

DIFFERENTIATION IN THE WORKING CLASS, CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
LABOUR PARTY IN LIVERPOOL UP TO 1939

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CONTENTS

Abstract		Page 4
List of Tables		Page 5
List of Figures		Page 7
Chapter One	Introduction	Page 9
Chapter Two	Local Studies of Labour Politics: 'How Many Exceptionalisms'?	Page 16
Chapter Three	The Scale of Labour's Failure - Municipal Elections	Page 63
Chapter Four	The Structure of Municipal Politics in Liverpool	Page 86
Chapter Five	The Scale of Labour's Failure - Parliamentary Elections	Page 137
Chapter Six	The Labour Party and the Electoral System	Page 156
Chapter Seven	The Extent of Labour's Failure - Organisation, Structure and Links with the Working Class	Page 176
Chapter Eight	The Social And Political Characteristics of the Electoral Wards of Liverpool	Page 211
Chapter Nine	The Labour Party and Women	Page 256
Chapter Ten	Conclusion	Page 296
Appendix 1	Municipal Election Results in Liverpool, By Ward, 1905-38	Page 305
Appendix 2	Estimated Votes in Uncontested Seats, 1919-38	Page 425
Appendix 3	Strength of Labour Support in Wards, by Quinquennium, 1919-38	Page 427
Appendix 4	Aldermen Elected in Liverpool, 1919-38	Page 429
Appendix 5	Parliamentary & Municipal Electorate in Liverpool, 1919-38	Page 433

Appendix 6	Estimates of Population Aged 21 or over in Liverpool Wards, 1931	Page 435
Appendix 7	Parliamentary Election Results in Liverpool, by Division, 1918-35	Page 437
Appendix 8	Parliamentary & Municipal Election Results Compared, 1918-35	Page 449
Appendix 9	Delegates to Liverpool Trades Council, 1905	Page 457
Appendix 10	Affiliated Trade Unions to Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, 1924-5	Page 459
Appendix 11	Elections to the Executive Committee of Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, 1921-39	Page 460
Appendix 12	Survey of Male Occupations in Ten Liverpool Wards, 1900, 1911 and 1940	Page 463
Appendix 13	Branches of the Working Men's Conservative Association, 1920-39	Page 468
Appendix 14	Turnout in Municipal Elections, 1919-38	Page 469
Appendix 15	A Comparison of the Structure of the Labour Force in Liverpool and Four Other Cities, 1911, 1921 and 1931	Page 470
Bibliography		Page 473

ABSTRACT

Analyses of the relatively poor electoral performance of the Liverpool Labour Party up to 1939 have emphasised the exceptionally divisive nature of religious sectarianism in the city. This supposed exceptionalism of Liverpool in relation to the British labour movement is reconsidered in this thesis. Recent studies of working class politics recognise the importance of local economic and social structures in explaining variations in working class political allegiance. Working within this framework, the thesis suggests that the predominantly maritime character of Liverpool's economy and society gave rise to a distinctively structured working class. Using evidence from a survey of occupations in ten wards of the city, it argues that there was a marked differentiation in the working class by occupation as well as religion. A large number of casually employed workers on the waterfront could be distinguished from a regularly employed group. These two groups evolved their own characteristic patterns of work, community, and culture. A detailed examination of patterns of voting also shows that their political responses differed. The dockside communities were found to be more open to a range of political alternatives, rather than giving an unequivocal and early allegiance to the Labour Party. The thesis also investigates the particular form of gender division created in a predominantly casualised working class, and argues that the Labour Party failed to respond adequately to the political demands of women. Additionally, anomalies in the municipal electoral system between the wars are highlighted, and it is suggested that these particularly disadvantaged Labour in Liverpool. All these factors must be put alongside religious sectarianism in explaining the Liverpool Labour Party's electoral failure up to 1939.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Labour Representation in County Boroughs with Population over 100,000, 1927-39	Page 67
Table 3.2	Seats Held by Labour on Liverpool City Council, 1919-38	Page 69
Table 3.3	Seats Held by Tories on Liverpool City Council, 1919-38	Page 70
Table 3.4	Share of Vote Won by Labour & Tory Parties in Municipal Elections in Liverpool, 1919-38	Page 74
Table 3.5	Hypothetical Share of Vote Won by Labour & Tory Parties in Municipal Elections in Liverpool, 1919-38, with Estimates for Uncontested Seats Included	Page 80
Table 4.1	Size of Electorate in Labour's Ten Strongest & Ten Weakest Wards, 1919-38	Page 93
Table 4.2	Ward Size in the Eight Largest Provincial Boroughs, 1931.	Page 97
Table 4.3	Equality of Ward Size, 1931, & Labour Strength, 1932, for the Eight Largest Provincial Boroughs	Page 98
Table 4.4	Municipal Electorate as a Proportion of Estimated Population Aged 21 or over in Wards, 1931	Page 121
Table 5.1	Seats Won By Labour & Tories in Liverpool at General elections, 1918-35	Page 138
Table 5.2	Types of Electoral Contests at General Elections in Liverpool, 1918-35	Page 150
Table 5.3	Labour Vote in Parliamentary & Municipal Elections Compared, 1918-35	Page 152
Table 7.1	Male Occupations in Liverpool, 1911, and of Trades Council Delegates, 1905	Page 182
Table 7.2	Wards where LTC delegates were Resident, 1905	Page 184
Table 7.3	Divisional Labour Party Reports, Feb-Aug, 1925	Page 193
Table 7.4	LTC&LP, Occupations Represented by Affiliated Unions, Year ending March 31st, 1925.	Page 198

Table 7.5	Trade Unions Delegates Elected to E.C. of the LTC&LP Classified According to Occupational Group Represented	Page 202
Table 7.6	Occupations of Labour Councillors and Aldermen in 1930 who had been Elected in Predominantly Catholic Wards	Page 207
Table 8.1	Churches by Ward, 1929	Page 214
Table 8.2	Liverpool Public Elementary Schools - Summary of Accomodation for Month ending Sep.30, 1922	Page 215
Table 8.3	Index of Catholic Presence in Wards	Page 217
Table 8.4	Male Occupations in Ten Liverpool Wards, 1900, 1911 and 1940	Page 223
Table 8.5	Top Ten Male Occupations in Ten Liverpool, Wards, 1900, 1911 & 1940	Page 224
Table 8.6	Proportion of Male Workforce in "Transport & Associated" & "Trades" Categories in Nine Liverpool Wards, 1900 & 1911	Page 225
Table 8.7	Some Indicators of Social Differentiation Calculated from the 1931 Census	Page 229
Table 8.8	Index of Labour Party, Irish Nationalist Party and Protestant Party Support in Municipal Elections, 1905-13	Page 235
Table 8.9	Index of Labour Party Support in Municipal Elections, 1919-38	Page 239
Table 8.10	Index of Support for Nationalist & Protestant Parties, 1919-38	Page 240
Table 8.11	Branches of the Liverpool Working Men's Conservative Association in Continuous Existence between 1920 and 1939	Page 240
Table 8.12	Turnout in Four Protestant Wards, 1926-38	Page 253
Table 9.1	Ward Women's Sections, Aug.1923 to Jun.1930	Page 260
Table 9.2	Ward Women's Sections, Jan.1931 to Jun.1939	Page 261
Table 9.3	Women Candidates in Municipal Elections in Liverpool, 1905-38	Page 286
Table 9.4	Approximate <i>per capita</i> Net Expenditure on some Services in Financial Years 1924-5 and 1935-6	Page 289

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1	Labour & Tory Seats Held on Council, 1919-38	Page 71
Figure 3.2	Labour & Tory Share of Vote in Local Elections, 1919-38	Page 75
Figure 3.3	Labour & Tory Share of Vote Adjusted for Uncontested Seats, 1919-38	Page 81
Figure 3.4	Labour Seats & Votes (Adjusted), 1919-38	Page 83
Figure 3.5	Tory Seats & Votes (Adjusted), 1919-38	Page 83
Figure 4.1	Labour Councillors & Aldermen, 1919-38	Page 104
Figure 4.2	All Other Councillors & Aldermen, 1919-38	Page 104
Figure 4.3 [a-d]	Councillors and Aldermen, Liverpool and Wolverhampton, 1919-38	Page 114
Figure 4.4 [a-d]	Labour Seats & Votes, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1919-38	Page 129
Figure 5.1	Labour Seats & Votes Won at General Elections in Liverpool, 1918-35	Page 149
Figure 5.2	Tory Seats & Votes Won at General Elections in Liverpool, 1918-35	Page 149
Figure 7.1	Liverpool Trades Council, Delegates Occupations, 1905	Page 183
Figure 7.2	Male Occupations in Liverpool, 1911	Page 183
Figure 7.3	Number of Trades Council Delegates Resident per Ward, 1905	Page 185
Figure 7.4	Liverpool Trades Council, Delegates Occupations, 1905	Page 199
Figure 7.5	Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, Occupations Represented by Affiliated Unions, 1924-5	Page 199
Figure 7.6	Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, Occupations Represented by Affiliated Unions, 1924-5	Page 203
Figure 7.7	LTC&LP, Trade Union E.C. Post-holders, Occupations Represented, 1921-30	Page 203
Figure 7.8	LTC&LP, Trade Union E.C. Post-holders, Occupations Represented, 1931-39	Page 203

Figure 8.1	Index of Catholic Presence in Wards	Page 219
Figure 8.2	Persons per Room, 1931	Page 230
Figure 8.3	Families per Dwelling, 1931	Page 231
Figure 8.4	Labour Strength, 1905-13	Page 236
Figure 8.5	Nationalist & Protestant Strength, 1905-13	Page 237
Figure 8.6	Labour Strength. 1919-23	Page 241
Figure 8.7	Labour Strength, 1924-28	Page 242
Figure 8.8	Labour Strength, 1929-33	Page 243
Figure 8.9	Labour Strength, 1934-38	Page 244
Figure 8.10	Nationalist & Protestant Strength, 1919-38	Page 245
Figure 9.1	Ward Labour Party Women's Sections, Aug.1923	Page 262
Figure 9.2	Ward Labour Party Women's Sections, Nov.1928	Page 263
Figure 9.3	Ward Labour Party Women's Sections, Mar.1933	Page 264
Figure 9.4	Ward Labour Party Women's Sections, Sep.1938	Page 265

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

A number of themes have predominated in the development of the labour movement in Liverpool over the past two decades. On the one hand, there has been the growth of political militancy in the Labour Party, alongside a decline in traditional trade union organisation and strength. On the other hand, the city has tended towards an increasing political exceptionalism. As the Labour Party has declined nationally in electoral terms in the 1970s and 1980s, so Labour has become electorally stronger in Liverpool, but also as the Party nationally has become more moderate, so Liverpool's "militancy" has appeared more exceptional.

This pattern, though, is a very recent phenomenon which represents almost a complete reversal of Labour's earlier history in the city. For much of this century Liverpool was exceptional, certainly, but only in that Labour was so *weak* compared with the national picture, while militancy was associated with trade union rather than party political struggles. Earlier commentary emphasised this. "Liverpool has unusual political traditions" began one analysis, "Liverpool political alignments have never been, and are not yet, completely normal", started another.¹ A third concluded that "Liverpool was a Conservative city" and inferred that Liverpool working men were good rioters but lousy socialists.² Contemporary opinion concurred. Ramsay MacDonald's comment in 1910 that "Liverpool is rotten and we had better recognise it"³, was echoed in the critical conclusions reached by the national party when it investigated the Liverpool organisation in 1930, 1939, 1953 and 1961. The local party itself offered a similarly bleak analysis. Its annual report for 1922, for instance,

having noted Liverpool's "good industrial organisation" compared with other towns, stated:

Politically, however, our position is not all that could be desired, and our ill-luck at the Municipal Elections is much to be deplored. We realise that a great deal must be done in the way of educating the electors, particularly those of the working classes.⁴

The electoral record of the party confirmed its weakness. In parliamentary elections Labour's progress was slow, its first victory coming in 1923, and the majority of Liverpool seats only falling to Labour for the first time in 1945. In municipal elections Labour fared even worse, belatedly winning control of the council in 1955.

Explanations for this failure have varied, but they have all tended to suggest that there was something unusual about the nature of the working class in Liverpool, and in turn about the relationship between that class and the party itself. The commonest argument has been to link the existence of a clear divide along religious lines within the working class with Labour's failure. Sectarian and nationalist issues cut through the bonds of class loyalty, and made it harder for Labour to appeal to the working class as a whole as the major party of that class. A number of local studies, including those by Waller, Baxter and Roberts,⁵ have stressed this argument.

More general analyses of Labour and the working class have also endorsed this line of reasoning. E.J.Hobsbawm, for instance, has argued that a "common 'style' of British proletarian life" emerged from about the 1880s, and that "local differences did not run counter to the sense of a single class consciousness", *except* in the case of "nationality".

Here, as Marx himself had realised, there was a force which did deeply split the British working class, at least potentially, as witness the political history of Merseyside."⁶

Others have evinced a similar view, including McKibbin, stating for the pre-1914 period that "given the political and religious peculiarities of Merseyside, it was impossible to establish efficient organization", Cook, who mentions that "sectarian politics undoubtedly weakened Labour's chances" in Liverpool in the late 1930s, and Howell, who has asserted with reference to the 1945 election that "traditional religious divisions tended to freeze voting behaviour and prevent Labour annexation of the expected share of working-class support" in Liverpool.⁷

It would be mistaken to deny the influence of religious sectarianism on Liverpool politics, but some studies have already suggested that there may have been other additional factors which contributed to the problems of the Labour Party in Liverpool. Structural features of the local economy and resultant patterns of employment, for instance, may have produced other forms of differentiation within the working class which may have been germane to the relationship between the party and class. That differentiation in turn may have been related to social and cultural expressions of difference, and to spatial patterns of distinctive localities or neighbourhoods. Joan Smith, for instance, has argued that both the "beliefs that workers started with" and the "industrial and social worlds they inhabited" were relevant to the very different impact that religious sectarianism had on Glasgow and Liverpool.⁸

This thesis contributes to this debate on the Liverpool Labour Party and the Liverpool working class, and to the wider debate on the nature of the working class and politics in twentieth century Britain. In particular it addresses two basic questions: how weak was the Labour Party in Liverpool, and were the causes of that weakness general, or specific to Liverpool? In answer to the first question, it will seek to show that the failure of the Labour Party in Liverpool has been exaggerated, primarily because anomalies in the system of municipal politics which disadvantaged Labour have never been systematically explored. Labour was weak, but not as weak as sometimes assumed. In answer to the second question, it will be shown that a mono causal explanation of the peculiarities of the Liverpool working class and politics is not adequate. Differentiation by religion was important, but so were differences of occupation, skill, and even gender, in explaining the relationship between party and class in Liverpool.

The spatial limits of this study are precise. It is concerned with Liverpool, not Merseyside. The significance of this distinction will become apparent as the analysis develops. The focus is on the county borough of Liverpool and its internal and external boundaries as defined between the reorganisations of 1894-5 and 1953-4. Economic, social and political change will be traced against the fixed backdrop of the ward boundaries that persisted through this period.

The temporal limits of the study are less precise. Ideally it would be focused on the period between 1918 and 1939, for two major reasons. Firstly, because the general discontinuities of the two world wars provide an obvious starting and ending point, but also more specifically because the municipal system of politics, on which much

of this analysis turns, took a particular form in the inter-war period quite distinct from the previous and subsequent periods. Secondly, because the inter-war period marked a fairly distinct phase in the development of the Labour Party, when it became a truly national party, but before it reached its monolithic status as the near-equal of the Tory Party. It is precisely in this period that the weakness of Labour in Liverpool contrasted most strongly with the gains made nationally. However, ideal and reality seldom match perfectly in historical chronology. Economic, social and cultural patterns never fit in neatly with political events, and in this study it is clear that such patterns had their roots in an earlier, pre-1918, Liverpool. There are also questions of the availability of evidence, which dictate that some of the analysis can only be carried out for the pre-1918 period. Thus, the thesis is concerned with the Labour Party in Liverpool *up to 1939*, focusing *mainly*, but not exclusively, on the inter-war period.

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter Two will examine in detail the historiography of the development of the Labour Party and its relationship to the British working class, both in Liverpool and in other local studies. Chapter Three will measure the failure of Labour in Liverpool in terms of electoral results at the municipal level, and Chapter Four will go on to explore the idiosyncracies of the inter-war municipal electoral system and its contribution to Labour's poor record locally. Chapter Five will analyse Labour's failure in Parliamentary elections in Liverpool, and will contrast the municipal and parliamentary record. Chapter Six will evaluate the Labour party's response to the the problems of the electoral system between the wars, both locally and nationally.

Chapter Seven will assess Labour's failure in other, less quantifiable, terms, in particular the structure and organisation of the party, and the strength of links with the wider working class. Chapter Eight will analyse the major economic and social characteristics of the different areas of the city, focusing initially on two key factors, religion and occupation, but also broadening out the analysis to include questions of neighbourhoods and working class culture. It will then turn to assessing the differential success of Labour in different parts of the city, identifying areas of particular strength and weakness in terms of election results, and synthesising the relationship between the political and social/cultural patterns revealed. Chapter Nine will consider another type of differentiation within the working class, gender, and assess its significance in terms of the development of the local party. Finally, in Chapter Ten, the thesis will conclude by drawing out the general implications of the analysis for the study of the Labour Party and working class politics.

FOOTNOTES

1. R.Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party, 1918-63*, (Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1969), p.1; D.A.Roberts, *Religion and Politics in Liverpool since 1900*, (Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of London, 1965), p.3.
2. J.Smith, "Labour Tradition in Glasgow and Liverpool", *History Workshop*, No.17, (Spring 1984), p.50.
3. Quoted in R.McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910-1924*, (1974), p.14.
4. Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, *Minutes*, AGM, April 5th, 1922.
5. P.J.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939*, (Liverpool, 1981).
6. E.J.Hobsbawm, "The Forward March of Labour Halted?", *Marxism Today*, Sept., 1978, pp.281-3.

7. McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party*, p.5; C.Cook, "Liberals, Labour and Local Elections", in G.Peele & C.Cook (eds.), *The Politics of Reappraisal, 1918-1939*, (1975), p.188.; D.Howell, *British Social Democracy: A Study in Development and Decay*, (2nd.Ed., 1980), p.131.
8. Smith, "Labour Tradition in Liverpool and Glasgow", p.50.

CHAPTER TWO - LOCAL STUDIES OF LABOUR POLITICS: 'HOW MANY EXCEPTIONALISMS'?

If capitalism is of a piece, why¹ is the working class it called into life so disparate?

It is significant that in the late twentieth century it is an *American* labour historian who still considers this a crucial question to be dealt with in the study of working class history. It is also perhaps unsurprising, given that the working class of the United States has *always* been notable for its diversity. For historians in the USA, the problem has always been how best to encompass the *variety* of working class experience. Ever-shifting, ever-changing, formed by successive waves of migration, scattered over a vast and varied terrain, politically divided, the American working class has never been amenable to simple generalisations.

By contrast, for British labour historians the *homogeneity* of the working class has often been taken for granted, especially in the period with which this thesis deals. The notion that the British working class, particularly in the years between the last decade of the nineteenth century and the end of the third quarter of the twentieth, was characterised by a high degree of social, cultural and political cohesion, has been highly influential. Diverse historical perspectives yielded similar results. Henry Pelling could write,

It is in these years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that we can most safely speak of a comparatively homogenous 'working class'.²

Speaking of the same period, Eric Hobsbawm could say that the working class,

was drawn more closely together, by a growing class consciousness, by political demands which united all strata and sections,...by a common lifestyle and pattern...This common 'style'...of British proletarian life began to emerge just about a century ago...local differences did not run counter to the sense of a single class consciousness.³

Hobsbawm argued further that only nationality significantly cut across this common style of proletarian life, but where it did this was very much the exception, most notably in Liverpool.⁴ This supposed exceptionalism of Liverpool, to be accounted for by the deep ethnic and religious division within the working class, will be echoed in much of the literature reviewed below.

It is arguable, that the widely held view that the British working class was relatively homogenous in this period, was sustained primarily by the examination of a set of institutions, most notably the Labour Party and the trade unions, which were presumed to represent the class, rather than any detailed examination of the class itself. For as long as the "forward march of labour" continued, the historical focus could remain on mainly national, and often narrowly institutional, studies of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress and its affiliated unions.

For earlier periods in the history of the working class, such an unproblematic approach was less pervasive. E.P.Thompson's pioneering work on the "making of the English working class" was highly influential in dealing with the diversity of early class formation and the complex relationship between class and class consciousness.⁵ The Chartist period was examined increasingly through a proliferation of local and regional studies marked by their attention to the diverse strands that made up the Chartist Movement.⁶ For the later nineteenth century, as well, the focus was increasingly on the heterogenous nature of the working class, most clearly expressed in the concentration on the theory of the labour aristocracy.⁷

It is really only in the last two decades that the twentieth century history of the British working class has begun to be re-evaluated, and in a way which has increasingly shifted attention to the study of the social and cultural features of the class itself. Why should this be so? Of central importance has been the contemporary crisis of those institutions, the Labour Party and the trade union movement, which for so long had been seen as embodying the working class. It may seem now

that these institutions never successfully fulfilled such a grandiose function, but it was only when the "forward march" was demonstrably "halted" that the blinkers were finally removed.

However, this re-evaluation has taken a number of directions, not all of them equally fruitful. In discovering diversity, for some historians at least, the very concept of class itself has become irrelevant. If empirical study reveals more and more complexity, difference, division, then why struggle to encompass these differences within any unifying concept such as class? In particular, the "moment of culture" has been for some the opportunity to cut loose from old theoretical moorings and sail forth into a post-modern world of discourse analysis.⁸

This is not the course followed in this thesis. The intention here is to explore the relationship between the specific features of a local economy that shaped a working class, the differentiation by levels of skill, ethnicity, religion and gender that were manifested in that class, and how that differentiation impacted upon the cultural and political practises of the working class. In doing so, it is assumed that variations in the forms of working class life, culture and politics in no sense invalidate the very concept of class itself, but rather that such variations are to be expected in any description and explanation of a local working class. The idea that mature working classes must assume a relatively homogenous form, or that they must conform to some single model of class formation, is simply not tenable. Classes are never "made" in any final or definitive sense, but rather they are constantly in the process of being made, and it is the description and explanation of the empirical circumstances of that "making" that is aimed at here. The essentialist assumption that a class must, by its very nature, aspire to a particular form of class consciousness, and that any failure to do so must be regarded as an exception, is also rejected.

As the comparative study of working class formation by Zolberg alluded to at the beginning of this chapter suggests, there are only so many

"exceptionalisms" that can be tolerated before a single model of class formation has to be rejected. To quote from that study:

Capitalism became flesh in a variety of forms, and each of these disparate incarnations functioned as a distinctive experiential matrix for the workers it called into life. Given the multifarious character of industrial capitalism, it stands to reason that the working class emerged concomitantly as an array of disparate groups subjected to different conditions and hence inclined to respond in different ways. Since differentiation was a key aspect of the process that governed the formation of the western working class, variety was a constitutive element of its eventual character.⁹

Zolberg's essay forms part of a collection which compares different *national* working classes one with another, but as he also makes clear,

It might also be noted that although national economic and political configurations will be treated as indivisible wholes for the purposes of the present analysis, constructs such as these hide as much as they reveal. As is apparent from the case studies above [ie. in the collection] *sectoral and regional variations in economic and political organization within each of the countries under consideration were sometimes as wide as variations between countries.*¹⁰ [My emphasis]

In other words, both within and between national economies, capitalism is of a piece, yet it *does* call into life a disparate working class. This is the assumption that underlies the analysis in this thesis.

* * * * *

As far as comparable local studies are concerned, there have been several concerned with the Liverpool labour movement that need to be considered. Until relatively recently, most of these studies were concerned primarily with the institutions of the labour movement, and paid little attention to wider questions of the relationship between these institutions and the local working class. Chronological narratives such as those by Drinkwater, Hamling, Maddock and Walsh supplied much empirical detail on the developments among local trade unions, the Trades' Council, and the Labour Party up to the inter-war period, without providing a great deal of analysis of the dynamics of working class politics in the area.¹¹ D.A. Roberts also produced a chronological account of the relationship between religion and politics in Liverpool, which outlined a straightforward argument that:

Liverpool political alignments have never been, and are not yet, completely normal. The pervading influence of Ireland is the key factor here.¹²

Having run through the various local and national election campaigns between 1900 and 1950, highlighting the sectarian issues as they affected local results, he concluded that by 1950 sectarianism had ceased to be any great significance.

The old, ill-educated and highly bigoted voter of the past was fast disappearing. Most of the contentious religious issues had been for the time, at least, settled.

From 1950 to 1964, when Liverpool's Parliamentary representation finally reverted to the pattern of other large industrial cities, sectarian bitterness, despite certain resurgencies (sic) declined even further.¹³

The argument that Liverpool was an exception in terms of the development of labour politics is plainly stated. It is less clear, however, *how* precisely religious differences became so influential in Liverpool, or, for that matter, *why* they become less significant over time. At the heart of Roberts' argument is an assumption that religion is an essentially *irrational* force intervening in a supposed modern, democratic political sphere. This "irrationality" was implanted in Liverpool by the accident of Irish migration, to be gradually eroded over time by some inexorable process of education and modernisation, so that it gradually fades away as a determinant of political action. It is significant also that Roberts poses his questions very much in terms of "religion", rather than "ethnicity" or "nationality", therefore reducing the meaning of sectarian division to primarily that of conflicting denominational beliefs. The social and political context of sectarianism is, therefore, seriously under-valued in his account.

By comparison with these narrative studies, Robert Baxter subsequently provided a more analytical approach to the history of the Liverpool Labour Party.¹⁴ Clearly informed by contemporary debates in the field of political sociology, Baxter went beyond the conventional narrative history of the party in the first part of his thesis, to attempt to analyse the internal dynamics of the party. Thus there was in his thesis some interesting analysis of the religious, residential and occupational background of Labour councillors, showing how the Catholic influence within the party grew from the 1920s, and also how

councillors were increasingly drawn from higher socio-economic categories in the post-1945 era.¹⁵

Baxter also elaborated on the connection between religious sectarianism and party politics by introducing the notion of "boss politics" into his analysis of Liverpool. This was based on a very vague comparison with city politics in the United States, where political "machines", based on ethnic identification and cutting across class boundaries, have been historically significant. For Baxter, similar "machines" along sectarian lines were created in Liverpool by powerful "bosses" of both the Tory and Labour Parties. Within the Labour Party this tradition, initiated by a catholic caucus in the inter-war period, was transmuted after 1945 into factional conflict between a non-sectarian, right-wing machine and "radical" opponents, as sectarian issues died away.¹⁶

While there were superficial similarities between local politics in Liverpool between the wars and some US cities, there were also crucial differences. In particular, the much greater autonomy of the city authority in the United States, the clearer political identification of office-holders in the American system, the much earlier advent of working class suffrage, and the highly pronounced residential segregation along ethnic lines in many American cities, meant that political "machines" wielding real local power could be created.¹⁷ By comparison, any British "machines" could only be pale shadows of their American counterparts. Liverpool was similar in that there was a degree of ethnic residential segregation, but it was not alone in this

in Britain. Moreover, the phenomenon of power being concentrated in the hands of "bosses" was hardly unique to the Liverpool Labour Party in this period. Ernest Bevin and Walter Citrine in the TUC, and Herbert Morrison in the London Labour Party, are notable examples of powerful leaders, if not "bosses", in the labour movement at this time.

Where Baxter's comparison with American boss politics may be more fruitful is in considering the nature of Liverpool *Toryism* in this period. The "popular Toryism" organised along sectarian lines by Archibald Salvidge through the Liverpool Working Men's Conservative Association amounted to an effective, and perhaps unique, political machine of sorts. Even contemporaries made the comparison with the United States, Lloyd George describing Salvidge as "the nearest to a Tammany boss that we have in this country".¹⁸ However, if the WMCA was effective in delivering working class votes for the Tories, it was hardly effective in delivering material rewards for its working class supporters. Nor was it a machine that truly cut across class boundaries. The WMCA, as its very name suggested, remained organisationally quite separate from the thoroughly bourgeois wing of the local party, the Constitutional Association. If anything, the WMCA was a miracle of political ideology, rather than a machine of the US type that offered real rewards to distinct ethnic groups.

In the end, Baxter's thesis becomes another version of the "exceptionalism" of the Liverpool case, caused primarily by religious division within the working class. He states:

Liverpool has unusual traditions. The immigrants it has received over the last two centuries have ensured that *the city developed a social life radically different from other English industrial towns...*[religion] shaped the political attitudes of the Liverpool working class...In common with many cities in the United States of America, which have large Irish immigrant communities, Liverpool developed a political power structure that was not entirely in accordance with *liberal democratic theory, and was out of line with the normal practice of British political parties.*¹⁹ (My emphasis)

While Roberts blamed the "ill-educated" voter, Baxter extended the blame for Liverpool's failure to match up to "liberal democratic theory" to the supporters of political bosses like Jack Braddock:

...most of such a Leader's following cannot of necessity be intelligent. Intelligent followers will rarely allow an autocratic Leader the freedom he desires...Braddock found his supporters among the politically illiterate working men of the city centre.²⁰

A later attempt to provide a "political and social history" of Liverpool was that of P.J.Waller. Again chronological in approach, and packed with empirical detail, Waller's work did not fully achieve the stated aim of its subtitle, as its primary focus was the political history of the city. In fact his work had a quite specific purpose, to explain the success of Toryism in Liverpool:

It seemed...paradoxical that the Conservatives could be so successful, without being dishonest, in Liverpool, given the grim circumstances in which much of the population lived and worked. The explanation of this paradox, if such it is, informs this book.²¹

This is not to say that Waller entirely failed to consider aspects of the social history of the city. In particular, he did note the unusual structure of the local economy and its impact on the local working class:

Commercial distribution, rather than manufacture, dominated Liverpool's economy, and had consequences for life in the city. The prevailing characteristics of the labour force were want of formal organization, traditional craft skills, and independence. The concomitants of this casual, impermanent, and relatively unskilled work were irregular wages and irregular ways.²²

However, this observation is never used in any analytical sense to explain the peculiarities of Liverpool politics, and for the most part Waller's work is a detailed account of how "Tory democracy" and religious sectarianism worked their spell over local political life.

The most interesting local study of the Liverpool working class carried out to date has been that by Joan Smith.²³ Smith attempts to explain how differences of religion within, *and* the unusual occupational structure of, the working class were translated into political action. In doing so, she explicitly rejects the "exceptionalist" view of Liverpool that has dominated the earlier studies quoted above. Liverpool may have been different, but for Smith this is not simply an aberration, but something that has to be explained by the real political activities of a working class shaped by a particular set of empirical circumstances. As she states, her work,

attempts to examine the assumption that given a mass working class movement the generation of a labour or a socialist tradition is an unproblematic and 'natural' occurrence,²⁴

and she later says that,

Comparing the Glasgow and Liverpool labour movements before the First World War leads to the conclusion that there is no necessary or inevitable route between the development of class conflict and the development of socialism.²⁵

The comparison between Liverpool and Glasgow is an intriguing one, as sectarian division was a feature of both cities, and yet their political traditions appeared to be very different, with socialist politics seeming to have a much greater purchase in Glasgow than in Liverpool. Smith gives two main reasons for the varying significance of sectarianism in the two cities. The first was related to occupational structure. Glasgow from the 1870s became the ship-building centre of the British economy, and protestant workers were predominantly engaged in skilled trades, while catholics were confined to unskilled sectors. Thus there was no direct competition between Catholic and Protestant workers in the labour market. By contrast, competition between Catholic and Protestant was endemic in the predominantly unskilled labour market of Liverpool.²⁶

The second reason for the greater influence of sectarianism in Liverpool was related to patterns of residential segregation. Catholics were mostly scattered through the central areas of Glasgow, whereas they were strongly concentrated in the Scotland Road area of

Liverpool. Thus,

In Liverpool the existence of exclusive communities was a permanent source of social conflict, reinforcing religious sectarianism...In Glasgow, with no exclusive communities, there was very little successful anti-Catholic agitation.²⁷

However, these occupational and residential factors were only part of the story for Smith. Her analysis goes on to look at the origins and nature of working class consciousness. She argues that there were differences in what she calls the "commonsense" thought of the two towns. This "commonsense" thought, which dominated working class consciousness, took different forms in Liverpool and Glasgow. The term is adopted from her reading of Gramsci, and is

...a construction out of many contradictory ideological strands...that accepts many dominant beliefs, and that can encompass many contradictory ideas at once.²⁸

It is to be contrasted with "goodsense", which,

...is the beginning of a critical awareness that may lead to class consciousness.²⁹

She argues that there were significant variations in "commonsense" thought in different localities up to this period. She states:

Before the First World War Britain was still a 'local' society in the sense that each conurbation's industrial and social structure could have a profound influence on the political life of the town. Not until the late 1920s/1930s were local differences overwhelmed by a new 'commonsense' and 'folklore' that was nationally constructed.³⁰

The implications of this assumed change in the inter-war period, for which she gives no evidence, are presumably that a much more homogenous working class politics would have been evident from then on. In pre-1914 Glasgow though, the working class were the inheritors of a "commonsense" which

...was dominated by strands of a Radical Liberal and reform tradition which working men had participated in for threequarters of a century.³¹

This was a

...living Liberal tradition in Glasgow which could evolve into a radical, even revolutionary world view, as the Liberals deserted their own principles, and as the expanding nineteenth century economy disappeared. Liberal 'commonsense' included notions of class interests, bridges to real socialist understandings of the world. Liberalism believed in 'progress' in a way that Conservatism never did.³²

In Liverpool, by contrast,

...the Liberal vision had little hold; the commonsense beliefs of most of the working class were bound up with the beliefs of Tory Democracy and Irish Nationalism, with the Welsh forming their own local community. Liverpool Tory Democracy developed quite different beliefs from those of national Toryism or even those of Birmingham Toryism: a mixture of extreme Protestantism and virulent nationalism bound up with elements of old and new working class beliefs (principally temperance and *collectivism*).³³ [My emphasis]

The final key step in Smith's argument is concerned with those "private associations " which made up, and reinforced, the "commonsense" of the working class. In Glasgow, Smith argues

the dominant 'private associations' were those associated with skilled working men and their nineteenth century Liberal beliefs of self-help and independence; the friendly societies, the co-operative

movement, the temperance societies and the craft trade unions.³⁴

In Liverpool, conversely,

...the national 'Liberal' organizations of self-help were almost absent, even among the skilled workers...The significant 'private associations' in Liverpool were constructed from the 1880's onwards. The Conservative Working Men's Association mobilized the sectarianism of the Orange Order on behalf of the local Tory Party...At the same time more extreme Protestant organizations were established on the right of the CWMA through the 'private initiative' of extreme Protestant preachers...Attached...were all the 'private associations' a family might need to join...The Catholic Church in Liverpool³⁵ had a similar host of organizations surrounding it.

The most impressive feature of Smith's study is her detailed elaboration of the various social, cultural and political organisations, on both sides of the sectarian divide, which were influential among the Liverpool working class in reinforcing sectional and sectarian attitudes.³⁶

However, there are still some problematic areas in Smith's overall analysis. Her utilisation of Gramscian concepts such as "commonsense" and "goodsense" in exploring differences in working class consciousness is interesting, but ultimately it is arguable how novel it really is. Stripped of the typically allusive terminology of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*,³⁷ Smith's interpretation seems to amount to little more than a reworking of the classic "false consciousness/revolutionary consciousness" dichotomy of the more reductionist interpretations of Marxist theory. The working class moves along a trajectory from "commonsense" to "goodsense" to "the

beginning of a critical awareness that may lead to class consciousness" and "real socialist understandings of the world". The process appears more or less an automatic one. The misfortune for the Liverpool working class, in Smith's analysis, is that it started from the wrong place, saddled with an inferior "commonsense", and therefore inevitably failed compared with its Glasgow counterpart.

In the end, like many of the other studies mentioned above, Smith repeats the by now familiar condemnation of the Liverpool working class for its obstinate failure to match up to some imputed model. She concludes:

Glasgow was a skilled workers' city without ghettos: its working men and women by and large rejected sectarianism and embraced socialism. In Liverpool this never happened before the Second World War. In Glasgow it was possible to believe in the gradual development of socialism as working men left Liberalism behind and moved to Labour, and some to revolutionary socialism; in Liverpool the only hope was industrial riot in which the dominant organizations of the city were temporarily put to one side. *Glasgow working men were good socialists but lousy rioters; Liverpool working men were quite the reverse.*³⁸ [My emphasis]

The "ill-educated" (Roberts), "politically illiterate" (Baxter) Liverpool workers were also, by inference, lousy socialists. Once local differences were supposedly overwhelmed in the late 1920s and a nationally constructed "commonsense" prevailed, Liverpool again becomes the exception, as:

...Conservatism held Liverpool in its thrall - down to the 1950s.³⁹

The "exceptionalist" framework, within which Smith's study is confined, is one which is rejected in this thesis, as will become clear later, but it is also the case that the *evidence* used to sustain her argument is open to a slightly different interpretation. Without seeking to minimise the real and obvious differences between the Liverpool and Glasgow labour movements, it can be argued that Smith has perhaps exaggerated those differences.

For instance, while the sectarian organisations of Liverpool are given so much prominence in her work, other aspects of working class activity are rather underplayed. Most notably, the development of trade unionism, particularly in the period between 1889 and 1914 when general unions were finally established in Liverpool, is barely mentioned, and then only to be dismissed as merely an outburst of syndicalist feeling which ultimately failed to restructure "political and social life".⁴⁰ This judgement contrasts with another study of the syndicalism of this period in Liverpool, that of R.J.Holton.⁴¹

Holton shows how an undercurrent of syndicalist feeling was particularly influential in the industrial unrest of the years 1910-14 on Merseyside. He summarises syndicalist beliefs as follows:

They stressed Direct Action rather than State-sponsored legislation as the main agency of social emancipation. In the industrial sphere, this meant a reappraisal of trade union methods away from craft sectionalism and conciliatory bargaining policies, towards an all-embracing industrial unionism, using the sympathetic strike and general strike as weapons of class conflict...Politically, syndicalism in Britain involved a rejection of gradualist social reform through Parliament based on electoral politics...The current Liberal social welfare legislation was rejected as a

means of State encroachment over independent working-class initiative.⁴²

These beliefs lay far outside the ambit of the "Radical Liberal and Reform" tradition, no doubt, but they were also far removed from the stranglehold of popular Toryism and religious sectarianism. Syndicalism was by no means *dominant* in Liverpool at this time, as Holton concedes. Nor does he deny the importance of sectarian feeling in Liverpool. Nevertheless, the influence of syndicalist ideas on the strike wave of this period, on both the leadership and rank and file of several waterfront unions, and on a variety of left-wing campaigns and initiatives in the area, is convincingly outlined by Holton. Moreover, international connections, particularly with the Wobblies of the United States, Spanish anarcho-syndicalists, and Irish trade unionists, were an important element of the movement, placing it somewhat outside of the mainstream of British labour politics. The Liverpool of organisations like the International Club, the Revolutionary Industrialists, the Clarion Club, the Liverpool Marxian Socialist Society, the Liverpool Anarcho-Communist Group, the Liverpool Communist Sunday School, the Industrial Syndicalist Education League, and the Communist Club, seems a world away from the narrow, sectarian Liverpool of Smith's account.

There were other aspects of Liverpool working class activity that are understated by Smith. For instance, she downgrades the significance of the co-operative movement in Liverpool as being confined only to semi-skilled workers,⁴³ a judgement that is certainly open to question.⁴⁴

The Irish Nationalist strand within the Catholic working class of Liverpool is also dismissed as essentially a diversion from the real "British" issue of building a labour movement. As Holton shows, the Irish and syndicalist traditions converged in the influence of James Larkin on the labour movement on Merseyside. This influence may have been resented by the pragmatic leadership of Jimmy Sexton in the Dockers' Union, but it was by no means regarded as insubstantial, or diversionary, by many waterfront workers, especially during the Dublin lock-out of 1913.⁴⁵ For a much earlier period, John Belchem has shown how Irish migrants brought radical traditions and organisational abilities to local trade unionism.⁴⁶ Andrew Shallice also makes the point that it is a "grindingly English" perspective to see the failure of the labour movement of Liverpool as being due to

the primacy of ethnicity, as a force to disunite and which 'pervaded' the Liverpool Labour Party.⁴⁷

As Shallice shows in his study of Labourism and Irish Nationalism between the wars, the Nationalist tradition in Liverpool had more than one face. There was a right-wing face, which by the 1930s dominated the Labour Group on the Council, But there was also a radical face, most notably displayed in the strike in 1920 of 20,000 Liverpool dockers organised by the Irish Workers' Vigilance Committee to press for the release of Sinn Fein internees.⁴⁸

On the other hand, the significance of "Tory Democracy" in Smith's work is perhaps *overplayed*. She claims that

The ruling Liverpool Tory party had adopted the Belfast cry of 'Social reform but no Socialism', and integrated whole sections of the Protestant working class into its

ranks on an explicit programme of municipal reform and an implicit programme of power-sharing, through the Conservative Working Men's Association and jobs for the Protestant boys. Token accommodations to the nationalist leadership of the local Catholic Irish community (particularly on housing questions) were also part of the pattern of Liverpool politics before the First World War and after.⁴⁹

Her comment, quoted earlier, that "collectivism" was part of the Liverpool Tory appeal to working class voters, overplays the nature of this appeal even more. This claim appears to be based on a speech by a local Tory MP and leading Orangeman, Watson Rutherford, in 1908, in which he pointed the way to "corporate, municipal and state enterprise", deplored "gross disparity in the distribution of wealth", and advocated nationalization of the railways. Apart from the fact that these sentiments were delivered in the unusual context of a speech to the Fabian Society, and moreover to a London and not Liverpool audience, it is also notable that they came from a notoriously maverick Tory. Rutherford is described by Waller, whose appreciation of the subtlest distinctions in Liverpool Conservatism is unequalled, as a politician "intent on promotion", whose "talent for publicity was the mark of a soloist", and who "welcomed every other wind to blow votes his way". Even Smith herself elsewhere admits Rutherford's views were "eccentric", and yet goes on to quote copiously from this speech to make the same dubious point, that Rutherford's views "could be contained within Liverpool's Tory Democracy".⁵⁰

Other aspects of Smith's view of Tory Democracy are questionable. The suggestion of an implicit programme of "jobs for the protestant boys" is unsubstantiated, and even if true, was limited by the relatively small scale of employment open to direct control or influence by Councillors. The wards of Liverpool were *not* the wards of New York or Chicago. Conversely, the concessions on housing to the Irish can hardly be described as "token". Of the 11,393 persons housed in Corporation tenements between 1869 and 1916, virtually all had been rehoused after slum clearance in the wards in which they had previously lived. Almost *all* of these tenements were situated in strongly catholic wards of the city.⁵¹ What this suggests is that the relationship between Toryism and the electorate, both catholic and protestant, is far more complex than Smith's analysis suggests. Finally, it should be noted that on two occasions, in the first decade of this century, and again in the 1930s, "Tory Democracy" was deserted by the protestant working class in the north end of the city in the Netherfield/St.Domingo area for a more explicit "Protestant" Party. Sectarianism, pure and simple, was what was required there, not "municipal reform".

A final point should be made about the previous writings on Liverpool and the Labour Party, which is particularly relevant in the context of the concerns of the early part of this thesis. The system of electoral politics that held sway in Liverpool, and its possible impact on the fortunes of the Labour Party, has not been considered in any systematic fashion in any of the works mentioned above. Baxter does mention the fact that ward boundaries in the early 1950s put Labour at

a disadvantage in municipal elections, leading to the redistribution of 1953.⁵² However, the implications of this observation, and its possible effects in earlier decades, are not pursued. Waller also makes passing references to limitations in the franchise, to ward boundary redistribution, and to the election of aldermen in the council chamber, but the political effect of these factors is not considered in any detail.⁵³ As will be shown later, this issue is one that repays further attention in explaining Labour's failure in Liverpool.

* * * * *

Turning now to studies of the Labour Party and the working class in other localities, it is again the case that only recently has attention been focused on local variation, the national and institutional approach holding sway to a great extent previously. There were some general studies of individual boroughs, such as those of F.Bealey et al. for Newcastle-under-Lyme, G.W.Jones for Wolverhampton, or W.Hampton for Sheffield, which worked very much within the tradition of political science.⁵⁴ These were concerned primarily with the "institutions of local democracy", looking at the nature of political parties and the sociology of electors and elected. As such they dealt with the Labour Party only as one of a number of competing parties, nor did they deal directly with questions of working class consciousness. However, they did provide some attempt to

analyse the socio-economic characteristics of different areas in the boroughs, and how these related to political allegiances. They also provided details of local election results, which are surprisingly hard to find before 1945.

As for *explaining* the Labour Party's performance in these three very different boroughs, there is little analysis. Labour's domination of Sheffield from 1926 is hardly considered at all by Hampton, being seen as more or less inevitable given the proletarian nature of the city, and particularly the prevalence of *skilled* workers.⁵⁵ In Wolverhampton, Jones sees Labour's moderate growth in the inter-war period as primarily stemming from extensions of the franchise and of the city boundaries. For the surge of support for Labour from 1945 he offers no explanation at all, except that Labour's opponents lacked positive, constructive policies.⁵⁶

For Newcastle-under Lyme, Bealey et al provide a much more interesting analysis of Labour's performance. They show how the party was poorly organised and had little popular support until suddenly expanding from the summer of 1942 onwards. This rapid growth is attributed to the impact of the war, and to considerable improvements in party organisation, and was reflected very clearly in municipal election results. Up to 1939 Labour had limited success on the local council, but after 1945 it increased its support dramatically, taking control of the council in 1946. By contrast, however, in parliamentary elections Newcastle was a safe Labour seat from 1922 onwards. This is explained as being due primarily to the defection of Sir Josiah

Wedgwood from the Liberals to Labour in 1919. As a popular sitting MP, with particularly strong support among the North Staffordshire miners, he maintained a personal vote that had little to do with either local party policy or organisation. In fact the miners' support for an untypical Labour MP, who retained many of his Liberal beliefs, was essentially a continuation of the strongly Liberal and Nonconformist attitudes held by them previously.⁵⁷ Bealey makes little of this fact, but it raises a number of interesting issues of relevance to this thesis.

Firstly, winning a constituency at the parliamentary level did not necessarily reflect the underlying strength of the local party, or even support for Labour policies. A superficial examination of the electoral record would suggest that Newcastle was an area of Labour strength from the early 1920s, yet it is quite clear from Bealey's study that this was not the case at least until 1942. Comparisons between different areas based on electoral records are therefore to be treated with caution, unless they are backed up by a deeper analysis of the local factors affecting election performance. Comparisons between one-seat towns, such as Newcastle, and multi-seat cities, such as Liverpool, are even more problematic. A personal vote could determine the whole picture in Newcastle, but could hardly be expected to have occurred simultaneously in all 11 seats in Liverpool.

Secondly, the sharp divergence between municipal and parliamentary performance by Labour in Newcastle *may* have been entirely due to the Wedgwood factor. However, it might also be related to differences in

the *system* of electoral politics at the two levels. As will be shown later, there were significant differences in the two systems, especially between 1918 and 1939, and which were likely to disadvantage Labour particularly at the municipal level. Whether this played any part in explaining the divergence in Newcastle is not calculable from the evidence that Bealey provides, but it remains a possibility. The fact that the divergence does not continue after 1945 only increases the possibility, as differences in the franchise in particular were removed from that date.

Thirdly, developments in the 1950s in Newcastle make the connection between party organisation and popular support at elections seem even more tenuous. The sudden growth of the Labour Party from 1942 was only sustained until the early 1950s - in fact Bealey states that a "well-organized mass Labour Party" only existed in Newcastle for the four years during the period 1947-50⁵⁸ - and yet Labour remained relatively strong in the borough, at both the municipal and parliamentary level, up to the the 1960s. The fact that Labour held the Newcastle seat continuously from 1922 seems almost fortuitous, rather than a reflection of real commitment to Labour by the local working class. Simplistic comparisons with other areas are again thrown into question. Labour's electoral record in Liverpool over the same period seems far less impressive, and yet it is arguable whether this mirrors *real* differences in party organisation and working class commitment to Labour.

More recently there has been a flood of new material produced on the history of local Labour Parties from the early years of this century up to 1939, covering areas or towns as varied as the East End of London, Leicester, Coventry, Preston, Nelson, Lancaster, and Edinburgh.⁵⁹ Naturally these works differ widely in their theoretical and methodological frameworks, but they share in common a commitment to analysing the development of local politics in the context of the specific socio-economic features of the locality. In most of these studies, the occupational structure of the area and the varying experiences of work are seen as important, but not the only, influences on working class life, culture and politics. Other influences, such as gender differentiation, ethnicity, and ideological and political structures and practises, are emphasised to varying degrees.

What this body of work signifies most clearly, is that the consensus that predominated previously on the supposed homogeneity of the British working class in this period, has been considerably modified. Rather than seeing areas of Labour weakness as being in some way exceptions to the rule, most of these studies are centrally concerned now with answering a key question: Why did the strength of working class support for Labour vary so widely between different localities? Nor do the answers to this question simply come down to differences in economic structure. A complex range of answers can be derived from the works listed above.

Bill Lancaster, in his exemplary study of Leicester working class politics, expresses one approach:

...a thorough understanding of the structure of the working class has to be achieved in order to grasp the complexities of the relationship between material forces and the Labour movement. Thus close attention has to be paid to the world of work...Important as this theme is, too great a reliance upon its explanatory powers leads to a somewhat mechanistic analysis of working-class political action...This point can be underlined if we pose the question, *why do apparently similar communities, with similar economic structures, produce radically different forms of working class political action?* The key to answering such a question lies in grasping the unique world of working-class culture and political traditions that exist[s] in specific places. In short, *working-class communities possess both a structure and a nature.*⁶⁰

Having established the central importance of the hosiery and footwear industries in structuring the Leicester working class, Lancaster shows how successive changes in the organisation of production in these industries produced political responses which were eventually to give rise to a strong Labour tradition. However, this process was by no means a mechanistic one, as the tradition of out-work, which came increasingly under attack from the 1880s, was deeply embedded in working class life, and was associated with an artisan rather than factory culture, and a Radical Liberalism in politics. Such cultural and political traditions did not disappear overnight with the rise of independent Labour politics, and they left their imprint on the style of Labourism that developed in the area. The strong ILP support that was built up in the area, and the fact that a national figure like Ramsay MacDonald was the local MP, might have made Leicester seem unremarkable among early Labour strongholds, but Lancaster shows otherwise:

...on the one side the party with MacDonald at the helm appeared to prefigure the future process of bureaucratizing and centralizing Labour politics; on the other the Leicester movement manifests itself as a product of a specific local political tradition deeply entrenched in, and taking direction from, issues rooted in the local community.⁶¹

A rather different approach is offered by Michael Savage in his study of working-class politics in Preston. Both the concepts of "culture" and "community", so important in Lancaster's study, are explicitly rejected by Savage. Instead he attempts to show that the basis of "practical politics", as opposed to "formal politics", has its roots in working class "interests", which flow from the necessity of workers attempting to reduce their material insecurity within capitalism.⁶² Savage identifies three major types of practical struggles, which he labels "mutualist", "economistic", and "statist".⁶³ These "practical" politics are closely linked to the social structure, and vary widely at the local level. While he shows that differences in skill levels may be crucial in determining these variations,⁶⁴ he is at pains to stress that these are not the only determinants, arguing that gender and "neighbourhood" relationships, for instance, can also be influential.⁶⁵

In the second half of his study, Savage then tries to show how these practical politics evolved in Preston between 1880 and 1940. He establishes the basis of the local economy, mainly cotton weaving and spinning, and shows how decline in these two sectors affected various groups of workers, in particular mainly male spinners and male overlookers in weaving, and mainly female weavers, in different ways

from the 1880s.⁶⁶ The decline of the spinning sector especially led to "economistic" struggles, which, when they reached the formal political agenda, Savage argues, were skilfully latched on to by local Conservatism. Thus working class support for Toryism, based on claims of advancing the regeneration of the local economy, reached its peak by the 1880s and 1890s. This working class Toryism had nothing to do with any deferential attitudes. As Savage argues:

...it did not rely on deferential workers or people who for some reason were acting irrationally against their interests. Rather it relied on workers pursuing their interests in a particular economistic way.⁶⁷

In turn, Savage argues that the shift away from Conservatism and towards independent Labour politics from around the turn of the century

...did not result from any change in the economistic propensities of the local working class: rather it was brought about by the inability of the Conservatives to articulate those struggles...Yet it is important not to neglect entirely the changing character of different occupations...It is the patriarchal nature of economistic politics which is of especial importance in this regard: those trades which were threatened by female labour [notably elite workers in weaving] were to the fore in the local labour movement, but those whose own patriarchal position was unchallenged [notably overlookers] were the least enthusiastic.⁶⁸

This "economistic" labourism, generally hostile to female employment, reached its peak by the early 1920s, fuelled by fears of increased female labour, caused by the widespread use of women workers during the first world war.⁶⁹ Its neighbourhood base remained weak, however, and as "women's issues" came to the fore in the early 1920s, and were initially exploited by the Tories, so Labour declined.⁷⁰ However,

changes in Labour Party organisation by 1924-5 led to a diminution of trade union influence and a growth of neighbourhood involvement through ward parties and women's sections. This gave rise to growing Labour support based on new "statist" policies, focused on local state services. These policies also have to be seen in the context of relatively high employment, when male workers felt less threatened by female labour.⁷¹

Finally, the growth of unemployment from 1929 dealt a fatal blow to this popular statist Labourism, as female labour became again a threat to male workers. Women's involvement in the party declined rapidly, and there was a shift to policies based on national state measures to reduce unemployment. The dynamism of the late 1920s faded, and Labour's support in Preston fell away for the duration of the 1930s.⁷²

It is difficult within the confines of this brief survey to do justice to the full complexity of Savage's argument, or to the range of evidence that he employs. Some points relevant to this thesis need to be made, however. Firstly, Savage makes a strong case for the necessity of local studies of Labour, and unlike some of the other studies already mentioned, also argues that the local dimension remained important right through to 1939. He provides an analysis of the changes in Labour's support in Preston which is almost entirely determined by local, rather than national factors. Even when he concedes that national patterns of support for Labour can be distinguished in the inter-war period, he nevertheless asserts that:

The apparent uniformity of Labour's electoral advance in many working-class towns, particularly in the 1920s,

should be taken as evidence not of the power of national effects, but rather of the significance of commonly found local effects in many different parts of the country. It is these local processes which are of central importance in the analysis of political change.⁷³

Savage pursues this point further by arguing that the transition to neighbourhood-based politics and away from trade union-orientated struggles, which he identifies in Preston, was repeated elsewhere. It is this which explains the national pattern of Labour support in the 1920s better than more conventional analyses based on the ebb and flow of trade union fortunes.⁷⁴ It is arguable that Savage overstates this point, and that perhaps it is a combination of *both* factors that were at work in these years. However, it is interesting that similar changes can be identified in the very different context of Liverpool, as will be shown in Chapter Nine.

