 417–18. Higgs, 'The Rise of the Information State: the development of central state surveillance of the citizen in England, 1500–2000', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 14:2 2001, pp. 183 and 192. More recently, his *Life, Death and Statistics*, Local Population Studies, 2004, offers a valuable historical overview of the GRO.
 - 32 Peter Christian and David Annal, *Census: the expert guide*, The National Archives (TNA), 2008, p. 1.

19 Sources and their analysis: vanishing for the vote?

- 1 *Rebel Girls*, pp. 33–4 and 267ff.
- 2 First ordered 21 Dec 2007; received with a letter explaining the FOI ruling Dec 2006; Impey schedule, Birmingham.
- 3 Email correspondence, Nov 2008. Crawford, *Ancestors*, special 1911 census issue, 2009. The hundred years rule not was not introduced till the 1920 Census Act, thus making 1911 census early access unique.
- 4 Using an independent website operator, notably Findmypast. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine>, statement by findmypast.com commercial director.
- 5 This WSPU image probably predates the census boycott and is unrelated to it.
- 6 *Guardian* and *The Times*, 13 Jan 2009. Elizabeth Crawford interviewed on BBC Radio 5 Live.
- 7 By summer 2009, this was scaled down.
- 8 See Figure 29 for a sample summary page (Swanage).
- 9 As noted for Figure 41 (Muriel Matters), schedules initially had details in the ‘Infirmity’ column covered up; so Howey’s ‘not enfranchised’ disability became apparent only very recently. See back cover.
- 10 Also Crawford, *The Women’s Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: a regional survey*, Routledge, 2006. Our MAIN Excel database revealed that very few NUWSS members had evaded or resisted; so for our LOCAL database, we did not search them rigorously.
- 11 Also, keying in the year ‘1811’ eventually identified suffragettes who had refused to give information; or the word ‘suffrage’ turned up committed campaigners.
- 12 Prout’s name was previously unknown to us; grateful thanks to Dave Annal at TNA for alerting us to this correspondence. Prout lived next door to the local Bowes Park WSPU secretary.
- 13 Populations: London, 4,522,000; Yorkshire 3,980,000; England, 34,000,000. Familiarity with the area was essential, for searches required knowledge of local boundaries and place names. Identifying representative sample regions of course remained always problematic.
- 14 About three-quarters of London WSPU names apparently boycotted, while across Yorkshire under half of those with some WSPU connection did so. And WFL was not strong outside Middlesbrough and Sheffield.
- 15 “‘Women do not count, neither shall they be counted’”, *HWJ*, spring 2011. It was based upon our joint paper presented at Women’s History Network conference, Oxford, Sep 2009; see below.
- 16 The shift was also because searches for additional local names had become increasingly laborious and often fruitless.
- 17 Other than in Bradford, the boycott was more widespread in non-textile Yorkshire cities, notably Sheffield and York.
- 18 For the focus on four communities, see Introduction.
- 19 WHN conference (Sep 2009) on Women, Gender & Political Spaces: Historical Perspectives. Also discussion at Warwick University conference, Feb 2010, on my

paper, 'Communication Communities: Neighbourhood networks in the Evasion of the 1911 census', on forging 'shared bonds of identity'.

See also Walker, 'Locating the Global', 2006.

- 20 Doreen Massey's *Space, Place and Gender* (1994), pp. 2, 11, 169; chapter, 'A place called home?' The literature is clearly summarized in Beebe, Davis and Gleadle, 'Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities: feminist history and the spatial turn', *WHR*, 21:4, Sep 2012.

I also drew upon other interdisciplinary work, notably Manchester University, Sociology Department, Neighbourhood Networks seminar, Oct 2010; Leeds University, POLIS seminars on radical social protest (e.g. Occupy movement); and Geography seminars on Citizenship & Belonging. Finally, recent discussion of new mapping technologies (GIS) at the IHR/RHS conference 'Locating the Past: history & geography', Feb 2012.