Secondly, Savage's rejection of the usefulness of the notion of working class consciousness or culture needs to be considered. He gives three reasons for this:

Firstly there are almost insurmountable problems in ascertaining the precise nature of working-class consciousness in historical periods. Secondly, political practise and action are strongly related to questions of strategy and tactics rather than to moral issues or perceptions of the nature of society. Finally,...People have a variety of beliefs about different elements of their lives, and there is no reason to suppose that there is any coherence about these beliefs.⁷⁵

There is an element of truth in all three of these points, but nevertheless they cannot be accepted as a guide to work in other

localities. That it is *difficult* to reconstruct working class culture is undeniable, as witness the debate among historians over "culturalism" and "structuralism" a decade ago.⁷⁶ However, only the most die-hard structuralist would still argue that E.P.Thompson's reconstruction of the experience of the English working class, for all its faults, was entirely worthless. Savage's other two points are essentially concerned with the *complexity* of the relationship between material life, culture and consciousness. Again, this complexity is undeniable, but is not a sufficient reason for abandoning the attempt to explain it. Certainly, attempts to elevate "culture" to the point of being the sole determinant of working class politics, while at the same time rejecting any material basis, are unacceptable.⁷⁷ But the wholesale jettisoning of the concepts of consciousness and culture is not justified, and they will be employed later in this thesis, especially in Chapter Ten.

The third and final point about Savage's work is that his attempt to link different political practices to differences in skill-level, but also to other forms of differentiation in the working class, most notably that of gender, serves as a model for other studies. Whatever reservations there may be about particular aspects of his study, his rejection of any mono-causal explanation of working class politics has to be endorsed, and coincides with much of the approach employed in this thesis.

* * * * *

The final part of this survey points towards local studies of working class formation and development in international perspective. The main focus here will be on studies of the American working class, as these have been particularly plentiful over the past decade or so. However, some mention should also be made of similar work being done on continental Europe. Even limiting the field to English language studies, there have been a number of recent works exploring local aspects of working class history across Europe.

L.R. Berlanstein's study of Parisian working people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, is an interesting analysis of their economic and social structure, and political responses.⁷⁸ Structural change is highlighted, creating a new group of factory workers on the outskirts, as opposed to an older working class concentrated in workshop production in the centre. At the same time, two other main groups could be distinguished, in the service sector and in white-collar occupations.⁷⁹ Despite the rather differing work experience of these groups, and social and cultural differences which Berlanstein examines, the late nineteenth century nevertheless saw some political and industrial convergence. Economic crisis and management attempts to reduce workers' control over the labour process brought increased industrial conflict, in the older central industries first, but also involving what were later to become the highly militant factory workers of the *banlieue*, and even white collar workers.⁸⁰ The syndicalist tradition and the centrality of questions of control, so often associated with the French labour movement, were seen in both factory and workshop. At the same time, an

earlier political radicalism, decisively influenced by the experience of the 1871 Commune, was also to give way to a moderate socialism both in the city and the *banlieue*.⁸¹

Berlanstein's work illustrates the complexity of the internal composition of a local working class, and how structural change can rapidly and radically alter its composition. It also demonstrates that differentiation in the working class, in this case mainly by occupation and skill level, can lead to distinct social and cultural differences, and yet not necessarily to permanent political or industrial division. For the purposes of this thesis, the point to be drawn from Berlanstein's study is this. The relationship between the differences within a class, and the historical expression of those differences, is neither automatic, nor unchanging. A similar conclusion flows from some of the American examples outlined below.

There have also been a number of studies of other French towns, of the Russian working class, both in Moscow and Petrograd, and others again in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, which suggest that the analysis of working class history at a local level is growing apace.⁸² However, given the earlier comments about the heterogenous nature of the American working class, it is perhaps not surprising that labour history in the USA has recently provided a number of examples of highly impressive, and instructive, local studies. These have ranged widely in both geographical and chronological terms. In the earliest phases of working class formation, there have been notable studies of Lynn, (Mass.), Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York.⁸³ Later

developments have been traced in studies of Cincinnati, *antebellum* New York, Albany (N.Y.), and Pittsburgh.⁸⁴ Most directly comparable with this work have been a number of twentieth century studies, including several studies of Chicago, and others of Baltimore, Minneapolis, and Woonsocket (R.I).⁸⁵

It is impossible to do justice to the full range of historical issues raised by this body of work within the confines of this brief survey. Nevertheless, there are some interesting points of comparison. Most strikingly, the scale and complexity of the racial and ethnic divisions within local working classes that are dealt with in some of these works seems, by comparison with the British experience, overwhelming.

Amy Bridges' study of *antebellum* New York, for example, shows the complex ethnic and occupational differentiation of the city wards by the mid-nineteenth century. A hierarchy of occupational groups could be discerned, ranging from artisans at the upper end of the scale, down through factory workers of various types, and finally the lowest-paid groups such as teamsters, longshoremen, labourers and domestic servants. Within this pattern, ethnic differentiation was marked, with American-born workers more common at the top of the social scale, Germans and English/Scots concentrated in the middle, and the Irish nearer the bottom. In turn, the wards were differentiated; the West Side wards were predominantly artisanal, and mainly native-born, most notably the ninth ward; along the East River, shipbuilding and ironworking was significant, and the Germans were concentrated, for

instance in the eleventh ward; in the South Side were many of the docks, warehouses and factories, and many of the Irish, such as in the first ward.⁸⁶

Bridges stresses that this differentiation of the New York working class was not as clear-cut at this early date as it was to become later.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, its effects were marked. Moreover, Bridges shows how ethnically and occupationally distinct neighbourhoods developed a complex set of social institutions, including voluntary fire companies, militia companies, and gangs, which increasingly defined this differentiation. The gangs defended their "turf" in the working class areas of the city, and even their names were redolent of a close-knit, and often ethnic, community: the Bowery Boys, Kerryonians, American Guards, Orangemen.⁸⁸

Yet Bridges also shows how this apparently rigidly divided working class was brought to a degree of political unity eventually through the creation of the Democratic political machine. "The true home of the working classes" created a ward machinery which connected to the working class community, and especially the immigrant groups initially. This was by no means an independent workers' party, of course. As Bridges states:

...if the Democracy was the "true home of the working classes" in New York City, it was surely not a labor party. Indeed, rather than making of the party a workers' party, the party made of the workers, Democrats.⁸⁹

On the other hand, though, Bridges shows how this machine politics arose in the context of the decline of an older political order, brought on by what she calls a social revolution caused by industrialisation. Combined with the fact of white male working class enfranchisement, this created pressures from below on the boss and the machine. As she says:

...machine politics is not properly understood as the "institutionalization" of working-class ethics, ethnic solidarity, or neighbourhood loyalties, nor can it be accounted for by describing it as an admirably designed mechanism for social control (though it may well be true that machine politics bears some relationship to each of these values).⁹⁰

Bridges describes machine politics as a "peculiarly American urban polity",⁹¹ and points to many other examples from the literature of the American working class where cases of distinct ethnic and occupational differentiation gave rise to specific forms of this polity.⁹² Turning to a later period, also, the extent of differentiation in the working class seems decisive. Lizabeth Cohen's study of Chicago between the wars provides a case in point.

Cohen draws a fascinating picture of a city with five working class areas distinguished by their ethnic and occupational characteristics. In the southeast was an area dominated by employment in the steelworks, and occupied by numerous different immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe. Centred on the Back of the Yards district was an area dominated by the meat-packing plants, again with a complex mix of immigrant groups. In the west and northwest were the older immigrant neighbourhoods, many of whose residents worked in garment

trades and light industries. To the southwest lay an area dominated by the huge plants of Western Electric and International Harvester, again ethnically mixed. Finally, there was the south side black belt, where 90% of Chicago's black population lived, and who worked in factories and mills across the city.⁹³ The extraordinarily complex divisions of the Chicago working class are illustrated graphically:

...the steeples of South Chicago's national churches - St. Michael's for the Poles, Sacred Heart for Croatians, Our Lady of Guadalupe for Mexicans, St. Patrick's for Irish, St. Joseph for Lithuanians, SS. Peter and Paul and East Side Baptist for Germans, St. George for Slovenians, Evangelical United Methodist for Swedes - vied with the smokestacks of the steel mills on the skyline and symbolized both the centrality of ethnicity to workers' sense of community and the way workers were divided among themselves.⁹⁴

This complexity was underpinned by an enormous range of ethnic institutions concerned with social welfare, charity work, religion, banking and recreation.⁹⁵ Ethnic and racial conflict in various key industries was widespread, and seemed to preclude any prospect of class-wide solidarity, most notably in the crushing industrial defeats just after the first world war. As Cohen states:

In both the steel strike of 1919 and the packinghouse conflicts that continued until January 1922, community isolation and ethnic and racial tensions played into employers' hands to doom workers' struggles to defeat.⁹⁶

Political unity was equally elusive, with high levels of working class abstention in elections, and minimal workers' involvement in party politics.⁹⁷

Yet within a decade the picture was transformed, according to Cohen. Many of Chicago's workers were radicalized in campaigns among the unemployed in the early 1930s, and some were influenced by the Communist Party, which was heavily involved in these campaigns.⁹⁸ By the mid-1930s many more workers were enthusiastic supporters of the Democratic Party and the New Deal,⁹⁹ while many more again were unionised in a great wave of rank-and-file industrial struggle led by the new and militant CIO. By the early 1940s many workers in the steel mills, the packinghouses and at International Harvester had gained union recognition and improved contracts.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Cohen shows how the ethnic and racial divisions of a decade earlier were effectively defused, even though the cultural bases of those divisions remained proudly in place, a process actively encouraged by the CIO in constructing what she calls a "culture of unity."¹⁰¹ The situation was not to last long before the post-1945 cold war freeze set in, but the brief moment of working class unity was nevertheless impressive.

From the perspective of this study of Liverpool, the key point to be drawn from Bridges' and Cohen's work, and from many of the other studies cited above, is the high degree of differentiation in the working class shown in these American cities. By comparison, the ethnic and religious divisions of Liverpool seem relatively insignificant. But what is also instructive is that even these stark American divisions were capable of being broken down, albeit temporarily. To identify deep-rooted structural differences within a class, and to show the social and cultural effects of these differences, does not preclude the possibility of their potential for

political and industrial division being reduced. Structures do not automatically determine historical outcomes.

On the other hand, another instructive aspect of these American works is that they highlight the necessity of analysing the whole ensemble of economic, social, cultural and political relations that were specific to each city. Bridges makes this point well, in showing how machine politics, while a "peculiarly American urban polity", took specific forms in the different cities she surveys. Cohen, however, never makes any comparisons with contemporary developments elsewhere, claiming that

...the sources of workers' politics during the thirties did not differ substantially by region. Despite minor variations, there was one national story to be told. The most revealing contrasts were not between one city and another but rather between worker communities and factories within a city like Chicago.¹⁰²

This unlikely claim is never substantiated, and others have identified it as one possible weakness in her study. Bruce Nelson, for instance, argues that the progress of the CIO took different forms elsewhere, especially in the port cities that are the focus of his research, and that there was not a "single pattern of ideological development".¹⁰³

At the same time, Bridges is careful to stress that American cities were never "self-contained arenas of political activity".¹⁰⁴ State and national governments, and national political trends and organisations, always impinged on the local polity. This is something that needs especially to be kept in mind in any twentieth century British study,

as local government was even less autonomous in relation to the central state, and labour's own organisations, most notably in national trade unions and the Labour Party, also tended to be more centralised than their American counterparts.

* * * * *

To conclude, this thesis is intended as contributing to the growing body of work analysing the local dimension of working class history. It is informed by several basic assumptions. First, that working classes are never homogenous, and that local differences are always present. Second, that specific local features of differentiation in the working class are never fixed, but vary according to changes in local economic and social structures. Third, that structural differences within a local working class do not lead automatically or simply to pre-determined historical forms of political consciousness. Fourth, that the whole ensemble of economic, social, cultural and political features of a local working class have to be considered to explain its history. Finally, that the locality can never be seen as a self-contained entity, but rather as being linked to regional and national developments.

What will be shown in this thesis is that local economic structures were decisive in forming a Liverpool working class that was distinctively differentiated by occupation. Other forms of

differentiation, such as those of religion and gender, were significant in affecting the way in which the social, cultural and political features of this class developed historically. Nevertheless, the political culture of the Liverpool working class was deeply marked by the maritime nature of the local economy, and this factor must be recognised as playing a significant part in any explanation of the Labour Party's weakness in Liverpool.

FOOTNOTES

1. A.R.Zolberg, "How Many Exceptionalisms?", in I.Katznelson & A.R.Zolberg (eds.), *Working Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*, (Princeton, 1986), p.397.
2. H.Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, (Harmondsworth, 3rd edition, 1976), p.89.
3. E.J.Hobsbawm, "The Forward March of Labour Halted?", in *Marxism Today*, Sep.1978, pp.281-2.
4. *Ibid.*, p.283.
5. See, for instance, E.P.Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (1963); "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century", in *Past & Present*, No.50, (1971); "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture" in *Journal of Social History*, Vol.7, No.4, (1974).
6. See, for instance, the various articles in A.Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, (1959); J.Epstein & D Thompson (eds.), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-1860*, (1982).
7. See, for instance, G.Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London, 1840-1880*, (1978); J.Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*, (1974), R.Q.Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*, (Oxford, 1976); P.Joyce, *Work, Society & Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England*, (1980); N.Kirk, *The Growth of Working Class Reformism in Mid-Victorian England*, (1985).
8. See, for instance, G.Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History, 1832-1982*, (Cambridge, 1983);

P.Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848-1914*, (Cambridge, 1991).

9. Zolberg, "How Many Exceptionalisms?", p.433; See also I.Katznelson, "Working-Class Formation: Constructing Cases and Comparisons", in the same collection, for further consideration of the varieties of working class formation in international perspective.
- 10.Zolberg, "How many Exceptionalisms?", p.431.
- 11.T.L.Drinkwater, *A History of the Trade Unions and Labour Party in Liverpool, 1911 to the General Strike*, B.A.Diss., University of Liverpool, (1940); W.Hamling, *A Short History of the Liverpool Trades' Council*, (Liverpool, n.d.); S.Maddock, *The Liverpool Trades' Council and Politics, 1878-1918*, M.A.Diss., University of Liverpool, (1959); J.D.Walsh, *Aspects of Labour and Industrial Relations in Liverpool, 1891-1932*, M.A.Diss., University of Liverpool, (1976).
- 12.D.A.Roberts, *Religion and Politics in Liverpool since 1900*, M.Sc. Diss., University of London, (1965), p.1.
- 13.*Ibid.*, p. 154.
- 14.R.Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party, 1918-1963*, D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, (1969); R.Baxter, "The Working Class and Labour Politics", *Political Studies*, Vol.XX, No.1, (1972).
- 15.Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, especially Chs. 7-10.
- 16.*Ibid.*, pp.1-2, and especially Chs. 4-6.
- 17.See M.Shefter, "Trade Unions and Political Machines: The Organization and Disorganization of the American Working Class in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Katznelson & Zolberg, *Working Class Formation*, pp.197-213; 267-271; See also A.Bridges, *A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the Origins of Machine Politics*, (Cambridge, 1984), pp.103-124; 146-161.
- 18.Quoted in P.J.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939*, (Liverpool, 1981), p.313
- 19.Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, p.1.
- 20.*Ibid.*, p.3.
- 21.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p. xix.
- 22.*Ibid.*, p. xvi.
- 23.J.M.Smith, *Commonsense Thought and Working Class Consciousness: Some Aspects of the Liverpool and Glasgow Labour Movement in*

the Early Years of the Twentieth Century, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1981); "Labour Tradition in Glasgow and Liverpool", *History Workshop*, No.17, (Spring, 1984); "Class, Skill and Sectarianism in Glasgow and Liverpool, 1880-1914", in R.J.Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns*, (Leicester, 1986)

24.Smith, "Labour Tradition...", p.33.

25.*Ibid.*, p.44.

26.*Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

27.*Ibid.*, p. 49.

28.*Ibid.*, p. 44.

29.*Ibid.*, p. 44.

30.*Ibid.*, p. 44.

31.*Ibid.*, p. 44.

32.*Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

33.*Ibid.*, p. 46.

34.*Ibid.*, p. 47.

35.*Ibid.*, p. 47-48.

36.See especially, Smith, "Class, Skill and Sectarianism...", pp. 173-180.

37.On the problems of interpreting Gramsci's terminology in his prison writings, see Q.Hoare & G.Nowell Smith (eds. & trans.) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, (1971), Preface, pp. x-xiv; For Gramsci's writings on "commonsense", etc., see pp.323-331.

38.Smith, "Labour Tradition...", p.50.

39.*Ibid.*

40.*Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

41.R.J.Holton, "Syndicalism and Labour on Merseyside, 1906-14", in *H.R.Hikins (ed.), Building the Union: Studies on the Growth of the Workers' Movement: Merseyside, 1756-1967*, (Liverpool, 1973).

42.*Ibid.*, p 122.

43.Smith, "Labour Tradition...", p.48.

44. See W.H. Brown, *The Story of the Liverpool Cooperative Society Ltd.*, (Liverpool, 1929).
45. Holton, "Syndicalism and Labour on Merseyside", pp. 127; 131-3. Also, see E.L. Taplin, *The Dockers' Union: A Study of the National Union of Dock Labourers, 1899-1922*, (Leicester, 1985), pp. 67-79.
46. J. Belchem, "Introduction: The Peculiarities of Liverpool", in J. Belchem (ed.), *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History, 1790-1940*, (Liverpool, 1992), p.9. See also Belchem, "Liverpool in the Year of Revolution: The Political and Associational Culture of the Irish Immigrant Community in 1848", in *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour*, pp.75-95.
47. A. Shallice, "Liverpool Labourism and Irish Nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s", in *Bulletin of the North West Labour History Society*, No. 8, (1982-3), p.19.
48. Shallice, "Liverpool Labourism...", p.19; p. 21.
49. Smith, "Labour Tradition...", p.39.
50. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p.165; p.197; Smith, "Class, Skill and Sectarianism...", pp.181-2.
51. *Liverpool Official Red Book*, 1920, p.63.
52. Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp. 108-110.
53. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, pp.xvii-xix; 119; 153; 160.
54. F. Bealey, J. Blondel & W.P. McCann, *Constituency Politics: A Study of Newcastle-under-Lyme*, (1965); G.W. Jones, *Borough politics: A Study of the Wolverhampton Borough Council, 1888-1964*, (1969); W. Hampton, *Democracy and Community: A Study of Politics in Sheffield*, (1970).
55. Hampton, *Democracy and Community*, pp.24-48; pp.153-182.
56. Jones, *Borough Politics*, pp.58-74.
57. Bealey et al., *Constituency Politics*, pp.77-97.
58. *Ibid.*, p.104.
59. See, for instance, J.A. Gillespie, *Economic and Political Change in the East End of London during the 1920s*, (D.Phil., University of Cambridge, 1984); S. Goss, *Local Labour and Local Government: A Study of Changing Interests, Politics and Policy in Southwark from 1919 to 1982*, (Edinburgh, 1988); J. Holford, *Reshaping Labour: Organisation, Work and Politics in Edinburgh in the Great War and After* (1988); B. Lancaster, *Radicalism, Cooperation and Socialism: Leicester Working Class Politics, 1860-1906*,

(Leicester, 1987); B.Lancaster & T.Mason (eds), *Life and Labour in a Twentieth Century City: The Experience of Coventry (Coventry, 1986)*; J.Mark-Lawson, et al., "Women and Local Politics: Struggles over Welfare, 1918-1939", in L.Murgatroyd et al.(eds), *Localities, Class and Gender*, (1985); J.Marriott, *The Culture of Labourism: The East End between the Wars*, (Edinburgh, 1991); M.Savage, *The Dynamics of Working Class Politics: The Labour Movement in Preston, 1880-1940*, (Cambridge, 1987); A.Warde, "Conditions of Dependence: Working-Class Quiescence in Lancaster in the Twentieth Century", in *International Review of Social History*, XXXV, (1990).

60.Lancaster, *Radicalism, Cooperation and Socialism*, p.xix.

61.*Ibid.*, p.xviii.

62.Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics*, Ch.1.

63.*Ibid.*, pp.20-28.

64.*Ibid.*, pp.41-51.

65.*Ibid.*, pp.51-63.

66.*Ibid.*, Ch.4.

67.*Ibid.*, pp.140-41.

68.*Ibid.*, p.152.

69.*Ibid.*, p.162-171.

70.*Ibid.*, p.171-173.

71.*Ibid.*, p.173-179.

72.*Ibid.*, p.180-187.

73.*Ibid.*, p.187.

74.*Ibid.*, p.192-4.

75.*Ibid.*, p.3.

76.For a useful discussion of this, see N.Kirk, "'Traditional' Working-class Culture and the 'Rise of Labour': Some Preliminary Questions and Observations", *Social History*, 16, (1991).

77.See E.P.Thompson, "The Poverty of Theory: or an Orrery of Errors", in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, (1978), and the succeeding debate in the pages of *History Workshop*.

78.L.R.Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris, 1871-1914*, (Baltimore, 1984).

79. *Ibid.*, pp.3-38.

80. *Ibid.*, pp.74-121.

81. *Ibid.*, pp.151-197.

82. See, for instance, R.Aminzade, *Class, Politics and Early Industrial Capitalism: A Study of Mid-Nineteenth Century Toulouse, France*, (Albany, 1981); D.C.Wright, *Socialist Municipal Politics in Twentieth Century Limoges, France*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (1991); W.J.Chase, *Workers, Society and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918-29*, (Urbana, 1990); S.A.Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories 1917-1918*, (Cambridge, 1983); R.A.Comfort, *Revolutionary Hamburg: Labor Politics in the Early Weimar Republic*, (Stanford, 1966); C.Lis, *Social Change and the Labouring Poor: Antwerp, 1770-1860*, (New Haven, 1986).

83. See A.Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); S.E.Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860*, (Philadelphia, 1978); B.Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850*, (Philadelphia, 1980); C.G.Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763-1812*, (Chicago, 1984); S.Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850*, (Oxford, 1984).

84. See S.J.Ross, *Workers on the Edge [Cincinnati]*, (); A.Bridges, *A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the Origins of Machine Politics*, (Cambridge, 1984); B.Greenberg, *Worker and Community: Response to Industrialization in a Nineteenth Century American City, Albany, New York, 1850-1884*, (Albany, 1985); S.J.Kleinberg, *The Shadow of the Mills: Working-Class Families in Pittsburgh, 1870-1907*, (Pittsburgh, 1989).

85. The history of the Chicago working class in the twentieth century is extensive, due in part to the accident of the University of Chicago becoming the centre of social scientific research in the USA in the inter-war period. Notable recent work includes: R.A.Slayton, *Back of the Yards: The Making of a Local Democracy*, (Chicago, 1986); J.R.Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894-1922*, (Urbana, 1987); L.Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*, (Cambridge, 1990). See also, J.E.Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal in Baltimore: People and Government in the Great Depression*, (Chapel Hill, 1988); E.Faue, *Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915-1945*, (Chapel Hill, 1991); G.Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-60*, (Cambridge, 1989).

86. Bridges, *A City in the Republic*, (1984), pp.39-57.

87. *Ibid.*, p.43.
88. *Ibid.*, pp.73-77.
89. *Ibid.*, p.124.
90. *Ibid.*, p.158.
91. *Ibid.*, p.158.
92. *Ibid.*, pp.57-58; pp.154-157.
93. L.Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, (1990), pp.17-38.
94. *Ibid.*, pp.24-26.
95. *Ibid.*, pp.53-97.
96. *Ibid.*, p.38.
97. *Ibid.*, pp.252-254.
98. *Ibid.*, pp.261-265.
99. *Ibid.*, pp.255-261; 267-289.
100. *Ibid.*, pp.292-301.
101. *Ibid.*, pp.324-360.
102. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, p.7.
103. B.Nelson, "The Uneven Development of Class and Consciousness", in *Labor History*, Vol. 32, No.4, (Fall 1991), p.589.
104. Bridges, *A City in the Republic*, p.14.

CHAPTER THREE - THE SCALE OF LABOUR'S FAILURE

First of all it is necessary to establish the precise degree of electoral failure by the Labour Party in Liverpool up to 1939. While performance at elections is not the *only* indicator of the success of any political party, it is certainly the case that the British Labour Party has always placed a great emphasis on electoral politics. It has been argued that this has in turn shaped its policies, organisation and activities. Ralph Miliband has pursued this argument most forcefully, suggesting that "the Labour party has always been one of the most dogmatic - not about socialism, but about the parliamentary system," and that it "has not only been a parliamentary party; it has been a party deeply imbued by parliamentarism." Moreover, Miliband has suggested that this concentration on the electoral path to socialism has been stronger in the British case than in comparable reformist socialist parties elsewhere.¹ If Labour could claim to be the main party of the British working class for much of the twentieth century, that claim would have to be based primarily on its electoral record, not the size of its active membership.

Much of the literature on Labour in Liverpool has started, justifiably, with the electoral record, and in this regard the Party has been found wanting. Ramsey MacDonald's assessment in 1910, that from Labour's perspective "Liverpool is rotten and we had better recognise it",² seemed to be borne out for the next half century or more. In both Parliamentary and Municipal elections the Labour Party

in Liverpool was slow in making progress, perhaps slower than in any other major British town or city.

The first Labour MP for a Liverpool seat was elected at a by-election in March 1923, well after the first successes in most other industrial centres. By 1918 Labour had already won for the first time in 50 Divisions, and in the General Elections of 1918 and 1922 another 132 Divisions were newly won. The regional spread of their success was extensive. Starting with Derby and Merthyr in 1900, they had subsequently won contests in such places as Glasgow and Dundee (1906), Newcastle and Sunderland (1906), Leeds (1906) and Sheffield (1909), Manchester and Bolton (1906), Leicester (1906) and Nottingham (1918), Wolverhampton (1906) and Nuneaton (1910), Woolwich (1903) and Deptford (1906), and the Rhondda and the Gower (1910). Only the far south and south-west remained untouched. In the rest of England, Scotland and Wales the only major city to compare with Liverpool was Birmingham, which elected its first Labour MP even later in 1924.³ Nor did Labour make up for lost time in Liverpool subsequently. In 1939 only three of Liverpool's eleven Divisions had Labour MPs, and five Divisions had still never elected a Labour candidate to Parliament.

In Municipal elections the record seemed equally poor. Labour won its first seats on the Council in 1905, but by 1914 they had only seven Councillors out of a total of 140. Between the wars they never remotely looked like becoming the ruling party on the Council, their best position being in 1929 and 1934 when they held 59 and 57 seats respectively out of a total of 157 seats. Even after 1945 Labour's

progress was slow in Liverpool, control of the Council only being won as late as 1955. The contrast with other parts of the country was stark. It was estimated that by 1914 at least 196 labour councillors were sitting on Borough Councils, and 420 on Councils of all kinds nationally.⁴ When Labour won control of the London County Council for the first time in 1934 it had already gained many Town Halls throughout the country. The earliest victories were in 1919, when the first major Borough Council, Bradford, fell to Labour, and County Councils in Durham, Glamorgan and Monmouthshire and 12 London Metropolitan Councils were also won.⁵ Sheffield, Leeds, Hull, Swansea, Barnsley, Blackburn, Norwich, Derby, Stoke, and Oldham were all examples that fell to Labour subsequently in the inter-war period.⁶ The peak was reached in 1937, when Labour controlled the London County Council, 17 London Metropolitan Boroughs, 3 County Councils, 42 provincial Boroughs, and 15 Scottish Burghs.⁷ The contrast between Liverpool and Sheffield is one of the most illustrative examples that is available; by the time Labour had gained power in Liverpool in 1955, it had ruled Sheffield continuously for almost 30 years from 1926 apart from one year in 1932-3.⁸

All of this comparative evidence is rather spasmodic, and it is unfortunate for the purposes of this study that local election results were not officially collated in the inter-war period. Subsequent historical study has also tended to concentrate on the parliamentary rather than the municipal level.⁹ However, one comparative measure of Labour's weakness in Liverpool can be calculated from election results

given in the *Times*. Annually from 1927, this newspaper listed the position in terms of seats held on all large councils immediately after the results were announced at the beginning of November. It must be stressed that these figures were given before any changes of Aldermen and subsequent by-elections had taken place, and therefore may not exactly reflect the final position on the councils for the following year. Nevertheless, the proportion of seats held by Labour on each council can be calculated. The figures for the years 1927, 1929, 1932, 1935 and 1938 in all county boroughs with a population of over 100,000 are shown below in Table 3.1.

As can be seen from the table, Liverpool appears to be one of the weakest boroughs in the country as far as Labour was concerned. At best, in 1929, Liverpool ranked twenty-sixth out of forty. At worst, in 1927, it ranked thirty-fifth. Generally it appears that the worse Labour did nationally, the lower down the ranking Liverpool was placed. Of the twelve largest boroughs with populations of over a quarter of a million, only Birmingham had a worse record, being ranked below Liverpool in every year except 1927. The others in this group *all* ranked above Liverpool in *every* year sampled, in most cases by wide margins. They included all the other major northern industrial centres of Manchester, Bradford, Leeds, Newcastle, Hull and Sheffield. Also in this group were the Midlands towns of Nottingham and Stoke, and in the south Bristol and West Ham.

TABLE 3.1 - LABOUR REPRESENTATION IN COUNTY BOROUGHES WITH POPULATION OVER 100,000, 1927-1939 (In descending order of Labour strength; Percentage of all seats held by Labour given in brackets after Borough name)

	1927	1929	1932	1935	1938
1	West Ham(80)	W.Ham(86)	W.Ham(86)	W.Ham(84)	W.Ham(84)
2	St.Helens(69)	St.Helens(75)	E.Ham(73)	E.Ham(83)	E.Ham(78)
3	Sheffield(57)	Sheffield(65)	St.Helens(69)	St.Helens(69)	St.Helens(67)
4	Birkenhead(52)	Derby(59)	Sheffield(49)	Swansea(59)	Swansea(63)
5	Leeds(49)	Birkenhead(55)	Swansea(48)	Norwich(58)	Norwich(56)
6	Swansea(47)	Bradford(53)	Norwich(47)	Sheffield(55)	Coventry(56)
7	Bradford(45)	Leeds(53)	Hull(44)	Hull(54)	Derby(55)
8	Leicester(43)	Stoke(53)	S.Shields(42)	Burnley(54)	Sheffield(54)
9	Gateshead(40)	E.Ham(53)	Birkenhead(42)	Derby(53)	Gateshead(53)
10	Norwich(39)	Swansea(51)	Leeds(40)	Stoke(53)	S.Shields(52)
11	East Ham(38)	Leicester(48)	Walsall(40)	Birkenhead(51)	Hull(50)
12	Preston(38)	Gateshead(48)	Stoke(39)	Oldham(49)	Bristol(50)
13	S.Shields(37)	Salford(47)	Coventry(38)	Sunderland(49)	Burnley(48)
14	Hull(36)	Norwich(45)	Derby(38)	Leeds(47)	Stoke(47)
15	Nottingham(36)	Hull(45)	Leicester(36)	Leicester(47)	Sunderland(47)
16	Derby(36)	Preston(44)	Bradford(35)	Coventry(46)	Leeds(46)
17	Stoke(35)	Nottingham(41)	Gateshead(35)	Nottingham(45)	Birkenhead(44)
18	Salford(33)	Blackburn(39)	Nottingham(34)	Gateshead(45)	Nottingham(44)
19	Manchester(32)	Plymouth(38)	Newcastle(34)	Newcastle(45)	Salford(44)
20	Bolton(32)	Bristol(37)	Bristol(34)	Blackburn(45)	Leicester(41)
21	Newcastle(32)	S.Shields(37)	Burnley(32)	Bradford(43)	Walsall(39)
22	Plymouth(29)	Cardiff(37)	Oldham(31)	Salford(42)	M'boro(39)
23	Halifax(28)	Manchester(36)	Preston(31)	Preston(42)	Southampton(37)
24	Bristol(28)	Bolton(35)	Sunderland(31)	S.Shields(40)	Manchester(35)
25	Birmingham(28)	Burnley(33)	Bolton(31)	Walsall(40)	Bradford(35)
26	Middlesbor'o(26)	<u>Liverpool</u> (33)	Halifax(30)	Bolton(39)	Blackburn(34)
27	Cardiff(25)	Oldham(31)	Blackburn(29)	Bristol(38)	Plymouth(33)
28	W'hampton(25)	Birmingham(30)	M'boro(27)	Southamp'n(37)	Oldham(32)
29	Walsall(22)	M'boro(30)	Manchester(27)	Manchester(36)	Newcastle(32)
30	Stockport(21)	Halifax(29)	Southamp'n(25)	<u>Liverpool</u> (36)	Preston(31)
31	Blackburn(20)	Southamp'n(28)	W'hampton(23)	M'boro(32)	W'hampton(31)
32	Oldham(19)	Walsall(28)	Cardiff(23)	Cardiff(31)	Halifax(28)
33	Southampton(18)	Coventry(27)	<u>Liverpool</u> (23)	Halifax(30)	Cardiff(27)
34	Burnley(17)	Sunderland(26)	Salford(20)	Plymouth(29)	<u>Liverpool</u> (25)
35	<u>Liverpool</u> (16)	W'hampton(25)	Plymouth(20)	Birmingham(24)	Croydon(25)
36	Sunderland(14)	Stockport(21)	Stockport(19)	W'hampton(24)	Bolton(22)
37	Croydon(9)	Croydon(18)	Birmingham(19)	Stockport(19)	Hudd'field(20)
38	Southend(8)	Portsmouth(11)	Southend(10)	Bournemouth(13)	Birmingham(16)
39	Huddersfield(7)	Hudd'field(8)	Croydon(10)	Southend(13)	Stockport(14)
40	Portsmouth(5)	Southend(8)	Portsmouth(8)	Croydon(12)	Southend(14)
41*			Hudd'field(2)	Portsmouth(11)	Bournemouth(13)
42*				Hudd'field(8)	Portsmouth(11)

* No figures given for Bournemouth in 1927, 1929 or 1932, Coventry in 1927 or Newcastle in 1929.

SOURCE: Calculated from reports in "The Times", Nov.2nd, 1927, Nov.2nd & 4th, 1929, Nov.2nd, 1932, Nov.2nd, 1935, Nov.2nd, 1938.

The proportion of seats held by Labour in Liverpool was also consistently and substantially below the average for all the boroughs combined. In good years for Labour the gap was narrower, so in 1929 the differential was 33% in Liverpool compared to 39% nationally, and in 1935 35% compared to 40%. In poorer years the gap widened, in 1927 being 16% in Liverpool compared to 31% nationally, in 1932 23% compared to 32%, and in 1938 25% to 38%. The evidence of these figures seems to point overwhelmingly to the conclusion that, in terms of electoral politics at the municipal level, Labour failed badly in Liverpool between the wars. Combined with the Parliamentary record, Labour's weakness in Liverpool seems clear.

However, a more detailed analysis of election results is needed to establish the real extent of the Party's poor performance. Such analysis may begin to suggest that a partial revision of the traditional view of Labour's failings in Liverpool is necessary. The first part of that analysis will be concerned with the municipal political system.

* * * * *

The full record of all municipal election results in every ward in Liverpool between 1905 and 1938 can be found in Appendix 1. A summary of Labour's performance in the inter-war years can be found in Table 3.2 below, which shows that at first sight evidence of Labour's

failure seems overwhelming. When the Tory performance is calculated for the same period, as shown in Table 3.3, the contrast is sharply defined. Combining the performances of the two parties, as shown in Figure 3.1, makes the comparison even clearer. Labour's dismal record in Liverpool, and conversely the Conservative domination of the Council chamber, seem to be perfectly reflected in Figure 3.1, where their respective positions are almost a mirror image of each other.

TABLE 3.2 - SEATS HELD BY LABOUR ON LIVERPOOL CITY COUNCIL 1919-38*

YEAR	SEATS HELD BY LABOUR	TOTAL SEATS ON COUNCIL	LABOUR PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SEATS
1919	22	147	15%
1920	20	148	14%
1921	14	148	9%
1922	5	148	3%
1923	4	149	3%
1924	9	151	6%
1925	11	151	7%
1926	18	151	12%
1927	25	152	16%
1928	37	153	24%
1929	59	157	38%
1930	47	157	30%
1931	37	157	24%
1932	37	157	24%
1933	44	157	28%
1934	57	157	36%
1935	56	157	36%
1936	53	157	34%
1937	45	157	29%
1938	38	157	24%

* Figures calculated at the end of the calendar year following annual elections in November of each year. Where seats were vacant at that date, the subsequent filling of vacancies have been added to the totals.

Source: Election results in *Liverpool Official Red Books*, 1920-39.

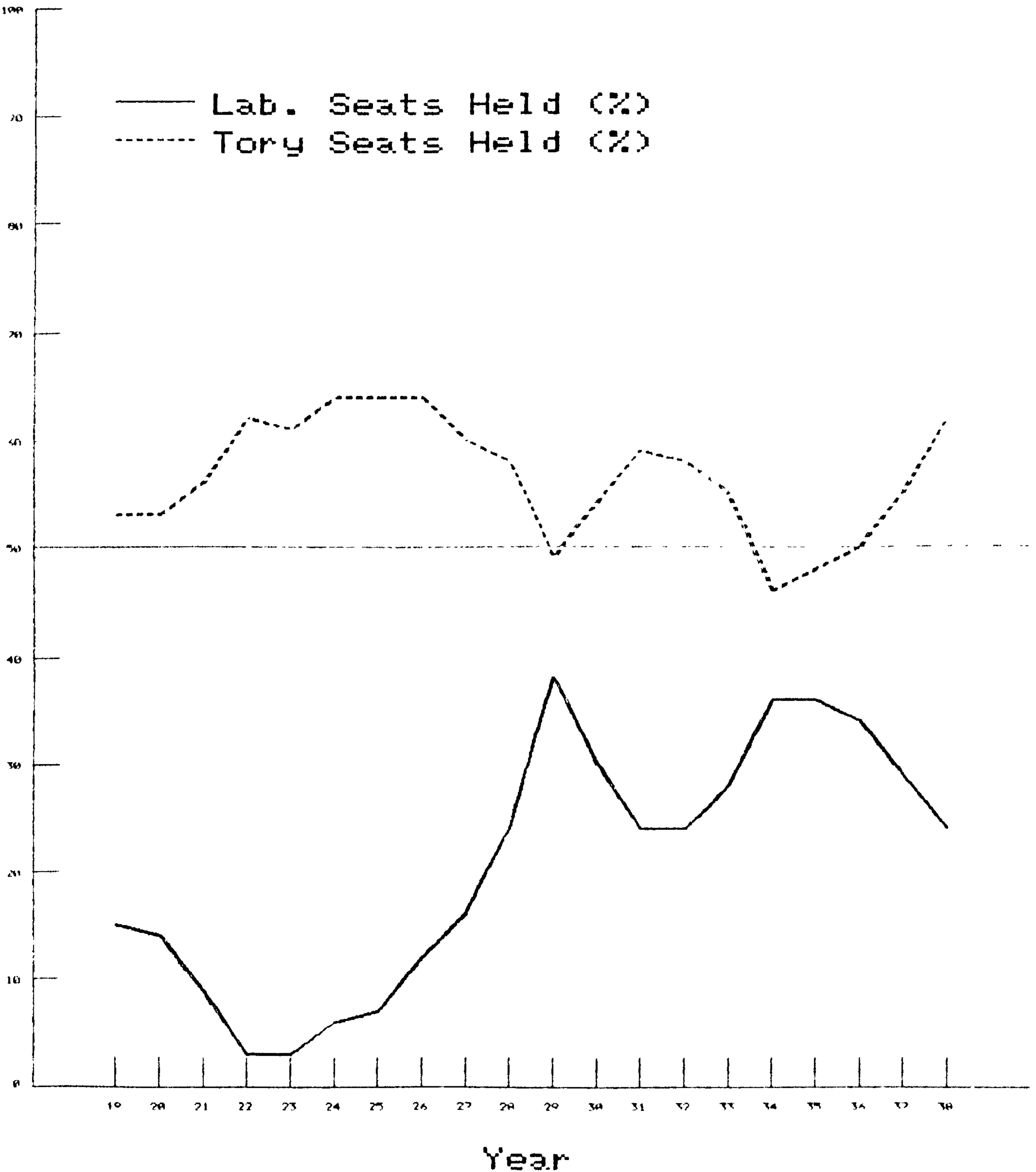
TABLE 3.3 - SEATS HELD BY TORIES ON LIVERPOOL CITY COUNCIL 1919-38*

YEAR	SEATS HELD BY TORIES	TOTAL SEATS ON COUNCIL	TORY PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SEATS
1919	78	147	53%
1920	79	148	53%
1921	83	148	56%
1922	92	148	62%
1923	91	149	61%
1924	96	151	64%
1925	96	151	64%
1926	96	151	64%
1927	91	152	60%
1928	88	153	58%
1929	77	157	49%
1930	84	157	54%
1931	92	157	59%
1932	91	157	58%
1933	86	157	55%
1934	72	157	46%
1935	76	157	48%
1936	78	157	50%
1937	87	157	55%
1938	97	157	62%

* Figures calculated at the end of the calendar year following annual elections in November of each year. Where seats were vacant at that date, the subsequent filling of vacancies have been added to the totals.

Source: Election results in *Liverpool Official Red Books*, 1920-39.

FIG.3.1 -LAB. & TORY SEATS
HELD ON COUNCIL 1919-38



Most previous analyses have jumped straight from here to attempting to explain Labour weakness and Tory strength. In most of those explanations the centrality of religious differentiation within the working class has been emphasised. Implicitly or explicitly, religious sectarianism is portrayed as sapping working class solidarity and therefore Labour support while strengthening working class Toryism.

However, before considering these traditional lines of thought, it is necessary to look at the municipal election results in greater depth. In particular the *electoral institutions* within which the Labour Party was forced to fight need to be analysed in some detail. Labour was a late arrival in the early twentieth century on a playing field where the rules of the game had already been well established by their political opponents. The Party's only consistent challenge to those rules was over the franchise, and the extensions of 1918 and 1928 are often assumed to have removed any major in-built advantage to their rivals, both at parliamentary and municipal levels. That assumption has already been challenged by some historians,¹⁰ and further doubts may creep in when a detailed study of local elections is undertaken. Nationally Labour also toyed with the idea of electoral reform, to the extent of including it in their legislative programme in 1929, but nothing came of this.¹¹ Locally as well, electoral reform was discussed. For example, in 1919 a resolution pressing for proportional representation in municipal elections was passed by the local Party.¹² This was never followed up, however, and the electoral rules remained essentially untouched during the inter-war period. The possible

significance of this factor in disadvantaging Labour needs to be considered carefully.

The idea that the electoral institutions may have partially determined Labour's performance at the municipal level is supported by the evidence of the actual numbers of votes cast for each party in elections between the wars. Such evidence has to be treated with some caution, given the number of uncontested ward elections common in Liverpool in this period. For the moment, however, and keeping that proviso in mind, the raw evidence of votes cast set out in Table 3.4 and Fig. 3.2 below gives a rather different picture of Labour's performance.

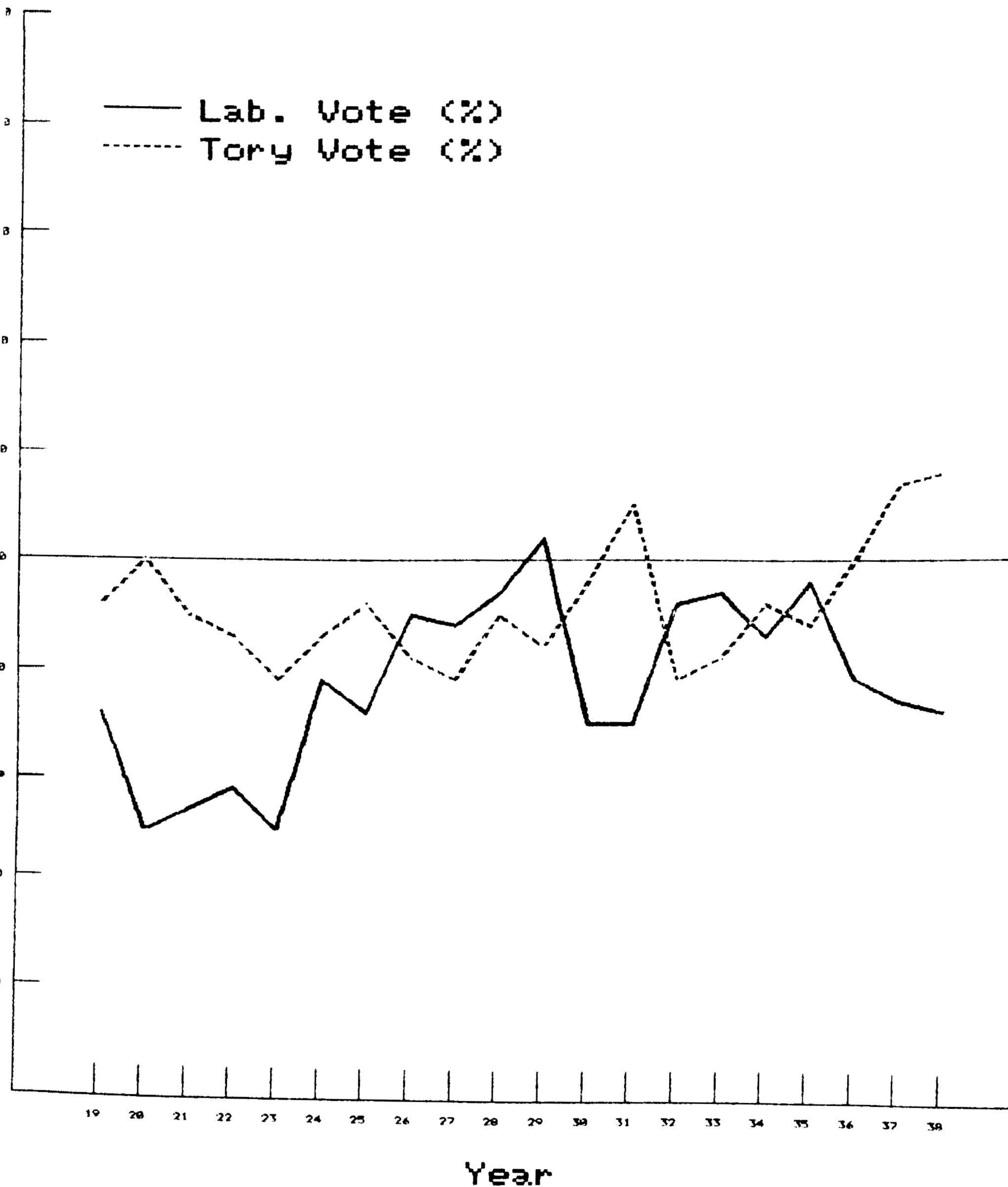
The voting figures suggest that Labour actually performed quite well in comparison with the Conservatives, and certainly a lot better than the position of seats held on the council would indicate. In the early 1920s the Tory advantage over Labour was still strong, but as early as 1926 Labour received a higher total of votes. In the ten years between 1926 and 1935, despite a massive setback in 1930 and 1931, Labour actually gained more votes than the Conservatives on seven occasions. The Labour vote did collapse badly in the late 1930s, but overall the picture is hardly one of total domination by Conservatism. The discrepancy between seats held and votes won certainly suggests that there were elements of the electoral system which disadvantaged the Labour Party.

TABLE 3.4 - SHARE OF VOTE WON BY LABOUR AND CONSERVATIVE PARTIES IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN LIVERPOOL 1919-38

YEAR	LAB. SHARE OF VOTES	TORY SHARE OF VOTES	UNCONTESTED WINS				
			LAB.	TORY	LIB.	NAT.	OTHER
1919	36%	46%	0	2	3	5	0
1920	25%	50%	0	6	1	1	1
1921	27%	45%	0	3	3	1	0
1922	29%	43%	0	8	1	4	0
1923	25%	39%	0	9	2	0	1
1924	39%	43%	0	6	3	1	1
1925	36%	46%	0	4	1	3	0
1926	45%	41%	0	4	1	1	0
1927	44%	39%	0	1	1	0	0
1928	47%	45%	6	5	1	1	0
1929	52%	42%	0	1	0	0	1
1930	35%	48%	1	1	1	2	0
1931	35%	55%	2	6	1	0	0
1932	46%	39%	1	4	0	0	1
1933	47%	41%	4	5	4	0	0
1934	43%	46%	5	3	0	0	1
1935	48%	44%	3	3	1	0	0
1936	39%	50%	5	0	2	0	0
1937	37%	57%	5	2	1	0	0
1938	36%	58%	8	4	0	0	0

SOURCE : *Liverpool Official Red Books, 1919-39.*

FIG.3.2 - LAB. & TORY SHARE OF VOTE
IN LOCAL ELECTIONS 1919-38



However, the problem of uncontested seats was a major one in Liverpool politics at this time, and has to be taken into account in order to get a more accurate picture of voting patterns. As Table 4.3 shows, as many as 13 seats might be uncontested in any one year, which constituted almost a third of all the seats due for election in the city. Given that these seats were usually very safe seats where the uncontested winners could expect to win an extremely large proportion of the vote, their omission from the figures could obviously result in a serious under-representation of voting strength for the party or parties concerned.

An impressionistic view of the possible impact of this factor on voting strength, would suggest that the Conservative vote was probably seriously depressed by the large number of uncontested elections in many of their strongholds in the early and mid-twenties. However, in the late twenties and early thirties the effect would seem to be more evenly spread between Labour and the Conservatives, with both parties usually having uncontested victories in a roughly similar number of wards. By the late thirties the effect seems to have been more important in depressing the Labour vote, with their uncontested wins rising to a total of eight in 1938. This general picture is still inadequate, though, as it ignores the question of differential turnout in different types of ward, and also the fact that the number of voters in each ward might vary considerably. The detailed analysis of voting patterns by ward will be found in Chapter Eight, but for the moment some of the more obvious features of these patterns will illustrate the problem.

There were two main types of ward where the Conservative Party won uncontested seats: suburban, predominantly middle class wards like West Derby, Aigburth or Little Woolton; and city centre wards with a high proportion of voters actually resident elsewhere but entitled to a second vote at their business addresses, such as Castle Street and St.Peter's. The electorate in these Tory wards varied from as low as 433 voters in Little Woolton or 2,514 voters in Castle Street in 1922, to as high as 10,993 voters in Aigburth or even 20,742 voters in West Derby in 1938. Turn-out was equally varied. In West Derby it varied between 31% and 35% in the early thirties, whereas in Little Woolton turn-out was 65% in 1937. Uncontested Labour strongholds, particularly common in the late thirties, also varied. They were of two main types: dockside wards in predominantly Catholic parts of the city such as Vauxhall, Sandhills and Scotland North and South; and new wards on the outskirts of the city where council-house estates were developing rapidly, most obviously Croxteth ward in this period. Vauxhall had only 3,123 voters in 1938, whereas Sandhills had 8,490, and Croxteth 20,489 in the same year. Turn-out was also varied, rising to 63% in Scotland North in 1927, for instance, but dropping as low as 29% in Croxteth in 1937. A final complication needs to be added. In general terms the dominant party in these wards would always receive a high proportion of votes cast, but nevertheless that proportion could vary considerably. The Conservative Party won 88% of the votes in Little Woolton and only 59% in Aigburth in 1937. In the same year Labour picked up as much as 97% in Scotland South and only 62% in Croxteth.

It is clear then that the impact of uncontested seats on voting patterns is too important to be ignored, but also too complex to be dealt with in merely impressionistic terms. A formula needs to be constructed to compensate the parties for uncontested wins which takes into account ward size, expected turn-out and anticipated share of votes won. In applying such a formula it is assumed here that it is only the winning parties which could have expected a significant vote in these wards and therefore need to be compensated. Losing parties by definition would only expect a low vote in opposition strongholds where they often did not put up candidates, and this vote would be insignificant in comparison to total votes won. Estimates for losing parties have been ignored, then, although it must be recognised that this results in a slight underestimation of total expected vote for the losers. A second assumption made is that uncontested winners for parties other than the Labour and Tory parties were for the most part in wards where neither of the two main parties could have been expected to win many votes. These fell into three main categories.

Firstly, there were Irish Nationalist candidates in predominantly Catholic wards up to the mid-twenties. In these wards neither Labour nor the Conservatives could expect to win many votes, even though later in the thirties the same wards were to become Labour strongholds, as described in Chapter Eight. Consequently these non-contests can be safely ignored as they could have had little effect on either the Tory or Labour vote even if elections had actually been contested.

Secondly, there were Independent candidates dependent mainly on a personal vote. The best example is that of Peter Kavanagh, well-known publican and local celebrity in the Catholic community. Originally standing as a Nationalist, by the thirties he was being regularly returned unopposed in Exchange ward as an Independent. Again, neither of the main parties could expect to win many votes against this kind of candidate, and thus these non-contests can be ignored.

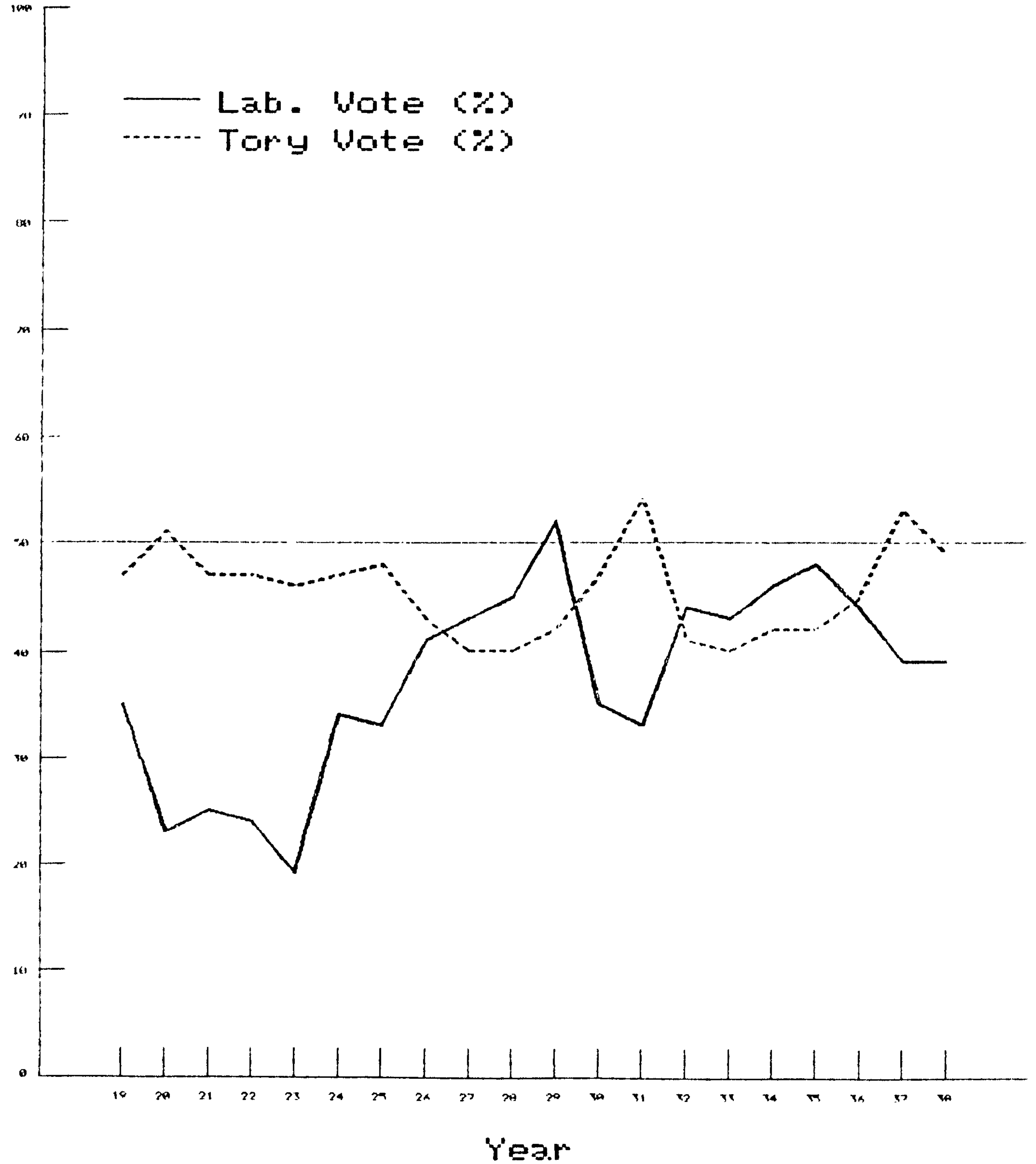
Thirdly, there were uncontested Liberals in a small number of wards in the thirties. These were the result of electoral understandings between the Tory and Liberal parties in certain wards where the Liberals refrained from standing against the Tories in some years in return for which the Tories did likewise in other years. A good example was Anfield, one of the few areas by the thirties where the Liberals had any significant strength. To avoid the possibility of Labour winning in a three-way contest, the Conservatives put up candidates here in 1931, 1934 and 1937 with no Liberal opposition, while the Liberals were unopposed by the Conservatives in the intervening years. When Labour also refrained from putting up a candidate, as in 1933 and 1936, the result was uncontested Liberal wins. However, for those particular years some Tory votes were not cast. These sorts of cases were sporadic and confined to three or four wards in total, so their impact overall was limited. They have also been ignored, therefore, although this means that the Conservative vote in the mid-thirties may be marginally underestimated.

The focus is on Labour and Tory uncontested wins, and a formula has been applied to compensate these two parties with extra hypothetical votes whenever their candidates were unopposed. This formula takes into account the expected turn-out, and percentage of the vote that the winner might have been expected to win, based on earlier and later performance in the ward concerned. The full calculations can be found in Appendix 2. It must be emphasised that this gives rough estimates only. No formula could be guaranteed to be absolutely accurate, and counter-factual constructions of this kind should always be treated with caution. Nevertheless some idea of Labour and Tory performance compensating for uncontested elections can be gained, as shown in summary form in Table 3.5 and Figure 3.3 below.

TABLE 3.5 - HYPOTHETICAL SHARE OF VOTE WON BY LABOUR AND CONSERVATIVE PARTIES IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN LIVERPOOL 1919-39, WITH ESTIMATES FOR UNCONTESTED SEATS INCLUDED

YEAR	LAB. SHARE OF VOTES	TORY SHARE OF VOTES
1919	35%	47%
1920	23%	51%
1921	25%	47%
1922	24%	47%
1923	19%	46%
1924	34%	47%
1925	33%	48%
1926	41%	43%
1927	43%	40%
1928	45%	40%
1929	52%	42%
1930	35%	47%
1931	33%	54%
1932	44%	41%
1933	43%	40%
1934	46%	42%
1935	48%	42%
1936	44%	45%
1937	39%	53%
1938	39%	49%

FIG. 3.3 - LAB. & TORY SHARE OF VOTE
ADJUSTED FOR UNCONTESTED SEATS 1919-38



The revised estimates for vote share give a slightly different picture from the earlier one drawn from the actual votes cast. The dominance of the Conservatives over Labour in the first half of the twenties is even more marked, and extends slightly longer up to 1926. However, the subsequent improvement in Labour's performance is again evident despite the temporary slump in 1930 and 1931. Indeed between 1927 and 1935 Labour leads the Conservative Party in seven out of nine years, with 1934 being transformed into a winning year for Labour. The decline in Labour's fortunes in the late thirties is also still apparent, but the gap between the two parties is narrowed significantly. If anything, from the mid-twenties at least these estimates make Labour's performance appear even better relative to the actual seats held on the council.

One final point needs to be made in relation to the analysis so far. The first past the post electoral system that has prevailed in municipal politics can always throw up anomalies in the relationship between votes and seats, as numerous modern studies have shown.¹³ However, the disparity between Labour's share of the vote and the percentage of the seats they held on the council seems too great to be passed over without further comment. This disparity is shown very clearly in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 below. When the Tory and Labour performance in terms of votes and seats are directly compared in this way, what is striking is the consistency of the pattern. Labour's position on the council was *always* considerably worse than its support at elections warranted. The Tory Party, in comparison, by a

FIG. 3.4 - LAB. SEATS & VOTES
(ADJUSTED), 1919-38

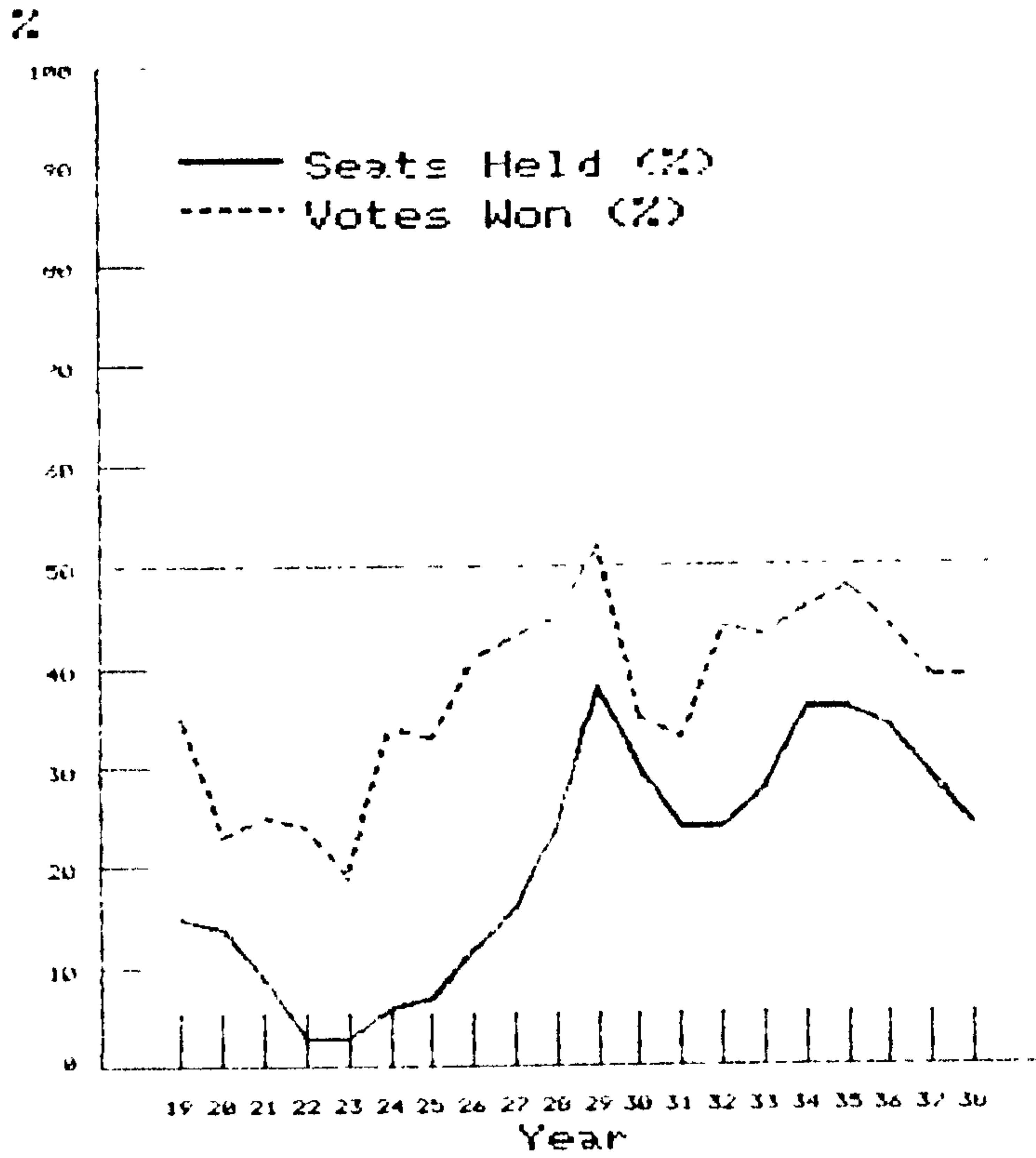
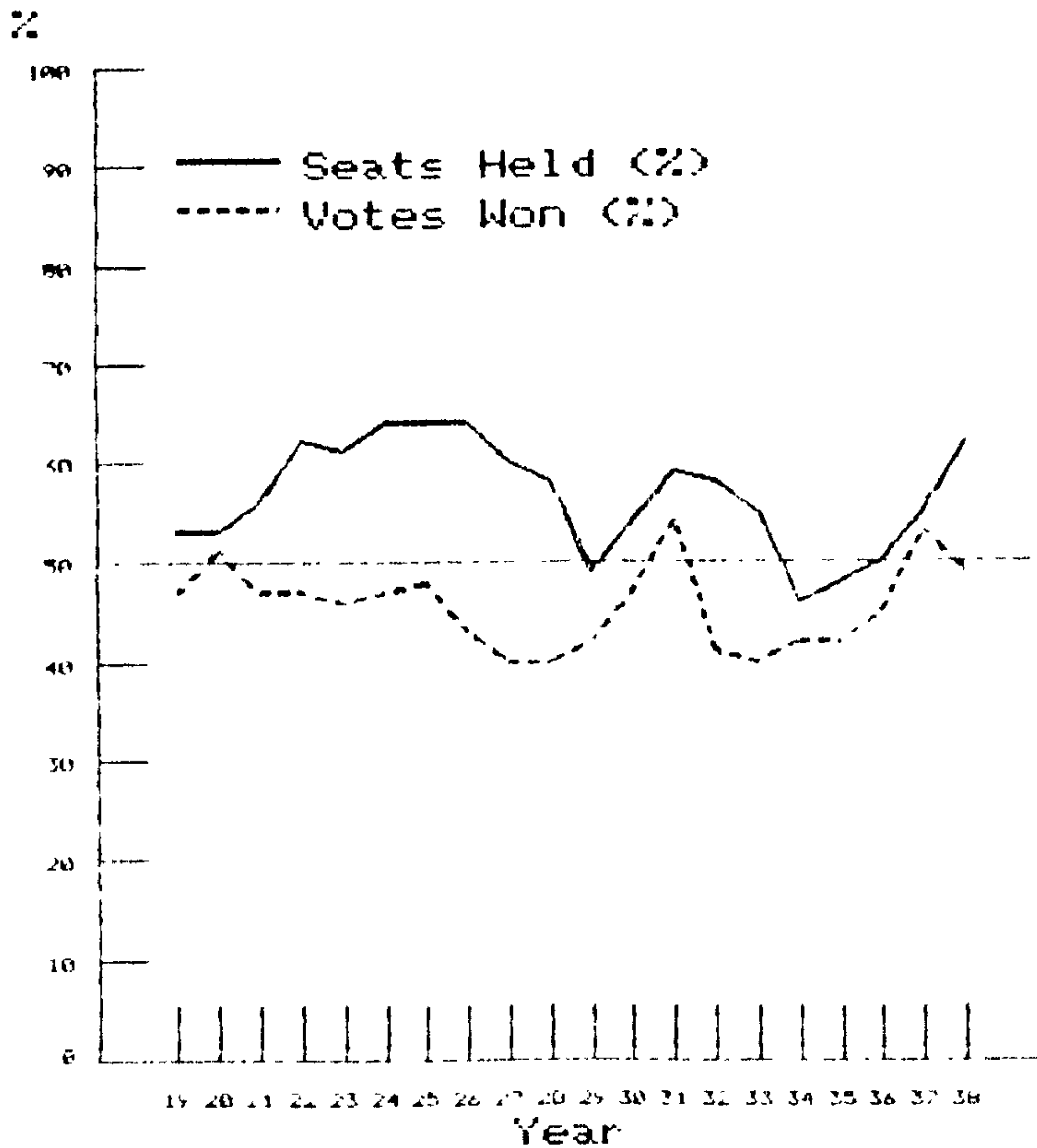


FIG. 3.5 - TORY SEATS & VOTES
(ADJUSTED), 1919-38



substantial margin was *always* better represented than its support at the polls justified. In both cases the gap between support and representation narrowed slightly in the early and mid-1930s, yet by 1938 the disparity between the two was almost as great as it had ever been between the wars. It should be said at this point that there is evidence that other parties, in particular the Liberal Party, and the successors to the Irish Nationalist Party (under a number of titles), also increasingly seem to have been over-represented in the 1930s. As minority parties with small numbers of votes and seats, the inflation of their representation on the council was less substantial in absolute terms, representing only a handful of seats at most. Nevertheless, they were an additional barrier to Labour's electoral progress, as for all practical purposes these two parties were close allies of the Tories by the 1930s. It is not possible to quantify their over-representation with any degree of precision, as they did not put up candidates across the city. However, some specific instances of the way in which they were artificially boosted will be dealt with later.

* * * * *

All of the analysis in this chapter suggests that there must have been institutional factors of considerable importance which disadvantaged Labour in Liverpool municipal politics, whether by accident or design. These electoral institutions have been scarcely commented upon in

studies of local politics in this period. The next chapter will examine these institutions, and their possible effects, in some detail.

FOOTNOTES

1. R.Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*, (1961), pp. 13-14. See also T.Forester, *The Labour Party and the Working Class*, (1976), pp. 52-67.
2. Quoted in R.McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910-24*, (1974), p.14.
3. All figures calculated from tables in F.W.S.Craig, *British Electoral Facts, 1885-1975*, (1976), pp.108-136.
4. G.D.H.Cole, *A History of the Labour Party from 1918*, (1948), p.445-7.
5. *Ibid*, p.448.
6. These examples are quoted in J.Stevenson & C.Cook, *The Slump*, (1977), pp.96-119.
7. Cole, *A History of the Labour Party*, pp. 458-9.
8. Calculated from table given in W.Hampton, *Democracy and Community : A Study of Politics in Sheffield*, (1970), pp.313-314.
9. The best recent attempt to consider the municipal pattern in the 1920s is in C.Cook, *The Age of Alignment: Electoral Politics in Britain, 1922-1929*, (1975), Ch.3; see also Stevenson & Cook, *The Slump*, Ch.XIII, for some consideration of the 1930s trends.
10. On the parliamentary franchise, see N.Blewett, "The Franchise in the United Kingdom, 1885-1918", *Past & Present*, No.32, (1965); on the municipal franchise see B.Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise: A Short History*, (1952).
11. On the 1929 Labour government's attitude to electoral reform, see Cole, *A History of the Labour Party.*, pp.229, 244; J.D.Fair, "The Second Labour Government and the Politics of Electoral Reform, 1929-31", *Albion*, Vol.13, No.3, (1981).
12. See Liverpool Labour Party, *Minutes*, February 5, 1919.
13. See, for instance, V.Bogdanor, *The People and the Party System*, (1981); S.E.Finer (ed.), *Adversary Politics and Electoral Reform*, (1975).

Chapter Four - The Structure of Municipal Politics in Liverpool

In a first past the post, or plurality, electoral system, the boundaries of electoral units and their relationship to population numbers can affect electoral outcomes crucially. The British system at both Parliamentary and local levels had developed with a strong emphasis on the idea that the representation of communities should be a primary consideration.¹ As a result, ward and divisional boundaries had to fulfill a dual purpose. They had to correspond with some idea of a "locality" with coherent economic, social and cultural features, often related to long-changed historical realities. Yet they also had to represent roughly equal numbers of voters in the population. To achieve a perfect balance between these two functions was difficult enough in any circumstances, but it was even more difficult over time as economic, social, cultural and demographic shifts altered the picture. The case of Liverpool in this period illustrated these problems very clearly.

As far as the external boundaries of the Municipality were concerned, the degree to which they represented "Liverpool" accurately is open to question. As an entity "Merseyside", including both sides of the Mersey, probably had a stronger economic rationale by the inter-war years, even if historical and cultural factors dictated otherwise. Even on one side of the river, however, the municipal boundaries were debateable. In particular, the fact that Bootle for historical reasons remained a separate municipality was anomalous. If anything gave Liverpool an economic identity, then it was the docks, even more so before 1939 than later when industrial expansion on the outer-city estates became significant. The Brocklebank, Langton, Alexandra,

Hornby, and Gladstone docks were the northern outposts of the Liverpool docks, yet the people who lived in the surrounding streets voted in the County Borough of Bootle. Nor was this merely an economic anomaly. Bootle was an extension of the strongly Catholic north dockside area of the city, an area with a distinct social and cultural identity, as shown later in this thesis. In political terms, the significance of Bootle's separate status is made very clear by the fact that from 1933 Labour gained overall control of its council.

The system of revising boundaries after 1888 ensured that anomalies such as this could not be rectified. The Acts of 1888 and 1894 established the basic structure of local government which was to last until the reorganisation of the early 1970s.² While revisions were possible through application to the Home Office, fundamental change was barred. Moreover, changes could only involve the extension of County Boroughs into surrounding Counties. The Boroughs themselves were sacrosanct. As two authorities on local government have stated:

The institutions of local government [as established in 1888] ... were not the outcome of any planned concept, such as Bentham had expounded, or such as Napoleon had introduced in France. They had grown, haphazard, out of the institutions of the previous centuries, adapted adjusted, and democratised. The boundaries of the counties owed more to the Anglo-Saxons and the Conqueror than they did to contemporary political scientists; the boroughs had their roots deep in the municipal institutions of the Middle Ages, in the guilds and the courts leet.³

Where boroughs adjoined each other, as in the case of Bootle and Liverpool, the traditional boundaries between them remained unalterable until the wholesale restructuring of the 1970s.

By contrast with Bootle, in the south end the Garston dock and surrounding area was incorporated into Liverpool in 1902. Separated from the city and the main dock complex by the leafy suburbs of Sefton Park, Aigburth and Grassendale, Garston was generally viewed as an exotic southern colony, popularly called the "banana-boat republic". The name referred as much to its geographical and social distance from Liverpool as its distinctive economic features. Until the post-1945 expansion of the Speke housing and industrial estate its links with Liverpool were tenuous. Even in terms of Labour Party politics it was distinctive, with the Liverpool party as late as 1925 complaining that Garston was acting independently of its control.⁴ The point here is not to argue the respective merits of Bootle and Garston as integral parts of Liverpool, but to point out that Garston, with a population of 14,000 in 1911, was absorbed by Liverpool, while Bootle, with five times as many people, remained outside.⁵

Other extensions of the city boundaries in the inter-war years had variable effects on the electoral geography of Liverpool. Fazakerley was added in 1905 and Allerton, Childwall and Much and Little Woolton in 1913. All these wards were the result of new private housing estates for the middle class on the outskirts of the city, and represented new Tory strongholds. By contrast, Croxteth ward, added in 1928, and Speke, included into Garston ward in 1932, were the result of council house building. In the case of Croxteth a new Labour stronghold was created, while the population of Speke was still so small in 1939 as to have had little impact.

The net effect of all these extensions clearly favoured the Tory Party in the political arithmetic of the city. In 1938, the Labour

strongholds of Garston and Croxteth had six seats between them on the council, and a combined electorate of 28,956. Fazakerley, Allerton, Childwall and the two Woolton wards, all strongly Tory, had thirteen seats, and a combined electorate of 31,650. The new Tory voters of the suburbs had been allocated almost exactly twice as many seats per head as the new Labour voters.

There is one further anomaly in the external boundaries of the city that arose specifically in the 1930s. As council house building developed on the outskirts of the built-up area, so more and more of the city's tenants were situated outside the city boundaries. Most still continued to work in the city, yet they were disenfranchised as far as city politics were concerned. In 1939 four estates, Longview, Finch House, Woolfall Heath and Huyton Farm, lay outside the city.⁶ 4,082 council houses had been built on these estates, approximately 12% of all council houses built between the wars.⁷ They constituted perhaps 8,000 predominantly working class voters who had no vote in Liverpool, roughly equivalent to one ward with three councillors and an alderman on the council.

In their evidence to the 1921 Royal Commission, the county boroughs had argued that "their boundaries should be extended as far as would enable them to catch all persons who slept outside the borough but came into it to work"⁸. While this principle was not strictly applied, due to conflicting arguments from the counties and the problem of adjoining boroughs alluded to above, it was used extensively after 1929. Between 1929 and 1937, 49 Boroughs received extensions of their boundaries. These boroughs gained roughly 2,000 acres and 3,000 people on average. Many gained substantially more than this, including

Coventry (11,000 people), Leicester (10,000 people), Newport, Southend and York (9,000), Huddersfield and Nottingham (7,000), and Sheffield (6,500).⁹ While Liverpool had extended to take in Croxteth in 1928 as mentioned above, in the comparable period only the 2,500 acres and the then negligible population of Speke was added.¹⁰ While the political affiliation of the 8,000 council house voters left outside the city cannot be established precisely, it seems likely that they would have included many potential Labour voters, given the evidence of Labour strength in Croxteth from 1928. Whether by intention or design, Labour again seems to have been the loser.

The final irony in all this was that there was one occasion between the wars when the idea of amalgamating Liverpool with surrounding boroughs was raised. This proposal had nothing to do with the equity of the electoral system, however, but was intended to keep the rates low. Moreover, it was the *Tories* that proposed it. With the abolition of the Poor Law in 1929 and the transfer of its functions to local authorities, there was concern raised on Merseyside that the overlapping of provision by the various local boroughs would push up the cost of administration, and therefore the rates, unnecessarily. At the council meeting in September 1929 which considered the setting up of a Public Assistance Committee for Liverpool, the Tory leader, Thomas White, moved an amendment calling for the setting up of a "City of Merseyside". This entity, it was proposed, was to incorporate the boroughs of Liverpool, Bootle, Wallasey and Birkenhead and adjoining parts of Lancashire county. W.A. Robinson *opposed* the amendment on behalf of the Labour Party, arguing that it was merely a ploy by the Tories to resolve differences between Tory-controlled boroughs over how to divide up the old Poor Law Unions. Eventually the amendment was

dropped, the general feeling being that it could only be a long-term prospect that would need a lot of discussion and much consultation with the other boroughs concerned.¹¹ Subsequently the idea was quietly shelved. On the only occasion when radical change to the external boundaries of the city was possible in this period, Labour stood for the status quo.

* * * * *

When ward boundaries *within* the city are considered as well, the disadvantageous position of Labour is just as clear. Ward boundaries had last been redistributed in 1894-5, ironically as a result of several years of Tory pressure on the then ruling Liberals. The previous boundaries had increasingly favoured the Liberals, whose support was mainly concentrated in the prosperous areas just to the south of the city centre, and the Irish Nationalists, whose support was concentrated in the north end dockside wards. Tory support was located mostly in the rapidly growing suburban wards, which had become severely under-represented by the 1890s. The Liberals were still able to prevent a completely fair redistribution by arguing that rateable value, as well as population, should be taken into account. This meant that the highly rated city centre wards received a proportionately larger representation per head of population. Nevertheless, at the first elections held with the new boundaries in 1895, the Tories were swept to power, almost tripling their representation on the council.¹² 1895 also saw a Tory general election victory, and perhaps they would have won control in Liverpool irrespective of the boundary changes,

but probably not as convincingly. Moreover, this victory marked the beginning of sixty years of unbroken Tory rule in the city, unbroken until ward boundaries were again redistributed in 1953. It took several years of pressure, this time from Labour, to force the ruling party into accepting redistribution.¹³ Within a year the Tories had lost their overall majority, and a year later Labour took power for the first time, even though the general election of that year saw a Conservative victory.

What was glaringly obvious by the 1950s, that unreformed ward boundaries handicapped Labour, had already become a problem by the inter-war years. A quarter of a century of population shift had already taken place since the last redistribution, and massive rehousing schemes in the next two decades caused further change. Some of the inter-war trends actually worked in Labour's favour. The predominantly Catholic wards in the north end inherited from the Nationalists by the mid-twenties were relatively small, and became smaller as slum clearance took place. However, the over-representation of Labour in these wards still did not compensate for under-representation in the rest of the city. The effect of huge variations in the size of wards generally worked to the advantage of Labour's opponents. This can be quantified by analysing the size of the electorate in Labour's strongest and weakest wards during the inter-war period, as calculated in Appendix 3. The results are summarised in Table 4.1 below. They demonstrate that Labour strongholds were under-represented on the council when compared with non-Labour strongholds throughout the inter-war period, by a factor of roughly a third in the early twenties, rising to a half by 1928, then back to a third by the early thirties, and finally falling nearer to parity by 1938.

TABLE 4.1 - SIZE OF ELECTORATE IN LABOUR'S TEN STRONGEST AND TEN WEAKEST WARDS 1919-38

<u>TEN STRONGEST LABOUR WARDS</u>							
<u>1919-23</u>		<u>1924-28</u>		<u>1929-33</u>		<u>1934-38</u>	
<u>Ward</u>	<u>Elect- orate 1923</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Elect- orate 1928</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Elect- orate 1933</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Elect- orate 1938</u>
Everton	12350	Brunswick	8447	Scotland N	8703	Brunswick	7815
Scotland N	8075	Croxteth	5886	Sandhills	9308	Sandhills	8490
Scotland S	8289	Everton	12194	Brunswick	8746	Scotland S	7477
Edge Hill	12228	Sandhills	8656	St.Anne's	8983	Scotland N	7547
Garston	5897	Edge Hill	12188	Scotland S	8602	St.Anne's	6812
Dingle	13968	Low Hill	10095	Everton	13243	Vauxhall.	3123
St.Anne's	8412	St.Anne's	8473	Croxteth	15544	Everton	11583
Kensington	10677	Scotland.N	8025	Gt.George	4912	Croxteth	20489
St.Domingo	10762	Netherfield	11178	Garston	7741	Gt.George	4144
St.Peter's	2729	Dingle	14084	Low Hill	11253	Garston	8467
TOTAL	93387		99226		97035		85947

<u>SEATS</u>	30	28	30	30
<u>ALLOCATED</u>				
<u>VOTERS/ SEAT</u>	3113	3544	3235	2865

<u>TEN WEAKEST LABOUR WARDS</u>							
<u>1919-23</u>		<u>1924-28</u>		<u>1929-33</u>		<u>1934-38</u>	
Sandhills	8711	M.Woolton	1861	Sefton Pk.W	6453	Wavertree	8620
Granby	9075	Vauxhall	3565	St.Domingo	11669	Warbreck	13363
Abercromby	7504	Sefton Pk.W	5948	Aigburth	9165	Allerton	6459
Fairfield	9159	Allerton	3359	Anfield	10703	Sefton Pk.W	6839
Allerton	1355	Anfield	10088	Allerton	4802	Sefton Pk.E	8809
Exchange	2747	Exchange	2582	M.Woolton	2558	M.Woolton	2975
L.Woolton	424	L.Woolton	444	Exchange	2404	Childwall	8252
Sefton Pk.E	8667	Sefton Pk.E	8629	Childwall	3357	L.Woolton	925
Aigburth	5085	Aigburth	6899	L.Woolton	698	Castle St	2010
Castle St	2643	Castle St	2576	Castle St	2246	Aigburth	10993
TOTAL	55370		45951		54055		69245

<u>SEATS</u>	28	27	28	28
<u>ALLOCATED</u>				
<u>VOTERS/ SEAT</u>	1978	1702	1931	2473

The nature of the local economy and consequent social structure, and in turn the spatial distribution of economic activity and population, could increase the potential for inequitable ward boundaries. The dominance of trade and shipping in the Liverpool economy, for instance, meant that a large and distinct area in the city centre, comprised primarily of offices connected with trade, finance, insurance, and shipping, developed from the nineteenth century. Wards such as Castle Street, packed with business voters and little else, had their origins in these developments. It needs to be stressed that this development was particularly marked in Liverpool. Retail and manufacturing functions may have played a *similar* role in some other cities, but still not to the same degree. Equally, the concentration of large numbers of mainly casually employed workers in the dockside areas of the city led to other wards with very large numbers of voters by the late nineteenth century. Further structural change in the twentieth century affected ward boundaries. The beginning of the decline of the docks, and the first stages in the development of "new" industries on the outskirts of the city by the 1930s, resulted in a decline of population in the old dockside wards, and a corresponding growth in some of the suburban wards.

In the end, though, these patterns of population growth and decline only provided the *potential* for distortion of the electoral system, and comparable situations no doubt existed elsewhere. Ward boundaries were not immutable, pre-ordained features of the landscape. They were *to some extent* the result of long-established social and cultural traditions, but they were even more so the result of political decision. The fact that boundaries were not redrawn for sixty years, or that tiny new middle class wards like Little Woolton and enormous

working class wards like Croxteth were created, was ultimately a political outcome. Moreover, economic and social change could be sustained, or enhanced, by local government policies. Thus, expenditure by the council on the new housing estates of the inter-war period encouraged the movement of population and accelerated the shift in economic activity from the city centre to the periphery.

This particular combination of social change and political action may have been echoed elsewhere, but it could not have been repeated exactly in every other borough. One example shows how much the local circumstances could vary, and with it the potential for inequity in ward boundaries. W.A.Hampton's study of Sheffield shows how the economic development of the town led to a sharp and rigid distinction between an area of working class housing to the east, and another of middle class housing to the west. As a result, a clear line could be drawn through the city, east of which were a group of safe Labour wards, and west of which were a group of safe Tory wards, leaving a tiny handful of politically marginal wards straddling the line.¹⁴ This contrasts with Liverpool, where there was much more of a patch-work effect of distinct working class areas interspersed with middle class areas. Thus north-east from the city centre, working class St.Domingo and Breckfield adjoined middle class Anfield and West Derby, which in turn bordered working class Croxteth further out from the city. Equally, to the south working class Dingle adjoined middle class Sefton Park and Aigburth, which then bordered working class Garston and Speke. Thus there were literally more boundaries which were politically sensitive in Liverpool than in Sheffield. It is also clear that the relatively small scale of concentration of business voters in city centre wards could not have posed the political problem in

Sheffield that it proved to be in Liverpool. Sheffield's narrowly industrial base, its failure to develop commercial activities, and its overshadowing by the older-established regional centre of Leeds, ensured that the business vote was both numerically smaller and geographically less concentrated than it was in Liverpool.¹⁵

As long as the plurality system prevailed, no boundaries could have guaranteed an absolutely accurate reflection of voters and representation, of course. The longer they were unchanged, however, the more likely they were to be unsatisfactory. Boundaries in Sheffield were redrawn in 1928. Councils adjacent to Liverpool also saw the need for redistribution. Wallasey was redistributed in 1920, Bootle in 1928, and Birkenhead in 1934.¹⁶ Nationally, the redistribution process was modified in line with the findings of the Royal Commission on Local Government appointed in 1922-3. After the Local Government Acts of 1926 and 1929, widespread revisions took place. Between 1929 and 1937 50 County Boroughs out of a total of 83 across the country had boundary revisions successfully approved.¹⁷ But there was no change in Liverpool. That this worked against the interest of Labour locally seems indisputable.

Some idea of how variation in ward size in Liverpool compared to other boroughs by 1931, can be gained by analysing the population in wards for various boroughs as listed in the Census. (Ideally, figures for the electorate, rather than the total population, in all the wards would have been compared, but these figures are not available in any central source). The standard deviation as a proportion of the mean ward size has been calculated for the eight largest provincial boroughs in England, as shown below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 - Ward Size in the Eight Largest Provincial Boroughs, 1931

Borough	Total Pop'n	No. of Wards	Largest Ward Size	Smallest Ward Size	Mean Ward Size	Standard Deviation	S.D. as a Proportion of Mean
Birmingham	1,002,603	31	58,516	15,712	32,342	8,567	26.5%
Liverpool	855,688	40	41,855	366	21,392	10,460	48.9%
Manchester	766,378	36	44,600	235	21,288	9,615	45.2%
Sheffield	511,757	24	26,636	16,538	21,323	2,603	12.2%
Leeds	482,809	26	24,260	14,324	18,570	2,621	14.1%
Bristol	397,012	23	35,013	999	17,261	8,664	50.2%
Hull	313,544	21	20,723	7,071	14,931	3,404	22.8%
Bradford	298,041	22	24,261	2,717	13,547	5,616	41.5%

SOURCE: 1931 Census, County Tables.

As can be seen, Liverpool had almost the highest degree of variation from the mean among these boroughs, only Bristol marginally exceeding it, and with Manchester being only slightly less varied. Liverpool was by no means unique, then, but it was nevertheless one of the most extreme among the largest boroughs. It is notable that by contrast two boroughs that had been recently re-distributed, Sheffield and Hull, had very much more equal-sized wards.

It is also interesting that ward size generally seems to have been more equal where Labour was stronger, and vice-versa. If the eight boroughs are ordered according to their degree of equality of ward size, and compared with their order in terms of Labour strength in 1932 as shown earlier in Table 3.1, there appears to be a strong correlation between the two factors. This is shown in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 - Equality of Ward Size in 1931 and Labour Strength in 1932 for the Eight Largest Provincial Boroughs in England

<u>Standard Deviation as a Proportion of Mean ward Size</u>	<u>Labour Strength (Percentage of Seats Held in brackets)</u>
1. Sheffield(12.2%)	1. Sheffield(49%)
2. Leeds(14.1%)	2. Hull(44%)
3. Hull(22.8%)	3. Leeds(40%)
4. Birmingham(26.5%)	4. Bradford(35%)
5. Bradford(41.5%)	5. Bristol(34%)
6. Manchester(45.2%)	6. Manchester(27%)
7. Liverpool(48.9%)	7. Liverpool(23%)
8. Bristol(50.2%)	8. Birmingham(19%)

To calculate the degree of statistical correlation between Labour strength and more equal ward size, a Spearman's rank order correlation test has been carried out. The test gave a correlation coefficient of +0.7 between the two factors, which indicates a high level of statistical correlation. It is tempting to draw from this the conclusion that Labour strength is directly caused, or at least aided, by the degree of equality of wards. However, statistical analysis of this sort has to be viewed with great caution. Statistical correlation can be quite accidental, and there is no necessary *causation* implied between the two factors. It could just as well be that Labour strength *caused* more equal ward size, which is quite plausible in the sense that where Labour was stronger it could more successfully force through boundary revision in its favour. Only further detailed study of the actual circumstances prevailing in the various boroughs could resolve this question. What *can* be said now is that there appears to be *some* connection between the state of ward boundaries and Labour success in municipal elections.

While no systematic analysis of the electoral impact of redistributions elsewhere in this period has been carried out, some examples can be inferred from the evidence given in Table 3.1 earlier. Of the roughly forty county boroughs with populations of over 100,000 listed there, at least a dozen must have had either substantial extensions to their borough boundaries or significant redrawing of internal boundaries between 1927 and 1938, judging by the changes in the total number of representatives on these councils. Others may also have had a redistribution without changing the overall total of representation, so they are not identifiable from the list. Birkenhead's boundaries, for instance, were totally redrawn in 1933/4, but total representation stayed fixed at 64.¹⁸ Of the dozen redistributions identifiable in the list, several appear to have been neutral in their impact, such as those in Sheffield, Leeds and Wolverhampton. In two of those examples, Sheffield and Wolverhampton, there are also local studies which tend to support this view. G.W.Jones' study of Wolverhampton notes the redrawing of boundaries in 1927, but argues that this had only a marginal impact on the wards themselves. His detailed tabulation of seats held in this period also shows no discernible impact on the standing of the main parties.¹⁹ Hampton's study of Sheffield was more concerned with the post-war period, and was much concerned with contemporary debates on local government reform centred on the Maud Committee proposals. The earlier redistribution of seats in 1928/9 was not commented on directly in this work, but again it seems to have had no obvious effect on the election results listed.²⁰

In some of the cases of redistribution identified, however, it is tempting to infer that redistribution may have had an impact on electoral trends. Hull, redrawn between 1929 and 1932, subsequently became one of Labour's strongest boroughs having previously been only a modest stronghold. Sunderland's surprisingly low ranking in 1927 seems to have improved steadily after the redistribution between 1927 and 1929. Walsall also seems to have seen a marked improvement for Labour after boundary changes between 1929 and 1932. Most notably, Bristol, which is consistently in the lower half of the table up to 1935, sees an abrupt improvement after the redistribution between 1935 and 1938. Of course these improvements in Labour's fortunes may have been caused by any number of political factors, and merely coincided with boundary revisions.

However, *one* local study *does* show how redistribution could help Labour. Coventry was redistributed in 1928, and when all the seats were subsequently contested, Labour made 11 gains, never having made more than two gains in any one year in the previous decade. From being a minor party on the council, it became a contender for power, eventually gaining control in 1937.²¹ Until other cases like this are revealed, it is impossible to be definite, but for the moment the distinct possibility that electoral trends may have been influenced by changes in ward boundaries can be registered.

There are examples from Northern Ireland after partition which vividly illustrate how blatant gerrymandering of ward boundaries can alter voting patterns. For instance, the three wards of Omagh were redistributed in 1934, resulting in the council, on which two-thirds of the seats were held by Nationalists at the time, passing into

Unionist control. Again in 1936, as a study of the electoral system in Northern Ireland showed, Derry was redistributed so that control was

...confirmed...in the hands of a religious and political minority when the trend was for that minority to become smaller in relation to the expanding Roman Catholic population.²²

To conclude, whether or not redistribution of ward boundaries was desirable, whether such redistribution was carried out, and with what impact on electoral performance, were all questions which depended on a number of inter-related factors. The problem could not have applied on a uniform basis across the country therefore, and the disadvantaging of Labour in Liverpool is unlikely to have been repeated in every other borough.

* * * * *

A second key feature of the municipal electoral system that might have distorted the relative strength of parties was the aldermanic system. In county boroughs, including Liverpool, each ward usually had three councillors and one alderman, so aldermen made up a quarter of the council. They were elected for a term of six years by all the members of the council before 1910, and after that date by the sitting councillors only. The criteria for election were at the discretion of the councillors themselves, and different councils applied completely different rules. In some cases seniority was the sole criterion, in others aldermen were elected strictly to reflect the balance of parties in the council, others again used the system to maintain or

increase the dominance of one party, and in many a combination of any or all of these methods was used.²³

As with much of the rest of the structure of local government, the origins of the system of aldermen lay in distant medieval custom, and its relevance to twentieth century political life was open to question. They were only included under the 1835 legislation on Municipal Corporations by accident. The Whig government intended that town councils should be directly elected by the ratepayers, but the Tories wanted to water down the democratic element. The Lords, dominated by the Tories, introduced amendments to ensure aldermen would make up a quarter of the councils. Deadlock between Lords and Commons over the issue near the end of the Parliamentary session meant that the whole legislation was in danger of falling. Melbourne's government was anxious to clear the old municipal corporations out of the way as soon as possible, and therefore conceded to the Lords' demands to ensure the passing of the Bill.²⁴ The aldermanic system was an unintended compromise, and despite the fact that it was "so contrary to the general democratic tendencies of the time",²⁵ it survived attempts to abolish it in 1889 and 1933, only to be abolished finally in 1974.²⁶ It was also included in the new County Councils in 1888 and the Metropolitan Boroughs in 1899, although in the latter case aldermen were only to make up one-seventh of the councils.²⁷ An attempt to amend the 1888 Local Government Bill so that aldermen would have been elected on the basis of proportional representation was also rejected, by only 11 votes,²⁸ so the system survived unchanged apart from the 1910 exclusion of sitting aldermen from aldermanic elections.

In 1933 J.J.Tinker, the Labour MP for Leigh, commented in the debate on the abolition of aldermen:

Whatever may have been the reason for Aldermen when they were first appointed, for the life of me I cannot see any need for them now.

In reply the Tory MP Michael Beaumont, defended the system, claiming:

the Aldermen's bench saves our local government system from the twin evils of democracy and equality.²⁹

This opinion may not have been shared by all Tories, but even if such blatantly undemocratic sentiments were kept in check, the system could throw up anomalies. This was especially the case when party allegiances were in flux. If seniority counted, then old and declining parties, with plenty of long-serving members, would tend to gain, at the expense of growing new parties whose members would only recently have been elected. The system was *inherently* conservative in its effects. However, if dominant parties were also *deliberately* to use the aldermanic system to bolster their position, then it could produce even greater distortions.

In Liverpool the controlling Tories appeared to have no consistent policy on aldermanic elections, but rather responded in a pragmatic fashion to changing circumstances. Seniority, proportionality and party advantage were all factors of varying importance to them. However, the net effect of their decisions always seemed to disadvantage Labour the most, even if they did not necessarily directly benefit themselves the most. The full list of aldermen between 1919 and 1938 can be found in Appendix 4. Their impact on party strength can be seen in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below.

FIG. 4.1 - LAB. COUNCILLORS
& ALDERMEN, 1919-38

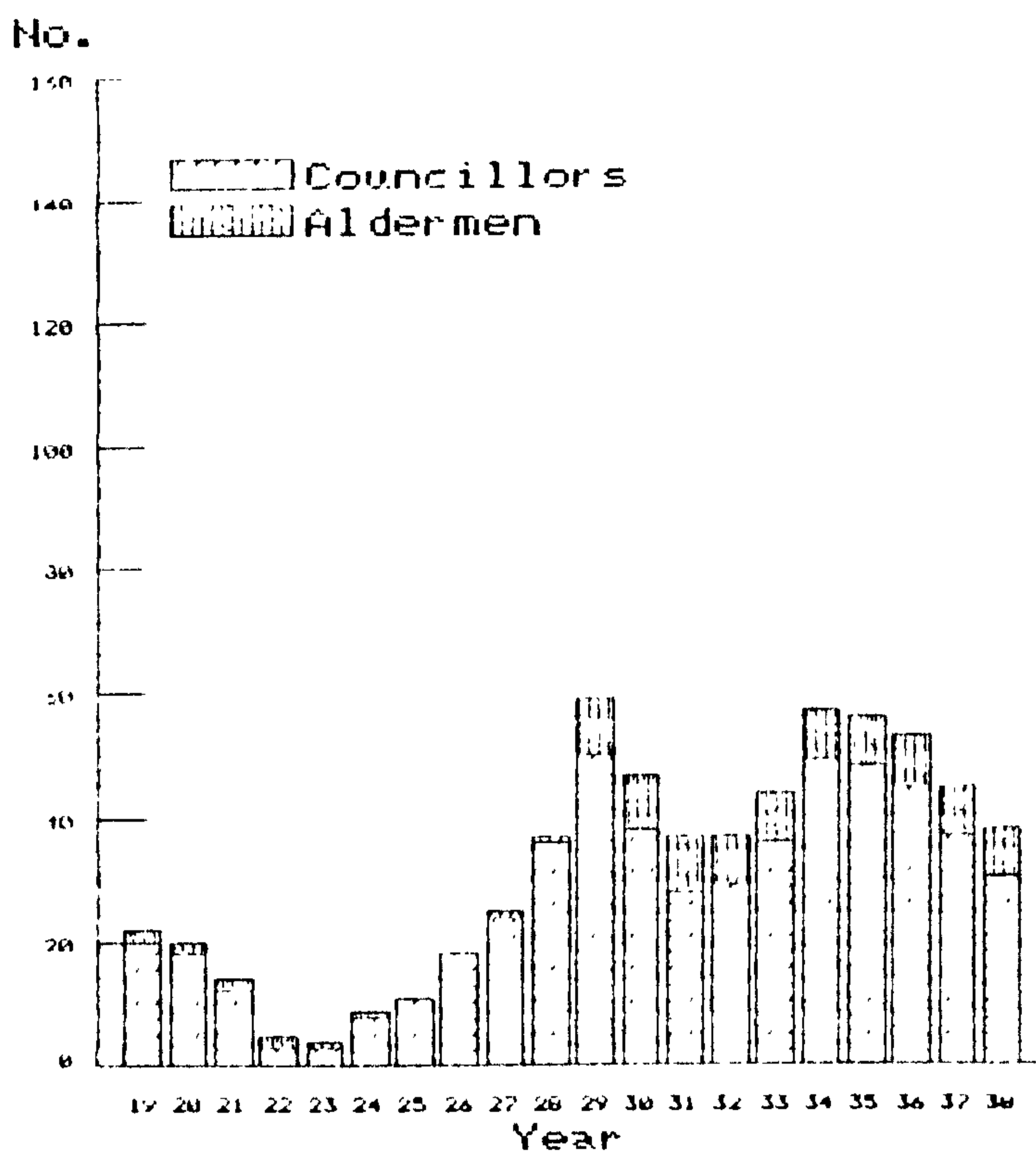
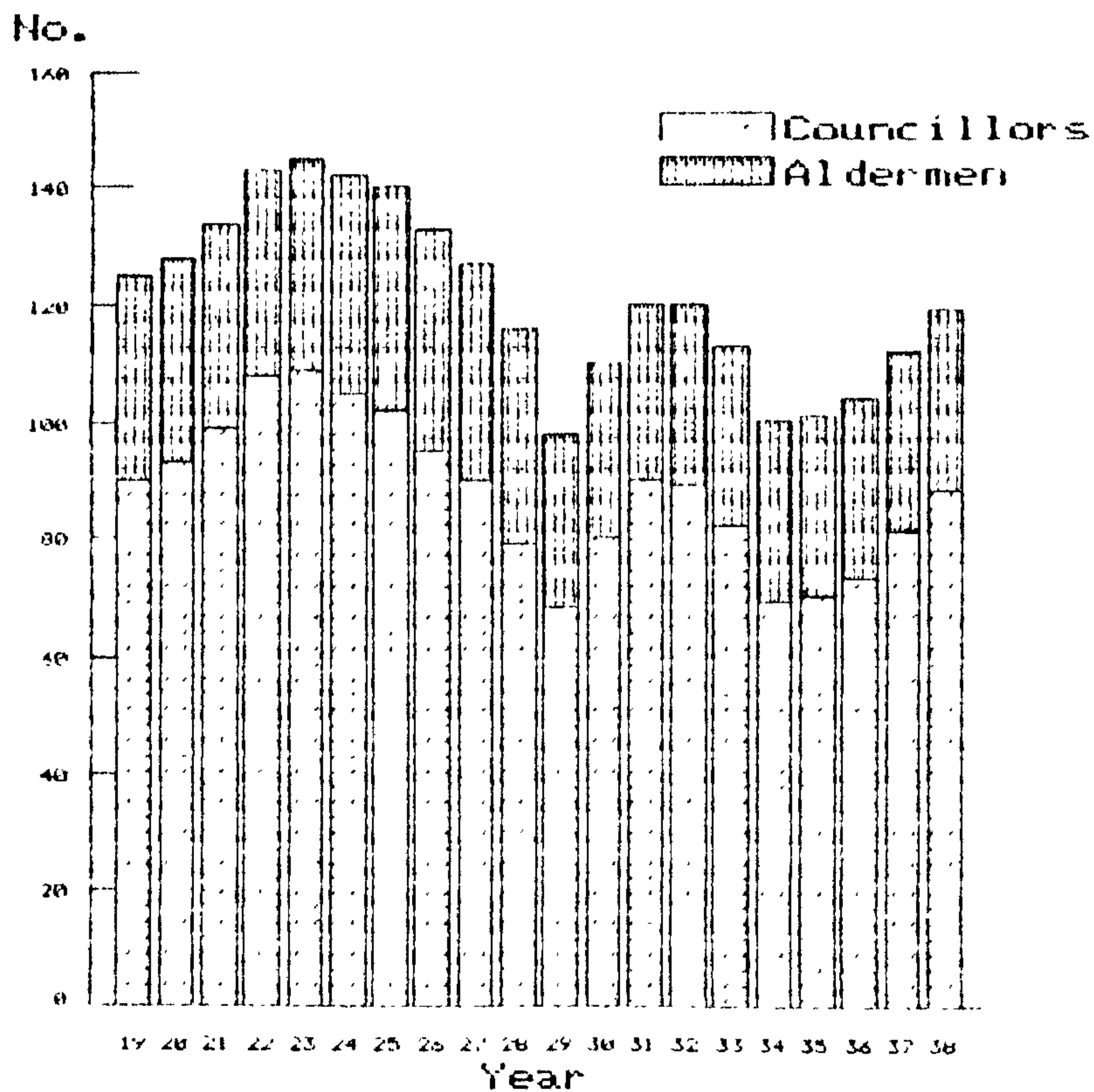


FIG. 4.2 - ALL OTHER COUNCILLORS
& ALDERMEN, 1919-38



The general trend is quite clear. Until Labour made their great gains in 1929, they were denied all but the most derisory representation on the aldermen's bench. Their nadir was reached in 1926, when they had no aldermen despite having 18 councillors. After 1929 the principle of proportionality was too strong for the Tories to ignore completely any longer, and Labour's representation was allowed to leap from one to nine aldermen, a position more or less maintained until 1938. However, it should be pointed out that even in 1929 Labour were substantially under-represented proportionally - a figure of seventeen aldermen would have been fairer - and throughout the thirties they remained under-represented to varying degrees.

By contrast the Tories maintained a position of slightly above their proportional share for almost the entire two decades. They did not, however, *appear* to be blatantly using the system to their own advantage by hogging all the aldermanic places. Instead they allowed the *over-representation* of other small parties to develop in the 20s, and more clearly in the 30s, at the expense of Labour. Thus the Centre Party, the right-wing rump of former Nationalist councillors that refused to throw in their lot with Labour, were boosted by aldermen to a grotesque extent after 1927, so that by 1936 they had four aldermen despite having *no* elected councillors left in the city. The Liberals were equally over-represented in the mid-20s and late 30s when their total of elected councillors declined.

It might be argued that the inherent bias of the system in favour of old parties at the expense of the new, partially explains Labour's disadvantage. However, analysis of aldermanic elections shows that conscious manipulation by the Tories and others kept Labour out. The

clearest example of this in the 1920s took place after the municipal elections in November 1925. Labour at this point had eleven councillors and one alderman, their leader at that time in the council, W.A.Robinson. His term of office of six years was due to expire, and the filling of aldermanic vacancies took place at the first council meeting after the election. It was customary for retiring aldermen to be re-elected unopposed, but in this case custom came a poor second to party interest. Tories and Liberals abstained in the vote, allowing the Catholic Party nominee, P.J.Kelly, to be elected by 15 votes to 13.³⁰ This brought the Catholic representation up to four aldermen and seventeen councillors. Proportionality clearly had nothing to do with this result, but neither did the principle of seniority. Robinson had served on the council since 1911, Kelly since 1914. More to the point, Kelly was not even a councillor, having been defeated in the polls twelve months previously!

The nomination of someone from outside the council was quite legal, if rare. In the ancient origins of the system there had been a principle that "men or women of outstanding ability or experience" could be brought into the council as aldermen, and nationally at least one other case was recorded between the wars.³¹ It is doubtful that Kelly's ability or experience was the point here, however, but rather the complex relationship between the various parties in Liverpool at this juncture. This relationship needs careful analysis to reveal the full significance of Kelly's election.