- 21 Mabel Capper postcard; also Manchester University Library for C. P. Scott mss.
- 22 Copies in Nottingham Archives; interview with Barry Edwards.
- 23 Some of these suffrage house images had to be omitted at final draft stage, but these and others may be seen by going to www.jliddington.org.uk
- 24 We moved between both Findmypast and Ancestry search engines, from our home computers, regretting we did not have more powerful broadband connections. Elizabeth compiled London boroughs and Middlesex, I all other counties.
- 25 See also Bristol and Liverpool.
- 26 Sadly, this minute book ended in Feb 1909 (see Chapter 16, note 7). By 1911, it is difficult to estimate the extent of active local membership. Some seemingly were lapsed WSPU members, or merely sympathetic supporters. Of the Huddersfield names, only a selection are included in Gazetteer, and so far no boycotters identified.
- 27 For her lengthy statement and story, see www.womanandhersphere.com
- 28 See Gazetteer for Devon, p. 322.
- 29 Other examples: Cameron-Swan household, Croydon, mysteriously missing wife and probably servant. In West Sussex, Florence de Fontblanque undoubtedly evaded, 'taking' two servants with her, leaving one behind with her husband.
- 30 Confusingly, Miss Beldon, secretary to Barnes WSPU branch, lived at Bishops Mansions, Fulham.
- 31 Possible exceptions include Emily Smith, cook (Kensington); and cook and housemaids who refused information 'being suffragettes' (Hampstead); see Gazetteer, pp. 269, 252. The growing literature notes how thinking about servants helps explore the home as workplace.
- 32 Also Laura Ainsworth in Gillingham; however no schedule identified yet, despite best efforts of both compilers, plus Medway towns' historian. The presence of a dynamic organizer (here, Dr Helena Jones) helps explain why there were more evaders in Halifax, say, than in neighbouring Huddersfield.
- 33 It seems WSPU branch structures remained more resilient in London area. For WSPU organizers, Cowman, *'Right Spirit'*; there is yet no study of WFL organizers.
- 34 Of course, it also aimed to link infant mortality and women's fertility with age on marriage and mothers' occupations.
- 35 Memorial to friends, Margaret MacDonald and Mary Middleton, who had both died

- earlier in 1911. Additionally, of course, there remained adult suffrage criticisms of the Conciliation Bill.
- 36 Poignantly, in Sale sixty-seven-year-old Eliza Hines's schedule states that only ill-health prevented her from evading.
 - 37 Mass evasions for which schedules have not yet been found include York, Birmingham, Leeds and Halifax. Since we completed the Gazetteer, we have discovered additional boycotters (e.g. a mass evasion near Birmingham) and we hope to include these in a subsequent edition.
 - 38 The problem of double-counting (i.e. 'counting' an evader *both* as missing from home and as present at a local mass evasion) is recognized. However, this is arguably balanced by the unknown number of so many elusive 'weak' evaders.
 - 39 Examples of conscientious registrars making 'careful Inquiries' for an individual schedule include Binnie, West Wittering. The mass evasion in Newcastle is an instance of co-operation between the registrar and chief constable.
 - 40 In this sense, using the boycott as a vehicle to gain publicity rather than an attempt to invalidate the totals appears in retrospect to be the more effective – though of course this was not apparent at the time. Note from last chapter the slight revising of sex ratios.
 - 41 The extent of under-enumeration in the 1991 census, the time of the poll tax, was estimated at over 1 million, especially of young city-centre men. See Daniel Dorling and Steve Simpson, 'Those Missing Millions: implications for Social Statistics of Undercount in the 1991 Census', *Radical Statistics*, 1993; thanks to David Lawrence for this reference. Outside Britain, examples of census resistance include Germany, United States and Bhutan; factors disengaging sections of the population from census compliance are less gender, and more often nationality, race and statelessness.