P.J.Kelly had been the leader of the Irish Party (as it was then called) in 1924 and had led moves to come to an electoral understanding with Labour. He was described as "a supporter of the

claims of Labour and generally of the programme of the Labour Party".³² This did not prevent him from threatening to attack them if they failed to agree to a pact. As he put it,

... if the fight continues, we shall not cease reprisals ... we have an extraordinary capacity for destruction, and we are not at all particular when we set out in that capacity.³³

Nevertheless, Labour refused an agreement,³⁴ and in the subsequent elections in November 1924 defeated Irish Party opponents in four out of the five wards where they were challenged.³⁵ Kelly himself was comfortably beaten in Scotland South ward, Labour's majority being almost 600 votes out of a poll of just over 4,000, a humiliating defeat after his aggressive words only months earlier. Labour made significant gains overall in the 1924 elections, and their opponents rallied their forces in response. Archbishop Keating was instrumental in transforming the Irish Party into the Catholic Representation Association, soon to be known as the Catholic Party.³⁶ The Coalition Liberals began their move to join the Tory party, declaring themselves as "Independents" in March, 1925.³⁷ The 1925 elections subsequently saw an unprecedented attack on Labour, with the Tory leader Salvidge mounting a fierce campaign appealing for unity between all "responsible" parties against the "socialist and communist threat".³⁸ W.A. Robinson responded for Labour in turn, in particular aiming his fire at the new Catholic Party. On the eve of the poll he stated

I am condemning that formation in this city of the so-called Catholic Party as I will also condemn the formation of any other religious Party ... the Labour Party has never failed to do the right thing by any body of citizens, irrespective of the religion to which they belonged. The Labour Party was broad enough to receive into its ranks people of all religions ... I sincerely hope that any attempt to divide the working class people in this way would fail.³⁹

Overall Labour increased their representation by three in the 1925 elections, although in the five wards where they were opposed by the Catholic Party they lost in four.⁴⁰ Labour's advance had been checked, and it was in the aftermath of this bruising election campaign that P.J.Kelly was then catapulted back into the council as an alderman, while W.A.Robinson suffered the humiliation of having to leave the chamber. He departed with the words, "*Au revoir*, gentlemen, I shall return,⁴¹ leaving it to his successor as leader, Luke Hogan, to make a public statement on the whole affair. Hogan said this:

The Catholics have established a new precedent. To fill an Aldermanic vacancy they have brought in a man who was beaten at the polls a year ago, and driven out the leader of a party which, at the present moment, commands at least 48,000 votes ... it is unfortunate that the Liberals and Conservatives took no part in the election; if they had done the result would have been different, we are sure ... the Catholics will have to face the situation they have created in their own constituencies, and that on every possible occasion we shall test the feeling of those wards on what can only be described as an outrage on the decency of public life. On the proportional principle, Labour, with eleven councillors, is entitled to three Aldermen. Now we have none.⁴²

The 1925 incident was a blatant example of how the aldermanic system was used against Labour, but there was an ironic postscript to the whole affair a few years later. In September 1929, four months after the advent of the minority Labour government, a total of five Centre (formerly Catholic) Party aldermen and councillors defected to Labour.⁴³ In the local elections two months later the Centre Party lost four out of the five contests where it was challenged by Labour.⁴⁴ With the Tories having lost their overall majority for the first time since the 1890s, the tide seemed to be very much with Labour. Mindful no doubt of the fact that he would come up for re-election as an alderman in 1931, P.J.Kelly joined the Labour Group

within a week,⁴⁵ to be joined on the aldermanic benches a few days later by W.A.Robinson. Kelly remained on the council until his death in December 1936. Having been first returned unopposed to the council in the electoral truce of 1914, and again unchallenged in 1921, P.J.Kelly had the dubious distinction of serving on the council for twenty-two years, with only a twelve-month break between 1924 and 1925, having never won a municipal election!

The case of P.J.Kelly revealed the quirks that the aldermanic system could produce in a supposedly democratic electoral system. After 1929 his unelected presence in the council worked in *Labour's* favour, but an equally clear series of events in the 1930s showed how the system was still being used to Labour's overall detriment. This is illustrated by the case of Lawrence King, one of the former Nationalist councillors who had joined Labour in September 1929. Between June 1932 and June 1936 he was proposed by Labour in aldermanic elections eight times, and defeated every time.⁴⁶ On every occasion he had seniority over his opponent. On the first occasion he was defeated by a Centre Party nominee, bringing that party's total to five aldermen and seven councillors. The election had been caused by the death of a Labour alderman, so Labour's already disproportionately low representation actually worsened. In three elections in a row between July 1934 and February 1935 he was defeated by Liberal nominees replacing deceased Liberal aldermen, thus maintaining their proportional parity while at the same time keeping Labour under-represented by roughly a half. Again in June 1936 he was defeated by *two* Liberal nominees, which resulted in the Liberal Party moving from parity to over-representation. King was eventually elected in January 1937, replacing a deceased Labour alderman merely to maintain

Labour's still grossly under-represented position.⁴⁷ The Labour Group registered its discontent at the obvious collusion between the Tory, Liberal and Centre Parties in this period only once. In February 1933 they abstained on an aldermanic vote as a protest.⁴⁸

The political significance of the manipulation of the system was considerable in that it magnified Labour weakness and Tory strength. When Labour were at their low points in the mid-20s and early and late 30s this magnification was only marginal in relation to the huge majority the Tories had in the council. But when Labour were at their high points in the late 20s and mid-30s, the distortion produced by the Aldermanic system was crucial. The Tories only lost their overall majority on the council between the wars in 1929 and in three consecutive years between 1934 and 1936, but they were still by far the largest party in those years, and needed only a handful of Protestant or Centre Party votes to maintain their control. However, if aldermen had been kept proportionate to the number of elected councillors for each party, then the Tories would also have lost their overall majority in 1919 and 1920. In 1929 and 1934 not only would their overall majority have gone, but they would have been only narrowly ahead of Labour. In 1934 Labour in fact had 49 elected councillors compared to the Tories' 50, and the possibility of unseating the Tories through an alliance with Liberals and/or the Centre Party might have been feasible. As it was, with aldermen included the Tories had 72 seats to Labour's 57, and their control was unchallengeable.

Anomalies produced by the aldermanic system were very much the product of political will. Whichever party or parties dominated at a local

level, their attitude to other parties, and the degree of their commitment to fair and democratic procedure in the council chamber determined the way in which the system was applied. In Liverpool it was used quite blatantly against the interest of Labour in the council. There is only scattered evidence to show how it was used elsewhere.

In the parliamentary debate in 1923 on a proposal to allow proportional representation in local government elections, various MPs cited evidence of how affairs were carried out in their own areas. In Burnley, it was revealed, Labour were allocated no aldermen despite having won considerable support in recent elections. On the other hand, it was claimed that in Plymouth aldermen were elected strictly on the principle of proportionality.⁴⁹

One local example which is documented is the Lancashire County Council, where the principle of seniority was adhered to. Even this could cause distortions, though, as proved the case in 1946, when large gains by Labour were negated by the survival of long-lived aldermen from before the war. The consequent controversy led eventually to the concession of the principle of proportionality.⁵⁰ Keith-Lucas' 1952 study of the local government franchise, in arguing strongly against the continued existence of aldermen, gave a number of other examples of how the system was operated, although none were from the interwar period. Norwich, Liverpool, Exeter and Leeds were all quoted as examples of where ruling parties gave no aldermanic places to opposition parties in the late nineteenth century.⁵¹ On the London County Council after the first elections in 1889, a Liberal/Socialist alliance, having won a majority of the seats, filled 18 out of the 19

aldermanic places with its own supporters, so securing its control of the council. By contrast, in 1910 the Municipal Reform Party bolstered a two-seat majority by only appointing aldermen from its own ranks. Again in 1949, when Labour and the Tories had an equal number of elected councillors, Labour secured a majority through the choice of Labour aldermen.⁵² Michael Savage in his study of Preston also provides an example in passing, stating that Labour were only prevented from taking power in 1929 by the presence of Tory Aldermen.⁵³

These are only a few examples, and do not show how the system might have been applied over a long period of time, but at the very least they show that practise did vary between boroughs. The only local study that allows a more detailed and long-term picture is again that of G.W.Jones in Wolverhampton. In referring to the operation of the aldermanic system, Jones claimed that

it was difficult to balance the many criteria for an Aldermanic seat in the 1920s and 1930s without upsetting somebody's feelings. Yet up to 1945 a balance was roughly kept between the Mayoral qualification, [i.e. appointing all ex-mayors automatically as aldermen] promoting the senior Councillor and sharing the seats, in some relation to party strength on the council.⁵⁴

This supposedly reasonable behaviour by a council dominated by an alliance of Tories, Liberals and Independent Ratepayers is contrasted with the later tactics of the Labour Party in 1961-2, when packing the aldermanic benches with Labour supporters in order to retain control of the council led to applications to the High Court and a general crisis of municipal politics in Wolverhampton. Jones argued that these

events made Wolverhampton "notorious for displaying the evil effects of party politics in local government".⁵⁵

However, this contrast between inter-war propriety and post-war Labour gerrymandering of the system hardly seems to be borne out by other evidence that Jones himself provides. He records that the Labour Party itself complained in the 1920s that they were not given adequate representation in proportion to the seats they held, and that the long service of some of their councillors was ignored. He also reports the only example of an ex-mayor not being automatically put on the aldermanic bench between the wars being a Labour ex-mayor in 1930, preference being given instead to a Liberal councillor.⁵⁶ Jones also gives detailed figures of the party composition of the council, including both councillors and aldermen, throughout the inter-war period, and analysis of these figures shows quite clearly that the aldermanic system was operated in a way that disadvantaged Labour. A comparison of the situation in Liverpool as shown earlier, and in Wolverhampton derived from Jones' data,⁵⁷ is shown below in Figures 4.3a to 4.3d.

The pattern in the two cities seems similar. Minimal representation on the aldermanic bench for Labour in the 1920s, a slight improvement in the 1930s, but still proportionally far less than the other main parties on the council. The similarities go further than that if the details of each party's representation are examined. Just as in Liverpool, the Tories in Wolverhampton did not hog all the aldermanic places themselves. Instead they allowed their allies, in this case the Liberals and the Independent Ratepayers, to increase their representation well above their entitlement at the expense of the

FIG. 4.3a - LAB. COUNCILLORS & ALDERMEN, LIVERPOOL, 1919-38

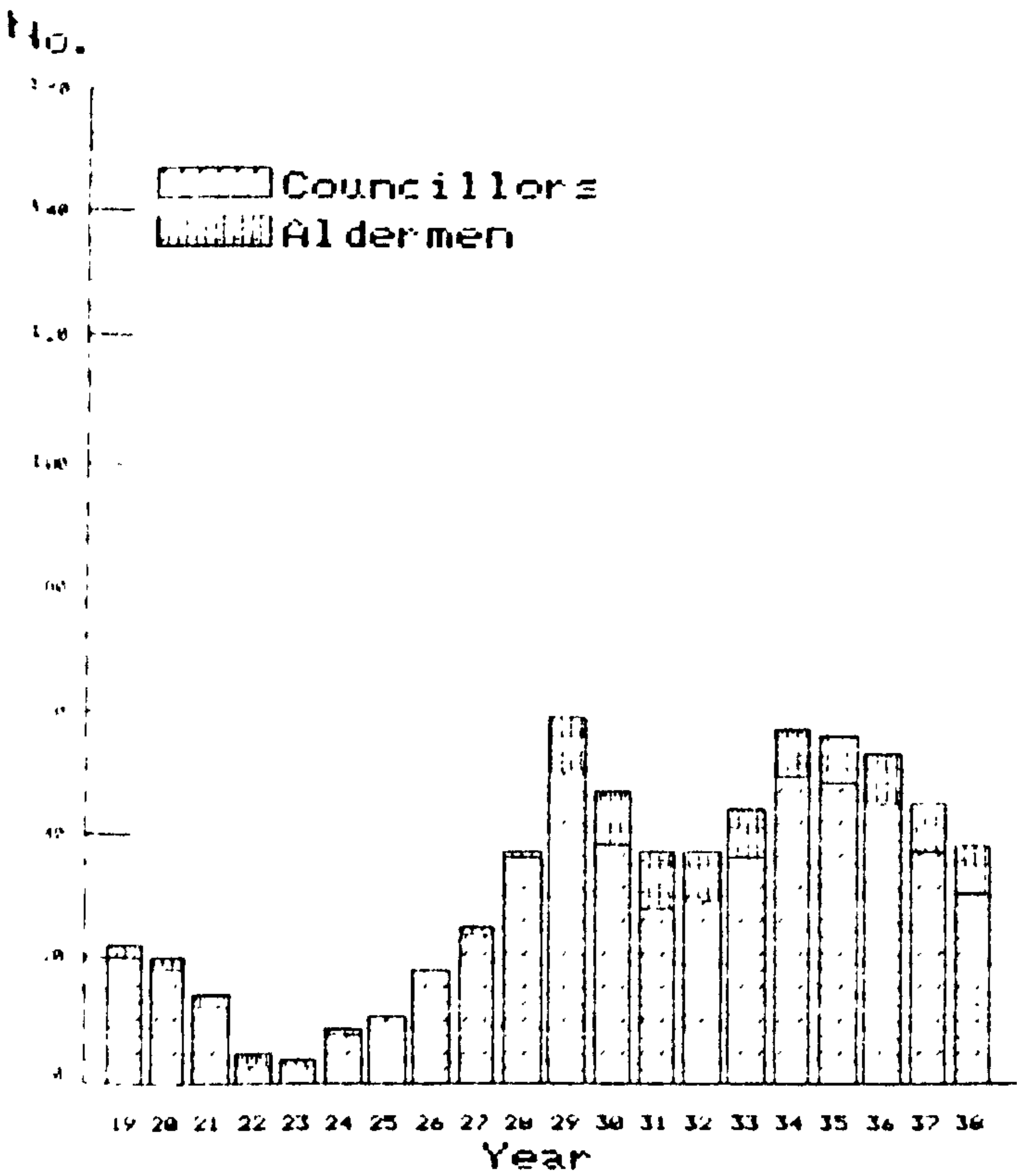


FIG. 4.3b - ALL OTHER COUNCILLORS & ALDERMEN, LIVERPOOL, 1919-38

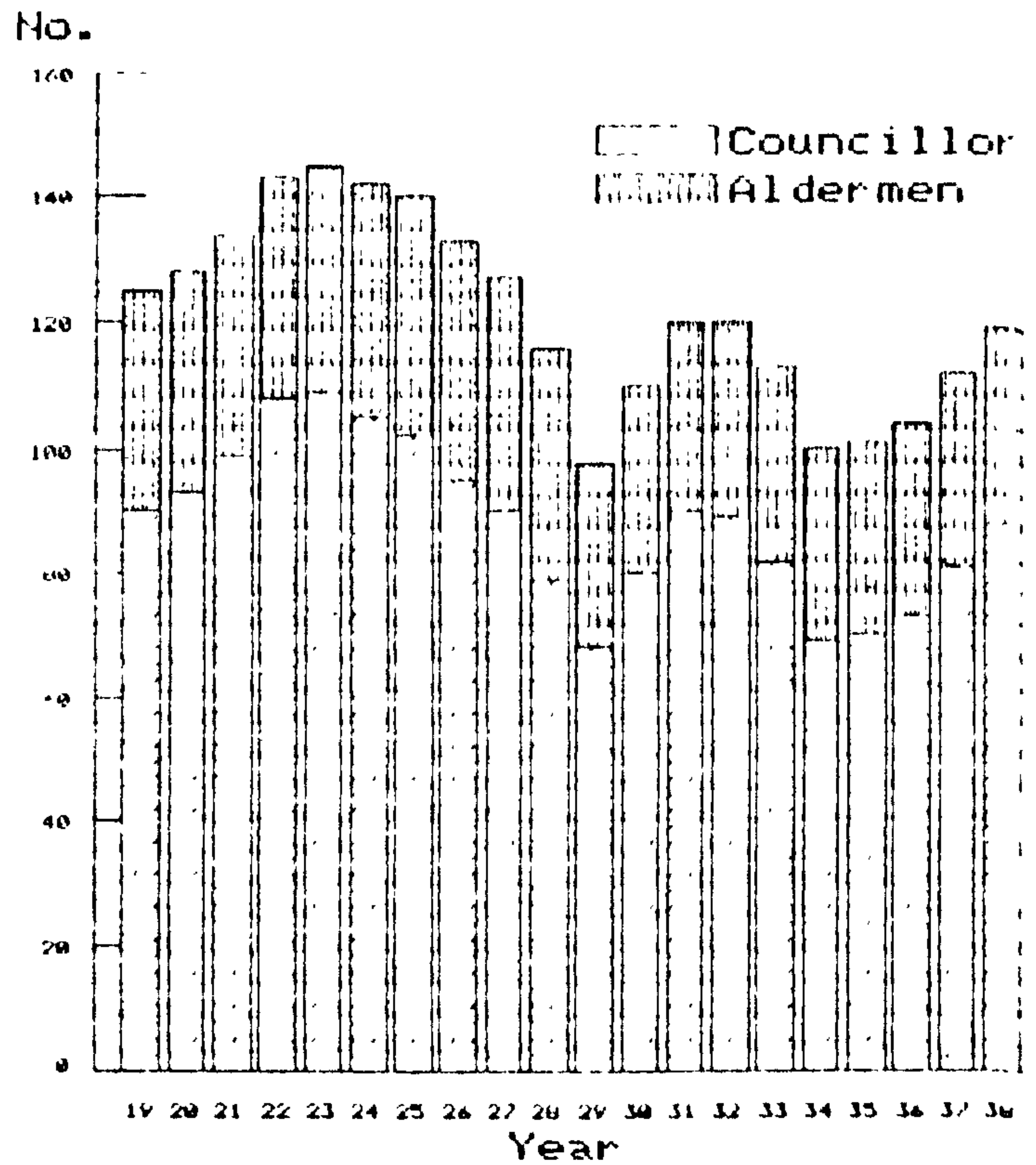


FIG. 4.3c - LAB. COUNCILLORS & ALDERMEN, WOLVERHAMPTON, 1919-38

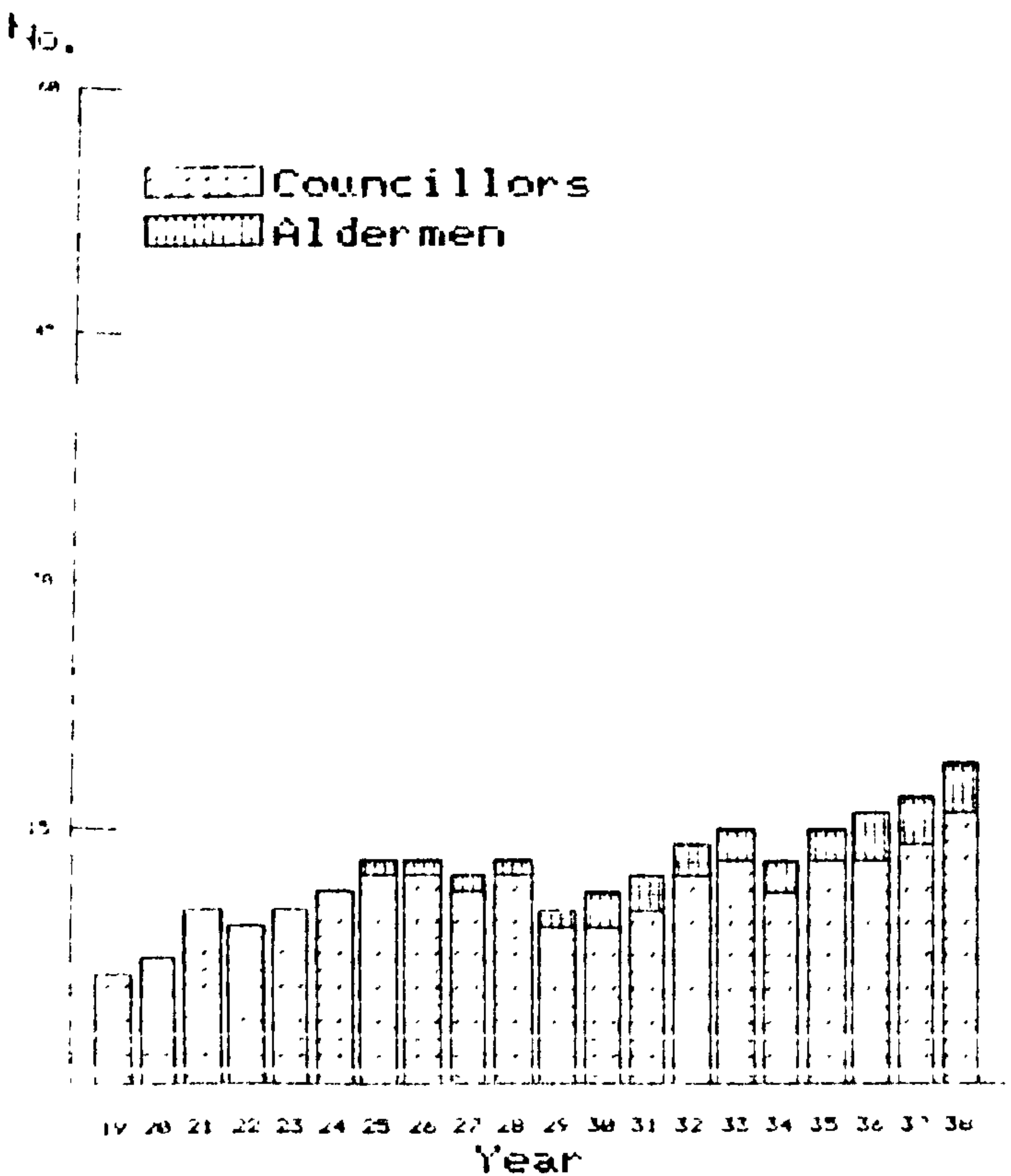
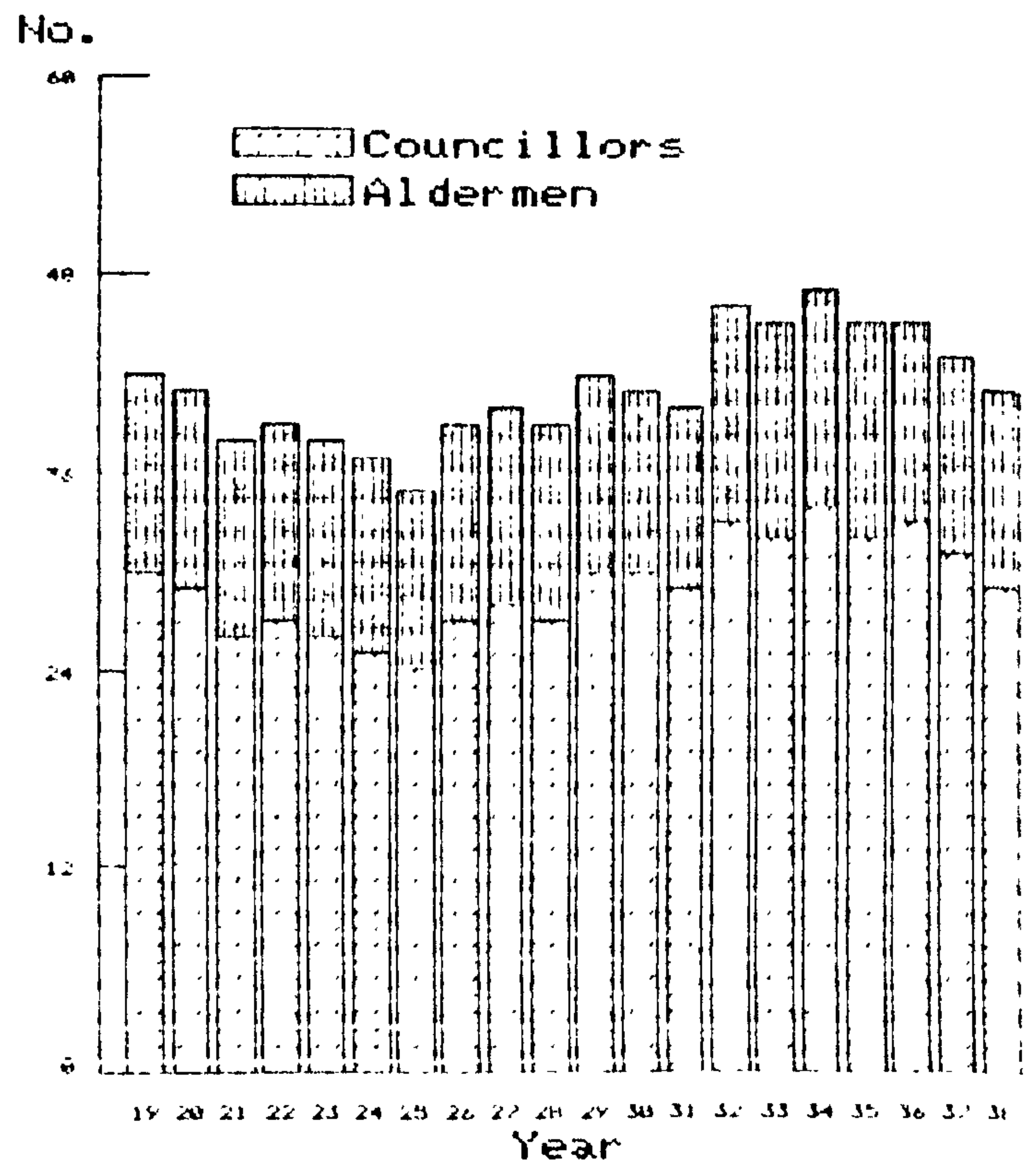


FIG. 4.3d - ALL OTHER COUNCILLORS & ALDERMEN, WOLVERHAMPTON, 1919-38



Labour Party. Thus by 1938 the Liberals had five aldermen to three councillors, and the Independents five aldermen to ten councillors, while Labour still had only three aldermen to sixteen councillors. The "rough balance" seemed particularly "rough" for Labour.

It is also worth noting that this form of the aldermanic system was specific to the county boroughs and county councils of England and Wales. When the district and parish councils were created in 1894 aldermen were not introduced,⁵⁸ and as already noted, they made up only one-seventh of the council body in the metropolitan boroughs.⁵⁹ In Scotland the role of aldermen was taken by bailies, who were also chosen from among the sitting councillors but, crucially, only held office for as long as their term as councillors.⁶⁰ In the Irish municipal corporations established from 1840, and persisting in the North after partition, aldermen were directly elected by the public.⁶¹ In all these cases, the potential for misuse of the aldermanic system was either reduced or eliminated altogether.

From these few examples, it can be concluded that if there was a potential for abuse of the aldermanic system in all boroughs, it seems that it depended on local political conditions whether or not it was manifested. In some cases, the system was worked in Labour's favour. In others it may have been neutral. In others again Labour was as disadvantaged as in Liverpool. It is certainly *not* the case that what happened in Liverpool can be assumed to apply to all other boroughs.

* * * * *

The third key element of the electoral system for local government that may have affected Labour's performance was the limited nature of the municipal franchise. A significant proportion of the population was enfranchised for Parliamentary elections but disenfranchised at a local level during the inter-war years, to an extent that has been little investigated. The assumption that with the extension of the vote to women by the Acts of 1918 and 1928 complete adult suffrage had been achieved is a deep-rooted one. It is also erroneous as far as municipal elections were concerned.

Once again, the origins of the municipal franchise are to be found in the distant past. Hasluck's history of English local government states that

The right of the ratepayer as such to participate in Local Government was recognised in thousands of parishes "from time immemorial"⁶²

By the time of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834,

The argument that local administration should be kept in the hands of those who provided the money was particularly cogent ... it justified the exclusion from the franchise of every person who did not directly contribute to the funds of the local authorities.⁶³

What this meant in practise was that the vote was restricted to ratepayers. The 1888 Local Government Act more specifically embodied the principle that all owners or occupiers of land or property were entitled to the vote.⁶⁴ This meant that the municipal franchise was in advance of the Parliamentary as far as women were concerned until 1918, as women owners or occupiers were qualified to vote. The 1918 Representation of the People Act extended the principle to the wives

(aged 30 or over) or husbands of owners or occupiers, and the 1928 Act brought the age limit down to 21 for women.⁶⁵

Even after all these extensions to the franchise, there were still large numbers who were not qualified to vote in local elections. Hasluck, writing in 1936, expressed the essential difference between the Parliamentary and Municipal franchise which was to be maintained until 1945:

During the long conflicts of the nineteenth century when Democracy was struggling for national recognition, disputes concerning the franchise usually revolved round the opposition of two principles, the rights of citizenship and the rights of property. One school of thought held that every individual had an inherent right to participate in the government of his country owing to the mere fact of citizenship; another held that responsible government could be carried out only by those who had "a stake in the country" in the form of financial interest. After many struggles, the principle of citizenship triumphed in the constitutional system of Central Government; but the other principle still holds the field in Local Government.⁶⁶

Those who were disenfranchised municipally included the following significant groups: sons and daughters, and other family members such as aged parents, who lived with the owner or occupier; servants who lived in the home of the owner or occupier; and tenants of any furnished premises.⁶⁷ Furthermore, others could be temporarily disenfranchised. Until 1926 the voter had to prove that he or she had been resident in the ward for six months prior to registration on June 1st. In 1926 this qualifying period was reduced to three months.⁶⁸

The net effect of all these exclusions could be quite substantial. Finer gave figures for London in 1931 of 2,952,724 voters on the Parliamentary electoral roll, as opposed to 2,106,330 on the municipal

roll.⁶⁹ This amounted to municipal exclusion for 28.7% of the Parliamentary voters. Whether London was typical of the rest of the country is hard to establish due to the lack of official statistics for municipal elections in this period, a problem which Finer himself complained of in his 1933 work.⁷⁰ Moreover, political historians have failed since to fill this gap. However, the equivalent figures for Liverpool for the whole of the inter-war period are shown in Appendix 5, and reveal a similar picture. Over 20% were disenfranchised in 1919, falling gradually to 16.5% by 1928. After the extension of the vote to women under 30, the proportion disenfranchised went up to almost 30%, and only began to fall consistently in the late 1930s, finishing at 27.2% in 1938. These exclusions from the municipal franchise were to last until 1945, when the exigencies of war more than anything else resulted in their abolition.⁷¹ Significantly, though, the Act of 1945 did not apply to Northern Ireland, and the situation was to remain unchanged there until as late as 1968.⁷²

The political significance of these figures is hard to quantify for an age when there were no such things as opinion polls. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the exclusions from the municipal franchise would have disadvantaged Labour more than the Tories, on the assumption that working class electors were more likely to be prospective Labour than Tory voters. Furnished rooms and lodgings were likely to be tenanted by the most transient members of the population. Not *all* of these would have been working class, but probably a majority of them would have been in a city like Liverpool with its strong tradition of casual employment. Live-in servants by definition would have been working class, and in Liverpool they would also have been a significant proportion of the working population, and especially of women workers.

Adult sons and daughters living at home *may* have been as prevalent, or even more common, in middle class as in working class homes. The wealthy may have been more able to support children and other relations at home, and also would have had more room to do so. On the other hand, the low wages of young workers may have made it difficult for many of them to set up their own home. Hasluck records that some parents entered into formal agreements with their children, legally transferring the ownership of the furniture in their bedrooms to them and providing them with a rent-book so that they could qualify as tenants of "unfurnished lodgings".⁷³ Such legalistic responses were presumably economically beyond the reach of most working class families. Overall, the impact of this particular group on electoral fortunes is particularly difficult to identify.

Again, the residential qualification would have affected all classes, but in Liverpool between the wars when slum clearance and council house building was extensive, it may have particularly affected working class voters. Evidence for Parliamentary electors before the First World War when a twelve-month qualification period still applied certainly shows the extent of the problem. Between the drawing up of the electoral register in July 1909 and the election of December 1910, the proportion of electors who had moved, ranged between 26% and 39% in a variety of urban constituencies. In Liverpool the proportion was 31%.⁷⁴ A Liberal MP had earlier commented:

It is when you come to the working classes, who have to follow the tide of industry from one place to another, that the hardship of twelve months occupation most harshly operates.⁷⁵

While these *exclusions* from the franchise persisted, there was also the problem of the *inclusion* of business voters affecting the franchise by allowing them one or more extra votes. This again stemmed from the traditional association of the right to vote in local elections with property-ownership and the payment of rates. Non-resident shopkeepers and other owners of business premises were entitled to a vote in the ward where their businesses were situated, *in addition* to their vote in the ward where they resided. In some cases plural voters may not have lived within the borough at all, yet still they were entitled to vote in it. The contrast between their inclusion in the franchise and the exclusion of council tenants living outside the city boundaries shows the bias inherent in the system. Plural voting also survived in the Parliamentary franchise until 1948, but it was not until 1969 that it was excluded from the local franchise.⁷⁶ In parliamentary constituencies, the plural vote was probably only marginally significant in relation to the large numbers of voters on the register. In the smaller municipal wards, particularly in city centres, and especially where boundary revision was long delayed, the business vote could be influential. That it was likely to benefit the opponents of Labour, and in particular the Tories, is hardly open to question.

Some idea of the impact of both inclusions and exclusions on the municipal franchise in Liverpool can be gauged from Table 4.4 below, which shows the municipal electorate for each ward in the city in 1931 compared to the estimated population aged 21 or over living in the wards. (For the method of calculation of these estimates, see Appendix 6)

TABLE 4.4 - Municipal Electorate as a Proportion of Estimated Population Aged 21 or over Living in Wards, 1931
(In descending order).

WARD	MUNICIPAL ELECTORATE	ESTIMATED POPULATION 21+	PROPORTION ELECT./POP.
CASTLE ST	2360	254	930%
EXCHANGE	2492	1879	133%
ST.PETER'S	2979	3429	87%
CROXTETH	10851	13068	83%
AIGBURTH	8493	10771	79%
VAUXHALL	3783	4843	78%
FAZAKERLEY	10866	13923	78%
ALLERTON	4379	5682	77%
NETHERFIELD	12090	15779	77%
W.DERBY	18498	24437	76%
WALTON	16395	21692	76%
ST.DOMINGO	11734	15600	75%
DINGLE	15469	20580	75%
GARSTON	7131	9501	75%
WAVERTREE	14575	19491	75%
BRECKFIELD	10369	13892	75%
CHILDWALL	3105	4163	75%
O.SWAN	15881	21302	75%
SCOTLAND N	8758	11762	74%
WAVERTREE W	8906	12037	74%
SEFTON PK.W	6438	8776	73%
EDGE HILL	13274	18183	73%
KENSINGTON	11351	15605	73%
SANDHILLS	9499	13101	73%
SCOTLAND S	8712	12025	72%
M.WOOLTON	2299	3182	72%
KIRKDALE	17017	23738	72%
PRINCES PK	9913	13878	71%
ANFIELD	10869	15360	71%
FAIRFIELD	10220	14472	71%
BRUNSWICK	9088	12897	70%
ST.ANNE'S	9253	13360	69%
LOW HILL	11271	16293	69%
WARBRECK	12376	17966	69%
SEFTON PK.E	8969	13155	68%
GRANBY	9918	14854	67%
EVERTON	13501	20346	66%
L.WOOLTON	592	935	63%
GT.GEORGE	5043	8139	62%
ABERCROMBY	9493	16270	58%
TOTAL	378287	516619	73%

SOURCE: *1931 Census, Liverpool Red Book, 1933, p.100.*

These figures provide clear evidence of the impact of plural voting. The business vote is particularly evident, as one would expect, in the wards near the city centre. This is most obvious in Castle Street ward, where there were *over nine times as many voters as residents*. This ward already stood out as an anomaly resulting from inequitable internal boundaries, but it is clearly even more anomalous given that its electorate must have been made up almost entirely of non-resident plural voters. There were three seats here that were solidly anti-Labour, as the results for this ward listed in Appendix 1 show. Exchange and St. Peter's were also city centre wards, and although not as grossly out of line with the rest of the city, they nevertheless were significantly above average for the ratio of electors to residents. There were another six seats here that were unshakeably anti-Labour. In 1931 these three wards together accounted for roughly 8% of the elected seats on the council, whereas their combined electorate amounted to only 2% of the total in the city. Even more striking, their resident population old enough to vote amounted to just 1% of the total for the city. What this clearly shows is that the system of plural voting, *combined* with eccentric ward boundaries, produced a substantial anti-Labour bias.

The figures are far less straightforward, however, in throwing light on the impact of exclusions from the franchise. The proportion of the population enfranchised tends to be higher in *some* of the middle class wards, such as Aigburth, Allerton, West Derby and Walton, and lower in *some* of the poorer wards such as Great George, Everton St. Anne's, Brunswick and Scotland South, but the relationship is by no means uniform. Prosperous wards like Sefton Park East and Little Woolton, and working class wards like Vauxhall and Netherfield, show quite the

opposite relationship. In the case of Vauxhall, it may be that the business vote was marginally significant. It was a ward on the edge of the central business district of the city, and its electorate was probably increased to some degree by non-resident plural voters. On the other hand, a large number of resident domestic servants may have increased the numbers excluded from the municipal franchise in Sefton Park East. There are perhaps too many unquantifiable variables here to make definite conclusions.

Another factor that has to be considered is registration. It is possible that middle class residents were more likely to register for voting. Evidence for different countries in other periods, most notably the United States in the post-war period, suggest that this may be so. However, analysis of the 1931 Census figures for Liverpool decisively proves that non-registration of voters was not a problem. The total population of Liverpool in 1931 was 855,688, whereas the total population below the age of 21 was 338,043, leaving a total of 517,645 people of voting age.⁷⁷ The total parliamentary electorate in 1931 was 518,468.⁷⁸ The slight difference in timing of the census and the registration process, the recording of visitors in the census, and other minor factors meant that the figures for the electorate and the population of voting age could not have been identical. However, they were so similar in 1931 that it seems that non-registration of voters for parliamentary elections could not have been a significant problem. As registration for both parliamentary and municipal levels was carried out at the same time, and only one joint electoral roll was actually published, with parliamentary voters who were excluded from the municipal franchise being clearly distinguished from the rest, then it can be assumed that non-registration was also not a problem at

the municipal level. Nearly everyone who was entitled to register did so, and any variations in registration between classes could not therefore have been significant.

In conclusion, then, the suggestion that working class voters were more likely to be excluded from the municipal franchise cannot be definitely proven from the evidence available. Moreover, it needs to be remembered that because a ward was more working class did not *automatically* mean that it should be a Labour ward, or vice-versa. In Liverpool especially that was a dangerous assumption. Nevertheless, any exclusion from the franchise that particularly affected the working class was *more likely* to disadvantage Labour than any other party.

There are reasons for believing that the effects of the franchise factor would not have applied in a uniform fashion across the country. For instance, business voters would have existed everywhere else, of course, but their electoral significance would have depended on both their numbers and the distribution of their business premises. That in turn would have been a product of the structure of the local economy. Large cities of regional importance with major retail and distributive functions were more likely to have a concentration of business voters in the city centre, and Liverpool undoubtedly came into that category. On the other hand, their influence was clearly much exaggerated in Liverpool by political decision. The 1893 boundary revision by the Liberals, by deciding ward size not only relative to population but also according to rateable value, meant that the city centre wards were inevitably over-represented. The failure of the Tory council to

redraw the boundaries for the next sixty years both perpetuated and exacerbated that initial imbalance.

Exclusions from the franchise were also not likely to be on an identical scale throughout the country. There were a number of factors that were relevant. The local economy and housing market could affect the situation in some cases. Family size and the availability of both jobs and housing for young workers would determine how many children of voting age lived with their parents, and therefore were deprived of the vote. The availability of casual and part-time work, combined with the housing stock, would have determined the numbers living in furnished lodgings, who again would have been disenfranchised. The number of live-in servants not entitled to the municipal vote would also have varied according to local economic and social circumstances. The larger and richer the middle-class, the greater the number of servants would have been employed, and the greater the degree of disenfranchisement. There was also a gender factor which would have affected this last point up to the equalisation of the franchise for men and women in 1928. Domestic service was a major source of employment for young women, so where it was concentrated there would have been large numbers of women below the age of 30, whether living-in or not, who were not enfranchised until 1928. All of these factors seem to have been significant in Liverpool. The casual nature of much employment in the city, the poor housing stock, the existence of a large and rich middle-class, the huge domestic service sector, with particularly large numbers of young women employed, all meant that if the exclusions from the franchise disadvantaged Labour, then they may have been more marked in Liverpool than in some other parts of the country.

Finally, there may have been other minor factors that could have had some effect on Labour's performance in local elections. For example, the timing of elections, in early November, and the hours of polling, from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.,⁷⁹ probably affected Labour detrimentally. This again requires the assumption that the conventional wisdom amongst post-1945 pollsters about the effects of bad weather, the duration of daylight, and class differences in the length of the working day, can be retrospectively applied to the inter-war period. Again, the sequence of one-third of the seats coming up for election each year may also have benefited older established parties, as it would require a steady rise in electoral support over several years for new parties to displace them. If all seats had been up for re-election every three years, for instance, then *one* good year for the challenger might have been enough to unseat the controlling party. At the very least the pattern of elections probably reduced the volatility of political shifts at a local level, and was therefore inherently conservative in its impact. The effects of these distortions in the electoral system are difficult to establish, and were probably only marginal. The major factors of boundaries, the aldermanic system, and the franchise appear to have been much more significant.

* * * * *

Various reasons have been advanced above for believing that the factors that determined the extent of distortion of the electoral process varied from one borough to another, and that Liverpool was a borough where the distortion was likely to be more significant, and

which particularly damaged the Labour Party. The problem, though, is that there is very little evidence for the rest of the country to compare with the Liverpool experience. There have been no systematic studies of municipal politics on a national scale in this period, nor have there have been any local studies which have looked at the details of election results and their relationship to the electoral system in a locality. Until such studies are carried out, firm conclusions are not possible. Some suggestions can, however, be made on the basis of the limited evidence that is available.

There are two general points that need to be made first. One is that the Labour Party could not have been equally as disadvantaged by the electoral system in every other borough as it was in Liverpool, for if it had been, then it would have been receiving an extraordinarily high proportion of the votes in some boroughs where it held large numbers of seats. The figures quoted in Table 3.1 earlier make this point very clearly. With the Labour party consistently holding 80% or more of the seats in West Ham from 1927 to 1938, it was scarcely possible for it to have gained an even higher proportion of the votes cast. West Ham, of course, was exceptional in the degree to which it was dominated by Labour, but in other boroughs like St. Helens, Sheffield, Swansea and East Ham, where the proportion of seats held was frequently in the 60-70% range, it is equally unlikely that their vote-share could have been substantially higher than this.

Secondly, the extent to which the electoral system either benefitted or damaged a party was primarily a product of the overall balance of political power in the locality. The operation of the aldermanic system and the state of the ward boundaries in a borough *might* have

been decided on an all party basis, but it was more *likely* that the *dominant* party prevailed in these sorts of decisions. Certainly this was the case in Liverpool. What this meant in general for the Labour Party in this period is clear. Where Labour was strong enough to gain power, then once it had done so it could proceed to operate the system in its *own* favour, and thus its political strength would be subsequently exaggerated. Once Labour aldermen were drafted in in numbers, they were in place for six years. Once boundaries were redrawn fairly, or even unfairly, in Labour's favour, then Labour's political position was improved for the foreseeable future. In general, where Labour was strong, its strength would have been amplified. Where it was weak, its weakness would have been magnified. The latter would have applied to Liverpool. The relative weakness of the Labour Party in Liverpool compared to other parts of the country was almost certainly exaggerated by the electoral system.

The only local study over a long period of time which can be directly compared with Liverpool is that provided for Sheffield by W.A.Hampton. Although providing no analysis himself, Hampton did collate data relating to seats and votes won in local elections,⁸⁰ and from this it is possible to calculate Labour's record in Sheffield between the wars and compare it with the figures calculated for Liverpool in Chapter Three. The results of this comparison are shown in Figures 4.4a-d below.

There is no account taken of non-contests in Hampton's figures, and therefore the figures used for Liverpool are also the raw votes cast with no compensation for non-contests. This reduces the reliability of the vote-share figures, but nevertheless the picture conveyed by the

FIG. 4.4a - LAB. SEATS & VOTES
LIVERPOOL 1919-38

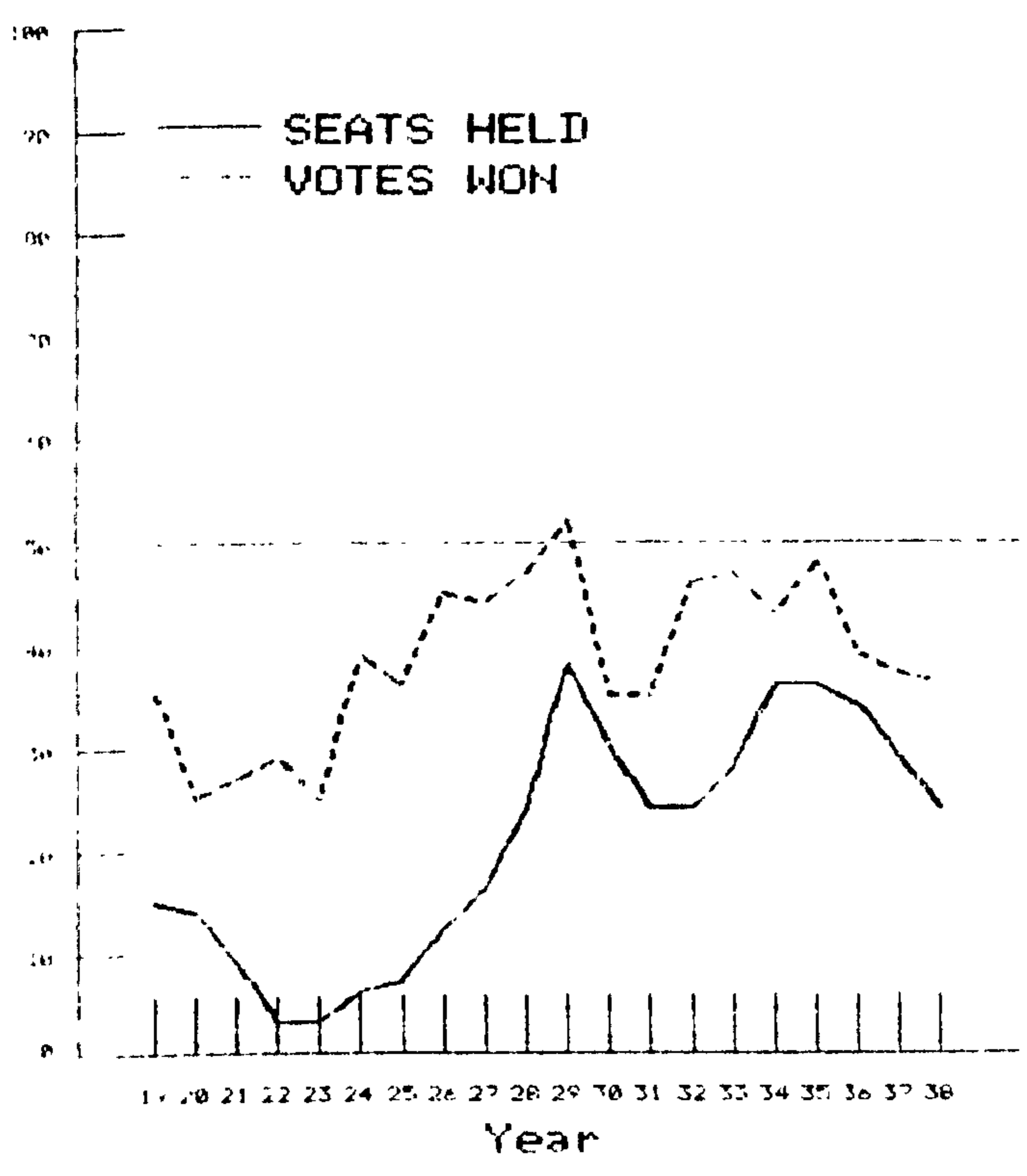


FIG. 4.4b - LAB. SEATS & VOTES
SHEFFIELD 1919-38

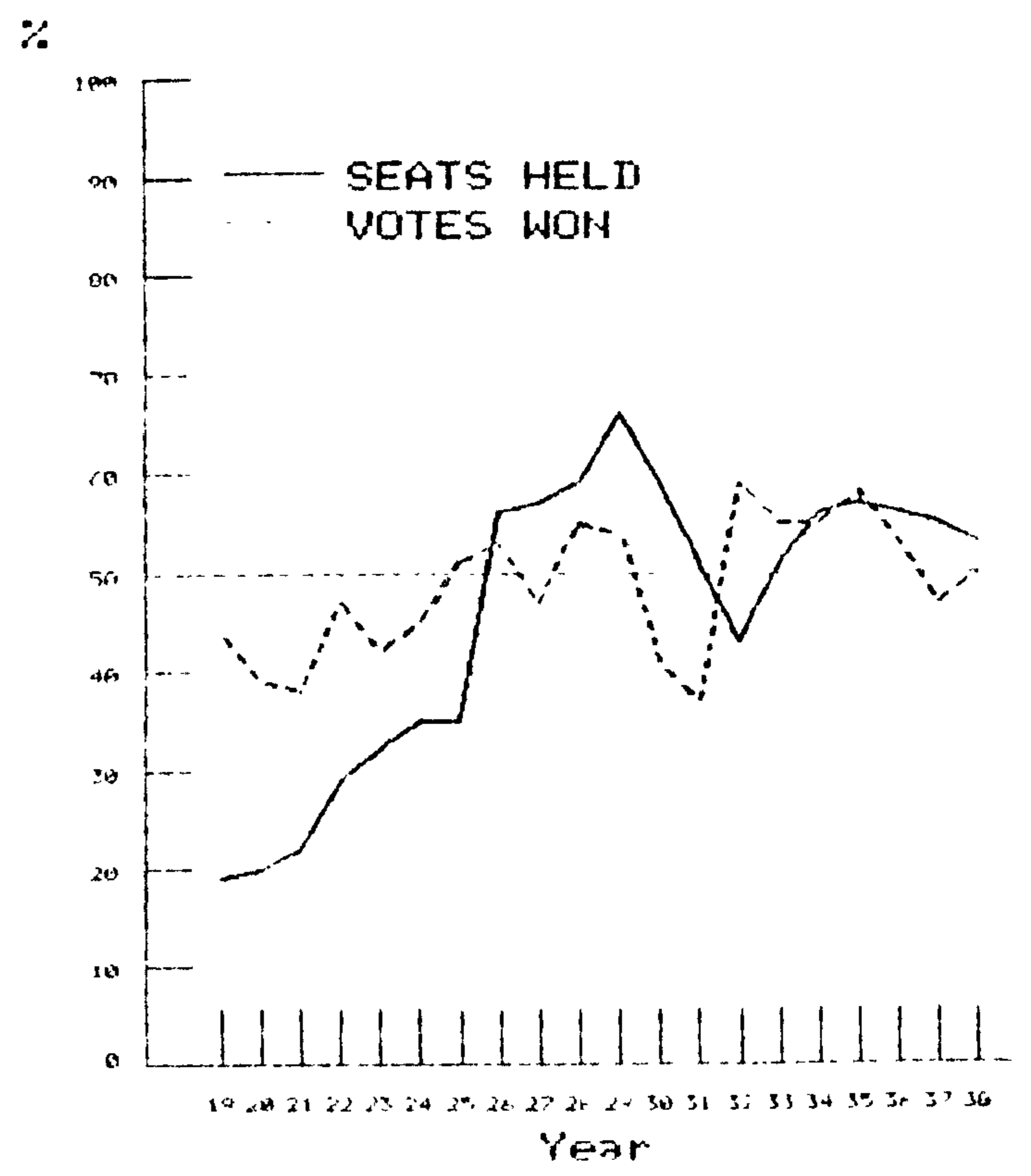


FIG. 4.4c - LAB. SEATS IN LIVERPOOL
& SHEFFIELD 1919-38

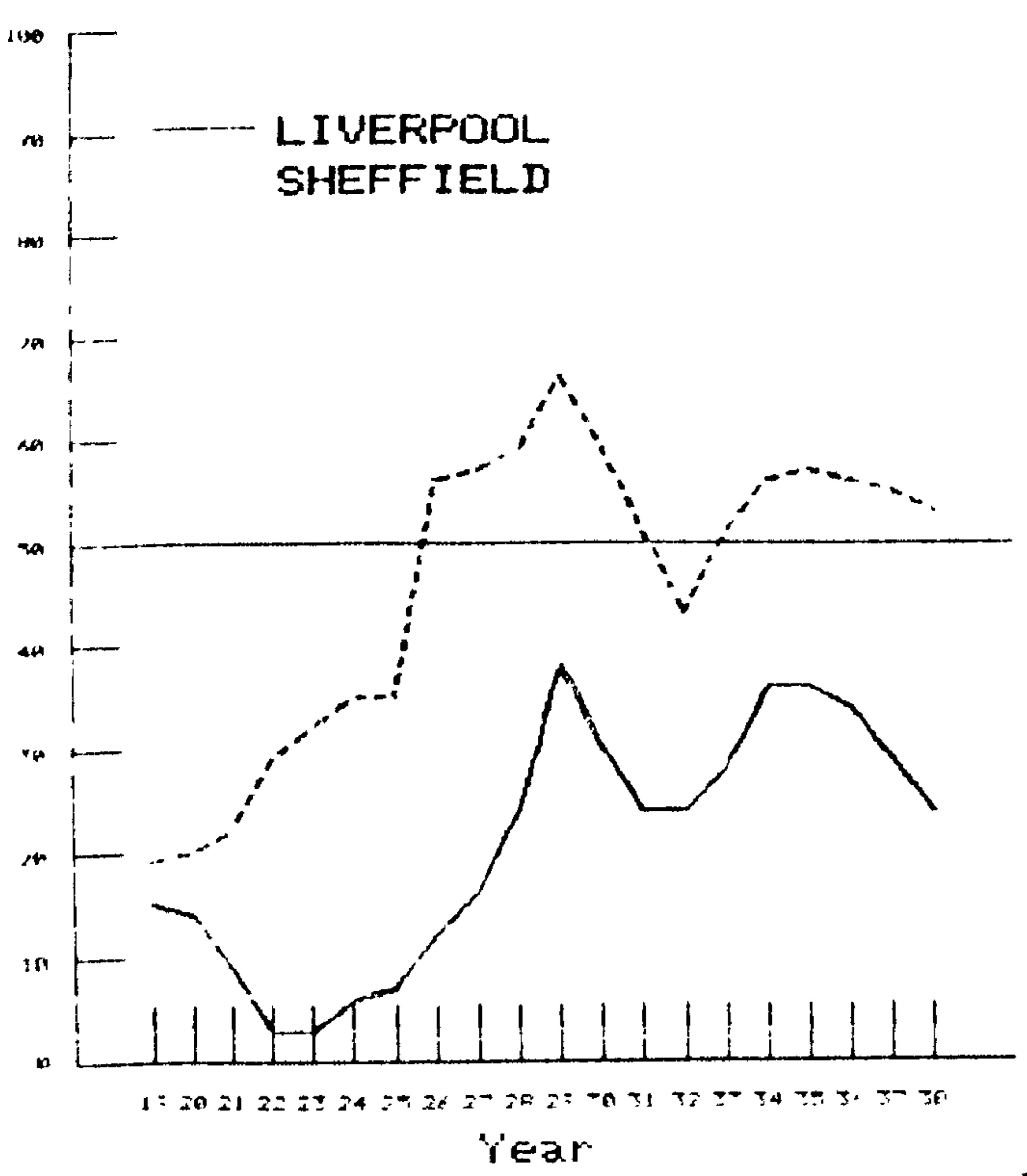
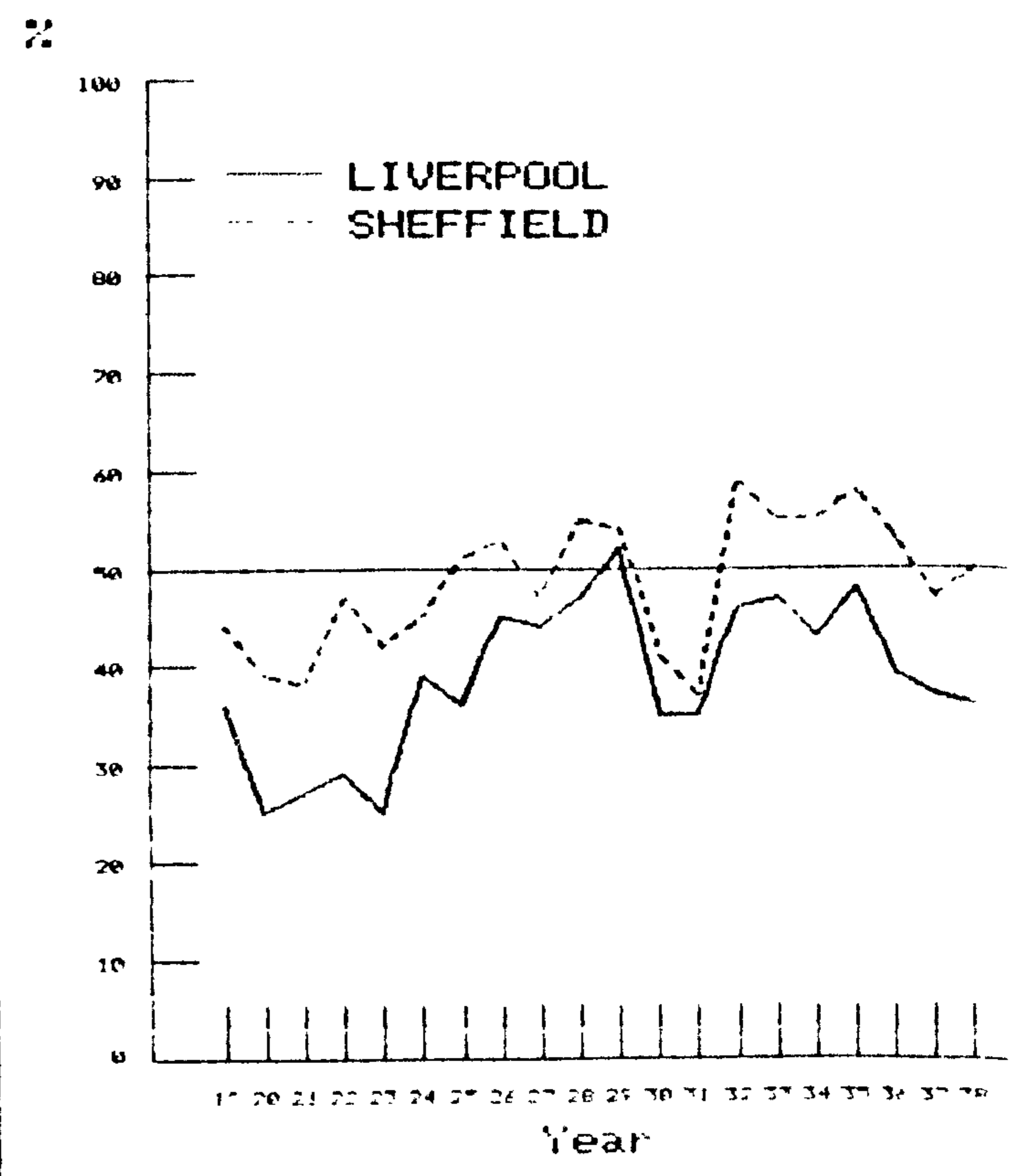


FIG. 4.4d - LAB. VOTES WON IN
LIVERPOOL & SHEFFIELD, 1919-38



comparison is so clear as to be incontrovertible. Figures 4.4a and 4.4b show that the share of seats held by Labour in Liverpool is consistently *lower* than their share of votes won. In Sheffield, Labour's share of the seats is also *lower* than their vote-share for as long as they are the minority party, but once they gain a majority in 1925, they then move into a position where they usually have *more* seats than votes. The electoral system, which so consistently seemed to disadvantage Labour in Liverpool, conversely began to benefit them in Sheffield. The overall effect is to *magnify* the difference between Labour's performance in the two cities. Figures 4.4c and 4.4d reinforce this conclusion. In terms of seats held, Labour were clearly far more successful in Sheffield than in Liverpool, but in terms of votes, while Labour were still more popular in Sheffield, the difference between them was far narrower.

There were also a handful of examples of disparity between votes and seats in local government which were quoted in the parliamentary debate on proportional representation in 1923 mentioned before. Various MPs pointed to the situation in their own locality to show the anomalies that were possible. In Burnley at the 1922 elections, for instance, 10,000 Labour votes won one seat, whereas 13,000 Tory and Liberal votes won 9 seats. In the same year in Plymouth 11,000 Labour votes won one seat, and 20,000 Tory votes won thirteen seats. In Bradford in 1920 Labour gained the most votes, 32,000, yet won no seats at all, while the Tories gained least votes, 29,000, but won twelve seats, and the Liberals with 30,000 votes won eleven seats. In the metropolitan borough of Islington in 1922, 131,000 votes for the Municipal Reformers and 90,000 votes for Labour resulted in forty-nine seats for the former, while Labour won only five. One case also showed

that the anomalies of the system could work in Labour's favour. In Hackney in 1919 the vote was split three ways. Labour gained 50,000 votes, the Progressives and Municipal Reformers 49,000 each. This resulted in Labour winning thirty-two seats, the Municipal Reformers fifteen, and the Progressives thirteen.⁸¹ A Scottish example from a contemporary source was Glasgow in 1933, where Labour in 1933 won less than one-third of the votes and yet secured sixty per cent of the seats contested.⁸² Whether this case has any relevance to the comparison by Joan Smith between the Liverpool and Glasgow labour movements remains unclear without further detailed study, but it certainly suggests that Labour's better showing in Glasgow *may* have had something to do with differences in the electoral system. All of these examples go to confirm that the municipal electoral system could produce major distortions, and that those distortions varied widely from one borough to another according to local circumstances.

* * * * *

The main point of this chapter has been to identify elements of the electoral system at the municipal level which seemed to work against Labour's interest locally. It appears that Labour's poor performance in gaining seats on the local council, which has been cited as evidence of its weakness in Liverpool in this period, was in part caused by the anomalies of the electoral system itself. *If* the aldermanic system had not operated, or at least if it had been operated on a proportional basis, *if* ward boundaries had been revised more thoroughly to take account of population movement, and *if* the

municipal franchise had not been distorted by the persistence of the principle of rate-payers having the right to decide local affairs, then the Labour party would have had a stronger position on the local council.

However, it is not the intention of this analysis to simply make a counter-factual argument that Labour was actually *strong* in Liverpool in this period. As the rest of this thesis will show, there are other ways to show Labour's failure to become a successful party representing all sections of the working class in Liverpool. Nevertheless, the traditional story of abject failure by Labour has to be modified. No doubt Labour was weaker in Liverpool than in many other comparable cities. That weakness, though, at the level of municipal politics was much exaggerated by the vagaries of the electoral system. That, however, raises further questions: How was Labour weakness in Liverpool reflected in parliamentary elections? To what extent were Labour compliant, or even complicit, in the inequities of the system, and could they have done otherwise? Ultimately, might it not be the case that Labour's weakness in Liverpool was really confirmed by their failure to respond to the situation as adequately as in other parts of the country? These are the questions that are addressed in the following two chapters.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bogdanor, *The People and the Party System*, p.177-8.
2. V.D.Lipman, *Local Government Areas*, (Oxford, 1949), pp.167-8;
B.Keith-Lucas & P.G.Richards, *A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century*, (1978), p.11.
3. Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government*, p.12.
4. *Minutes*, Elections & Organisation Sub-Committee, Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party, Aug. 25, 1925.(331 TRA 11/2)

5. 1911 Census figures for Bootle and Garston.
6. M.Mckenna, "The Suburbanization of the Working Class Population of Liverpool between the Wars", *Social History*, V.16, No.2, (May, 1991), p.186.
7. M.McKenna, *The Development of Suburban Council Housing Estates in Liverpool between the Wars*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Liverpool, (1986), pp. 362-3.
8. Lipman, *Local Government Areas*, p. 181.
9. Lipman, *Ibid.*, p. 185-6.
10. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1933*, p.97.
11. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1930*, p.605.
12. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, pp.135-6, 150, 160.
13. Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp.109-110.
14. W.Hampton, *Democracy and Community: A Study of Politics in Sheffield*, (1970), pp.164-166.
15. *Ibid.*, pp.24-28.
16. *Red Book, 1923*, pp.124-5; *Red Book, 1929*, p.594; *Red Book, 1935*, p.137.
17. Lipman, *Local Government Areas*, pp. 171-186.
18. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1935*, p.137.
19. G.W.Jones, *Borough Politics: A Study of the Wolverhampton Borough Council, 188-1964*, (1969), p.74; pp.359-62.
20. W.Hampton, *Democracy and Community*, (1970), pp.313-4.
21. F.Carr, "Municipal Socialism: Labour's Rise to Power", in B.Lancaster & T.Mason(Eds.), *Life and Labour in a Twentieth Century City: The Experience of Coventry*, (Coventry, 1986), p.197.
22. S.Elliott, *The Electoral System in Northern Ireland since 1920*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, (1971), pp.375-383, pp.404-433.
23. Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government*, p.23.
24. E.L.Hasluck, *Local Government in England*, (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 175-6; B.Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise*, (Oxford, 1952), pp. 187-8.
25. Hasluck, *Local Government in England*, p.176.
26. Keith-Lucas, p.189; Keith-Lucas & Richards, p.24; p.23.

27. Hasluck, *Local Government in England*, p.177.
28. Bogdanor, *The People and the Party System*, p.43.
29. *Parliamentary Debates*, V.281, 766, Nov.14, 1933; *Ibid.*, 770.
30. *Liverpool Daily Post*, November 10th, 1925, p.5.
31. Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government*, p.23.
32. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1926*, p. 554.
33. LTC & LP, Executive Committee., *Minutes*, Aug.24th, 1924.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Labour defeated the Irish Party in St.Anne's, Sandhills, Scotland N., and Scotland S. wards, and only lost to them in Vauxhall. See Appendix 1.
36. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 17th Oct., 1925.
37. *Ibid*, March 16th, 1925.
38. *Ibid*, November 2nd, 1925, p.4; November 3rd, p.5.
39. *Ibid*, November 2nd, 1925, p.4.
40. Labour beat the Catholic Party in Sandhills, but lost to them in Gt.George, St.Anne's, Scotland North and Scotland South. See Appendix 1.
41. *Liverpool Daily Post*, Nov.10th, 1925, p.5.
42. *Ibid.*
43. LTC & LP, *Labour Group Minutes*, Aug.16th, Sep.26th, Sep.30th, 1929.
44. Centre Party candidates lost to Labour in Gt.George, St.Anne's, Scotland S. and Vauxhall wards, and only beat Labour in Exchange ward. See Appendix 1.
45. LTC & LP, *Labour Group Minutes*, Nov.8th, 1929.
46. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1933*, p.580, 581; *1935*, p.577, 579, 580; *1936*, p.585, 586; *1937*, p.560.
47. *Ibid*, *1938*, p.517.
48. *Ibid*, *1934*, p.575.
49. *Parliamentary Debates*, V.160, 1462, 1472, Feb. 23, 1923.
50. J.D.Marshall, *The History of the Lancashire County Council, 1889 to 1974*, (1977), p.71; pp.201-204.
51. Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise*, p.189.

52. *Ibid.*, p.190.
53. M. Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics: The Labour Movement in Preston 1880-1940*, (Cambridge, 1987), pp.162-163.
54. Jones, *Borough Politics*, p.261.
55. *Ibid.*, p.325.
56. *Ibid.*, p.261.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 360-361.
58. Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government*, p.23; Hasluck, *Local Government in England*, p.177.
59. *Ibid.*, p.177.
60. Keith-Lucas, *English Local Government Franchise*, p.186.
61. *Ibid.*, pp.190-191.
62. E.L. Hasluck, *Local Government in England*, p.23.
63. Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise*, pp. 9-10.
64. *Ibid.*, p.74-5.
65. *Ibid.*, p.75-6.
66. Hasluck, *Local Government...*, p. 22.
67. *Ibid.*, p.25-6; H. Finer, *English Local Government*, (1933), p.17.
68. Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise*, p.75; H. Finer, *English Local Government*, p.17; Hasluck, *Local Government*, p. 26-7.
69. Finer, *English Local Government*, p.18.
70. *Ibid.*, p.18.
71. Keith-Lucas, *The Local Government Franchise*, pp.76-7; Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century*, pp.19-20.
72. S. Elliott, *The Electoral System in Northern Ireland...*, p.791.
73. Hasluck, *Local Government*, p.25.
74. Blewett, "The Franchise in the United Kingdom", p.36-7
75. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p.36.
76. See Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government*, p.20; Hasluck, *Local Government*, p.25-6; G. Alderman, *British Elections: Myth and Reality*, (1978), p.21-2.

77. The slight difference between this figure and that given in Table 4.2 is due to the statistical complexity of the calculations used to construct Table 4.2. For details see Appendix 6.
78. *Census*, 1931, Lancs. Report, p.6; p.119; *Red Book*, 1932, p.98.
79. R.Simon, *Local Councils and the Citizen*, (1948), pp. 17-18.
80. Hampton, *Democracy and Community*, pp 313-314.
81. *Parliamentary Debates*, V.160, 1472; 1462; 1430; 23rd Feb., 1923.
82. S.R.Daniels, *The Case for Electoral Reform*, (1938), p.107.

Chapter Five - The Scale of Labour's Failure - Parliamentary Elections

Elections at the parliamentary level provide another way to assess the scale of Labour's failure in Liverpool. The brief summary provided earlier suggested once again that Labour's performance in Liverpool was not impressive in this period. It is easier to show how accurate this picture is, simply because there were far fewer parliamentary elections than at the municipal level. At the same time, this limits the usefulness of these results in providing indications of political allegiances locally. The longer gaps between elections and the much larger size of constituencies gives a less detailed analysis. The parliamentary results are also useful, though, in providing a comparison with the municipal level which may help to sustain the arguments of the previous chapter. There were significant differences between the process of boundary revision, the franchise, and other institutional factors in the two electoral systems. Generally, these differences meant that Labour was probably less disadvantaged at the parliamentary level. Comparing the two may confirm this expectation.

* * * * *

A full record of all Parliamentary election results in every Division in Liverpool between 1918 and 1939 can be found in Appendix 7. A summary of Labour and Tory performance in terms of seats won can be found in Table 5.1 below, which at first sight again seems to show

TABLE 5.1 - SEATS WON BY LABOUR & TORIES IN LIVERPOOL AT GENERAL ELECTIONS 1918-39*

ELECTION	SEATS CONTESTED BY LABOUR	SEATS WON BY LABOUR	TOTAL SEATS
Dec.1918	7(1)	0	11
Nov.1922	6(1)	0(1)	11
Dec.1923	4(1)	1(1)	11
Oct.1924	9	2	11
May 1929	10(3)	4(1)	11
Oct.1931	10(3)	1(2)	11
Nov.1935	10	3	11

ELECTION	SEATS CONTESTED BY TORIES	SEATS WON BY TORIES	TOTAL SEATS
Dec.1918	10(1)	10(0)	11
Nov.1922	10(1)	10(-1)	11
Dec.1923	10(1)	7(-1)	11
Oct.1924	10	8	11
May 1929	10(2)	6(0)	11
Oct.1931	11(4)	10(-2)	11
Nov.1935	11	8	11

* Figures in brackets show net gains or losses in by-elections between general elections.

SOURCE: *Liverpool Official Red Books*, 1919-39.

that Labour's performance in Liverpool was poor. Apart from 1929, the high point for Labour nationally in this period, the overwhelming majority of Liverpool seats were won by the Tories in inter-war general elections. 1918 and 1922 saw almost total Tory dominance, with Labour failing to win a single seat. Only the unopposed Nationalist T.P.O'Connor, in Scotland Division, prevented a clean sweep for the Tories. In 1923 Labour hung on to its first seat won at a by-election nine months previously in Edge Hill, but the Tory stranglehold was more noticeably affected by two rather unexpected Liberal gains in Wavertree and West Derby. 1924 saw Labour double its representation, but the Tories still increased their seats by winning back Wavertree and West Derby from the Liberals. Even at their lowest point in 1929 the Tories still won six of the eleven seats in the city, compared to Labour's best performance of four. Two years later the debacle of the Labour cabinet split led to Labour being almost entirely wiped out in Liverpool at the subsequent election, only Scotland Division being retained. Finally in 1935 Labour raised its representation to three seats compared to the Tories eight. Labour had clearly established itself as the main opposition party in Liverpool, but the Tories were still dominant.

This initial picture of Labour failure has to be revised to some extent when the parliamentary electoral results are analysed in greater detail. First of all, it is important to stress that if by-election results are taken into account, then Labour's record appears rather more impressive. Overall Labour won five out of the nine by-elections that they contested between the wars. The Labour victories

in Edge Hill in March 1923, West Toxteth in May 1924, Scotland Division in December 1929, Wavertree in February 1935, and West Toxteth again in July 1935 all boosted Labour's representation significantly. Davie Logan's unopposed inheritance of T.P.O'Connor's old seat at the very end of the 1920s represented Labour's real high point, for at this time Labour held five Liverpool seats compared to the Tories' six, a position they maintained until the disaster of October 1931. Before the next general election in 1935 two seats had been won back again, and it was surprising that further gains were not made in 1935 given the apparent trend shown in the by-elections of the early part of the year.

The disappointment of 1935, though, illustrates two significant points about the parliamentary record. First, by-elections in this period, just as much as in the post-war years, were often poor indicators of longer-term trends in electoral support. The opportunity for voters to register a protest vote against the government of the day which may not be repeated at a general election was one factor which made by-elections rather unpredictable. Another was the appearance of party rebels at by-elections who might split the vote. Randolph Churchill's candidature in Wavertree in February 1935 was a classic case. Standing as an Independent Conservative as a protest both against the National government's policy on India and the machinations of the local Party caucus, he split the vote so successfully that the Labour candidate, J.J.Cleary, was elected with only 35% of the vote. The following November, by which time Churchill had been reconciled with the party to the extent that he was the official candidate in West Toxteth,

Cleary increased his share of the vote to 41%, but still lost comfortably in a straight fight.¹

Secondly, the failure of the 1935 general election results to live up to the expectations raised by the preceding local elections and by-elections in Liverpool was a reflection of the national experience.² This was generally the case throughout this period, in the sense that Labour's record in Liverpool did not significantly depart from the national trends. Perhaps the failure to win a seat in 1918 and 1922 showed a slight lag behind the national gains, especially those of 1922, but the pattern thereafter is unexceptional. Moderate gains in 1923, substantial improvement in 1929, collapse in 1931, and moderate, if in the end disappointing, recovery by 1935 describe the national picture for Labour as well as the local scene in these years. This is not to suggest that Labour was particularly *strong* in Liverpool in Parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, it is the case that the supposed exceptionalism of Liverpool that was so often remarked upon in municipal politics was not so evident at the Parliamentary level.

This impression of a slight divergence between the municipal and the parliamentary experience in Liverpool was much more clearly expressed in the post-1945 period. This lies beyond the ambit of this particular study, but it is worth noting that the 1945 general election saw Labour take eight of the eleven Liverpool seats, and yet in the subsequent municipal elections Labour only increased their representation on the council from the 24% of 1938 to 33%. However,

even confining the analysis to the inter-war period, there are other indications of this divergence.

This is particularly the case in the mid-1920s, when Labour's first Parliamentary seats were won at a time when their fortunes were never lower on the council. In 1922 Labour won only one seat in the November municipal elections, and in 1923 they won none at all. Yet they took Edge Hill division in March 1923 in a straight fight with the Tories and held it again in December. They also lost West Toxteth in the December general election by only 139 votes and then took the seat at the by-election the following May. A comparison with the results in the wards that made up these two constituencies makes these victories seem even more surprising.

Edge Hill division comprised Edge Hill ward, part of Kensington and Low Hill, so the comparison is not perfect, but nevertheless the general picture is clear. In November 1922, four months before the Parliamentary by-election, Labour lost sitting councillors in all three of these wards, picking up 38%, 31% and 27% of the vote respectively. Having won the parliamentary seat with 53% of the vote, they then again lost all three wards in November 1923, with 46%, 41% and 36%. The Parliamentary seat was then retained a month later with 57% of the vote, and again in October 1924 with 53%, but in the November 1924 local elections only Edge Hill ward was won back by the narrowest of margins.

West Toxteth was made up of Brunswick, Dingle and Princes Park wards. In November 1923 Labour got a derisory 4% of the vote in Brunswick against an Irish Party candidate, 42% in Dingle, and put up no candidate in Princes Park. A by-election took place only three weeks later in Princes Park, but Labour could win only 30% of the vote. In the December general election Joseph Gibbins just failed to win the Division, and then took it in the May 1924 by-election with 54%, and held it again in October with 51%. In a by-election in Dingle in July, Labour again failed to win the ward, and finally in November won Brunswick comfortably, but got only 38% in Dingle and put up no candidate in Princes Park.

Parliamentary and municipal politics in these two constituencies at this point seemed to be operating almost independently of each other. Moreover, at the parliamentary level Labour seemed to be performing much more impressively. There are two possible explanations. On the one hand, it is possible that local and national politics were fought out over very different issues, so that many voters who might have supported Labour as a *national* party might not have voted for them as an expression of *local* politics. To some extent this is bound to have applied to some voters, but in Liverpool there were special reasons why this might have been the case.

The familiar explanation of the importance of religious sectarianism in the local working class was the key point. Sectarianism may have been a very real political force in local, municipal elections, but when it came to national politics it may have been far less

significant. A Protestant voter in predominantly Protestant Dingle ward might have cast what he or she perceived as an anti-Catholic vote for the Tories in November 1923, yet in December voted for Labour in a general election that had no significant sectarian overtones. A Catholic in Brunswick might equally have voted for the Irish candidate as a display of communal solidarity in November, but again for Labour against the Tories in the subsequent general election. The Brunswick municipal elections are particularly suggestive of this explanation. When Labour stood against the Irish Party in 1923 they won only 4% of the votes. One year later, after a rapprochement with some sections of the Irish Party, and with a candidate, Luke Hogan, who was a well-known figure in the Catholic community, Labour gained 69% of the vote against the Tories. Clearly, religion was an important factor at this local level. Whether this *alone* explains the differences between local and parliamentary voting patterns is difficult to assess, but it will be considered in much more detail later in this study.

At this stage, though, one other possibility needs to be explored, namely that differences in the *electoral systems* at the municipal and parliamentary level might have been a factor. Of the three major features of the municipal system that were identified in the last chapter as possible sources of bias against Labour, two at least can be largely discounted as a factor at the parliamentary level. The aldermanic system was confined to the municipal arena. It might be argued that the House of Lords played a similar role in a symbolic sense at the national level. The debate in parliament over the inclusion of aldermen in the municipal boroughs in 1835 certainly

showed that as far as the Lords themselves were concerned the two institutions were intimately connected. The mover of the amendment to retain aldermen, Lord Lyndhurst, saw the original bill for directly elected councils as threatening not only the boroughs themselves but also the established church and the hereditary peerage. Another Tory, Lord Wharncliffe, spelt out this threat more clearly.

He confessed that he felt the more anxious with respect to the amendment when he remembered the degree in which adoption or rejection might affect the principle of aristocracy throughout the kingdom, for if it were determined that a body of aldermen or life members were unnecessary to a corporation, hereditary members of the House of Lords would be deemed equally unnecessary. The Clause, as it stood, went to the root of aristocracy, and went to the destruction of all that hitherto formed a check upon the democratic principle.³

Whatever the symbolic similarities, however, the House of Lords was at least formally distinct from the electoral process itself, and anyway quite divorced from any local influence or control.

The problem of exclusions from the franchise was also irrelevant at the parliamentary level once women were put on the same footing as men in 1928, as the franchise had by then been extended to all citizens. If the exclusion of young women between 1918 and 1928 worked against Labour's interest, and this is a factor that will be considered later, then it was something that equally affected the municipal and parliamentary franchise, and can also be discounted at this point as a source of difference at the two levels. Only the inclusion of plural voters was a definite source of bias against Labour in the

parliamentary franchise, and even then it was almost certainly much dissipated given the much greater size of Divisions.

It was only the third factor, the question of boundaries, that was still potentially a source of disadvantage to Labour at the Parliamentary level, but really this problem then becomes subsumed by the much wider question of the plurality system itself over the whole country. The control of Divisional boundaries was not, of course, a purely local issue, nor was Liverpool, as an entity, in any way represented in Parliament. Therefore, the boundaries question, in as much as it affected a specific locality like Liverpool, was almost a random factor that could cut both ways. In fact it may be the case that overall this factor could have worked in Labour's favour in Liverpool for at least some of the inter-war period. By the end of the 1930s rapid population movement within the city meant that many of Labour's strongest parliamentary divisions, which tended to be those nearest the city centre, had significantly smaller electorates than the Tory-dominated divisions in the suburbs. Labour's *strongest* five divisions, all of which they held in 1930, had become the smallest by 1938. Edge Hill (35,000), Everton (28,000), Kirkdale (36,000), Scotland (33,000) and West Toxteth (41,000) had a combined electorate in 1938 of 175,000, an average of 35,000 per division. By contrast, the other six divisions of Exchange (41,000), East Toxteth (52,000), Walton (58,000), West Derby (59,000), Fairfield (47,000), and Wavertree (68,000), all of which were Tory strongholds, had a combined electorate of 328,000, an average of almost 55,000 per division.⁴

The Labour Party was quite aware of the advantage the Divisional boundaries in Liverpool gave them. When an enquiry into the local party was carried out by the National Executive Committee in 1939, the first problem that local leaders alerted them to was the following:

There has been a large movement of population from the Central Parliamentary Divisions to the outlying constituencies ... It is claimed that Liverpool will lose at least one seat at the next re-distribution.⁵

The implication was that Labour would be the main loser from redistribution as one of its stronger city centre seats would go. The fact that there were no general elections in the late 1930s meant that this in-built boundary advantage to Labour was not tested. However, it was certainly part of the explanation of the sweeping gains in 1945, by which time the population movement between divisions had been further intensified, but redistribution had still not taken place. By then Scotland division was down to 21,000 voters and Everton 22,000, while West Derby had 59,000, Walton 60,000 and Wavertree 72,000.⁶

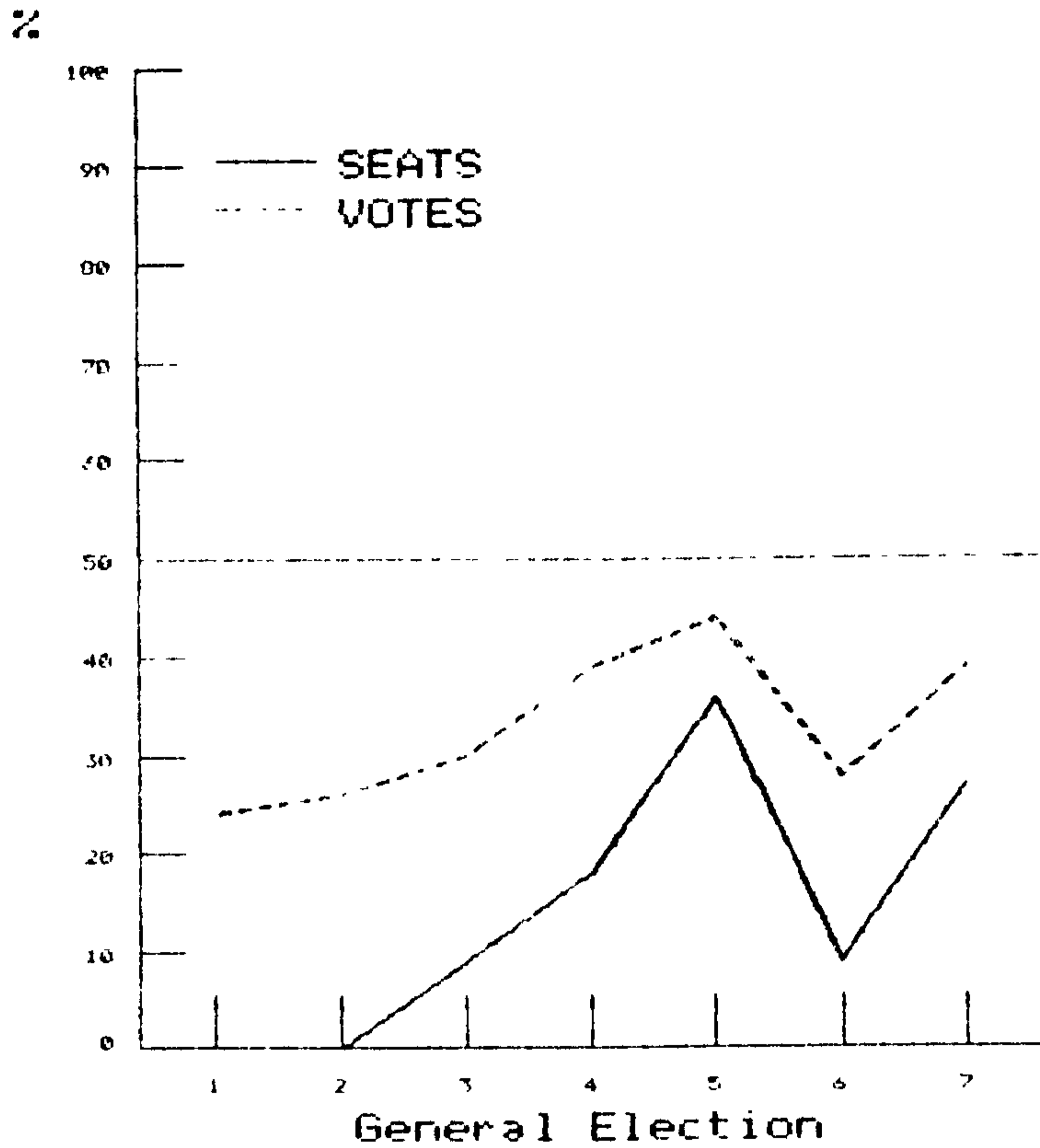
It needs to be stressed again, however, that this problem could only be fully analysed at the national level. Any advantage to Labour in Liverpool may well have been counter-weighted by Tory advantage elsewhere. It is certainly the case, though, that at the national level Labour began to be increasingly a beneficiary of the electoral system once it replaced the Liberals as the second major party. The tendency of the plurality system to squeeze out third parties ensured that. Moreover, it is precisely in the inter-war period that population movements away from the traditional urban industrial

centres meant that for the first time since 1832 unreformed parliamentary boundaries might actually benefit urban rather than rural areas. This in turn was most likely to benefit the Labour Party at a national level.

* * * * *

It is the case, then, that Labour was less disadvantaged by the electoral system at the Parliamentary level than at the municipal, firstly because the aldermanic system did not apply; secondly as any boundary distortion increasingly moved in its favour by the 1930s, although the scarcity of general elections after 1931 meant there was little chance for this to be manifested; and thirdly, perhaps, because of the wider parliamentary franchise, although there is little hard evidence to support this supposition. Whether all this helps to explain the apparent divergence in Labour's performance at these two levels in Liverpool is again hard to quantify, but some further analysis of the two systems is still possible. A comparison of votes and seats similar to that done for municipal results earlier can also be constructed for the Parliamentary results. This is shown in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 below.

FIG. 5.1 - LAB. SEATS AND VOTES WON AT GENERAL ELECTIONS, LIVERPOOL, 1918-35

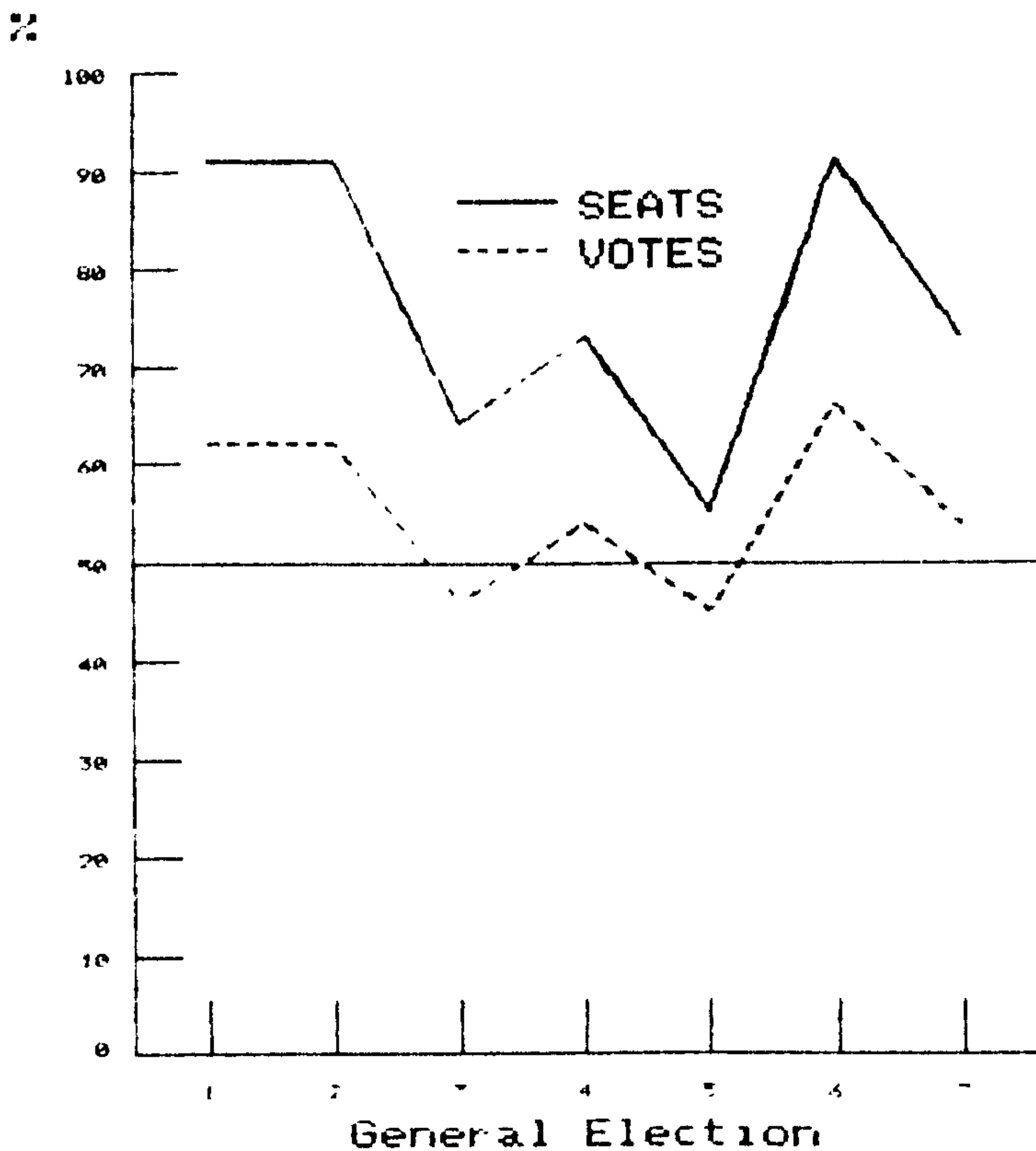


N. E.

ELECTIONS:

- 1-1918
- 2-1922
- 3-1923
- 4-1924
- 5-1929
- 6-1931
- 7-1935

FIG. 5.2 - TORY SEATS AND VOTES WON AT GENERAL ELECTIONS, LIVERPOOL, 1918-35



These appear to show a disparity between votes and seats for the two main parties, rather similar to that shown for municipal elections earlier. Labour seems to be generally under-represented, and the Tories generally over-represented, although perhaps not so dramatically as in the municipal sphere. The disparity also seems to decline by the late 1920s. If the analysis were to be taken into the post-war period then the trend in favour of Labour would become much clearer. In 1945 Labour won eight out of eleven seats in Liverpool with 47% of the votes cast, while the Tories won only three seats with 44% of the votes cast.⁷

However, it would be unwise to read too much into these figures for the inter-war period, as there are sound reasons for suggesting that the parliamentary figures for share of the vote won are far less reliable as a real indicator of party support than their municipal counterparts. This is due to the fact that there were proportionally far fewer straight fights between the two main parties at general elections. Uncontested seats, and contests where three or more parties stood, were far more common. This is shown in Table 5.2 below.

TABLE 5.2 - TYPES OF ELECTORAL CONTESTS AT GENERAL ELECTIONS IN LIVERPOOL, 1918-35

ELECTION	STRAIGHT FIGHTS TORY/LAB	OTHER STRAIGHT FIGHTS	UN- CONTESTED SEATS	THREE OR MORE CANDIDATES	TOTAL SEATS
1918	5	2	2	2	11
1922	6	2	3	-	11
1923	3	2	5	1	11
1924	5	-	2	4	11
1929	5	-	1	5	11
1931	7	1	-	3	11
1935	8	1	-	2	11

The various different types of contests that took place at general elections, in varying proportions each time, meant that the share of the vote won by the two main parties was subject to all sorts of influences. For example, the four uncontested Tory wins in 1923 meant that their share of the vote overall was seriously depressed. On the other hand Labour's decision to contest only four seats in 1923 meant that their vote would also have been depressed to some degree. Equally, the decision by the Liberals to contest no seats in 1922, compared with five in 1929, would have had incalculable effects on the vote share of the two main parties. Compared to municipal elections, where three-way contests were relatively rare, and the regularity of elections meant that reasonable estimates can be made of vote share in uncontested seats, the vote-share figures for parliamentary contests are highly unreliable.

However, it is also possible to investigate the relationship *between* the two types of electoral system in a way which isolates many of the imponderable elements. This can be done by comparing the voting figures in local elections for the combined wards which made up constituencies, with the figures in parliamentary elections for the same constituencies around the same time . The example above of the parliamentary and municipal votes in the West Toxteth and Edge Hill Divisions in the 1923-4 period was used in an illustrative way, but such an approach can be applied in a more systematic fashion. Differences in parliamentary and municipal boundaries, and uncontested wards, mean that these comparisons cannot be made in all cases, but where they are possible they have been calculated in Appendix 8. A

summary of the Labour vote in the cases detailed there is shown below in Table 5.3.

TABLE 5.3 - Labour vote in parliamentary and municipal elections compared, 1918-35

Elections	Division	Parl. Vote	Mun. Vote	Parl. vote as propn. of mun.
Dec.1918(P)/ Nov.1919(M)	Kirkdale	33%	47%	70%
	Walton	29%	42%	69%
	West Derby	33%	44%	75
Nov.1922(P)/ Nov.1922(M)	Everton	39%	41%	95%
	West Derby	30%	26%	115%
Dec.1923(P)/ Nov.1923(M)	Everton	46%	22%	209%
	W.Toxteth	50%	30%	167%
Oct.1924(P)/ Nov.1924(M)	Everton	48%	58%	83%
	Kirkdale	39%	35%	111%
	West Derby	30%	23%	130%
May 1929(P)/ Nov.1929(M)	Everton	53%	58%	91%
	Kirkdale	51%	49%	104%
	Walton	42%	49%	86%
	Wavertree	32%	43%	74%
	West Derby	36%	41%	88%
	W.Toxteth	55%	58%	95%
Oct.1931(P)/ Nov.1931(M)	Everton	31%	46%	67%
	Kirkdale	30%	29%	103%
	Walton	26%	25%	104%
	W.Toxteth	42%	44%	95%
Nov.1935(P)/ Nov.1935(M)	Everton	50%	57%	88%
	Kirkdale	37%	51%	73%
	Walton	38%	39%	97%

It would be difficult to claim too much for these comparisons, as the difference in dates between local and national elections, however small in many cases in this period, may still have been significant. This is most obvious in the largest difference, between the December 1918 general election and the November 1919 local elections. The much larger Labour vote at a local level eleven months after the national

poll was almost certainly a reflection of rapidly growing Labour support in that tumultuous year.⁸ But even where the time-lag was much smaller, it may still have been significant. The factor of third parties entering in to some of the elections also makes it difficult to read off straightforward conclusions from these comparisons.

However, there are several important points that can be made about these figures. Firstly, there was no consistent pattern in the relationship between local and national voting trends. At times, such as 1923, the parliamentary vote for Labour was consistently higher than the local vote. At others, such as 1935, the opposite was true. At others again, such as 1931, the parliamentary vote was higher in some divisions, and lower in others. This may seem rather an indeterminate conclusion, but in fact it is of some importance.

Given that, in terms of the electoral system, the only difference that could be reflected in these comparisons is that between the municipal and parliamentary franchise, it suggests that the franchise factor was not so important as to decisively and consistently skew the voting patterns one way or the other. This in turn means that the other main factors disadvantaging Labour in the municipal electoral system, the Aldermanic system and the boundaries question, must be viewed as relatively more important in explaining the inherent bias against Labour at that level.

Another implication is that it also does not appear to be the case that specific local political factors, such as the importance of

religious sectarianism in Liverpool, were so strong or so permanent as to skew the figures in a consistent fashion. If sectarianism did affect voting behaviour at a local level, then its effects were mediated by a number of other factors.

One other point is much more clear-cut. The turn-out at municipal elections was consistently and substantially lower than at general elections. This is consistent with later post-war trends. It means for the inter-war period, though, given the smaller franchise that then pertained for local elections, that a far smaller number of voters decided elections at a municipal than at a parliamentary level. For example, in all three divisions where a direct comparison was possible in 1935, at least twice as many people voted in the general election of that year as in the local elections. In the most extreme case, Walton, over 36,000 votes were cast at the general election, but only 16,000 in the local elections two weeks earlier. What this again implies is that the municipal electoral system in Liverpool in this period was an imperfect way of reflecting political allegiances, as only a small proportion of those of voting age actually voted. Any sweeping conclusions drawn from its results have to be questioned. If the conventional wisdom for post-1945 politics, that low turn-out generally hurts Labour more than the Tories, applied to this period as well, then again the implication would be that municipal election results would tend to under-estimate Labour's real level of support.

* * * * *

In conclusion, then, the analysis of Parliamentary election results confirms Labour's weakness in Liverpool between the wars, but at the

same time suggests that institutional factors were less important in disadvantaging Labour than at the municipal level. This still leaves the question of how adequate Labour's response was to the whole problem of the inequities of the electoral system. Chapter Six will take up this question in detail.

FOOTNOTES

1. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, pp.335-9.
2. Stevenson & Cook, *The Slump*, pp.245-60.
3. Quoted in Keith-Lucas, *The English Local Government Franchise*, p.187.
4. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1939*, p.97.
5. LTC&LP, *Notes of NEC Enquiry*, dated Feb.22nd, 1939.
6. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1949*, pp.115-116.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Cook, *The Age of Alignment*, p.51.

CHAPTER SIX - THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

...the modern state in most civilized communities is democratic, and in spite of remaining anomalies and imperfections, if the mass of the ordinary people are agreed upon any policy neither electors, privileged peers nor reigning houses could stand in their way. (Ramsay MacDonald, 1905)¹

The clamour for a socialist party is a remnant of the revolutionary period, or a copying of methods proper to countries where parliamentary government is but a name. What is needed here is a party which accepts the socialist point of view and approaches the industrial problems of society with socialist assumptions in mind...socialism is to come through a socialistic party, and not through a socialist one...socialism will be retarded by a socialist party which thinks it can do better than a socialistic party, because its methods would be contrary to those by which society evolves". (Ramsay MacDonald, 1909)²

These words of Labour's first Prime Minister, who by the 1920s, it has been claimed, "exercised an awesome domination over his party"³, have been used before to demonstrate the reformist, evolutionary philosophy of social change that guided the party from its inception. They are quoted here, though, to show how that philosophy also encouraged a tolerant attitude towards the whole system of governmental and political structures that the Labour Party found itself engaged in once it had committed itself to the "representation of labour" through parliamentary means.

MacDonald was arguing for a distinctively "British" form of evolutionary socialism to work within a distinctively "British", and superior, political system. Britain was evidently a "civilized community", to be contrasted with other countries "where parliamentary

government was but a name". Moreover, its superior political system guaranteed the eventual triumph of socialism, for, "in spite of remaining anomalies and imperfections", the system in some mystical fashion would inevitably reflect the people's will. MacDonald, it should be noted, was writing at a time when the parliamentary franchise, through the exclusion of all women and a significant proportion of mainly working class men, included less than 30% of the adult population, when parliamentary constituencies were so unequal that some were eight times larger than others,⁴ and when an unelected assembly of hereditary peers could still effectively block legislation by the House of Commons, to name but some of the the most obvious "anomalies and imperfections". Nevertheless, this "democracy", constructed in piecemeal fashion in the nineteenth century by an entirely aristocratic and bourgeois parliament, was expected to allow the evolution of society towards socialism.

MacDonald's views had their antecedents even earlier in the origins of the Labour Party. A Fabian tract of 1896 stated:

...since England now possesses an elaborate democratic State machinery, graduated from the parish Council or Vestry up to the central Parliament, and elected under a franchise which enables the working-class vote to overwhelm all others, the opposition which exists in the Continental monarchies between the State and the people does not hamper English Socialists.⁵

The British Labour Party was influenced strongly by this reverential attitude to the political system, and for this reason constitutional and electoral reform has never been a major preoccupation of the party. This contrasts markedly with earlier working class movements

such as Chartism, whose main focus was on the reform of a corrupt and unjust political system as a precursor for economic and social change. For Labour, political reform was complete, and economic and social change would follow inevitably. This uncritical attitude toward the political system explains why Labour in office has never carried through any significant measure of political reform, while their main rivals have both instituted major reforms, most notably in 1911, 1918 and 1928.

It is also the case, though, that this generalised acceptance of the political system meant that municipal, as well as parliamentary, structures were uncritically treated by Labour. Labour groups in council chambers throughout the country between the wars have been described as adhering to an ethos of "Morrisonian aldermanic socialism".⁶ Herbert Morrison, the archetypical municipal socialist, defined his own attitude, and that of "the great bulk of organised Labour", towards the local government system as one of "democratic constitutionalism". This was to be contrasted with "Poplarism", which he strongly opposed.⁷ Thus in the inter-war period, when some of the most obvious imperfections at the parliamentary level had been removed, but the system of local government remained deeply flawed, Labour failed to mount any real challenge to this state of affairs. This chapter will show how Labour failed in this regard both at a national level and locally in Liverpool as well. More than that, it will demonstrate that the party became increasingly complicit in the very practices that disadvantaged it in Liverpool.

* * * * *

The quotations from MacDonald above illustrated some of the dominant attitudes to electoral reform held by the leaders of the party. There were variations on this approach, however. Before 1914 there was some consideration of reform of the electoral system, particularly in the ranks of the ILP. At the founding conference of the ILP in Bradford in 1893, a general statement supporting "every proposal for extending electoral rights and democratising the system of Government" was passed, and restated in the policy document drawn up in 1896-7. The vagueness of this commitment and the brevity of the discussion of it at the Bradford conference was indicative, though, of the low priority that the ILP placed on this issue. In 1904 "the immediate extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as granted to men" and the longer term aim of full adult suffrage was added to the programme, along with other political reforms such as the second ballot electoral system and triennial parliaments.⁸ At its 1911 conference the ILP voted in favour of proportional representation,⁹ but of course the ILP was only one part of the Labour Party, and by no means the dominant one.

Within the ILP and within the Labour Party as a whole the leading figure in support of proportional representation was Philip Snowden, who led the debate within the party in the years before the first world war. He suggested that PR would help the party to develop a more independent identity by encouraging it to put up candidates in as many constituencies as possible to maximise its vote.¹⁰ This contrasted with the tactic under the plurality system of relying on electoral pacts with the Liberals. Nearly all the seats Labour won before 1914

had been uncontested by the Liberals, in return for which Labour had stood down in favour of the Liberals in other constituencies.¹¹ Ultimately, though, Snowden lost the debate to MacDonald. As Bogdanor states,

"at its conference in 1914, the Labour Party decisively rejected proportional representation at the behest of the Party's chairman, Ramsay MacDonald, and in large part as a tribute to his personal authority over the movement. MacDonald's hostility to proportional representation derived from his conception of the future development of socialism which differed in important respects from that held by Snowden."¹²

MacDonald argued that in the short term Labour's interests were best served by working closely with other sympathetic parties in a Progressive Alliance, in much the same way it had cooperated with the Liberals from 1903. PR would force the party to stand against the Liberals whenever possible, thus differentiating them more clearly and lessening the chances of cooperation. In the longer term the inevitability of the growth of socialism would make Labour a major party, and thus the plurality system would work in its favour. Pragmatism, not principle, was the order of the day.¹³

When the peculiar circumstances of war-time coalition led to the first Speaker's Conference on electoral reform in 1916-7, and subsequent recommendations for proportional representation in borough constituencies, the alternative vote system in rural constituencies, and female suffrage, Labour was split. Proportional representation was supported at the 1918 party conference, but in the series of votes in Parliament, a small majority of Labour MPs in favour of PR in the

first three votes between June and November 1917 was replaced by a majority against in the votes of January and May 1918.¹⁴

As the plurality system began to be seen to benefit Labour at the expense of the Liberals in the course of the 1920s, so Labour's attitude towards PR began to harden. When a private member's bill in favour of PR was put forward in May 1924, Labour MPs voted by a margin of 90 to 28 against it.¹⁵ The distortions of the three-party system at the parliamentary level up to 1929 produced an exaggeration of Labour's real strength, especially in relation to the Liberals.¹⁶ The 1929 election saw Labour gain 37% of the vote, but 47% of the seats, and power, while the Liberals with 23% of the vote gained only 10% of the seats. A pragmatic complicity in the inequity of the system was adopted, although the danger of this pragmatism was revealed in 1931, when a 30% poll for Labour gave it only 8% of seats, and to a lesser extent in 1935. But by then the die was cast. MacDonald, in a spirit of seeking to reduce party conflict that was a precursor of his later coalitionism, set up a committee to look at electoral reform in 1929. Any form of proportional representation was ruled out by Labour, though, and a bill to introduce the far less radical alternative vote system eventually foundered on the rocks of the House of Lords' opposition. Before it could be refloated, the 1931 crisis intervened, and Labour was condemned to political impotence for the rest of the decade.¹⁷

As far as local government was concerned, the Labour Party's attitude nationally to the manifest defects of the system was a mixture of

complacency and cynicism. Once the parliamentary franchise had been extended after 1918, the limited municipal franchise was simply ignored by Labour. It would be wrong to assume that this attitude changed when Labour was swept to power in 1945. The exclusions from the municipal franchise were abolished in the 1945 Representation of the People Act, but this was a purely fortuitous result of wartime conditions. Local government elections were suspended in 1939, and the annual registration of voters was also abandoned. At the same time a National Register was compiled for conscription purposes. In 1943 it was decided that parliamentary by-elections, which still took place, should be based on this National Register, as the old electoral rolls had become outdated, a process hastened by the effects of bombing, conscription and evacuation. It was decided in 1944 that when local elections were to be resumed, initially they would also be based on this National Register until a new register could be prepared in the customary way. Once the principle of a common electoral roll had been established in this accidental way, it was a short step to formalising it in the 1945 Act, and 8 million new voters were added to the municipal lists.¹⁸ This still left plural voting intact at both levels, though. Despite having an overall majority of well over a hundred seats in the Commons, when the Labour government eventually acted to abolish the business vote in 1948 it bowed to opposition pressure and retained it for local elections. As Keith-Lucas observed:

The simple principle of "one man (sic), one vote" was thus applied only to Parliament, and the Labour Government, in retaining the property qualification for local government purposes, roused strong opposition from its own followers, but gained the support of many members of the Conservative Party.¹⁹

It was not until 1969 that a later Labour administration finally abolished plural voting for local government elections.²⁰

Labour's attitude to the aldermanic system was, if anything, even more cynical. When a proposal to abolish it was raised in Parliament in 1933 individual MPs supported it, but the motion was lost heavily with only 34 supporting it.²¹ Benign indifference turned to blatant abuse when Labour began to gain control of councils, and by the post-war years it was Labour who increasingly stood accused of manipulating the system to their advantage. It was the Tories at their 1961 Conference who moved to abolish the system, followed by the Maud Commission in 1966, and finally it went in the 1972 Local Government Bill.²²

Much the same pattern can be seen in Labour's attitude to other aspects of the municipal system. When PR was proposed for local government in 1923, Labour was divided over the issue, with notable figures such as George Lansbury voting against.²³ As far as boundary revisions were concerned, Labour was content to go along with the elaborate system evolved by 1929 which was so dependent on local initiative and ministerial response. Labour did nothing to alter the system in 1945, and it was not until 1972 that an independent Local Government Boundary Commission was set up to ensure that boundaries were fairly redrawn.²⁴

Labour's record, then, on reform of the electoral system was uninspiring in the inter-war years and later. This is perhaps not surprising, given the political philosophy that informed Labour, and

also the fact that at both parliamentary and local levels Labour was increasingly advantaged by the system by the 1920s. However, in Liverpool, where at the municipal level at least Labour was clearly disadvantaged, opposition to the system was clearly in the party's interest. Such opposition, however, was limited.

* * * * *

What is striking about municipal politics in Liverpool between the wars is that the Labour Party seems to have hardly appreciated the contribution that the distortions of the electoral system may have made to its poor performance. Religious sectarianism was always the first excuse that Labour leaders turned to when faced with electoral disappointment, to the extent that they seemed blinded to any other possible reason.

The question of the equity of ward boundaries and the new wards added to the borough between the wars seems to have never been discussed formally within the party, nor was it ever raised in the council chamber by Labour or considered for inclusion in the municipal election programme. As already noted, when the possibility of reconsidering ward boundaries and amalgamating with surrounding boroughs was raised in the council in 1929, Labour opposed the proposal.²⁵ Labour's acquiescence in the existing and unequal boundaries contrasts strongly with the earlier Tory campaign to force

the Liberals into redistributing boundaries in 1893-4. Only in the early 1950s did Labour finally take up the issue. Proportional representation for municipal elections, which of course would have obviated any necessity to equalise ward size to achieve equity, was raised within the party in 1919. A resolution was passed that:

The National Labour Party be asked to support the principle of proportional representation for Municipal Elections, and to try to secure a clause to that effect being inserted in any legislation dealing with local Government elections.²⁶

This was the first and last time the issue was raised in the local party between the wars, however.

Nor was it the case that the issue of distortions of election results locally was ignored in public debate. After the 1925 elections the local press provided a detailed analysis of votes cast and seats won, and it was noted that the Tories had maintained their position in terms of seats, and yet were the only party that appeared to have shown a fall in their share of the vote.²⁷ This analysis was based on the average of votes won in seats actually contested by each party, which is rather different from the proportion of the total votes cast in *all* seats, as shown in Table 4.3 earlier. On that calculation the Tory share of the vote actually increased from 43% to 46% in 1925. Nevertheless, whether or not the *Daily Post's* analysis was correct, the paper still very pointedly remarked that an apparent fall in Tory support did not translate into a loss of seats. However, nobody, including the Labour Party, appeared interested enough in this anomaly of the electoral system to follow it up subsequently.

The question of the municipal franchise was also totally ignored by Labour in this period, and only the obvious manipulation of the aldermanic system by their opponents roused Labour to some protest. Luke Hogan's complaint at the election of P.J.Kelly to the aldermanic bench at the expense of W.A.Robinson in 1925 has already been noted, and there were further less public attempts to press Labour's claims to fairer treatment. After Labour's successes in November 1929, for instance, there were negotiations with the Tory and Liberal leaders which resulted in seven Labour aldermen being elected.²⁸ In 1933 Luke Hogan was instructed by the Labour Group to see the Tory leader about an aldermanic vacancy and claim it for Labour, but to no avail in this case.²⁹ Again in October 1936, after the repeated rejection of Labour's nominee Lawrence King, Hogan proposed at a meeting of the Labour Group to put forward a motion in the Council complaining about the selection of aldermen.³⁰ In the end no motion was put, but presumably Hogan successfully made his point in private to the other party leaders, as King was elected in January 1937, the first new Labour alderman for six years. However, it needs to be stressed that Labour never challenged the validity of the aldermanic system itself, and despite their back-stage attempts to get a fairer deal from their opponents, they remained consistently under-represented.

In fact the Labour group on the council seemed far more concerned about selection procedures for the purely honorary position of Lord Mayor. Complaints that no Labour Mayor had ever been selected were made consistently through the 1920s and early 1930s, and finally in 1934 a deal was struck between the party leaders whereby Labour agreed

to support the freedom of the city being given to the Tory leader, Sir Thomas White, and the Liberal shipping magnate, Sir Frederick Bowring, in return for which Labour's Sir James Sexton would also be granted the freedom and Fred Richardson would become the next Mayor. Bessie Braddock and Sidney Silverman were outraged by this honouring of Labour's chief political enemy and the extravagantly wealthy Bowring, and broke ranks with the rest of the Labour Group by voting against them.³¹ For their pains they were both expelled from the Group for a while, and Richardson was duly elected as Mayor in November 1934. Luke Hogan spoke ringingly of his pride at this recognition of Labour's claim, as if this purely symbolic gesture was a great political triumph.³²

Moreover, the whole question of aldermanic selection became far more an issue revealing political division *within* the Labour Party than one which Labour used to condemn their political opponents. Dissension within the party started in October 1927, when Luke Hogan was elected to an aldermanic vacancy. He was the first new Labour aldermen since the debacle over P.J.Kelly's election and W.A.Robinson's deselection in 1925 referred to in Chapter Four. However, Hogan was selected ahead of Robinson, by then back on the council and with ten years longer service on the council. There was great deal of criticism of the Labour Group's action by the TC&LP, and eventually a resolution emanating from the ILP demanded that the principle of seniority be applied in future. This was accepted, but a further demand that aldermanic nominations should be approved by the full TC&LP was rejected by the group.³³ The issue rumbled on until March 1928 when

the ILP councillor Bob Tissyman moved that Hogan's elevation be fully reconsidered and all correspondence relative to it made public. This was only averted by the calling of a special meeting on the general issue, which eventually restated the principle of seniority.³⁴

But this was not the end of the affair. When a number of long-standing Centre Party councillors defected to Labour in 1929,³⁵ they immediately became the senior members of the Labour Group, and would have prior claim to aldermanic nomination over loyal councillors who in many cases had been party members for years. This came to a head when Lawrence King was first nominated, on the basis of seniority, to a vacancy in May 1932.³⁶ An attempt to suspend the Standing Orders of the Group in order to block his nomination failed, and the issue rumbled on again until 1935. At that year's AGM the Standing Orders were amended so that only "seniority of actual service in the Labour Party on the city council" should count, although a special clause was inserted to exempt King from this ruling.³⁷ Eight years of disputes between left and right, between the Group and the TC&LP, and between Catholic and non-Catholic in the party had taken place over the issue. Eventually the principle of seniority for aldermanic nominations had been established *within the party*, but *in the council chamber* Labour's opponents flouted the principle at will. Meanwhile Labour's under-representation on the aldermanic benches remained unchanged.

Labour's failure to seriously take up the issue of the failings of the municipal electoral system in Liverpool was quite clear, then, but there is one final point to consider. For the various groups that made

up the Liverpool party by the 1930s, their failure on this score was not surprising, precisely because in most cases their political priorities lay elsewhere.

By the 1930s there were three main groups that were allied, often uncomfortably, within the Liverpool party. There was first of all the predominantly moderate wing associated with the long-established Trades Council, which by the early 1920s had become, at least officially, the ruling body of the party. There were close connections between this group and the local trade unions long associated with the Trades Council's activities. Leading councillors such as W.A. Robinson of the Distributive Workers Union, Fred Richardson of the Post Office Workers, Herbert Rose of the Life Assurance Agents and Bertie Kirby of the Clerks typified this group. Party loyalists generally, and evolutionary socialists, they reflected very much the views of MacDonald quoted earlier. Their acceptance of all the trappings of the council chamber was symbolised by Richardson's elevation to the Mayoralty in 1934. For them Labour's time would come, and only the sectarian menace delayed it in Liverpool.

The second main group was the Catholic Caucus on the Labour Group who became the dominant force in the party by the early 1930s. Starting with Davie Logan in 1923, continuing gradually through the mid-1920s, and culminating in the wholesale defections to Labour in 1929, a process of transferring political leaders who had their power-base in the Catholic community of Liverpool into a solid bloc within the Labour Party took place. It would not be true to say that these

councillors had *no* sympathy with socialism. Their leader, Luke Hogan, for instance, had his political origins in the Distributive Workers Union and the Trades Council, and probably owed his eventual leadership of the party to the fact that he was the one figure who could claim to be a member of both camps. Others, such as P.J.Kelly, proclaimed their support for "the claims of labour" before they defected to the party. Those ex-Nationalists who were genuinely anti-Labour, such as Austin Harford, remained in a Centre Party that became increasingly dependent on Tory patronage for survival. Nevertheless, the Catholic Caucus' main political function was not the advancing of socialism but remained the representation of the Catholic community. They had done this surprisingly well for several decades in a strongly anti-Catholic city by working through the established political system. From an openly anti-Catholic Tory council they won a share of the housing improvements and other social amenities the municipality provided for the Catholic population of the city. They continued to do this within the Labour Party in the 1930s. There was therefore no reason why they should need to challenge a system within which they achieved their primary political aims.

The third main wing of the party was the rather more disparate left wing. Mainly having its strength in the Divisional and Ward parties, it could be sub-divided into two main parts in this period. The first was centred around the ILP until its secession from the party in 1932. Overlapping briefly in the late 1920s and early 1930s was a second group centred around those party activists, many of them ex-Communists, who were close to the Communist Party and worked with CP-

influenced campaigns such as the NUWM, anti-fascist activity, and support for Republican Spain. The latter group, personified by Jack and Bessie Braddock and Sidney Silverman, were far too busy campaigning outside of the narrow framework of the council chamber itself to be very much concerned with the equity of the electoral system. Their battle was to win active support within the working class itself, and at the same time to combat the right wing within the party itself. The institutions of the municipal electoral system were probably very low down their list of political priorities.

The other main left-wing group led by the ILP had a slightly different perspective however, and in fact were the only group within the party that had much interest at all in the justice of the political system itself. The Liverpool ILP, mainly centred around the Edge Hill Division, were clearly on the left of the party, but also very clearly committed to fighting for socialism through the ballot box. They maintained a principled, but critical, commitment to the electoral system. Their leading figures, Bob Tissyman and Bob Edwards, were the most prominent councillors to object *in principle* to sharp practise in the council chamber. As a result, they both frequently ended up disturbing the peace and decorum of the chamber. This resulted in their being expelled from the chamber when they refused to give way, with Tissyman, the ex-police sergeant sacked for his part in the 1919 police strike, being escorted out by police constables on at least three occasions.³⁸ Their opposition to unprincipled tactics by their opponents *within* the party also led to the disaffiliation of the entire Edge Hill Divisional party twelve months before the ILP

nationally left the party.³⁹ Their sense of probity was matched by the only ILP MP for Liverpool, Elijah Sandham, who held Kirkdale between 1929 and 1931. Sandham scandalised his colleagues in Parliament by launching "an extraordinary attack on the sobriety and morality of MPs" at an ILP conference in July 1930, for which he was referred to the Committee of Privileges and eventually censured for committing a "gross libel".⁴⁰

It was the ILP that so assiduously followed up the question of the selection of aldermen within the party, as mentioned above, but both Edwards and Tissyman also publicly raised the issue and others relating to unjust procedures in the council chamber on frequent occasions. Apart from their various expulsions, they consistently exposed the undemocratic elections decided behind closed doors, much to the disapproval of their fellow Labour colleagues. In October 1931, for instance, Tissyman proposed himself for an aldermanic vacancy in opposition to Sir Thomas White, and gained one vote.⁴¹ Edwards proposed Tissyman for the Watch Committee in September 1930, only six months after Tissyman had shocked his own party by proposing a reduction of £10,000 in police expenses for the year. He got four votes.⁴² In November 1930 Edwards proposed himself as Mayor, but got no seconder among Labour ranks.⁴³ Perhaps the protest that was most instructive about the nature of the left in Liverpool took place much earlier. In 1924 John Nield, elected as an "independent labour" councillor in St. Anne's ward in 1922 but soon after declaring himself as a Communist, proposed Tissyman as Lord Mayor. He said Tissyman had every right to assume the post as "he represented a section of the

general public". Someone shouted out "what about yourself?", to which Nield replied "I don't represent the public: I represent the working classes." In the event there was no seconder for Tissyman.⁴⁴

Tissyman and Edwards fought a lonely battle, then, but they were entirely unrepresentative of the rest of the party, and once outside the party they were soon ousted from the council. Any broader attack on the electoral system was not forthcoming from Labour. While not forgetting that it was their opponents, and most notably the controlling Tories, who operated the system in their favour with ruthless pragmatism, Labour's failure to respond adequately meant they were also guilty by default.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted in R.Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*, (2nd Ed., 1972), pp.18-19.
2. *Ibid*, p.31.
3. D.Howell, *British Social Democracy*, (1976), p.18.
4. N.Blewett, "The Franchise in the United Kingdom, 1885-1918", *Past & Present*, No.32, (1965), p. 27.
5. Quoted in R.Miliband, *Capitalist Democracy in Britain*, (Oxford, 1982), p.23.
6. *Ibid*, p.143.
7. *Ibid*, p.144.
8. D.Howell, *British Workers and the Independent Labour Party, 1888-1906*, (Manchester, 1983), p. 297; p.344.
9. V.Bogdanor, *The People and the Party System*, (Cambridge, 1981), p.122.
10. *Ibid*, pp.122-3.
11. Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*, pp.21-23.
12. Bogdanor, p.123-4.
13. *Ibid*, p.124-5.
14. *Ibid*, pp.126-131.
15. *Ibid*, p.134.
16. Howell, *British Social Democracy*, p.25.
17. Bogdanor, *The People and the Party System*, pp.138-9.
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23. *Parliamentary Debates*, V.160, 1429-1510, Feb.23, 1923.
24. Keith-Lucas & Richards, *A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century*, p.2.
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27. *Liverpool Daily Post*, Nov. 4th, 1925, p.5.
28. *Labour City Council Group Minutes*, Nov.8th, 1929; *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1930*, p.609.
29. *Group Minutes*, Nov.5th, 1933.
30. *Ibid.*, Oct.1st, 1936.
31. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1935*, p.581.
32. *Ibid*, p.584.
33. *Group Minutes*, Nov.7th, 1927; Dec.29th, 1927; Jan.26th, 1928.
34. *Ibid*, March 2nd, 1928; Apr.26th, 1928.
35. See Chapter Four, p.108.
36. *Group Minutes*, 28th May, 1932.
37. *Ibid*, Jan.7th, 1935.
38. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1928*, p.602; *1929*, p.619; *1931*, p.581.
39. Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Special E.C.Meeting, Oct.6th, 1930.
40. *Liverpool Daily Post*, Jul.27th, 1930; *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1931*, p.594.
41. *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1932*, p.580.
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43. *Ibid*, *1931*, p.587.
44. *Ibid*, *1925*, p.587.

CHAPTER SEVEN - THE EXTENT OF LABOUR'S FAILURE - ORGANISATION,
STRUCTURE AND LINKS WITH THE WORKING CLASS

Even for a party as strongly committed to electoralism as the British Labour Party has always been, its strength and success cannot be measured purely in electoral terms. Its mode of organisation and structure, and the relationship between it and its intended supporters was also indicative of its performance. For the period of this study it is assumed that Labour's relationship to the working class was the key indicator of performance. This is not to say that Labour was unable to appeal to other sectors of society, but the whole historical trajectory of the party from its inception was shaped by the notion of the "independent representation of labour". The founding conference, after all, declared its aim as the representation of working class opinion "by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movement".¹ The strong link with the trade unions from the beginning ensured that the centrality of the working class to Labour's progress was to persist.

That the organised "labour movement" and the working class were by no means synonymous is undeniable. Different levels of trade union and political organisation according to occupation and skill levels, but also according to gender, inherently placed constraints on labour's appeal. But it does not alter the fact that it was primarily working class support that remained the bed-rock of Labour's strength nationally. In that sense this thesis rejects recent suggestions that the Labour Party's growth in this period "had little to do with declining

class fragmentation, or growing class consciousness", and that its development was hindered by its failure to develop "a means of mobilising support from more affluent voters".² Class politics, whatever their limitations, remained central to Labour, and it is the relationship with the working class that is relevant here.

There was much in the structure and organisation of the Liverpool party up to 1918 that was indistinguishable from others across the country. The confederal nature of the national organisation, linking trade unions and political groups, was faithfully reflected locally. Membership of the party was not direct, but only through affiliated bodies, and political activity was dependent upon the strength of those bodies. Two institutions provided the central structure of the party, the Liverpool Trades Council (LTC) and the local Independent Labour Party (ILP). It was the members of the individual affiliated unions and ILP branches who comprised the rank and file activists of the party. None of this was exceptional.³

However, variations on this basic theme were widespread, and Liverpool varied in a number of ways. One significant difference from other city Labour Parties was that there was virtually no organisation at a ward or divisional level.⁴ Divisional councils were formed to fight elections, and lapsed afterwards. No permanent ward parties were established before 1918. This meant that the party was strongly dependent on the central structures of the organisation, the LTC and ILP, and it was the relationship of those two bodies with the wider

working class that determined Labour's connection with that class. Inevitably, then, the limitations of the LTC and the ILP were crucial.

* * * * *

The LTC claimed to be the oldest Trades Council in the country, having its origins in 1848. However, it was certainly not the case that it could claim to be highly representative of the working class of Liverpool as a whole, nor could it have been expected to be before 1889, given the chronology of trade union development in Britain. Union organisation nationally was mainly confined to skilled or semi-skilled, and almost exclusively male, workers before the "new unionism" of the late 1880s. Liverpool's economy was heavily dependent on port-related activity and the unskilled and often casual labour that went with it. Inevitably only a small proportion of Liverpool's working class had been permanently organised by 1889. The LTC therefore was initially based upon the craft unions established in the city which were relatively unrepresentative of the local working class as a whole. In 1887 trade unions of engineers, printers, tailors, saddlers, bookbinders, railwaymen, gilders, cabinet-makers, sawyers, brushmakers, bootmakers, mastblock makers, and upholsterers were affiliated to the LTC. Between them they represented 3,000 workers.⁵ This constituted a fraction of the 230,000 men and women classified as being in paid employment in Liverpool in the 1891 census.⁶

The "new unionist" strike wave of 1889-90 broadened the base of support for the LTC to some extent. Organisation among dockers, seafarers, gasworkers, post office workers, and tramway employees was developed in Liverpool in 1889 and 1890, and women workers in the workshop trades of cigar-making, book-folding, coat-making, upholstering, sack and bag making and laundering were also organised around this period.⁷ By March 1891 the LTC had 47 affiliated unions, representing 46,000 workers.⁸ However, much of this growth only lasted for a short period before the steep decline of the "new unions" from 1891. Most of the women's organisation in Liverpool, for instance, collapsed, only the upholstresses surviving by joining with the men's upholsterer's union, and all the other unions saw a sharp decline in membership.⁹ The National Union of Dock Labourers (NUDL) barely survived through the 1890s, and the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union (NASFU) collapsed in 1894, not to be fully revived until 1910.¹⁰ Other significant groups organised in this period in Liverpool stayed permanently distanced from the LTC, most notably the carters organised in 1889 in the Mersey Quay and Railway Carter's Union¹¹, and clerical workers belonging to the strictly non-political Liverpool Clerk's Association.¹²

Moreover, the relationship between the LTC and the NUDL, the union which represented the largest single group of male workers in the city, was tenuous from the beginning. This was to be a portent of later developments up to the 1920s. When the NUDL had begun to grow in Liverpool in 1889-90, it had not initially affiliated to the LTC, despite being invited to do so. When the dockers struck in March 1890

the LTC gave only tepid support, and the dockers only joined eventually in July 1890. Subsequent relations were strained, not least because of a series of disputes between the leader of the NUDL, James Sexton, and the LTC. This culminated in Sexton implying that the LTC was giving tacit support to the recruitment of scab labour in Liverpool to break the crucial Hull Dock Strike of 1893. In 1894 the NUDL disaffiliated, only allowing its branches to affiliate again in 1906. There seemed no great rush by the dockers to join even then, no NUDL branch being recorded in a list of affiliated organisations in 1907.¹³

Sexton's powerful position in the NUDL and his idiosyncratic personality had something to do with this tangled story, but it was also caused by the differences in outlook between the "would-be aristocratic artisans",¹⁴ as Sexton described them, of the LTC and the newly organised dockers. The differences were complex. Many dockers, along with seafarers and other dockside workers, had been only recently won by the NUDL from supporting the syndicalist Knights of Labour in a scheme to unite all unskilled workers, a scheme that was anathema to the mainly skilled members of the LTC.¹⁵ The LTC argued strongly that it was a non-political body, and rejected Sexton's proposal in 1893 for it to affiliate to the ILP.¹⁶ Sexton's description above of the LTC hinted at the social and cultural gulf that lay between the regularly-employed, relatively well-paid, time-served workers that dominated it, and the low-paid, casually-employed workers he represented.

By 1896, then, the LTC still represented only 35,000 workers,¹⁷ drawn from a numerically small sector of Liverpool's organised labour force, let alone the working class as a whole. A much fuller understanding of the basis of its support can be gained from a detailed analysis of the delegates to the LTC. Up until 1907 a list of delegates from all affiliated unions was published, including their home addresses. From this can be calculated which unions were best represented on the LTC, and also where in the city members of these unions were concentrated. The last complete list with all addresses was in 1905, and it is for this year that the analysis has been undertaken, tracing the wards in which all delegates lived. The full list can be found in Appendix 9, and a summary of the data is shown below in Table 7.1.

Two important points flow from this analysis. First of all, the predominance of skilled, craft unions and the lack of representation of casual, unskilled dock-related workers, or of general unskilled unions, is marked. The lone delegate from the NSFU and the seven delegates from the National Amalgamated Union of Labour were very much the exceptions amongst the painters, shipwrights, carpenters, engineers and other craftsmen that predominated. The unrepresentative nature of the list can be best conveyed by expressing it in terms of the occupational breakdown that has been used for the analysis of wards in Chapter Eight, and then comparing it with the figures for Liverpool as a whole. This comparison is also included in Table 7.1 below. A simplified version of the same data is also shown in graphical form in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 below.

TABLE 7.1 - Male Occupations in Liverpool, 1911 and of Liverpool Trades Council Delegates, 1905

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Liverpool, 1911</u>	<u>Liverpool Trades Council, 1905</u>
Building Trades	8%	32%
Furnishing Trades	3%	5%
Railwaymen	4%	5%
Engineering & Metal Trades	10%	22%
Workshop Trades	1%	9%
Printing Trades	2%	6%
Clothing Trades	3%	4%
Retail & Services	10%	1%
Transport & Associated	32%	4%
White Collar & Supervisory	18%	5%
Miscellaneous	8%	9%

SOURCE : Detailed figures given in Appendix 12 for Liverpool, 1911, and in Appendix 9 for Liverpool Trades Council, 1905.

FIG. 7.1 - LIVERPOOL TRADES COUNCIL,
DELEGATES OCCUPATIONS, 1905

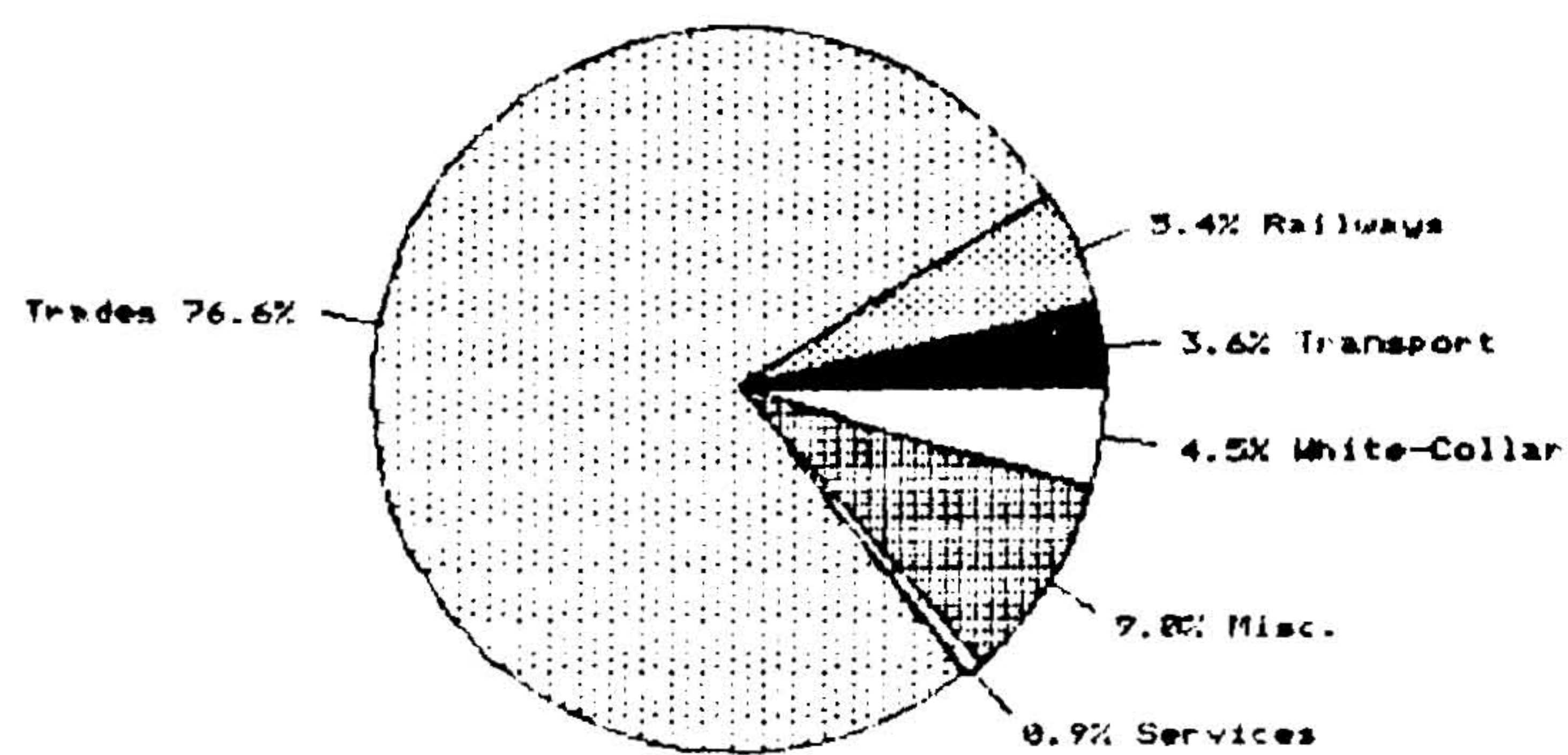
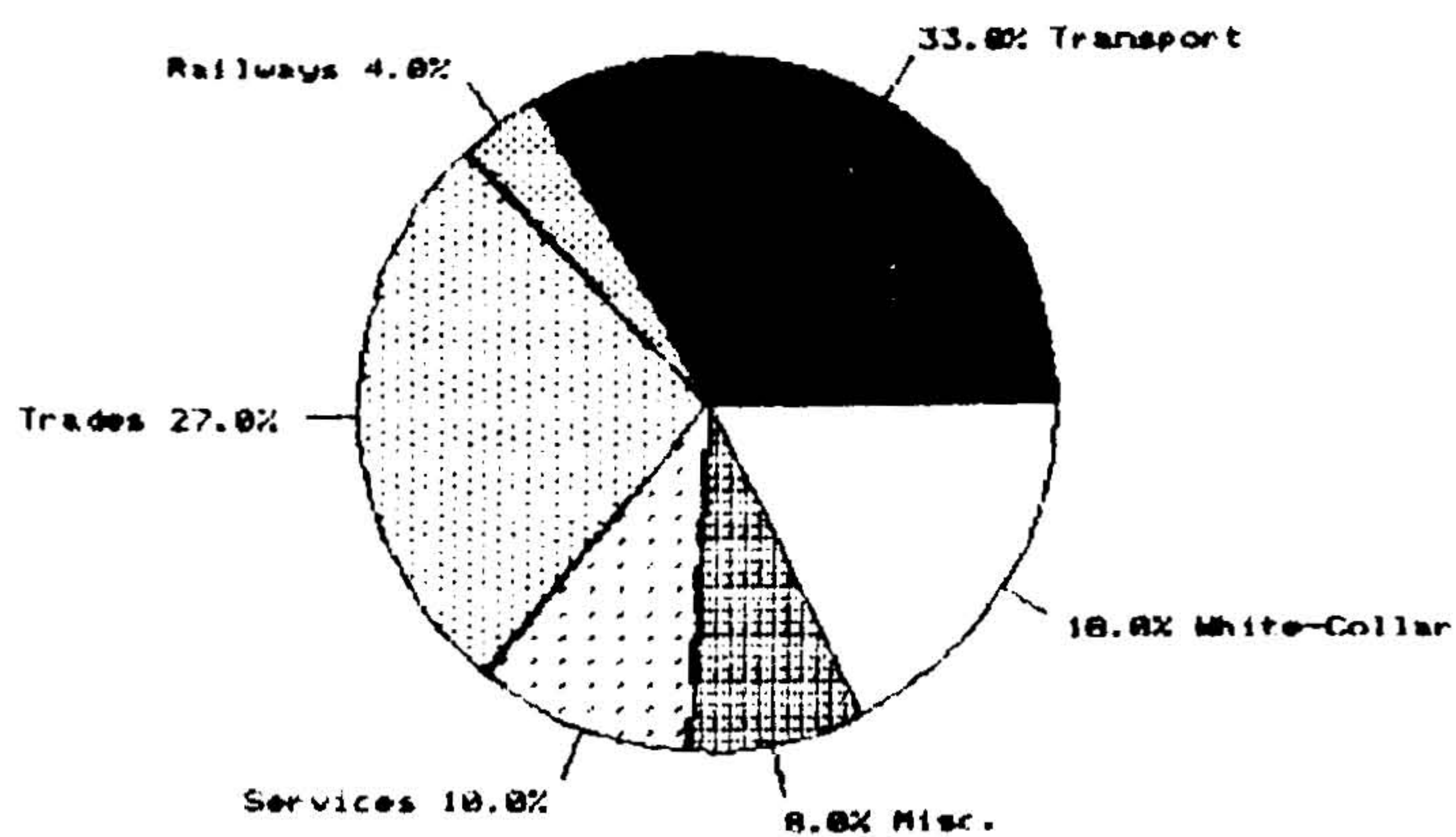


FIG. 7.2 - MALE OCCUPATIONS
IN LIVERPOOL, 1911



Secondly, the residences of the LTC delegates were limited to certain parts of the city. The full significance of this can only be appreciated when it is put into context with an analysis of the electoral strength of Labour by ward, and an analysis of the occupational and other economic and social characteristics of wards. This will be found in Chapter Eight, but for the moment, what can be seen clearly is that the LTC's delegates resided only in certain of the working class wards of the city, and were notably absent in others. This is summarised in Table 7.2, and expressed in map form in Figure 7.3 below.

TABLE 7.2 - Wards where LTC Delegates Were Resident, 1905*

<u>WARD</u>	<u>NUMBER OF LTC DELEGATES RESIDENT</u>
Kensington	13
Everton	9
Dingle	8
Low Hill	8
Edge Hill	6
Kirkdale	6
Wavertree West	5
St.Anne's	4
Prince's Park	4
Abercromby	4
Breckfield	4
Netherfield	4
Garston	3
Fairfield	3
Old Swan	3
St.Domingo	3
Granby	3
Sandhills	3
Anfield	2
Brunswick	1
Gt.George	1
Sefton Park East	1
TOTAL	98

* 13 delegates living outside Liverpool excluded.

R I V E R

M E R S E Y



FIGURE 7.3

Most of the LTC delegates were concentrated in a number of adjacent wards near the city centre but some distance uphill from the river - Edge Hill, Low Hill, Kensington, Everton, and St. Anne's - mainly protestant areas with a relatively large proportion of permanently employed and skilled workers, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Eight. In the mainly protestant, and less skilled, wards to the north of the city and some distance inland - Kirkdale, Netherfield, Breckfield and St. Domingo - there was less representation. In the dockside areas there was some LTC presence in the mainly protestant south, in Dingle and Garston, but in the strongly catholic and unskilled north end there was virtually no representation. Running along the river between Sandhills in the north to Brunswick in the south, nine adjacent wards with a total population in 1911 of over 125,000 people had only five LTC delegates resident.

This spatial pattern will become more familiar later in this thesis. What can be stated now is that the trade union side of the Labour Party, represented by the LTC, had a foothold in only *some* of the working class neighbourhoods of Liverpool, and that not only differences of occupation and skill-levels but also religion played a part in determining this pattern.

It was the narrow "labour movement" represented by the early LTC that helped to found the Labour Party in Liverpool. Earlier forays into political representation in 1887 and 1893 had been attempted by the LTC,¹⁸ but its refusal to accede to Sexton's demand to amalgamate with the ILP in 1893 showed the reluctance of the skilled unions to commit

themselves to independent labour representation initially. It was in 1900, though, that the LTC joined with the ILP, Fabians, SDF, and the Edge Hill and Garston Labour Clubs to form what became by 1903 the Liverpool Labour Representation Committee (LLRC), which in turn affiliated to the national Labour Party in 1907.¹⁹ Up to 1918 the LTC remained vital to the central organisation of the Party.

The nature of the LTC did change somewhat following the upsurge of unskilled and general unions in 1911. Unions representing dockers, seafarers, and other dockside workers, shop, distributive and clerical workers, and municipal employees were all recruited. However, the dominance of the LTC by the older skilled unions persisted. Moreover, the relationship between the new and the old was never a harmonious one, and turned to open conflict during the first world war.

Disputes over conscription and the Russian Revolution of February 1917 increasingly divided the leadership of the NUDL from the more left-leaning and ILP influenced mainstream of the LTC. The NUDL eventually seceded before it could be expelled in July 1917, and set up a rival organisation, the Liverpool Trade Union Labour Representation Council, which attracted 47 delegates to its first meeting representing dockers, seafarers, carters, ships' stewards, enginemen and cranemen, farriers, and the NAUL.²⁰ It was claimed that 55,000 workers were represented by this body, but it was not only its size that was significant, but also the predominantly unskilled and casualised sectors of the Liverpool working class that distinguished it from the LTC. The historian of the dockers' union asserts with some

understatement that the split "seriously weakened the Liverpool labour movement" in 1917,²¹ but it also revealed a much deeper fault-line running beneath the surface of the organised "labour movement" that had its origins much earlier and which was to persist long afterwards. At the end of the war the formal split was healed, with many of the defectors rejoining the LTC, although some not for very long, as will be seen later.

* * * * *

The "political" wing of the early Labour Party in Liverpool was dominated by the ILP. Although the Fabians and SDF and other socialists were also involved in its foundation in 1900, only the ILP had a local base of support and organisational structure sufficient to play a major role in the party. This is not to say that the ILP was particularly strong in Liverpool as compared with other areas. The historian of the early years of the ILP states

Merseyside was an extremely weak area - religious and ethnic conflicts combined with the existence of a large, unskilled and often casual, workforce, to provide barren soil for Independent Labour politics.²²

Nevertheless, the ILP did establish an early presence on Merseyside, as shown by the the fact that in conjunction with the Fabian Society it was producing a local newspaper, the *Liverpool Labour Chronicle* in 1895. Other evidence of the number of Liverpool supporters buying

shares in the *Labour Leader* in 1904 suggests that there was some ILP strength locally.²³ A number of notable figures in the local labour movement also had early connections with the ILP, including union leaders of contrasting style like James Sexton and Jim Larkin of the dockers, and Bob Tissyman of the Policemen's Union. Other leading lights of the Labour Party like John Wolfe Tone Morrissey, one of its earliest councillors, and Fred Richardson, the first Labour mayor of Liverpool, had early ILP connections.

All of this still amounted to only a limited growth, both in terms of size of membership and the spread of the ILP through the local working class. By 1920 the Liverpool Federation claimed 900 members, but that included branches in Bootle, Prescott, and Southport, and across the river in Birkenhead, Wallasey and Ellesmere Port.²⁴ In Liverpool itself branches were established permanently in only a small number of wards. In 1895 there were seven branches, in Breckfield, Edge Hill, Kensington, Old Swan, Kirkdale, West Toxteth and Wavertree.²⁵ Twenty-five years later in 1920, all but Breckfield had survived, but no new branches had been added to the list. Once again it is notable that the ILP presence was confined to areas of mainly skilled workers, and mainly protestant as well. The dockside wards, the catholic areas, and the areas of predominantly unskilled, casual labour were notable by their absence.

Where the ILP was established was where Labour had its main strength up to 1918, for these were the only areas with any continuous Labour presence between elections, as well as being the sorts of areas where

Labour was most likely to find support among the local electorate. Of the ten municipal election contests where Labour won seats before 1914 (discounting the 1914 electoral truce when all Labour councillors were unopposed), eight were in the city centre wards concentrated around the Edge Hill/Kensington area where the ILP was dominant - Edge Hill, Kensington, Low Hill, St.Anne's and Everton. One other was in Brunswick, which was organised by the West Toxteth ILP. The only other victory was a freak result in St.Domingo in 1911 where Labour won with only 38% of the votes cast due to an Independent Conservative splitting the Tory vote. ILP members also provided a significant proportion of the successful candidates before 1914, including Sexton in St.Anne's, Morrisey in Kensington, and Richardson in Edge Hill.²⁶

* * * * *

The new constitution of the national party of 1918, allowing for individual membership for the first time, was obviously influential in changing the nature of the local party, but reorganisation was slow to take effect. The Liverpool party had attempted to set up ward organisation in 1916 and 1917, but with little success outside of the ILP strongholds, and further attempts in 1918 and 1919 were again ineffectual.²⁷ The LLRC now became known as the Liverpool Labour Party, and remained the central structure of the organisation. The lack of ward activity was shown by the selection procedures for the 1918 general election. There were no operative divisional parties to

select candidates, and a special meeting of the whole LLP had to be called to select five candidates.²⁸ By April 1919 the position was still highly unsatisfactory, and the Executive Committee was reported to have "reviewed the whole position of lack of proper ward organisation, apathy of candidates, etc."²⁹

At the same time the upsurge in trade union activity during and immediately after the war, combined with the return of most of the unions that had defected in 1917, meant that the base of the LTC was broadened. When the LLP and the LTC were amalgamated in March 1921 to form the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party (LTC&LP), the new body inherited an organisation in transition. The affiliated societies in the first year of its existence show this. Among the political affiliations, six ILP branches were recorded - Kirkdale, Wavertree, Kensington, West Toxteth, Edge Hill and the Liverpool Federation - representing much the same areas that the ILP had had its strength in before the war. The Fabian Society was also affiliated, and four Divisional Labour Parties (there were eleven divisions in all) - West Toxteth, Edge Hill, Everton and West Derby. On the industrial side, 52 unions were affiliated, including the older craft unions like the engineers, woodworkers, bootmakers and printers, but also unskilled and general unions such as those of the dockers, seafarers, distributive workers, shop assistants and the NAUL.³⁰

By 1924, when a full-time paid secretary was first appointed by the LTC&LP, ward organisation had been improved, but was still unsatisfactory. There were eight divisional parties operative by March

1924, only the strongly protestant Kirkdale, the strongly catholic Exchange and the markedly middle class East Toxteth being unorganised.³¹ There were officially 22 ward secretaries listed by July of that year also, although the secretary doubted if more than six wards actually had functioning parties.³² In November it was agreed to reorganise the whole party to conform with national model rules, and an Elections and Organisation Sub-Committee was established. The minutes of this committee, to which all Divisional parties were supposed to submit monthly reports on membership and organisation, provides a valuable insight into the real state of the party organisation. The committee met regularly between February and August 1925, and a summary of the Divisional Party reports can be found in Table 7.3 below.

What do these reports tell us about the state of the party in 1925? First, it is quite clear that it was going through a period of growth and change. Secondly, there was a very serious attempt by the membership at the time to develop the ward and divisional organisation of the party, and recruit new members. It is also notable that the women's sections seemed to be playing a particularly active role at this time. This conforms with the picture of a growing influence by women on the party in the mid to late 1920s, which is dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter Nine. On the surface, moreover, there did appear to be *some* activity in *all* the divisions.

Table 7.3 - Divisional Labour Party Reports, February-August, 1925

DIVISION	REPORTS ON ORGANISATION
EAST TOXTETH	"About 120 members"(May).
EDGE HILL	Ward parties in Kensington(57 members), Low Hill(90), Edge Hill(153), last one new as previously run by ILP(Apr).
EVERTON	Netherfield ward defunct, Everton ward had 110 members, 45 recently recruited, and women's section also growing(Apr). "Many difficulties in Netherfield"(May). 135 members(Jun).
EXCHANGE	Ward parties in St.Anne's & Abercromby, but none in Exchange, Vauxhall or Gt.George(Feb). Gt.Geo. & Vauxhall parties established, total membership in Division 110(Apr). "A paying membership" existed(May)
FAIRFIELD	Fairfield ward had "fine women's section with a membership around 100", Old Swan ward recently reconstituted(May).
KIRKDALE	100 members in St.Domingo ward, but "difficulties" in Kirkdale ward(Feb). 100 members in St.Domingo, 127 in Kirkdale, women's sections in both(Apr).
SCOTLAND	N.Scotland ward 600 members, S.Scotland 56, Sandhills 103, a "paying membership"(May). Davie Logan "believed they had 1,000 members"(Jun).
WALTON	450 members in all, 116 recruited in previous four weeks(Feb). Over 500 members(Apr).
WAVERTREE	Total membership 860, W'tree & W'tree W. wards "very healthy", Garston "settling down"(Apr). Over 900 members(May). Reconstituting party in Woolton(Jun). Separate Garston TC and ward party, need to reconcile both bodies(Aug).
WEST DERBY	Total membership 150, women "most active"(Apr). 160 members(May).
WEST TOXTETH	120 members in Brunswick ward, and women's section "particularly active", Dingle ward gaining "new members every day", total membership c.500(Apr). 550 members(May).

SOURCE: *Minutes of the Elections and Organisation Sub-Committee, LTC&LP, Feb.24th, April 28th, May 26th, June 24th, July 28th, and August 25th, 1925.*

However, organisational weakness can also be discerned in these reports. The "difficulties" in wards like Netherfield and Kirkdale were a euphemism for the sectarianism of the strongly protestant parts of the city, and Labour's failure to win widespread support in these areas. On the other hand, in the strongly catholic areas of Scotland and Exchange divisions, the reassurances that the membership figures quoted represented a "paying membership" obviously reflected some scepticism from the rest of the party as to the accuracy of their reports. The picture of Scotland Division seems particularly dubious. Labour had made no attempt to set up ward parties in this division until Davie Logan had defected from the Nationalists in early 1923, yet the delegate from Scotland Division, Logan himself, was claiming the largest divisional and ward (for N.Scotland) membership in the city, and a phenomenal increase from around 750 to 1,000 members between May and June of that year alone.

The financial accounts of the party for this period provide a rather different, and perhaps more realistic, estimation of its organisational strength. Up to 1928 detailed accounts recording the affiliation fees paid by divisional parties were published, although there are some gaps in the surviving records. Complete accounts survive for the successive twelve month periods to March 1925 and March 1926. Affiliation fees were paid at the rate of 6d. per member, with a minimum of £1-10-0 (representing up to 60 members), then rising to £3 (for 60 to 120 members), £4-10-0 (120-180 members), and so on.³³ For the year to March 1925, only Exchange and Kirkdale divisions were not affiliated at all, East Toxteth paid the minimum fee, and the

other eight divisions paid at the 60-120 member level. In the following year, East Toxteth disappeared from the list, but Exchange and Kirkdale were added at the 120-180 member level, and all the others with the exception of Edge Hill also paid at the higher 120-180 level.³⁴

These figures confirm that there was indeed an increase in membership at this time, but at much lower levels than some of the reports above would indicate. Assuming that the affiliation fees paid represented the maximum possible numbers of members at the appropriate level, the figures for 1924-5 give a total individual membership for the whole city of 960, rising to 1,740 in 1925-6. An impressive increase, no doubt, reflecting much hard work by the active membership of the time, but far less impressive than some of the reports above would indicate. Certainly the reports of nearly a thousand members in the Wavertree and Scotland divisions must have been wildly over-stated.

It is also clear that some of the gains made around this time were only temporary. Looking at the lists of ward parties and their secretaries which were published each year, a number of wards appear to have been only sporadically organised up to 1939. In the East Toxteth division, Sefton Park East ward was not established until 1927, and disappeared between 1932 and 1938, and Aigburth ward was not organised until 1931, only to disappear again between 1933 and 1937. In Exchange division, Exchange and St.Peter's ward were not organised until 1937 and 1931 respectively, and Gt.George ward was only intermittently active until 1932. In Scotland division, both Sandhills

and Vauxhall wards did not have a permanent existence through the 1920s and 1930s. In West Toxteth, Brunswick ward disappeared in 1928 and again between 1934 and 1937. Finally in Kirkdale the ward party disappeared in 1934.³⁵ Even making the dubious assumption that the public listing of a ward secretary always guaranteed that an actual ward party was active, it is clear that the party never established a city-wide organisation in the inter-war period. This was probably not a situation unique to Liverpool. Significantly, though, in Liverpool many of the wards where organisation seemed weakest were in strongly working class, and mainly catholic, dockside neighbourhoods. Vauxhall ward was typical. In 1932 the LTC&LP was still discussing attempts to set up a ward party there, seven years after the supposedly comprehensive reorganisation of 1925.³⁶

This conclusion was confirmed in 1939 when the NEC of the Labour Party investigated the local party. Its findings were highly critical of local organisation, stating that:

the Committees of many Wards in Liverpool did not desire a large individual membership, it being suggested that this made control much easier ... Ward organisation in the city is out of touch with the centre ... most Constituency Parties were in a state of financial embarrassment.³⁷

The recommendations of this enquiry were unequivocal:

The City Labour Party can only succeed on the basis of good constituency organisation ... while suggestions are made below for the improvement of organisation in each constituency, it is suggested that the TC&LP should act more vigorously in pushing forward co-ordinated efforts in propaganda, publicity and the working out of constructive policy for the whole city. Unless this can be secured the imagination of Liverpool

people is not likely to be awakened ... The TC&LP should undertake more frequent and more active participation in the organisation of the Party in Constituencies and Wards.³⁸

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Labour Party never succeeded in building a genuinely effective party organisation covering the whole of the city and with deep roots in the local community. However, there is still the trade union side of the party structure to consider. Perhaps there at least the party could claim a close connection with the organised part of the working class.

* * * * *

What of the trade union side of the party? There had been a broadening of support from local unions after 1918, as already stated. Again, the financial accounts of the TC&LP provide a useful insight into the affiliated unions. Unions affiliated at the rate of 6d. for each member who paid the political levy, and it is quite easy to calculate the number affiliated from each union in the detailed accounts provided up to 1928. The accounts for the year ending in March 1925 give a good indication of the situation just before the traumas of the General Strike and the Trades Disputes Act which had a significant impact on affiliations, as shall be demonstrated later. The full list of affiliations for 1924-5 can be found in Appendix 10. A simplified version classifying the unions according to the types of occupation

they mainly represented can be found below in Table 7.4. The same system of occupational classification that has been used throughout this thesis has been used. A comparison with the corresponding figures for the 1905 Trades Council shown earlier can also be seen in Figures 7.4 and 7.5 below.

Table 7.4 - Trade Union Affiliations to LTC&LP, YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st 1925, Classified According to Occupational Group Represented

<u>OCCUPATIONAL GROUP</u>	<u>NUMBERS AFFILIATED</u>
BUILDING TRADES	3,136 (10.8%)
FURNISHING TRADES	1,045 (3.6%)
RAILWAYMEN	4,152 (14.3%)
ENGINEERING & METAL TRADES	2,801 (9.7%)
WORKSHOP TRADES	1,197 (4.1%)
PRINTING TRADES	2,926 (10.1%)
CLOTHING TRADES	390 1.3%)
RETAIL & SERVICES	3,875 (13.4%)
TRANSPORT & ASSOCIATED	5,040 (17.4%)
WHITE-COLLAR & SUPERVISORY	1,585 (5.5%)
MISCELLANEOUS	2,875 (9.9%)
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>29,022</u>

FIG. 7.4 - LIVERPOOL TRADES COUNCIL,
DELEGATES OCCUPATIONS, 1905

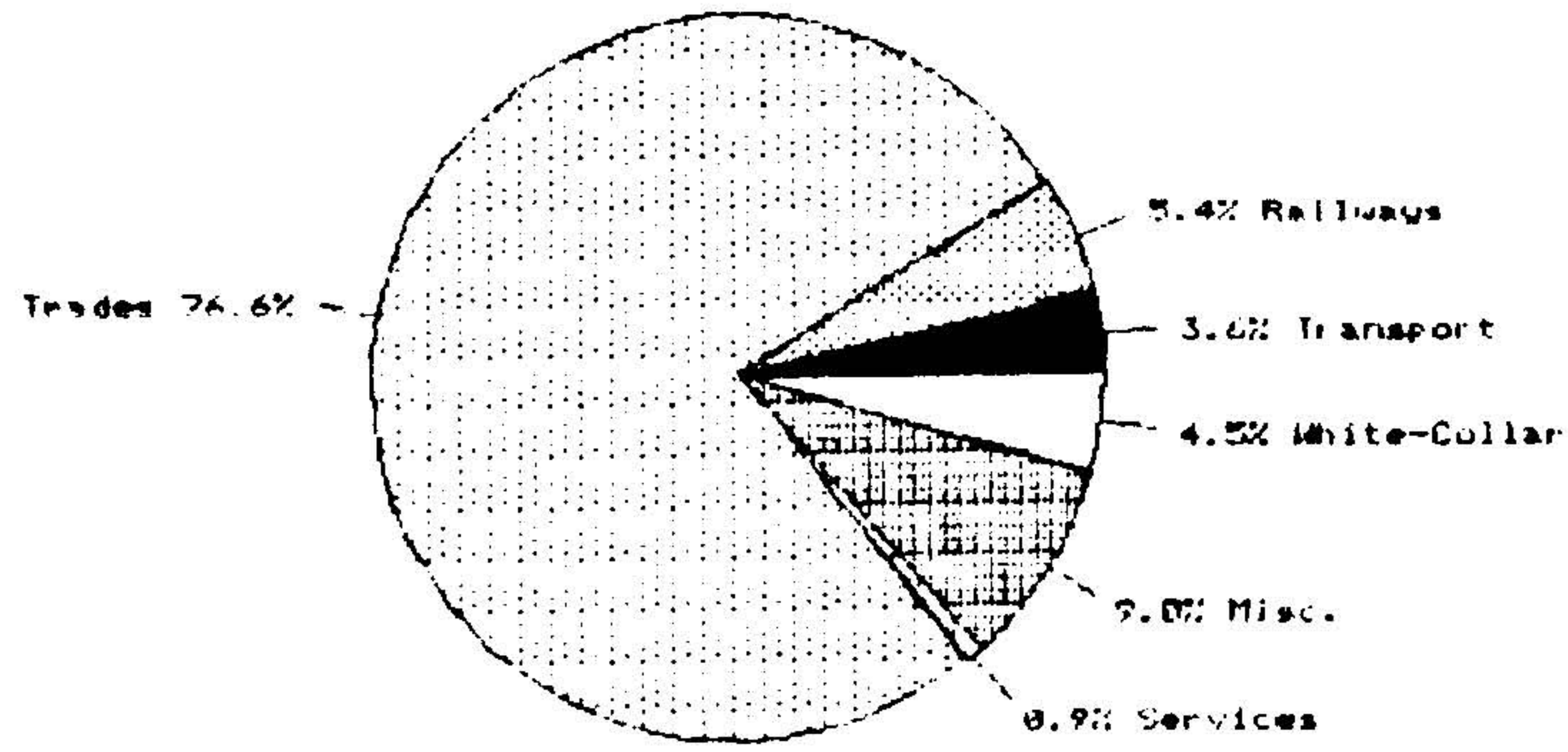
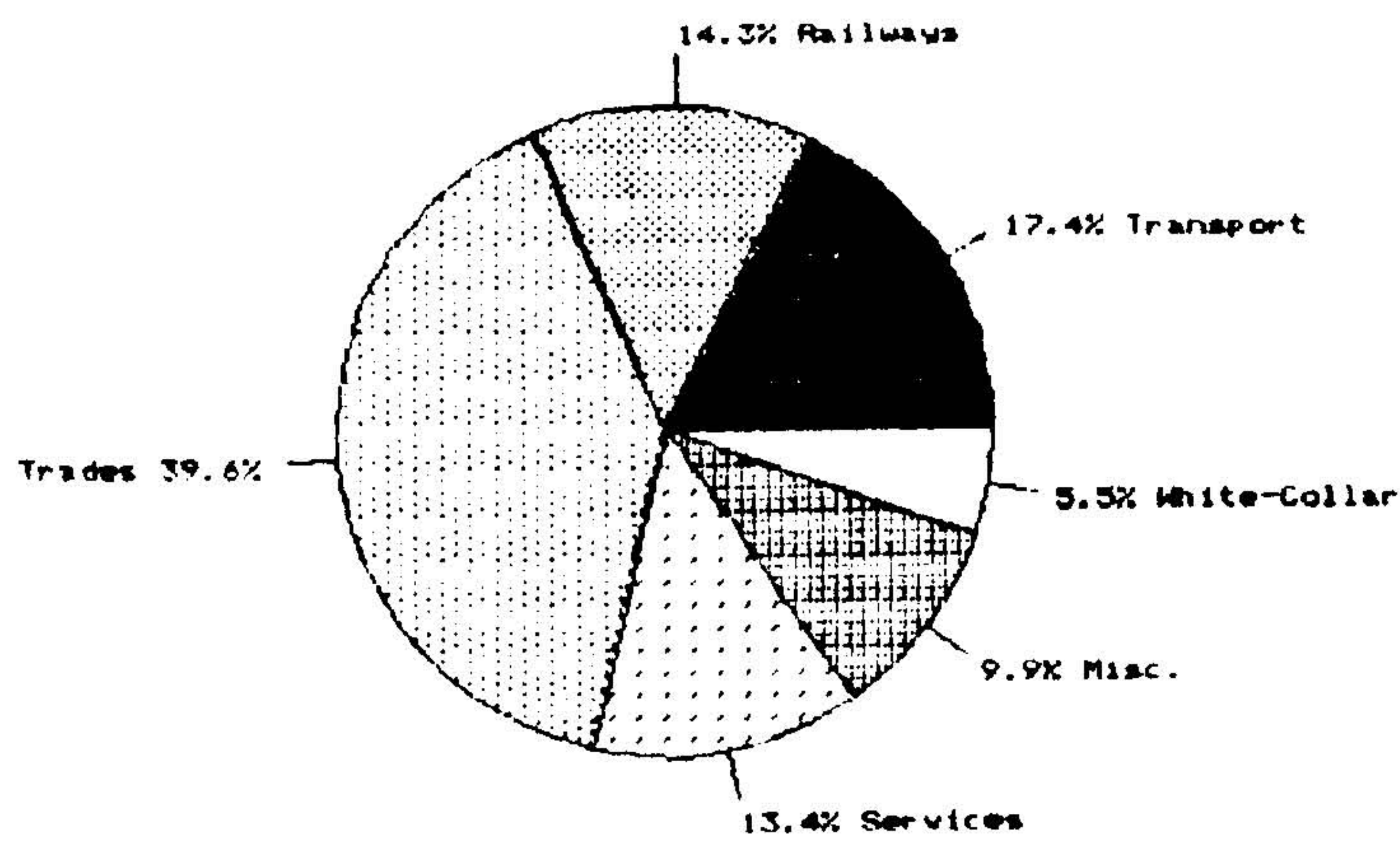


FIG. 7.5 - LTC&LP, OCCUPATIONS
REPRESENTED BY AFFILIATED UNIONS, 1924-5



These figures show that there had been a significant change in the trade union base of the LTC&LP. The skilled trades had become less dominant than they had been previously, and the transport, service and retail, and railway sectors had all correspondingly increased their representation. The transport sector was *still* under-represented proportionally, even though the dockers, through the T&GWU, and the seafarers, through the NSFU and AMWU, had over 5,000 members affiliated. By comparison, railway workers were relatively over-represented with over 4,000 affiliated, and the skilled trades, even though much reduced, were still the biggest single group with over 10,000 affiliated. Nevertheless, as a cross-section of the organised Liverpool working class as a whole, the 1924-5 LTC&LP was more representative, even if still not perfectly so, than the 1905 TC had been.

However, the situation was still in a state of flux. In 1926 the NSFU, or National Union of Seamen (NUS) as it became known from that year, was thrown out of the TC&LP after sacking its local officials who had supported the General Strike. It was also thrown out of the TUC in 1928 over its opposition to the General Strike and its subsequent support for the breakaway "Spencer union" in the East Midlands coalfield.³⁹ However, even when the NUS was reconciled with the TUC and readmitted after Havelock Wilson's death in 1929, relations locally between the LTC&LP and the NUS remained poor. This was demonstrated when the TUC in September 1929 wrote asking the LTC&LP's advice on readmitting the NUS. The TUC received a rather dusty answer, which opposed readmittance unless the NUS reinstated all its local

officials who had been sacked for carrying out TUC instructions.⁴⁰ For the whole of the 1930s relations remained embittered, and a union representing a key group of Liverpool workers was estranged from Labour.

Other unions left the TC&LP after the implications of the Trades Disputes and Trades Unions Act of 1927 came into effect. The imposition of the "contracting-in" to the political levy system, and the necessity to keep the "political" and "industrial" funds of the TC&LP strictly apart, forced branches of many unions to withdraw. Between late 1927 and the end of the decade branches of the NUGMW and others representing post office engineers, railwaymen, woodworkers, coopers, and lithographic artists all disaffiliated for varying lengths of time.⁴¹

Moreover, the real involvement in the activities of, and influence upon, the TC&LP by key local unions may not have been as great as their superficial affiliation figures might have suggested. This can be shown through an analysis of the union delegates elected to the Executive Committee (EC) of the TC&LP. Obviously these elections were not simply decided on the basis of which unions were the most important or influential in the TC&LP as a whole. The personal abilities and political ambition of individual delegates were influential to some extent, as was the nature of some of the posts on the EC. Thus powerful figures like Luke Hogan or W.A. Robinson from the distributive workers union were elected regardless of their union's importance to the TC&LP, and clerical and white-collar unions tended

to be over-represented through elections for secretarial and financial posts. Nevertheless, the EC elections must have reflected to some extent the relative importance of the various affiliated bodies. A summary of all EC elections between 1921 and 1939 can be found in Appendix 11. A simplified version placing all trade union delegates elected to the EC in the occupational groups used throughout this thesis can be found in Table 7.5 below. The figures are also represented graphically, and compared with the same data for the 1925 affiliation figures shown earlier, in Figures 7.6 to 7.8 below.

Table 7.5- Trade Union Delegates Elected to the EC of the LTC&LP
Classified According to Occupational Group Represented

<u>OCCUPATIONAL GROUP</u>	<u>1921-30</u>	<u>1931-39</u>
	<u>DELEGATES</u>	<u>DELEGATES</u>
BUILDING TRADES	11 (8.5%)	34 (29.1%)
FURNISHING TRADES	2 (1.6%)	0
RAILWAYMEN	12 (9.3%)	14 (12.0%)
ENGINEERING & METAL TRADES	19 (14.7%)	9 (7.7%)
WORKSHOP TRADES	1 (0.8%)	7 (6.0%)
PRINTING TRADES	7 (5.4%)	1 (0.9%)
CLOTHING TRADES	6 (4.7%)	3 (2.6%)
RETAIL & SERVICES	20 (15.5%)	12 (10.3%)
TRANSPORT & ASSOCIATED	2 (1.6%)	10 (8.5%)
WHITE-COLLAR & SUPERVISORY	36 (27.9%)	18 (15.4%)
MISCELLANEOUS	15 (11.6%)	9 (7.7%)
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>117</u>

FIG. 7.6 - LTC&LP, OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED BY AFFILIATED UNIONS, 1924-5

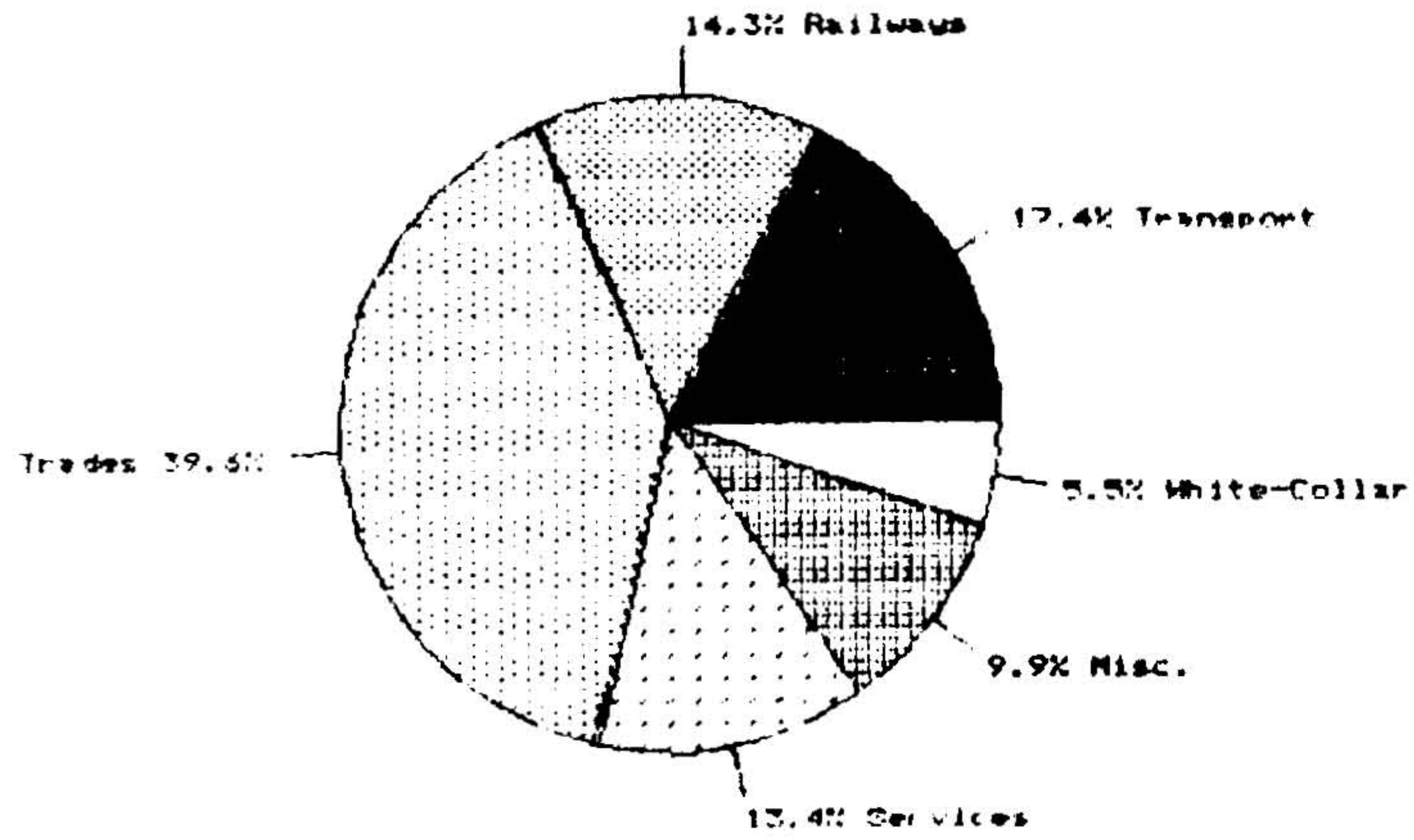


FIG. 7.7 - LTC&LP, TU EC POST-HOLDERS, OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED, 1921-30

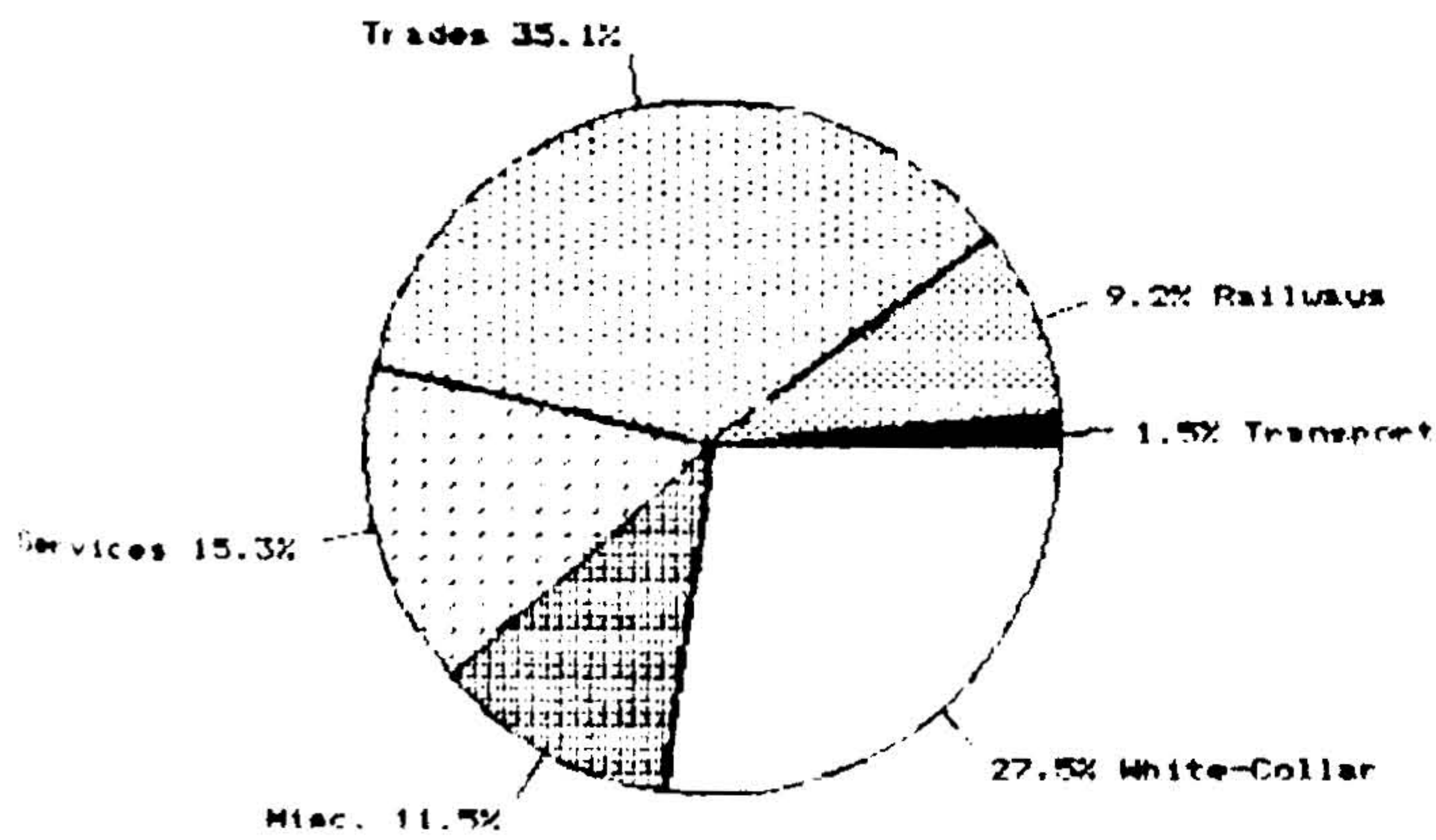
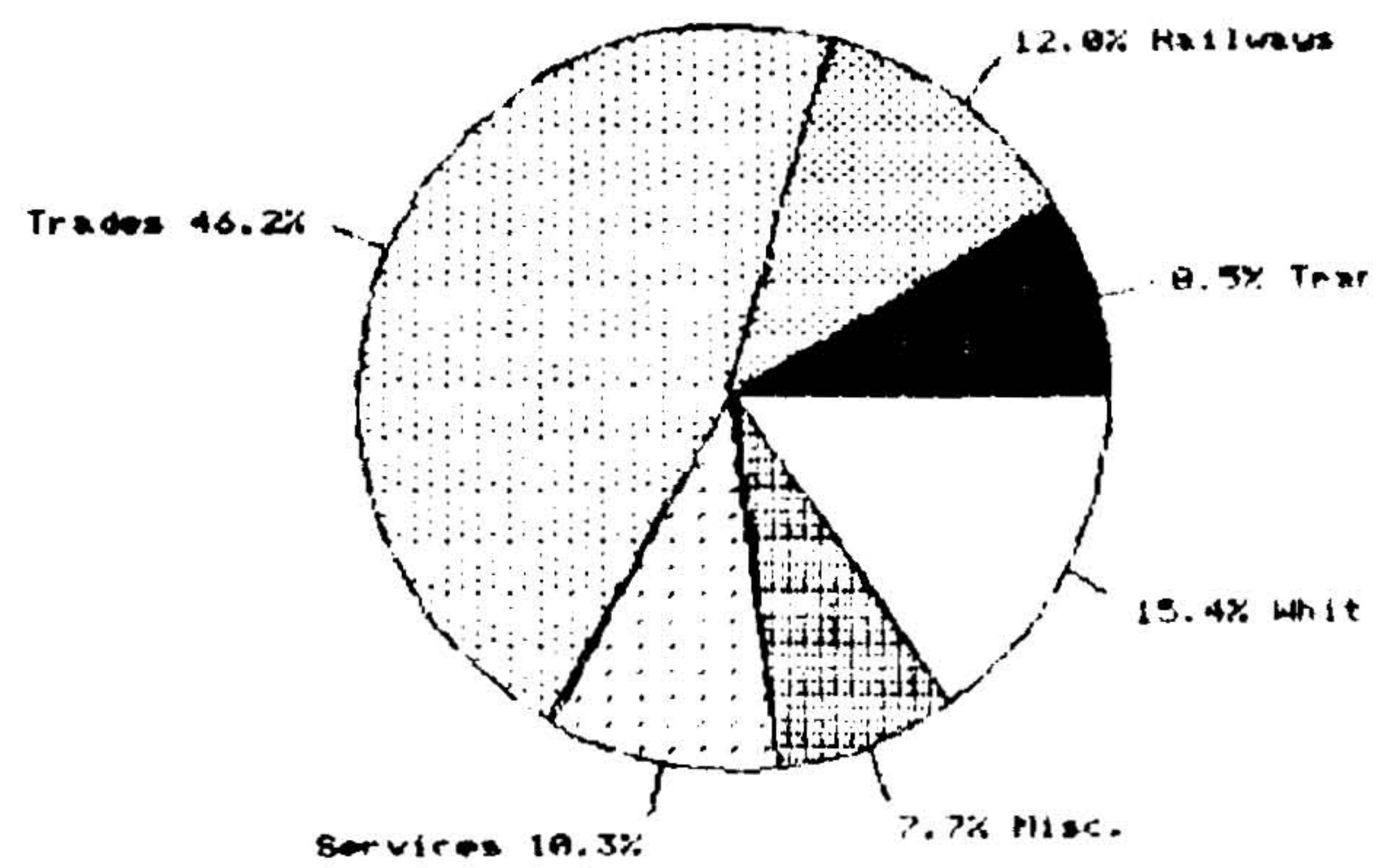


FIG. 7.8 - LTC&LP, TU EC POST-HOLDERS, OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED, 1931-



These figures show that key groups like the transport workers, that had grown by 1925 in terms of their affiliation to the LTC&LP, were not as well represented on the EC, particularly up to 1930. The figure for transport workers after 1930 is also probably slightly exaggerated, due to the fact that the Transport and General Workers Union has been put in this category. When the T&GWU was formed in 1922 there is no doubt that in Liverpool it represented dockers mainly, but later mergers with general unions and recruitment of general workers meant that by the 1930s it was less predominantly a transport union.⁴² Conversely, the skilled trades were still highly influential, occupying almost half of all trade union positions on the EC in the 1930s. There *had* been *some* change in the nature of the TC&LP, but it was still a long way from accurately reflecting the structure of the local working class.

* * * * *

There were two other significant elements of the party structure that have not been considered in any detail. First, there was the Labour Group in the Council chamber, which became a significant force from the mid-1920s as the Labour presence increased. Secondly, there was the catholic caucus within that group, which grew in importance from the late-1920s as Labour gained control of the catholic wards of the city. Although the TC&LP was always formally the overall ruling body of the party, as elsewhere the Labour Group in Liverpool developed an

autonomy of its own which was consolidated in the dispute over the catholic cathedral in 1930. At the same time the powerful position of the catholic caucus within the Group was also confirmed.⁴³

The political battles within the party in the subsequent decade were complex. There were those between the predominantly left-leaning Divisional delegates and the generally more moderate union delegates on the TC&LP, others between the TC&LP and the generally more right-wing Labour Group, and others again between the catholic caucus and the generally more left-wing remainder of the Group. All of these conflicts in turn had undertones of religious sectarian differences associated with them.⁴⁴ It is not necessary to explore these conflicts in more detail here, except to note that the inherently unstable structure of the party and the degree of conflict within it was not conducive to united or effective political campaigning. There were, of course, conflicts within parties in all other areas as well, but religious sectarianism provided a complicating dimension in Liverpool not commonly found elsewhere. The delicate state of affairs in the Liverpool party must have contributed to its failures in this period.

It is also relevant to ask whether the Group and the catholic caucus perhaps provided an alternative to the ward and divisional parties and the affiliated unions as a link with the local working class. To what extent were Labour councillors a real part of the neighbourhoods that they claimed to represent? As far as the Group as a whole were concerned, an earlier analysis would suggest that Labour councillors in Liverpool were highly unrepresentative of the communities that they

represented. Fewer than 10% of councillors actually lived within the wards they stood for in the 1930s, and in terms of social class almost 60% of them were defined as middle class in the 1920s, and over 40% in the 1930s.⁴⁵ These figures hardly suggest that Labour councillors sprang from within the neighbourhoods they were elected for.

However, as far as the catholic caucus was concerned, the relationship between elector and elected may have been more complex, and less distant. For those councillors in predominantly catholic wards, religion provided a common link with their electors, and it was perhaps inevitable given the cohesiveness of the catholic community that these councillors were much more likely to come from within this community itself. The evidence quoted above seems to bear this out, as far more councillors elected in these wards were also resident in them than in the rest of the city.⁴⁶

On the other hand, it would be wrong to overstate the case, as evidence of the social composition of this group does not appear to distinguish them markedly from other Labour councillors. An investigation of the occupations of the Labour councillors and aldermen in 1930 who had been elected in the six most clearly Catholic wards gives the results shown in Table 7.6 below.

Table 7.6 - Occupations of Labour Councillors and Aldermen in 1930 who had been Elected in Predominantly Catholic Wards

<u>Name</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
T.Hanley	Brunswick	Insurance Agent
L.King	"	Paper Stock Merchant
P.Moorhead	"	"Authority on Economics"
Ald.L.Hogan	Ex Brunswick	Trade Union Official
H.L.Gaffaney	Gt.George	Unknown
M.Grogan	"	Unknown
J.Loughlin	"	Schools Agent
P.H.Hayes	Vauxhall	Surgeon
A.B.Hoer	"	Window Cleaning Contractor
J.Belger	"	Accountant
Ald.P.J.Kelly	Ex Vauxhall	Insurance Agent
J.Sheehan	Scotland S.	Plasterer
M.J.Reppion	"	Cartage Contractor
J.Harrington	"	Team Owner
P.Duffy	Scotland N.	Unknown
P.Fay	"	Trade Union Official
Mrs.M.McFarlane	"	Unknown
Ald.W.A.Robinson	Ex Scotland N.	Trade Union Official
Ald.D.G.Logan	"	Pawnbroker
J.W.Baker	Sandhills	Dentist
T.H.Dunford	"	Trade Union Official
J.W.T.Morrissey	"	Insurance Agent
Ald.T.W.Byrne	Ex Sandhills	Dentist

SOURCE : *Liverpool Official Red Books*, Who's Who Section, Various dates, 1920-39.

As can be seen very distinctly, the members of the caucus came overwhelmingly from business, white-collar and supervisory backgrounds. A number had connections with the trade union movement as officials, but only one out of the nineteen whose occupations can be traced had an unequivocally working class job, and that was as a skilled plasterer. This was certainly not a mirror image of the unskilled, casual workforce that predominated in the catholic areas of the city at this time. These councillors were undoubtedly of the catholic community, but they were also from a particular higher-status segment of it. Whether they truly expressed the beliefs and aspirations of their working class catholic electors, or whether they

acted more as authority figures within their own community, are difficult questions which will be taken up in more detail in later chapters.

* * * * *

In conclusion, it is arguable that much of the structural and organisational weakness of the Labour Party in Liverpool may not have been unique. On the other hand, there were special features of the Liverpool case. These included the lack of organisation in the crucial dockside areas of the city, and also the complex divisions within the party structure by the 1930s, which were related to a combination of political, religious, and social differences. A systematic comparison with other areas is not possible, however, simply because there are not enough local studies available as yet.

It is also the case that poor organisation elsewhere did not necessarily mean that Labour was unable to win electoral support, as the example of Newcastle-under-Lyme referred to in Chapter Two shows.⁴⁷ In Liverpool, Labour's lack of electoral success, however much it might need to be qualified by the evidence shown in Chapters Three to Five, was undeniable. It is therefore necessary now to turn to the social characteristics of the working class voters of Liverpool, and their political allegiances.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted in Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*, p.17.
2. D.Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900-1918*, (Cambridge, 1990), p. 434; p.441.
3. See McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party*, pp.3-11.
4. *Ibid*, p.5.
5. Hamling, *A Short History of the Liverpool Trades Council*, p.18; Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p. 100.
6. *1891 Census*, Vol. III, pp.352-359.
7. Hamling, *A Short History...*, pp. 19-26.
8. *Ibid*, p.26.
9. *Ibid*, p.25.
- 10.E.L.Taplin, *The Dockers Union*, p.27, p.81.
- 11.*Ibid*, p.32, pp.86-7.
- 12.*Liverpool Official Red Book, 1905*, p.260.
- 13.Taplin, *The Dockers' Union*, p.54; *Liverpool Official Red Book, 1907*, p.244-5.
- 14.Quoted in Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p.105.
- 15.Taplin, *The Dockers' Union*, p.31-2.
- 16.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p.143.
- 17.*Ibid*, p.152.
- 18.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p.101, pp.143-4.
- 19.Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp.11-12.
- 20.Taplin, *The Dockers' Union*, pp.134-136.
- 21.*Ibid*, p.136.
- 22.Howell, *British Workers and the ILP*, p.205.
- 23.D.Hopkin, "The Membership of the Independent Labour Party, 1904-10: A Spatial and Occupational Analysis", *International Review of Social History*, Vol.20, pt.2, (1975), pp.181-2.
- 24.*Liverpool Official Red Book, 1920*, p.293.

25. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, p.159.
26. For details see election results by ward in Appendix 2.
27. Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, p.29-30.
28. Liverpool Labour Party, *Minutes*, 24th Nov., 1918.
29. *Ibid*, 28th March, 1919; 2nd April, 1919.
30. LTC&LP, *Minutes*, Balance Sheets for 6 months ending Sep.30th, 1921; March 31st, 1922 (incorrectly printed as 1921 on original).
31. *Ibid*, Balance Sheet for year ending March 31st, 1924.
32. *Ibid*, Minutes, 1st July, 1924.
33. LTC&LP, *Minutes*, March 7th, 1921.
34. *Ibid*, Financial Statements, Six Months ending Sep.30th, 1924; Mar.31st, 1925; Sep.30th, 1925; Mar.21st, 1926.
35. *Liverpool Official Red Books, 1926-39*.
36. LTC&LP, *Minutes*, June 8th, 1932.
37. LTC&LP, *Minutes*, Findings of N.E.C. Enquiry, dated Feb.22nd, 1939.
38. *Ibid*, Recommendations of N.E.C. Enquiry, dated April 26th, 1939.
39. J.Eaton & C.Gill, *The Trade Union Directory: A Guide to all TUC Unions*, (1981), p.54; A.Marsh & V.Ryan, *Historical Directory of Trade Unions, Vol.3*, (Aldershot, 1987), p.188.
40. LTC&LP, *Minutes*, Sep.13th, 1929.
41. *Ibid*, Nov.2nd, 1927; Dec.3rd, 1927; Apr.4th, 1929; June 14th, 1929; Aug.12th, 1929.
42. Eaton & Gill, *The Trade Union Directory*, p.59-62.
43. See Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp.44-62; M.Nightingale (ed), *Merseyside in Crisis*, (Manchester, 1980), pp.75-79; T.Lane, *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire*, (1987), pp.137-138.
44. See Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp.62-87.
45. *Ibid*, p.193; pp.198-9.
46. *Ibid*, p.193.
47. See Chapter Two, above, and F.Bealey, J.Blondel & W.P.McCann, *Constituency Politics: A Study of Newcastle-under-Lyme*, (1965), pp.77-104.

Chapter Eight - The Social And Political Characteristics of the
Electoral Wards of Liverpool, 1900-1939

Having assessed Labour's performance in Liverpool overall, it is now necessary to turn to the analysis of variations in social characteristics within the city and their relationship to patterns of political allegiance. This will be done on a ward basis, showing how each ward in the city varied in its social composition and its pattern of voting behaviour in local elections. From this it will be possible to distinguish patterns of differentiation within the working class, especially those related to religion and occupation.

* * * * *

It is a relatively straightforward task to establish the predominant religious composition of each ward in the city. Firstly, it is made easier by the fact that the residential segregation of different ethnic groups in the city was quite clearly defined. Analysis of nineteenth century Liverpool has shown how different ethnic groups tended to be concentrated in particular areas of the city.¹ While this pattern of residential segregation had begun to change by the beginning of the twentieth century, and was to be changed much more fundamentally in the 1920s and 1930s by slum clearance and the development of council housing, it was still the case that clearly defined catholic and protestant areas of the city were recognised. To this day, most of the older inhabitants of Liverpool would identify the north end dockside areas as traditionally strongly Catholic, or

the Dingle in the south end and the heights of Netherfield and St. Domingo in the north as traditionally strongly protestant. Secondly, there are a number of historical sources available which confirm these patterns of religious segregation fairly clearly, as will be shown below in the analysis of the distribution of church places and of children in voluntary and board schools.

However, it would be unwise to see the pattern of religious differentiation of Liverpool's population identified here as being *too* clear-cut. As already stressed in previous chapters, ward boundaries were selected for a combination of reasons, but mainly as a result of traditional notions of what constituted a "locality" mixed with the political needs of the day. The religious character of a locality *may* have been part of its traditional rationale, and political expedience *might* also dictate that boundaries of religion be reflected in wards. In the end though there was no guarantee that ward boundaries would coincide precisely with boundaries of religion, or of any other form of social differentiation. The long interval between the redistribution of ward boundaries in Liverpool only made this more unlikely over time, as economic and social change took place. So however clearly defined religious segregation may have been, wards reflected it only imperfectly.

Turning to the evidence, then, the lists of churches and chapels and elementary schools published each year in the *Liverpool Official Red Book* and the Street Directories, together with the religious surveys carried out for the *Liverpool Daily Post*, provide a valuable source of information. It would have been preferable to have used the lists for one particular year, but this was not possible as the detail provided

varied from year to year. The list of schools in the *Red Book* only gave figures for the number of children accommodated at each school in the early 1920s, and so 1923 has been selected. The detail of the number of seats provided in each church, on the other hand, varied from year to year but was never complete. The figures in the Street Directory for 1930 have been selected as they were reasonably comprehensive in that year. For those churches that gave no detail in this period, the figures for their accommodation in the 1902 religious survey have had to be used. Obviously these figures may not be totally accurate, as some churches may have been extended in the intervening period, but this is unlikely to have been very significant. The results of the analysis of these two sources are shown in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 below.

Neither of these two tables can be taken to represent exact percentages of catholics, anglicans and non-conformists in the city. In the case of both churches and schools, the community that they served would not have coincided precisely with ward boundaries, and those that were situated on or very near to boundary streets in particular could be misleading. For instance, the catholic Our Lady of Mount Carmel was situated on the corner of High Park Street and Admiral Street, which was in Dingle ward, and its 800 seats have been allocated to Dingle in Table 8.1. However, this church was on the boundary with Princes Park ward, and also only a block away from Brunswick, and probably served all three wards. Equally problematic

Table 8.1 - CHURCHES BY WARD, 1929

	Anglican		Catholic		Non-Conformist	
	No.	Sittings	No.	Sittings	No.	Sittings
ABERCROMBY	6	1,050(10%)	0	0	10	9,074(90%)
AIGBURTH	2	1,732(58%)	1	224 (8%)	2	1,020(34%)
ALLERTON	2	1,250(86%)	1	200(14%)	0	0
ANFIELD	5	3,375(34%)	2	1,100(11%)	11	5,494(55%)
BRECKFIELD	3	2,250(65%)	0	0	2	1,200(35%)
BRUNSWICK	4	2,900(45%)	2	2,074(32%)	4	1,510(23%)
CASTLE ST	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHILDWALL	1	500(63%)	1	300(37%)	0	0
CROXTETH*	-	-	-	-	-	-
DINGLE	3	2,480(41%)	1	800(13%)	6	2,700(45%)
EDGE HILL	2	1,656(32%)	2	1,300(25%)	4	2,240(43%)
EVERTON	4	4,870(43%)	2	2,533(22%)	7	3,926(35%)
EXCHANGE	1	1,332(60%)	1	900(40%)	0	0
FAIRFIELD	4	2,650(43%)	1	200 (3%)	5	3,303(54%)
FAZAKERLEY	2	1,200(80%)	0	0	1	300(20%)
GARSTON	2	1,650(39%)	1	320 (7%)	8	2,297(54%)
GRANBY	3	2,050(46%)	1	350 (8%)	3	2,010(46%)
GT. GEORGE	2	1,950(30%)	3	2,740(42%)	2	1,850(28%)
KENSINGTON	2	1,645(28%)	0	0	9	4,166(72%)
KIRKDALE	6	4,695(43%)	1	900(8%)	9	5,350(49%)
L. WOOLTON	0	0	0	0	0	0
LOW HILL	2	1,600(39%)	1	700(17%)	3	1,800(44%)
M. WOOLTON	2	750(45%)	1	200(12%)	3	730(43%)
NETHERFIELD	6	4,752(67%)	0	0	5	2,350(33%)
O. SWAN	3	1,414(34%)	2	900(22%)	4	1,790(44%)
PRINCES PK	4	4,070(35%)	0	0	11	7,650(65%)
ST. ANNE'S	5	4,034(77%)	1	500(10%)	1	700(13%)
ST. DOMINGO	3	2,130(32%)	1	575 (9%)	7	3,938(50%)
ST. PETER'S	1	900(41%)	1	1,300(59%)	0	0
SANDHILLS	0	0	2	1,330(73%)	1	500(27%)
SCOTLAND N	1	800(18%)	3	3,000(67%)	1	700(15%)
SCOTLAND S	5	4,760(53%)	5	4,220(47%)	0	0
SEFTON PK. E	3	1,260(24%)	1	450 (8%)	6	3,610(68%)
SEFTON PK. W	3	2,030(60%)	1	470(14%)	1	900(26%)
VAUXHALL	0	0	1	1,500(100%)	0	0
WALTON	3	2,700(39%)	3	800(11%)	10	3,505(50%)
WARBRECK	1	800(28%)	1	650(23%)	3	1,370(49%)
WAVERTREE	3	2,100(28%)	2	850(11%)	7	4,605(61%)
WAVERTREE W	1	850(37%)	0	0	3	1,450(63%)
W. DERBY	1	1,000(53%)	0	0	2	880(47%)

SOURCE: *Liverpool Official Red Book*, 1930, pp.449-481; *Kelly's Directory of Liverpool*, 1930, pp.2005-2016; *Liverpool Daily Post*, Nov.11th, 1902.

* Croxteth ward only added to city in 1928, and no churches had yet been constructed.

Table 8.2 - LIVERPOOL PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS - Summary of Accommodation for the month ended September 30th, 1922.

WARD	CATHOLIC	COUNCIL	C. of E.	WESLEYAN	TOTAL
Abercromby	0	0	1091(69%)	497(31%)	1588
Aigburth	133(10%)	1009(77%)	176(13%)	0	1318
Allerton	0	0	0	0	0
Anfield	1373(44%)	243 (8%)	1532(48%)	0	3148
Breckfield	0	2489(100%)	0	0	2489
Brunswick	2128(59%)	1174(32%)	336 (9%)	0	3638
Castle St.	0	0	0	0	0
Childwall	0	0	0	0	0
Croxteth	[1979(20%)]	[7923(80%)]	0	0	[9902]*
Dingle	925(12%)	5347(68%)	1646(20%)	0	7918
Edge Hill	1141(18%)	3752(59%)	1486(33%)	0	6379
Everton	3101(38%)	2737(34%)	1704(21%)	574 (7%)	8116
Exchange	839(63%)	0	487(37%)	0	1326
Fairfield	424(10%)	3896(90%)	0	0	4320
Fazakerley	0	346(74%)	120(26%)	0	466
Garston	521(15%)	1544(45%)	1391(40%)	0	3456
Granby	487(10%)	2514(54%)	1692(36%)	0	4693
Gt. George	2333(54%)	1597(37%)	360 (9%)	0	4290
Kensington	0	2840(86%)	483(14%)	0	3323
Kirkdale	2580(23%)	5884(53%)	2592(24%)	0	11056
L. Woolton	0	0	309(100%)	0	309
Low Hill	990(26%)	2178(56%)	695(18%)	0	3863
M. Woolton	399(41%)	0	579(59%)	0	978
Netherfield	0	4398(73%)	1600(27%)	0	5998
Old Swan	1128(21%)	2879(54%)	1296(25%)	0	5303
Princes Pk.	0	662(30%)	1519(70%)	0	2181
St. Anne's	310(32%)	0	650(68%)	0	960
St. Domingo	1188(23%)	3189(62%)	746(15%)	0	5123
St. Peter's	1600(81%)	0	387(19%)	0	1987
Sandhills	1926(48%)	1248(31%)	837(21%)	0	4011
Scotland N.	4664(95%)	0	229 (5%)	0	4893
Scotland S.	5145(74%)	1008(14%)	846(12%)	0	6999
Sefton Pk. E.	0	1946(61%)	1239(39%)	0	3185
Sefton Pk. W.	141 (9%)	926(61%)	447(30%)	0	1514
Vauxhall	785(66%)	0	408(34%)	0	1193
Walton	336 (4%)	7151(85%)	952(11%)	0	8439
Warbreck	501(14%)	2640(74%)	419(12%)	0	3560
Wavertree	371(10%)	2054(55%)	1318(35%)	0	3743
Wavertree W.	856(28%)	1734(56%)	515(16%)	0	5085
W. Derby	559(12%)	2628(58%)	1325(30%)	0	4512
TOTAL	36884(26%)	70013(50%)	31412(23%)	1071(1%)	139380

* Croxteth ward not in existence in 1923 - figures quoted are from *Population Problems of New Estates*, Liverpool University Social Studies Dept., (1937), p.44., and are not included in total.

SOURCE: *Liverpool Official Red Book*, 1923, pp.278-288.

was All Saints Church of England elementary school, situated on Great Nelson Street in South Scotland Ward. Its 403 pupils have been allocated to South Scotland in Table 8.2, but it was only yards from the boundary with Netherfield ward, and on the other side of Scotland Road from most of the inhabitants of South Scotland. However, these were the two most questionable examples, and *most* of the others were situated more centrally in the wards. Combining the data from the two tables also alleviates this difficulty, as "boundary" issues were unlikely to coincide in both. There is also the problem that both schools and churches may have reflected earlier demand from population that had since declined. Consequently, in inner-city areas, where considerable slum clearance had taken place already by the 1920s, the figures were probably over-estimates. Equally, in suburban areas where new council housing estates were rapidly being developed at this time, the construction of churches and schools probably lagged behind the growth of population. This was certainly the case for Croxteth ward, which already had 25,000 residents by 1931, but no churches built by 1930.

Nevertheless, *taken together*, these tables provide an indicator of the religious complexion of wards, and show the crucial sectarian divide between the protestant and catholic working class. Combining them to give an index of catholic influence provides clear-cut results. This had been done by calculating the average of the percentages of catholic places in schools and seats in churches for each ward. It should be stressed that these averages do not reflect the exact statistical proportions of catholics within wards, but are an *indicator* of Catholic influence. The results are shown in Table 8.3 below.

TABLE 8.3 - INDEX OF CATHOLIC INFLUENCE IN WARDS

(A) Catholic Propn. School Places (%)	(B) Catholic Propn. Church Sittings (%)	(C) Index of Catholic Influence (Average of A + B)
1. Scotland N.(95)	1. Vauxhall(100)	1. Vauxhall(83)
2. St.Peter's(81)	2. Sandhills(73)	2. Scotland N.(81)
3. Scotland S.(74)	3. Scotland N.(67)	3. St.Peter's(70)
4. Vauxhall(66)	4. St.Peter's(59)	4. Scotland S.(61)
5. Exchange(63)	5. Scotland S.(47)	5. Sandhills(61)
6. Brunswick(59)	6. Gt.George(42)	6. Exchange(52)
7. Gt.George(54)	7. Exchange(40)	7. Gt.George(48)
8. Sandhills(48)	8. Childwall(37)	8. Brunswick(46)
9. Anfield(44)	9. Brunswick(32)	9. Everton(30)
10.M.Woolton(41)	10.Edge Hill(25)	10.Anfield(28)
11.Everton(38)	11.Warbreck(23)	11.M.Woolton(27)
12.St.Anne's(32)	12.Everton(22)	12.Low Hill(22)
13.W'tree W.(28)	13.O.Swan(22)	13.O.Swan(22)
14.Low Hill(26)	14.Low Hill(17)	14.Edge Hill(22)
15.St.Domingo(23)	15.Allerton(14)	15.St.Anne's(21)
16.Kirkdale(23)	16.Sef.Pk.W.(14)	16.Croxteth(20)
17.O.Swan(21)	17.Dingle(13)	17.Warbreck 19)
18.Croxteth(20)*	18.M.Woolton(12)	18.Childwall(19)
19.Edge Hill(18)	19.Anfield(11)	19.St.Domingo(16)
20.Garston(15)	20.W'tree(11)	20.Kirkdale(16)
21.Warbreck(14)	21.Walton(11)	21.W'tree W.(14)
22.Dingle(12)	22.St.Anne's(10)	22.Dingle(13)
23.W.Derby(12)	23.St.Domingo(9)	23.Sef.Pk.W.(12)
24.W'tree(10)	24.Aigburth(8)	24.Garston(11)
25.Aigburth(10)	25.Granby(8)	25.W'tree(11)
26.Granby(10)	26.Kirkdale(8)	26.Aigburth(9)
27.Fairfield(10)	27.Sef.Pk.E.(8)	27.Granby(9)
28.Sef.Pk.W.(9)	28.Garston(7)	28.Walton(8)
29.Walton(4)	29.Fairfield(3)	29.Allerton(7)
30.Abercromby(0)	30.Abercromby(0)	30.Fairfield(7)
31.Allerton(0)	31.Breckfield(0)	31.W.Derby(6)
32.Breckfield(0)	32.Castle St.(0)	32.Sef.Pk.E.(4)
33.Castle St.(0)	33.Croxteth(-)	33.Abercromby(0)
34.Childwall(0)	34.Fazakerley(0)	34.Breckfield(0)
35.Fazakerley(0)	35.Kensington(0)	35.Castle St.(0)
36.Kensington(0)	36.L.Woolton(0)	36.Fazakerley(0)
37.L.Woolton(0)	37.Netherfield(0)	37.Kensington(0)
38.Netherfield(0)	38.Prince's Pk.(0)	38.L.Woolton(0)
39.Prince's Pk.(0)	39.W'tree W.(0)	39.Netherfield(0)
40.Sef.Pk.E.(0)	40.W.Derby(0)	40.Prince's Pk.(0)
Average (26)	(17)	(21.5)

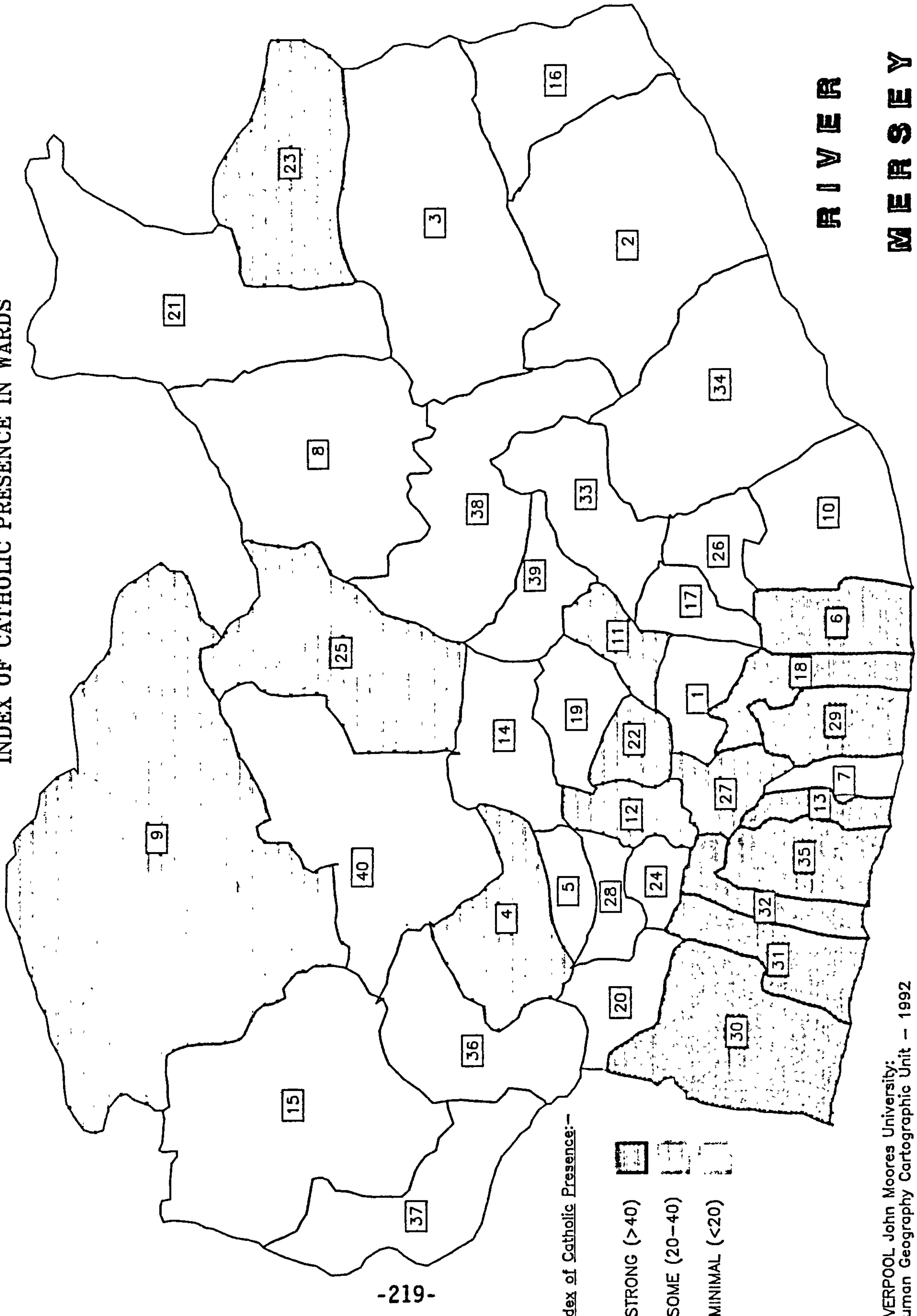
* Croxteth figure for schools is for 1938, and index figure for this ward is the schools figure alone, as no churches constructed by 1930.

Table 8.3 shows a number of groups of wards distinguishable by their religious complexion. First, there were eight wards, Sandhills, Scotland North, Scotland South, Vauxhall, Exchange, St.Peter's, Great George and Brunswick, where Catholic influence was identifiably strong. These wards stretched in a line along the river from Sandhills in the north to Brunswick in the south, with only the tiny Castle Street ward in the city centre breaking the continuity. Next were a number of predominantly working class wards where there was some moderate catholic influence, namely St.Anne's, Everton, Low Hill and Edge Hill. These were situated just inland and uphill from the city centre. Thirdly, there were two predominantly lower middle class suburban wards, Anfield and Old Swan, and one semi-rural ward, Much Woolton, where there appeared to be some catholic influence. This group is probably misleading, in that there were only a small number of catholic schools and churches in the suburban areas, presumably serving a small catholic population scattered widely across the middle class parts of the city, so their situation did not necessarily reflect catholic influence within one ward alone.

Standing on its own was Croxteth ward, added to the city in 1928 to allow for the development of council housing estates. The moderate catholic influence here was probably a good reflection of the proportion of catholics and protestants being relocated in the 1920s and 1930s. Finally, the rest of the wards can be characterised as strongly non-Catholic, but within them can be identified the predominantly working class wards of Kirkdale, St.Domingo and Netherfield in the north of the city, and Dingle and Garston along the river to the south. The overall pattern of religious division can be seen below in Figure 8.1.

INDEX OF CATHOLIC PRESENCE IN WARDS

FIGURE 8.1



RIVER
MERSEY

* * * * *

The pattern of differentiation of wards according to different types of occupation and related forms of social division is inherently much harder to establish than the religious divide. The definitional problems of social class and the analysis of intra- and inter-class differences have already been alluded to in Chapter Two. As stated there, there is no *definitive* model of occupational divisions within the working class. The categories devised here are intended to emphasise the significant differences in terms of occupation within the Liverpool working class. Any such system of categorisation has its limitations, and in the most difficult cases involves making almost arbitrary decisions to distinguish between different types of work. Having acknowledged the imperfection of the system, what is important is that it is applied with *consistency*. The occupational categories that are utilised in this chapter are, therefore, used throughout this thesis.

The other major problem lies with the sources. While the Census provides occupational data for the whole city, it is not broken down into smaller units. Some population data is provided at the ward level, some of which can be analysed to provide additional indicators of social difference, as will be seen later. The occupational characteristics of wards, however, are only accessible through the full census returns, and the one-hundred year rule prevents their use later than 1891 at present. For the purposes of this study that is too early to be really useful.

The only alternative sources to the Census are the Street Directories, which were published annually and listed the occupations of heads of households. The fact that other household members were never listed clearly limits the accuracy of this source, and particularly limits any indication of female employment, as men were almost always defined as heads of households. The directories can only be taken to indicate male employment, therefore. There was a further limitation to the directories than this, however. The names and occupations of the population in the poorer parts of the city were less likely to be listed. The reasons for this are obscure, but it was presumably linked to the advertising and distribution purposes that the directories were used for. It may also be supposed that the relatively well-educated and middle class citizens who must have collected this information may not have been very willing to venture into what were regarded as the most unsalubrious streets of the city. It is also the case that unlisted streets became far more common after 1914, so that virtually all working class districts were excluded after that date.

A survey of some of the working class wards was carried out using the directories before 1914. The wards were selected in order to cover both catholic and non-catholic areas, and also the various geographical parts of the city where working class neighbourhoods were located. The 1911 directory would have been most appropriate, coinciding with a census year, but in some wards very few streets were listed for that year, and it was necessary to go back to 1900 in some cases. In all cases, the figures found in the directories were supplemented by information on occupations of heads of households given in lists of tenants of corporation tenements for 1907, in order to reflect the occupations of the poorest streets excluded from the

street directories. The results of these surveys are by no means definitive, but are the best *indicator* that can be contrived of the occupational characteristics of the selected wards in the period 1900 to 1911. The full explanation of the method used to calculate these figures, and a full list of the results, can be found in Appendix 12. A summary of the results can be found in Tables 8.4 and 8.5 below.

Also included there, for comparative purposes, are figures for the whole of Liverpool in 1911. These have been calculated from the 1911 Census, using exactly the same system of categorisation that was used in the surveys. Additionally, figures for Croxteth ward for 1940 have been provided. This is to analyse a very different type of working class area, a suburban development of council housing in the inter-war years. These are based solely on the Street Directory for 1940. The new estates were fully listed in the Directories in the 1930s, which in itself is an indicator of the social characteristics of these areas. 1940 was selected to allow for the fullest development of the estates. This survey, unlike the others, does not cover every street, due to the vast scale of this ward, but only a substantial section of the largest and central estate in the ward. This was Norris Green, which it is assumed was representative of the other council estates, most notably Fazakerley and Dovecot, which were partially included at the extremities of Croxteth ward. Additionally, it should be noted that the categorisation of employment had to be adjusted slightly to take account of the changing names of some jobs over time, and also the development of new types of occupation. Finally, figures for the whole of Liverpool in 1931, derived from the census, are also included to show any significant changes overall since 1911.

TABLE 8.4 - MALE OCCUPATIONS IN TEN LIVERPOOL WARDS, 1900, 1911 & 1940 (%)

	EDGE HILL (1900)	DINGLE (1900)	SCOTLAND S.(1900)	KIRKDALE (1900)	BRUNSWICK (1911)	GARSTON (1911)
BUILDING TRADES	14	10	3	9	8	6
FURNISHING TRADES	2	1	1	-	1	-
RAILWAYMEN	5	5	1	5	2	14
ENGINEERING & METAL TRADES	9	15	6	17	8	10
WORKSHOP TRADES	4	2	4	4	3	1
PRINTING TRADES	1	1	-	-	-	1
CLOTHING TRADES	3	1	2	1	2	3
RETAIL & SERVICES	6	4	2	5	6	7
TRANSPORT & ASSOCIATED	36	46	72	39	58	35
WHITE-COLLAR & SUPERVISORY	15	8	1	13	5	12
MISCELLANEOUS	5	7	9	6	8	10

	EVERTON (1911)	ST.ANNE'S (1911)	ST.DOMINGO (1911)	CROXTETH (1940)	LIVERPOOL (1911)	LIVERPOOL (1931)
BUILDING TRADES	10	5	11	9	8	8
FURNISHING TRADES	2	6	1	1	3	1
RAILWAYMEN	2	1	1	3	4	2
ENGINEERING & METAL TRADES	6	5	7	11	10	8
WORKSHOP TRADES	3	3	3	2	1	1
PRINTING TRADES	2	1	1	2	2	1
CLOTHING TRADES	3	9	1	-	3	1
RETAIL & SERVICES	9	7	6	7	10	10
TRANSPORT & ASSOCIATED	43	50	56	35	32	36
WHITE-COLLAR & SUPERVISORY	11	2	12	22	18	19
MISCELLANEOUS	9	11	2	8	8	12

SOURCE: Gore's Street Directory, 1900, 1911. Corporation Tenants List, 1907.
Kelly's Street Directory, 1940. Census, 1911, 1931.

TABLE 8.5 - MALE OCCUPATIONS IN TEN LIVERPOOL WARDS, 1900, 1911 & 1940

TEN LARGEST OCCUPATIONS

EDGE HILL 1900 (%)		DINGLE 1900(%)		S. SCOTLAND 1900(%)	
1.Labourers	(12)	1.Mariners	(10)	1.Dock Lab'rs	(19)
2.Carters	(8)	2.Dock Lab'rs	(10)	2.Labourers	(18)
3.Mariners	(6)	3.Labourers	(8)	3.Carters	(13)
4.Rail'men	(5)	4.Carters	(8)	4.Mariners	(13)
5.Carps.&Joiners	(5)	5.Rail'men	(5)	5.Porters	(5)
6.Painters	(4)	6.Fitters	(5)	6.Smiths	(3)
7.Book-keepers	(4)	7.Smiths	(4)	7.Hawkers	(3)
8.Fitters	(3)	8.Shipwrights	(4)	8.Firemen & Stokers	(2)
9.Smiths	(3)	9.Porters	(4)	9.Warehousemen	(2)
10.Porters	(3)	10.Portw'krs	(3)	10.Coopers	(2)
% of TOTAL	(53%)		(61%)		(80%)
KIRKDALE 1900(%)		BRUNSWICK 1911(%)		EVERTON 1911(%)	
1.Mariners	(8)	1.Labourers	(23)	1.Labourers	(12)
2.Carters	(8)	2.Dock Lab'rs	(13)	2.Dock Lab's	(8)
3.Fitters	(7)	3.Mariners	(11)	3.Carters	(8)
4.Dock Lab'rs	(5)	4.Carters	(6)	4.Mariners	(5)
5.Rail'men	(5)	5.Firemen&Stokers	(3)	5.Painters	(4)
6.Carps & Joiners	(5)	6.Carps.&Joiners	(2)	6.Porters	(4)
7.Smiths	(4)	7.Painters	(2)	7.Smiths	(3)
8.Labourers	(4)	8.Smiths	(2)	8.Carps & Joiners	(2)
9.Portworkers	(4)	9.Porters	(2)	9.Printers	(2)
10.Boilermakers	(3)	10.Boilermakers	(2)	10.Waiters	(2)
% of TOTAL	(53%)		(66%)		(50%)
GARSTON 1911(%)		ST. ANNE'S 1911(%)		ST. DOMINGO 1911(%)	
1.Rail'men	(14)	1.Labourers	(15)	1.Labourers	(17)
2.Labourers	(10)	2.Dock Lab'rs	(14)	2.Carters	(11)
3.Dock Lab's	(9)	3.Mariners	(7)	3.Dock Labourers	(10)
4.Mariners	(5)	4.Carters	(7)	4.Mariners	(7)
5.Smiths	(5)	5.Tailors	(6)	5.Painters	(5)
6.Carters	(4)	6.Cabinet Mkrs.	(4)	6.Porters	(4)
7.Foremen	(4)	7.Porters	(3)	7.Carps. & Joiners	(3)
8.Fitters	(3)	8.Boot&Shoe Mkrs.	(3)	8.Police	(3)
9.Portworkers	(3)	9.Smiths	(3)	9.Smiths	(3)
10.Clerks	(2)	10.Hawkers	(2)	10.Clerks	(3)
% of Total	(59%)		(64%)		(66%)
CROXTETH 1940(%)		LIVERPOOL 1911(%)		LIVERPOOL 1931(%)	
1.Labourers	(15)	1.Dock Lab'rs	(9)	1.Labourers	(8)
2.Clerks	(6)	2.Clerks	(6)	2.Clerks	(7)
3.Drivers	(6)	3.Mariners	(5)	3.Dock Lab'rs	(7)
4.Fitters	(5)	4.Porters	(5)	4.Mariners	(5)
5.Police	(4)	5.Carters	(5)	5.Drivers	(5)
6.Rail'men	(3)	6.Rail'men	(4)	6.Porters	(5)
7.Carps.&Joiners	(3)	7.Labourers	(3)	7.Unskilled Wk'rs	(5)
8.Electricians	(2)	8.Painters	(2)	8.Fitters	(3)
9.Comm.Travellers	(2)	9.Carps & Joiners	(2)	9.Rail'men	(2)
10.Tramwaymen	(2)	10.Fitters	(1)	10.Painters	(2)
% of Total	(48%)		(42%)		(49%)

SOURCE: Gore's Street Directory, 1900; 1911. Corporation Tenants List, 1907. Kelly's Street Directory, 1940. Census, 1911, 1931.

The results of these surveys reveal a great deal about the varying character of the occupational structure of different working class areas of the city. The full implications of the data will be developed further in later chapters, but for the moment a brief summary of the key differences between the wards is necessary.

There is a range of variation between, at one end of the scale, wards with a greater proportion of the male workforce concentrated in occupations defined as unskilled, lower-paid, and casually-employed, and at the other end, in higher-paid, permanent and skilled occupations. The key indicators of this variation are the "transport and associated" category, and the various "trades" categories grouped together. Neither of these could be defined as *exclusively* "skilled" or "unskilled", or "casual" and "non-casual", groups, but most of the occupations grouped in the former were dock-related, casual jobs, while in the latter were concentrated many of the most skilled, permanent jobs in the city. The pattern can best be represented by ordering the wards according to the proportions in these two categories, as shown below in Table 8.6.

TABLE 8.6 - PROPORTION OF MALE WORKFORCE IN "TRANSPORT & ASSOCIATED" & "TRADES" CATEGORIES IN 9 LIVERPOOL WARDS, 1900 & 1911

<u>Transport & Associated</u> <i>(Descending)</i>	<u>Trades</u> <i>(Ascending)</i>
1.Scotland S.(72%)	1.Scotland S.(16%)
2.Brunswick(58%)	2.Garston(21%)
3.St.Domingo(56%)	3.Brunswick(22%)
4.St.Anne's(50%)	4.St.Domingo(24%)
5.Dingle(46%)	5.Everton(26%)
6.Everton(43%)	6.St.Anne's(29%)
7.Kirkdale(39%)	7.Dingle(30%)
8.Edge Hill(36%)	8.Kirkdale(31%)
9.Garston(35%)	9.Edge Hill(33%)

As can be seen, the predominantly Catholic, dockside wards of Scotland South and Brunswick have the highest proportion in transport, and conversely almost the lowest proportion in trades. The strongly protestant ward of St.Domingo in the north of the city is also near this end of the scale, while the rather more mixed wards (in religious terms) near the city centre of Everton and St.Anne's, and the protestant Dingle in the south are nearer the middle of the range. Kirkdale and Edge Hill stand out at the other end of the scale. The only ward that is difficult to characterise is Garston, which has a low proportion in transport, yet also a low proportion in trades, but this is explained mainly by the fact that there was a significantly high proportion of 14% in the railway category in this ward. This is not unexpected, as Garston was the only dock with a major direct rail terminal.

The figures for the top ten occupations listed in each ward confirm this general pattern. In both Scotland South and Brunswick, dock labourers, labourers, carters and mariners occupy the top four places, together making up 63% and 53% respectively of the total in these wards. There were conversely no skilled occupations making up more than 3% of the total in these wards. St Domingo, St.Anne's, Dingle, and Everton follow next, with the same four most common occupations, but making up lower proportions of the total of 45%, 43%, 36% and 33% respectively. There were also some concentrations of more skilled occupations in these wards, such as fitters, smiths and shipwrights in Dingle, painters and smiths in Everton, and painters, smiths and carpenters and joiners in St.Domingo. St.Anne's is exceptional in having a significant number of skilled workshop crafts such as tailors(6%), cabinet makers(4%) and boot and shoe makers(3%). Garston

is distinctive in having railwaymen as the most common occupation in the ward. Finally, Kirkdale and Edge Hill had significant concentrations of railwaymen and skilled workers, including carpenters and joiners, fitters and smiths in both, and additionally painters in Edge Hill and boilermakers in Kirkdale.

In summary, the key points are these. The two strongly catholic wards surveyed (Scotland South and Brunswick) were characterised by a preponderance of mainly dockside labour, and a lack of skilled and semi-skilled workers. Of the mainly Protestant wards, St.Domingo had a rather similar profile to the Catholic areas, whereas St.Anne's, Dingle, Everton and Kirkdale had a more mixed population. At the other end of the scale, Garston and Edge Hill had the smallest proportion of maritime workers, and the highest proportion of skilled workers (in Edge Hill) and railway workers (in Garston).

The figures for Croxteth are not directly comparable due to their being for a much later date, but it is obvious that the population moving into the new suburban estates was drawn disproportionately from the more skilled and better-off sections of the working class, and even the lower echelons of the middle class. Comparison with the 1931 census figures makes this even clearer, as the skilled trades had actually declined since 1911 for the city as a whole. The relatively low proportion in transport in Croxteth is a sure indicator of its difference from the older working class areas. Skilled craft groups like fitters, carpenters and joiners and electricians were notable here, as well as white collar and supervisory workers such as clerks, policemen and commercial travellers.

* * * * *

The picture built up for the limited number of wards surveyed in the Street Directories can be supplemented by the population data given at a ward level in the Census reports. The total number of resident families, structurally separate dwellings, and occupied rooms were all listed for each ward, and from these statistics can be calculated a number of different indices. The two most interesting in this context are those for persons per room and families per dwelling. The number of persons per room was clearly an indicator of overcrowding, and would presumably be a fairly sensitive reflection of levels of income and wealth. Families per dwelling (a structurally separate dwelling being defined as one with its own access to a street or common staircase, so each flat in a block, for instance, was "structurally separate") would also be an indicator of income and wealth, as presumably most families would not have shared dwellings unless through economic necessity. In both cases, but especially in the latter, differences in housing type could obviously distort the figures to some degree. Areas near the city centre where large Georgian and early Victorian terraces were common, for instance, would be far more likely have shared dwellings than, say, the suburban council housing estates purpose-built to accommodate working class families. Despite this proviso, these figures are well worth analysing, and are summarised in Table 8.7 below, and in Figures 8.2 and 8.3.

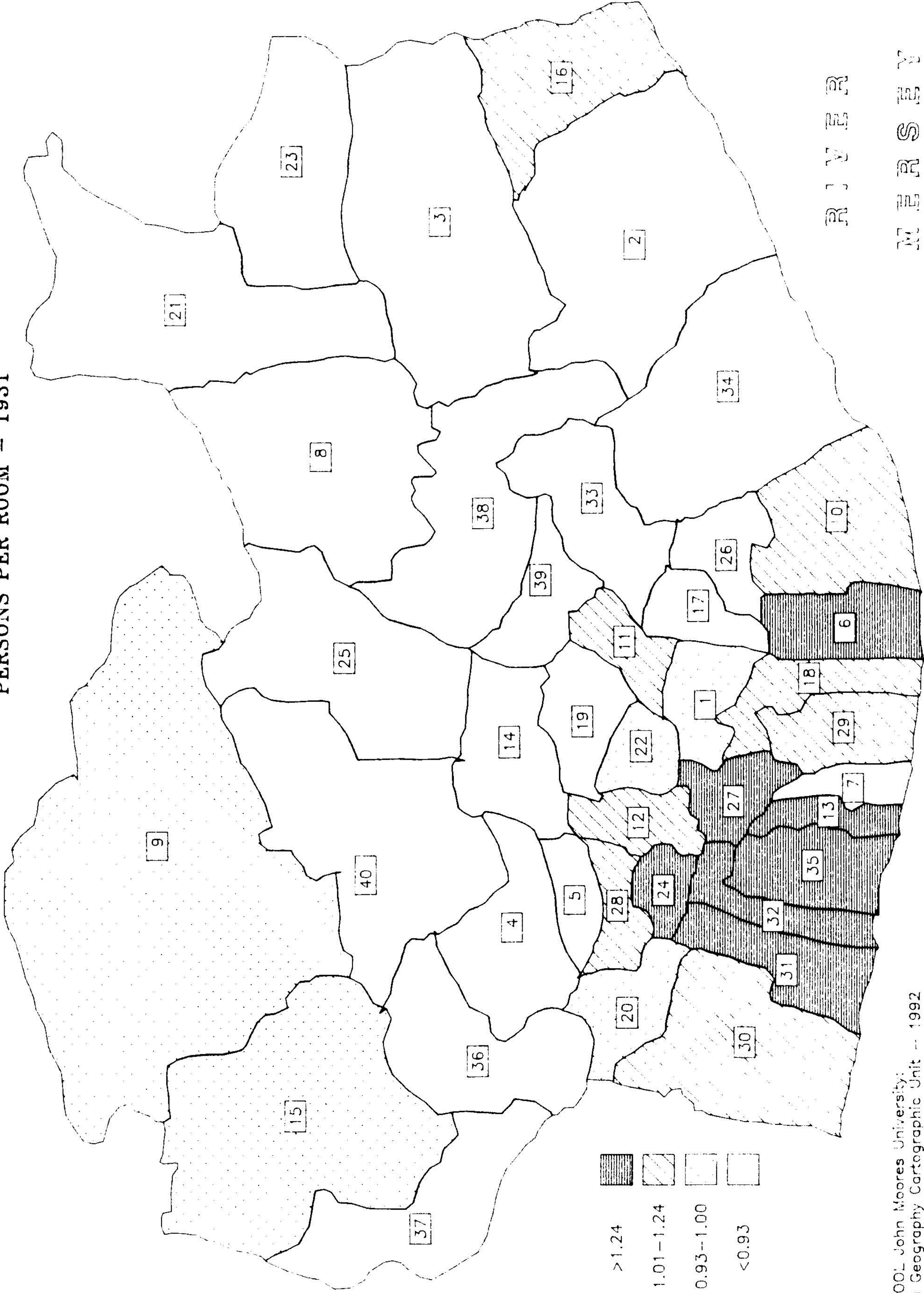
TABLE 8.7 - SOME INDICATORS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION CALCULATED FROM
THE 1931 CENSUS (By ward, in descending order)

PERSONS PER ROOM		FAMILIES PER DWELLING	
1. Scotland South	1.54	1. Abercromby	1.71
2. St. Anne's	1.51	2. St. Anne's	1.60
3. Scotland North	1.46	3. Gt. George	1.57
4. Netherfield	1.30	4. Brunswick	1.46
5. Exchange	1.26	5. St. Peter's	1.46
6. Brunswick	1.26	6. Everton	1.33
7. Vauxhall	1.25	7. Scotland North	1.28
8. St. Peter's	1.17	8. Scotland South	1.24
9. Sandhills	1.16	9. Vauxhall	1.24
10. Gt. George	1.12	10. Netherfield	1.23
11. Everton	1.10	11. Granby	1.23
12. Dingle	1.07	12. Low Hill	1.21
13. St. Domingo	1.06	13. Sandhills	1.20
14. Edge Hill	1.05	14. Prince's Park	1.19
15. Garston	1.03	15. Exchange	1.19
16. Kirkdale	.99	16. Kirkdale	1.18
17. Croxteth	.98	-----	-----
18. Fazakerley	.98	17. Fairfield	1.16
19. Low Hill	.97	18. Dingle	1.15
-----	-----	19. Breckfield	1.15
20. Abercromby	.93	20. Edge Hill	1.14
21. Walton	.89	21. St. Domingo	1.14
22. Granby	.88	22. Garston	1.12
23. Prince's Park	.88	23. Sefton Park East	1.11
24. Much Woolton	.85	24. Kensington	1.09
25. Old Swan	.85	25. Warbreck	1.08
26. West Derby	.83	26. Sefton Park West	1.08
27. Breckfield	.83	27. Wavertree West	1.07
28. Kensington	.82	28. Walton	1.07
29. Castle St.	.81	29. West derby	1.07
30. Wavertree West	.78	30. Old Swan	1.06
31. Warbreck	.77	31. Anfield	1.05
32. Anfield	.76	32. Much Woolton	1.04
33. Allerton	.75	33. Allerton	1.04
34. Fairfield	.74	34. Wavertree	1.04
35. Wavertree	.71	35. Aigburth	1.03
36. Little Woolton	.66	36. Little Woolton	1.02
37. Sefton Park East	.66	37. Fazakerley	1.02
38. Sefton Park West	.65	38. Childwall	1.01
39. Aigburth	.65	39. Castle St.	1.01
40. Childwall	.58	40. Croxteth	1.00
All Liverpool	.93	All Liverpool	1.16

SOURCE : *Census Reports*, 1931. [N.B. the dotted lines indicate the level of the average for the whole city]

FIGURE 8.2

PERSONS PER ROOM - 1931



NEW JERSEY

NEW JERSEY

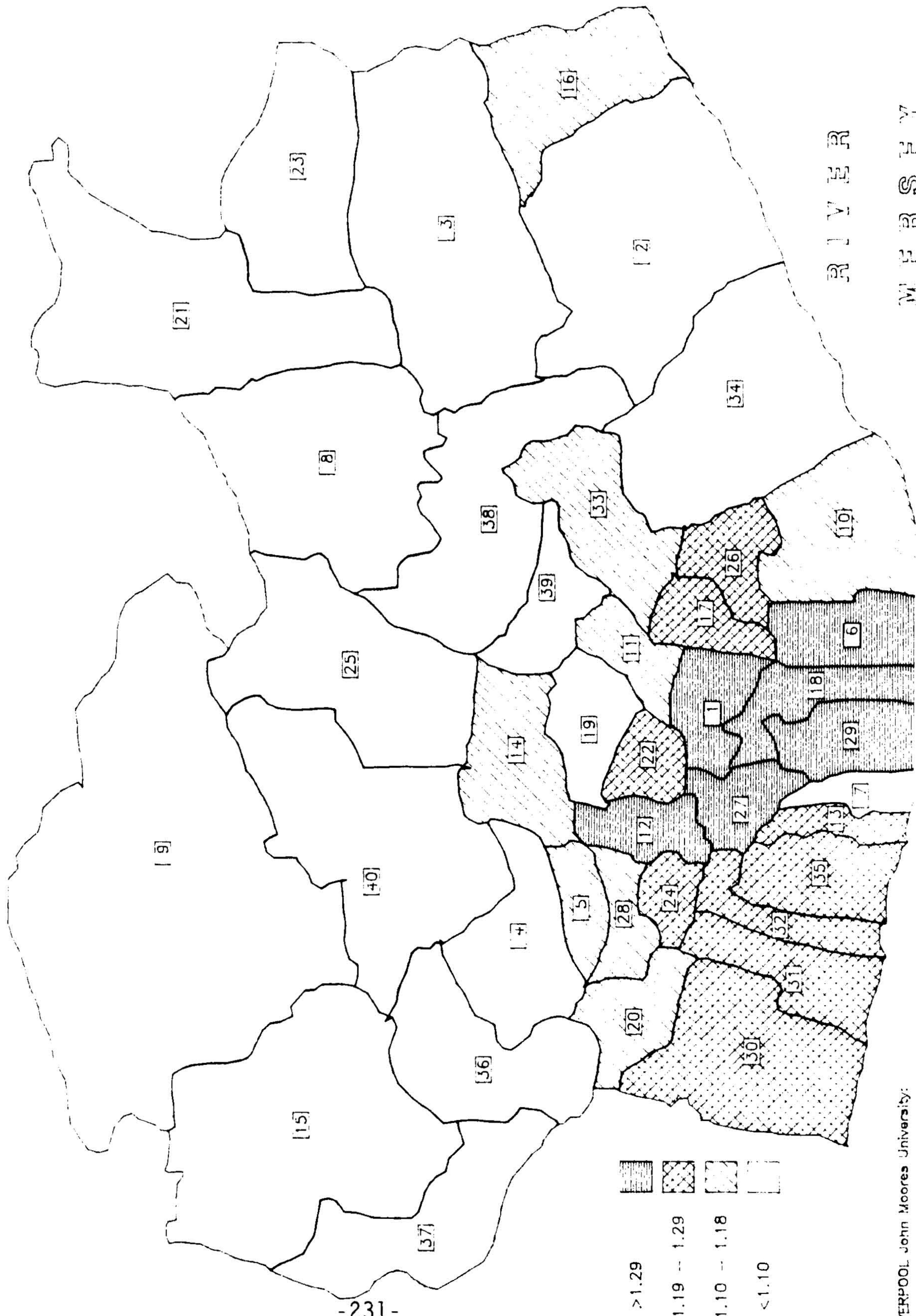


FIGURE 8.3

These indices tend to confirm the pattern established earlier. The most overcrowded wards were the predominantly Catholic riverside wards. Equally overcrowded was the protestant ward of Netherfield on the heights above, and also the more mixed city centre ward of St. Anne's. Following them came St. Domingo, a little further up the hill in the north end, protestant Dingle in the south, and Everton. Lower down the scale again come Kirkdale, Edge Hill and Garston, and then Croxteth, which is near the average for the city as a whole. Below that come increasingly more prosperous areas of mixed working class and middle class occupation, such as Fazakerley, Abercromby, Walton, Granby, Prince's Park, and Old Swan, although the mixture took very different forms here. Abercromby, Prince's Park and Granby were older areas not far from the city centre, with pockets of working class terraces cheek-by-jowl with the grand terraced mansions of the middle class. Fazakerley and Walton, by contrast, were newer suburban wards with large estates of middle class terraces and semi-detached housing, increasingly being supplemented in the 1920s and 1930s by council house estates, notably the major part of the Fazakerley estate in the former case, and a substantial portion of the Norris Green estate in the latter. Finally, at the lower end of the scale came the distinctly middle class areas, mostly in the south of the city around Sefton Park, Aigburth, Woolton and Childwall.

The figures for families per dwelling show some variations in this pattern, almost certainly due to the greater impact of housing differences. This is very clearly shown by the fact that Abercromby, an area where there was a great concentration of the oldest terraced mansions in the city, had the highest level of multiple occupancy, and adjacent areas such as Granby and Prince's Park were also above the

average on this index. Equally clearly, Croxteth had the lowest level of multi-occupancy in the city, which does not indicate that it was the most prosperous, but that it was comprised almost entirely of council houses specifically designed to accomodate working class families. These figures are thus less reliable as an indicator of income and wealth, but still reflect a broadly similar pattern.

* * * * *

The final part of this chapter establishes the political allegiance of wards within the city. The analysis of municipal election results already carried out in earlier chapters and summarised in Appendices 1 and 3 provide the basis for this exercise. The primary aim is to establish how support for the Labour Party varied from ward to ward, and also how this pattern changed over time. Linked to this will be the analysis of support for other political parties, particularly those associated with religious sectarianism.

As far as support for Labour is concerned, an index of support can be constructed using slightly different principles for the pre- and post-1914 periods. Before 1914 Labour only stood candidates in a relatively small number of wards, and won elections in even fewer. In only a handful of wards did they also put up candidates on a regular basis, so detailed patterns over time *within* wards are hardly discernible. This means that the only meaningful way of measuring support for Labour is by identifying the wards where Labour won at any time before 1914 (including by-elections) as the areas of greatest Labour support,

and those where Labour stood candidates unsuccessfully at any time before 1914 as the areas of moderate, or at least potential, support. Where Labour never stood at all have to be taken as the areas where there was the least support for Labour. This is by no means a perfect measure of Labour strength, for it assumes that Labour chose to put up its candidates wherever it had its greatest support. At this early stage of the party's development, however, financial considerations, and also the state of organisation within wards, limited the choice for Labour. Furthermore, tactical considerations meant that some wards where Labour could probably have won significant support were uncontested so as not to offend potential allies. In other cities at this time this might have applied most to Labour/Liberal relations, but in the Liverpool context it was the Labour/Irish Nationalist relationship that was vital. The strongly catholic working class wards along the river may well have given some support to Labour at this time if they had been contested, even if they were likely to remain Nationalist strongholds, but the Labour Party usually chose not to test this support. The pre-1914 index, then, is far from perfect, but the best possible in the circumstances, and the same principles have also been applied in trying to assess support for the Irish Nationalist Party and overtly protestant candidates in this period. The results of all these calculations can be found below in Table 8.8 and Figures 8.4 and 8.5 below.

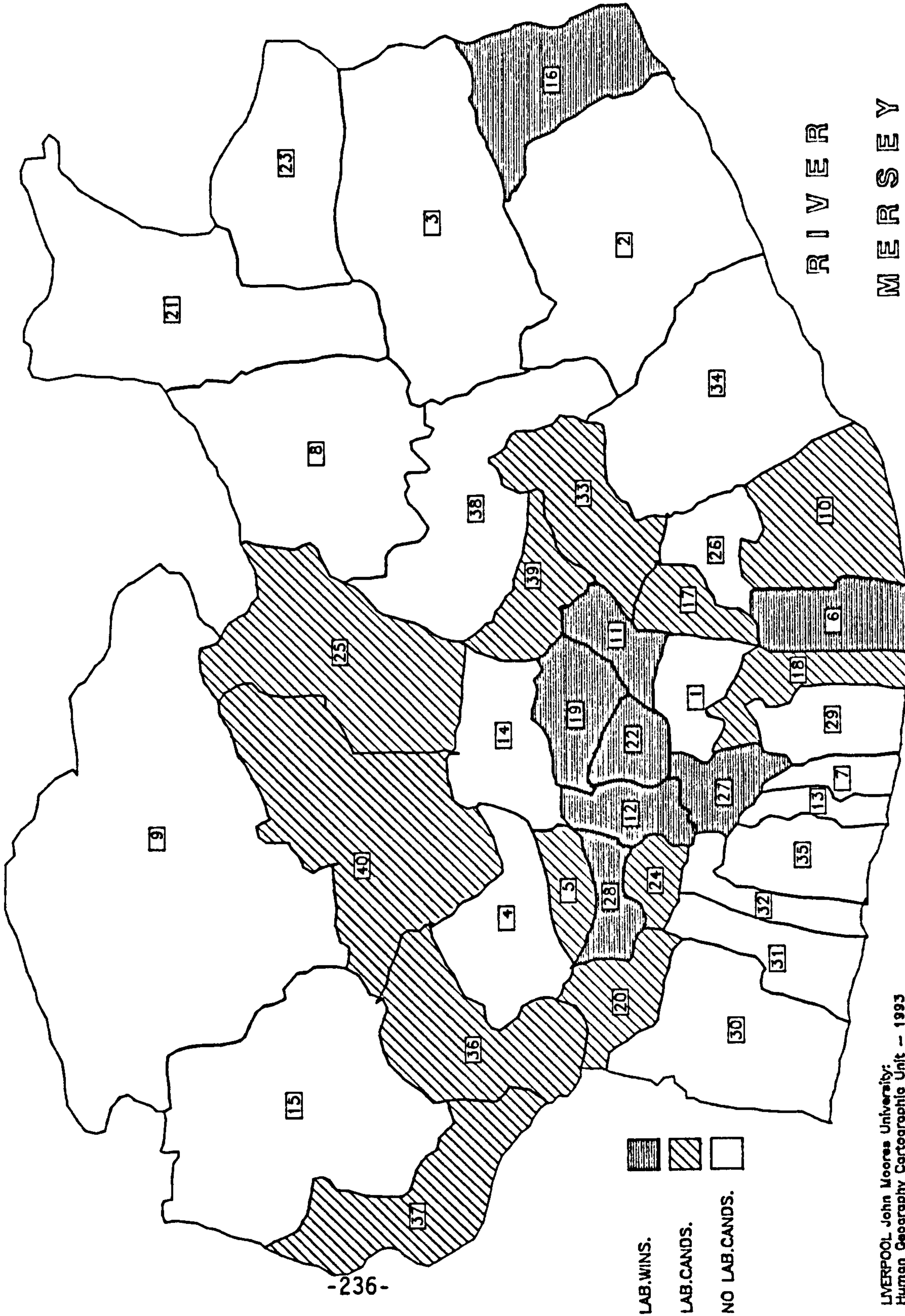
TABLE 8.8 INDEX OF LABOUR PARTY, IRISH NATIONALIST PARTY AND
PROTESTANT PARTY SUPPORT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1905-13

<u>INDEX OF LABOUR SUPPORT</u>		<u>NATIONALIST</u>	<u>PROTESTANT</u>		
1	St. Anne's 3w 3c	1	Scotland N. 11w 11c	1	Netherfield 2w 8c
2	Edge Hill 2w 5c	2	Scotland S. 10w 10c	2	Kirkdale 1w 2c
3	Kensington 1w 9c	3	=Sandhills 7w 7c	3	St. Domingo 4c
4	Low Hill 1w 7c	3	=Vauxhall 7w 7c	4	=Breckfield 1c
5	Garston 1w 4c	5	Brunswick 3w 3c	4	=Sandhills 1c
6	=Everton 1w 2c	6	Gt. George 1w 1c		
6	=St. Domingo 1w 2c	7	=Fairfield 1c		
8	Brunswick 1w 1c	7	=Fazakerley 1c		
9	Kirkdale 8c	7	=St. Anne's 1c		
10	=Old Swan 4c				
10	=Walton 4c				
12	Wavertree W. 3c				
13	=Breckfield 2c				
13	=Dingle 2c				
13	=Granby 2c				
16	=Gt. George 1c				
16	=Netherfield 1c				
16	=Sefton Pk. E. 1c				
16	=Warbreck 1c				
16	=W. Derby 1c				
	Abercromby				
	Aigburth				
	Anfield				
	Castle St.				
	Exchange				
	Fairfield				
	Fazakerley				
	Prince's Pk				
	St. Peter's				
	Sandhills				
	Scotland N.				
	Scotland S.				
	Sefton Pk. W.				
	Vauxhall				
	Wavertree				

[N.B. w = winning candidate
c = candidate stood]

FIGURE 8.4

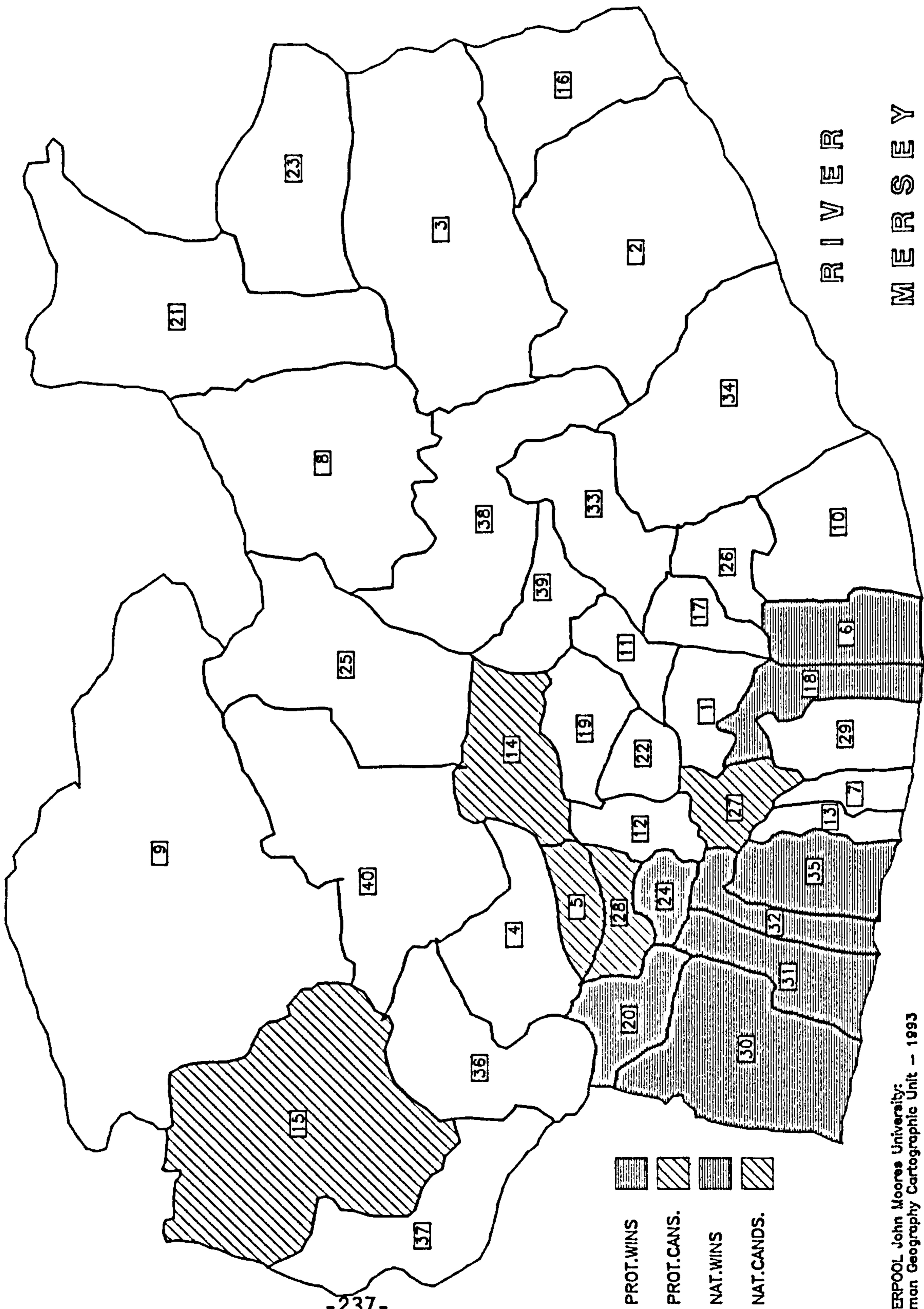
LABOUR STRENGTH 1905 - 1913



RIVER
MERSEY

FIGURE 8.5

NATIONALIST & PROTESTANT STRENGTH 1905 - 1913



After 1918, Labour began to contest elections far more regularly and on a city-wide basis, and calculations of average vote share become far more meaningful. Calculating averages over five year periods for each ward also means that uncharacteristic results, due to independents splitting a party's vote for instance, are less prone to distort the pattern. Detailed figures for the average Labour vote in each ward for each five-year period between 1919 and 1938 are shown in Appendix 3. A summary of the figures can be found below in Table 8.9 and Figures 8.6 to 8.9. Nationalist/Catholic and Protestant Party candidates were still spasmodic after 1918, and therefore estimations of their support have been calculated on the same basis as the pre-1914 figures. These can be found in Table 8.10 and Fig. 8.10 below. However, protestantism as a political force was at least as much, if not more, expressed through the Working Men's Conservative Association as through the Protestant Party, as will be shown later. The permanent existence of ward WMCA branches has also been calculated as an indicator of the distribution of its strength, and is shown in Table 8.11 below.

TABLE 8.9 - INDEX OF LABOUR SUPPORT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. 1919-38
(Average Labour vote in contested elections in brackets)

1919-23	1924-28	1929-33	1934-38
1 Everton(49)	Brunswick(76)	Scotland N(89)	Brunswick(UC)
2 Scotland N.(47)	Croxteth(63)	Sandhills(87)	Sandhills(UC)
3 Scotland S.(46)	Everton(61)	Brunswick(81)	Scotland S(95)
4 Edge Hill(43)	Sandhills(58)	St.Anne's(78)	Scotland N(86)
5 Garston(42)	Edge Hill(56)	Scotland S(68)	St.Anne's(79)
6 Dingle(40)	Low Hill(55)	Everton(59)	Vauxhall(74)
7 St.Anne's(40)	St.Anne's(54)	Croxteth(56)	Everton(69)
8 Kensington(39)	Scotland N(53)	Gt.George(55)	Croxteth(62)
9 St.Domingo(38)	Netherfield(46)	Garston(54)	Gt.George(61)
10 St.Peter's(38)	Dingle(46)	Low Hill(51)	Garston(53)
11 M.Woolton(37)	Gt.George(45)	Vauxhall(48)	Edge Hill(51)
12 Low Hill(37)	Kensington(45)	Edge Hill(48)	Abercromby(51)
13 Fazakerley(37)	Scotland S(45)	Dingle(46)	Granby(50)

14 Walton(36)	Garston(44)	Old Swan(43)	Dingle(49)
15 Old Swan(36)	Kirkdale(44)	Fazakerley(41)	Low Hill(49)

16 Wavertree W(33)	Breckfield(44)	Breckfield(41)	Kirkdale(47)
17 Breckfield(33)	Walton(44)	Netherfield(41)	St.Peter's(43)

18 Kirkdale(33)	St.Domingo(44)	Wavertree W(40)	Prince's Pk(42)
19 Childwall(32)	Granby(42)	Kensington(40)	Old Swan(42)
20 Brunswick(32)	Old Swan(40)	Prince's Pk(39)	Fazakerley(41)
21 Prince's Pk(30)	Prince's Pk(40)	Kirkdale(39)	Netherfield(37)
22 Wavertree(29)	Abercromby(39)	Walton(39)	Wavertree W(37)
23 W.Derby(28)	Fazakerley(39)	Granby(38)	Fairfield(36)
24 Vauxhall(23)	St.Peter's(38)	W.Derby(37)	Kensington(36)
25 Anfield(23)	Wavertree W(37)	Abercromby(36)	Breckfield(34)
26 Warbreck(22)	Childwall(35)	Wavertree(33)	Walton(33)
27 Netherfield(19)	Warbreck(34)	Fairfield(32)	St.Domingo(33)
28 Gt.George(17)	Fairfield(33)	Warbreck(30)	Exchange(32)
29 Sefton Pk W(14)	Wavertree(32)	St.Peter's(29)	W.Derby(31)
30 Sandhills(11)	W.Derby(32)	Sefton Pk E(29)	Anfield(30)
31 Abercromby(NC)	M.Woolton(30)	Sefton Pk W(29)	Wavertree(30)
32 Aigburth(NC)	Vauxhall(26)	St.Domingo(28)	Warbreck(28)
33 Allerton(NC)	Sefton Pk W(25)	Aigburth(25)	Allerton(24)
34 Castle St(NC)	Allerton(23)	Anfield(24)	Sefton Pk W(24)
35 Exchange(NC)	Anfield(22)	Allerton(23)	Sefton pk E(23)
36 Fairfield(NC)	Exchange(17)	M.Woolton(21)	M.Woolton(21)
37 Granby(NC)	L.Woolton(6)	Exchange(20)	Childwall(12)
38 L.Woolton(NC)	Aigburth(NC)	Childwall(13)	L.Woolton(12)
39 Sefton Pk E(NC)	Castle St(NC)	Castle St(NC)	Aigburth(NC)
40	Sefton Pk E(NC)	L.Woolton(NC)	Castle St(NC)
All(35)	All (44)	All (44)	All (42)

[N.B. NC = No Labour Candidates; UC = Uncontested Labour Wins;
Dotted lines indicate average levels of Labour support for whole city;
Where averages indicated for wards are equal, wards are ranked
according to order by decimal points, which are not shown due to
shortage of space.]

TABLE 8.10 - INDEX OF SUPPORT FOR NATIONALIST/CATHOLIC/CENTRE/
DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTIES AND PROTESTANT PARTY, 1919-38

		<u>1919-28</u>				<u>1929-38</u>			
<u>NAT/CATH/CENTRE</u>		<u>PROTESTANT</u>		<u>CENTRE/DEM.LAB.</u>		<u>PROTESTANT</u>			
1 Exchange	10w 10c	1 Netherf'd	2w 6c	1 Exchange	10w 10c	1 St.Domingo	8w 9c		
2 Vauxhall	9w 9c	2 St.Domingo	2w 3c	2 Vauxhall	5w 9c	2 Netherf'd	1w 6c		
3 Scotland S	8w 9c	3 Breckfield	1c(49%)	3 Gt.George	2w 7c	3 Kirkdale	5c		
4 Sandhills	7w 10c	4 Fazakerley	1c(20%)	4 Scotland S	4c	4 Dingle	4c		
5 Gt.George	7w 8c			5 St.Anne's	3c	5 Breckfield	2c		
6 Scotland N	6w 9c			6 Everton	1c(18%)	6 Garston	1c(12%)		
7 Brunswick	5w 6c			7 Croxteth	1c(4%)	7 Everton	1c(10%)		
8 St.Anne's	3w 6c			8 M.Woolton	1c(0%)	8 Kensington	1c(8%)		
9 Low Hill	2c(17%)					9 Croxteth	1c(7%)		
10 St.Peter's	2c(10%)					10 Fazakerley	1c(7%)		
11 Old Swan	2c (7%)					11 Walton	1c(7%)		
12 Edge Hill	2c (6%)								
13=Breckfield	1c (3%)								
13=Wavertree W	1c (3%)								
15 Kensington	1c (2%)								
16=Netherf'd	1c (1%)								
16=W.Derby	1c (1%)								
17 Everton	1c (0%)								

[N.B. Where the number of candidates put forward in wards were equal, those wards have been ranked according to the percentage of the vote gained by the candidates]

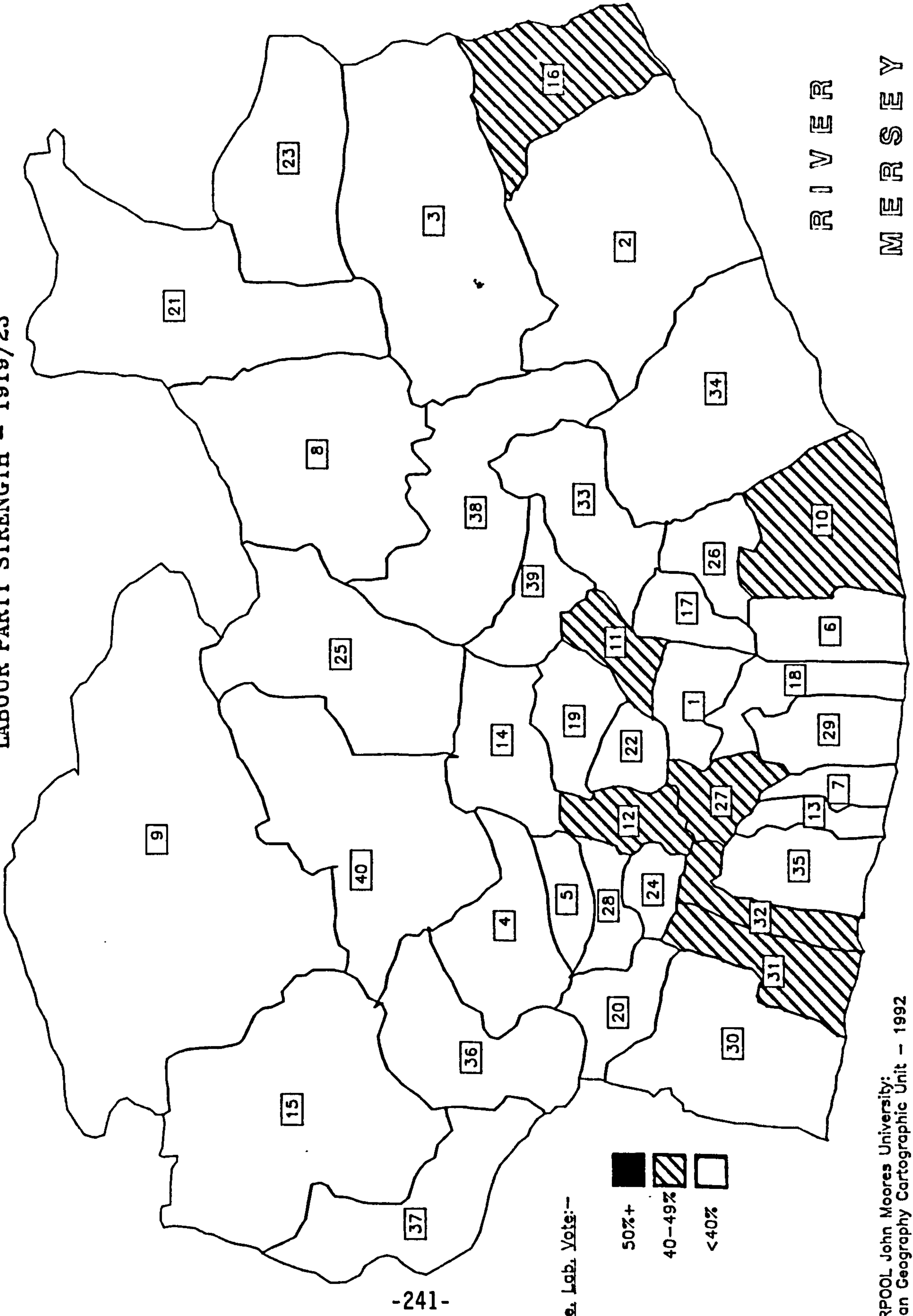
TABLE 8.11 - WARDS WITH WORKING MEN'S CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION BRANCHES IN CONTINUOUS
EXISTENCE BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939

Abercromby
Breckfield
Brunswick
Dingle (2 branches)
Edge Hill
Garston
Granby
Kensington
Kirkdale
Netherfield
Prince's Park
St. Domingo
Sefton Park East
Wavertree West

SOURCE: Liverpool Official Red Books, 1920-39.

FIGURE 8.6

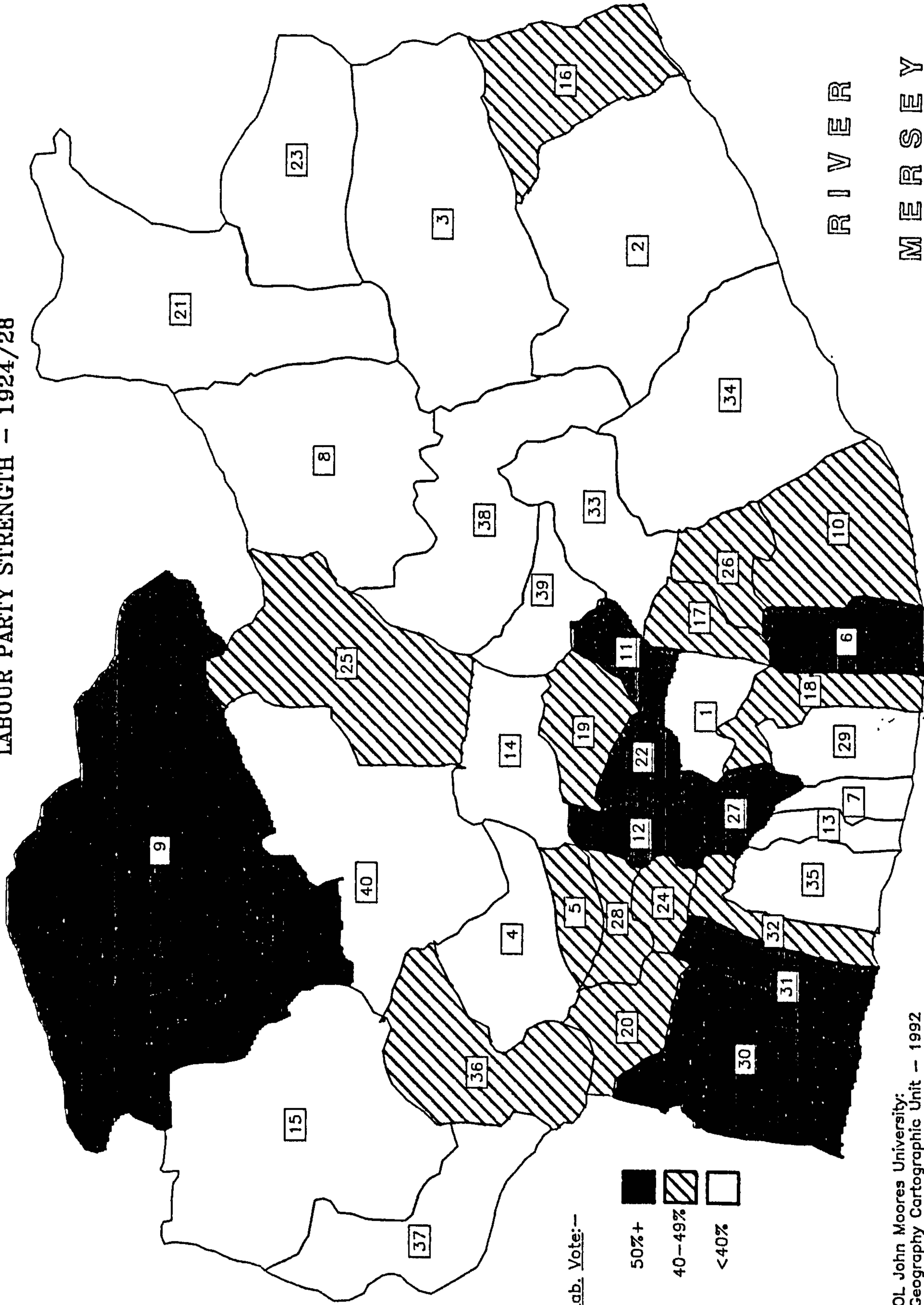
LABOUR PARTY STRENGTH - 1919/23



RIVER
MERSEY

FIGURE 8.7

LABOUR PARTY STRENGTH - 1924/28



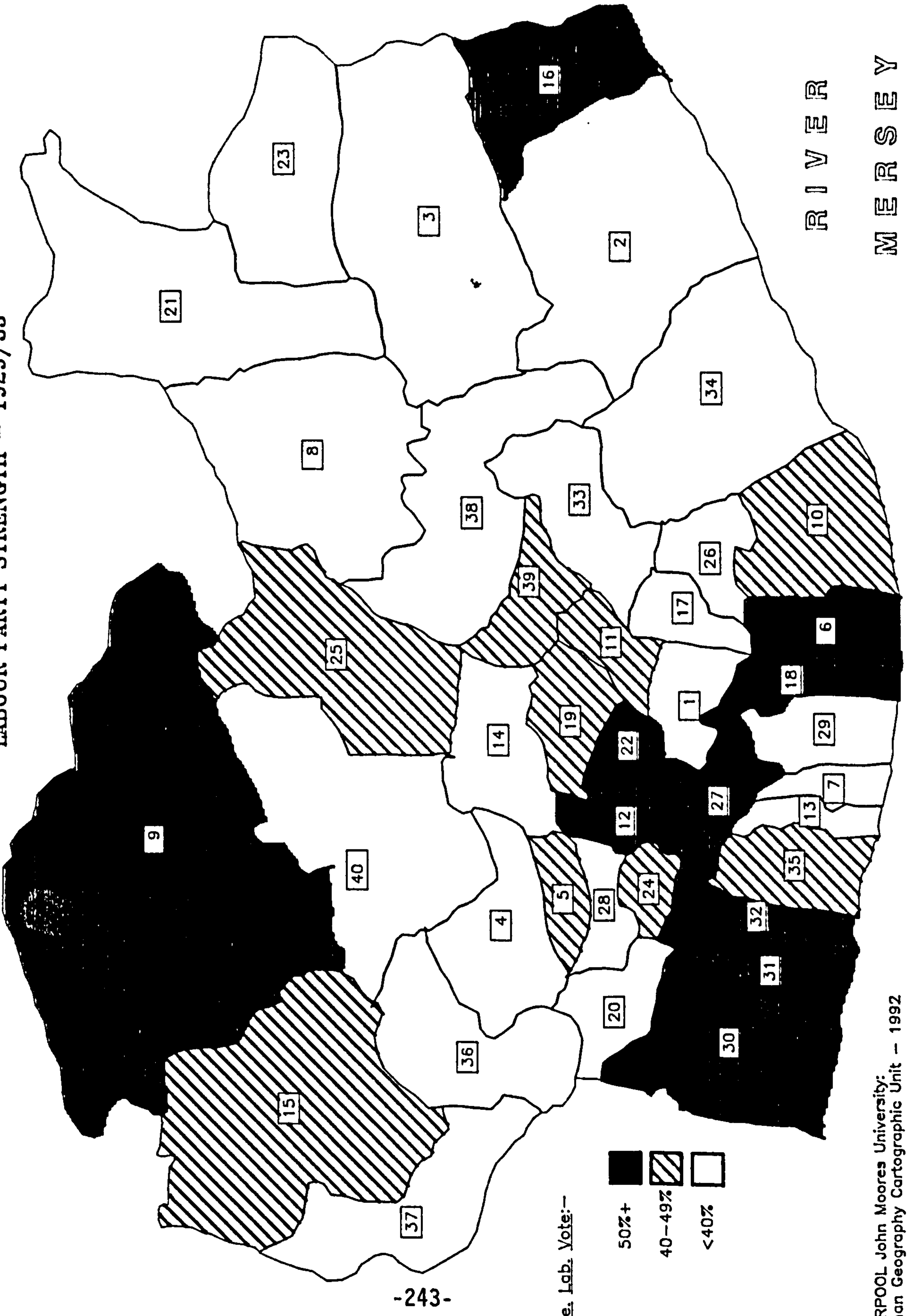
MERSEY RIVER

Lab. Vote:-

- 50%+
- 40-49%
- <40%

FIGURE 8.8

LABOUR PARTY STRENGTH - 1929/33



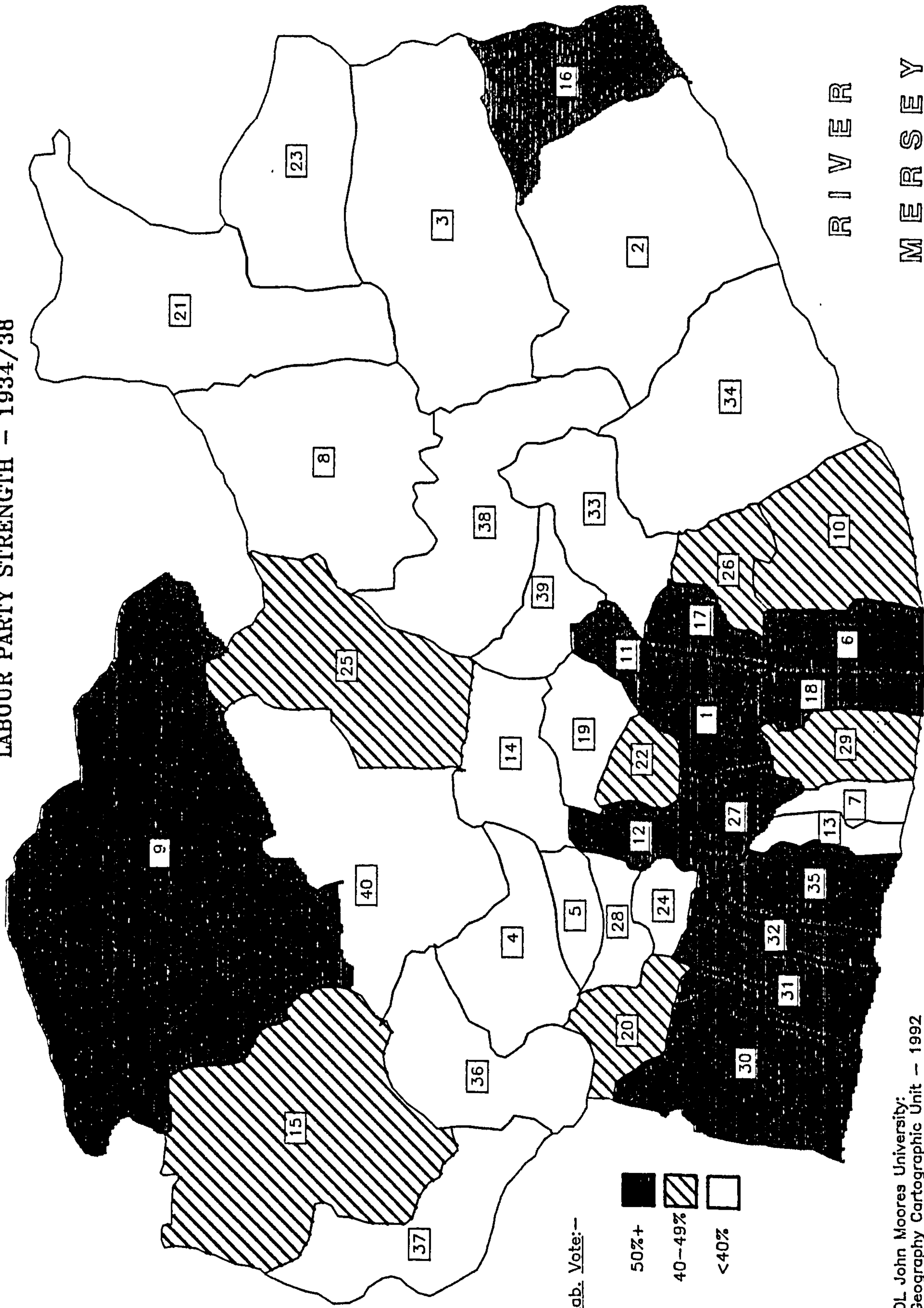
se. Lab. Vote:-

- 50%+
- 40-49%
- <40%

RIVER
MERSEY

FIGURE 8.9

LABOUR PARTY STRENGTH - 1934/38



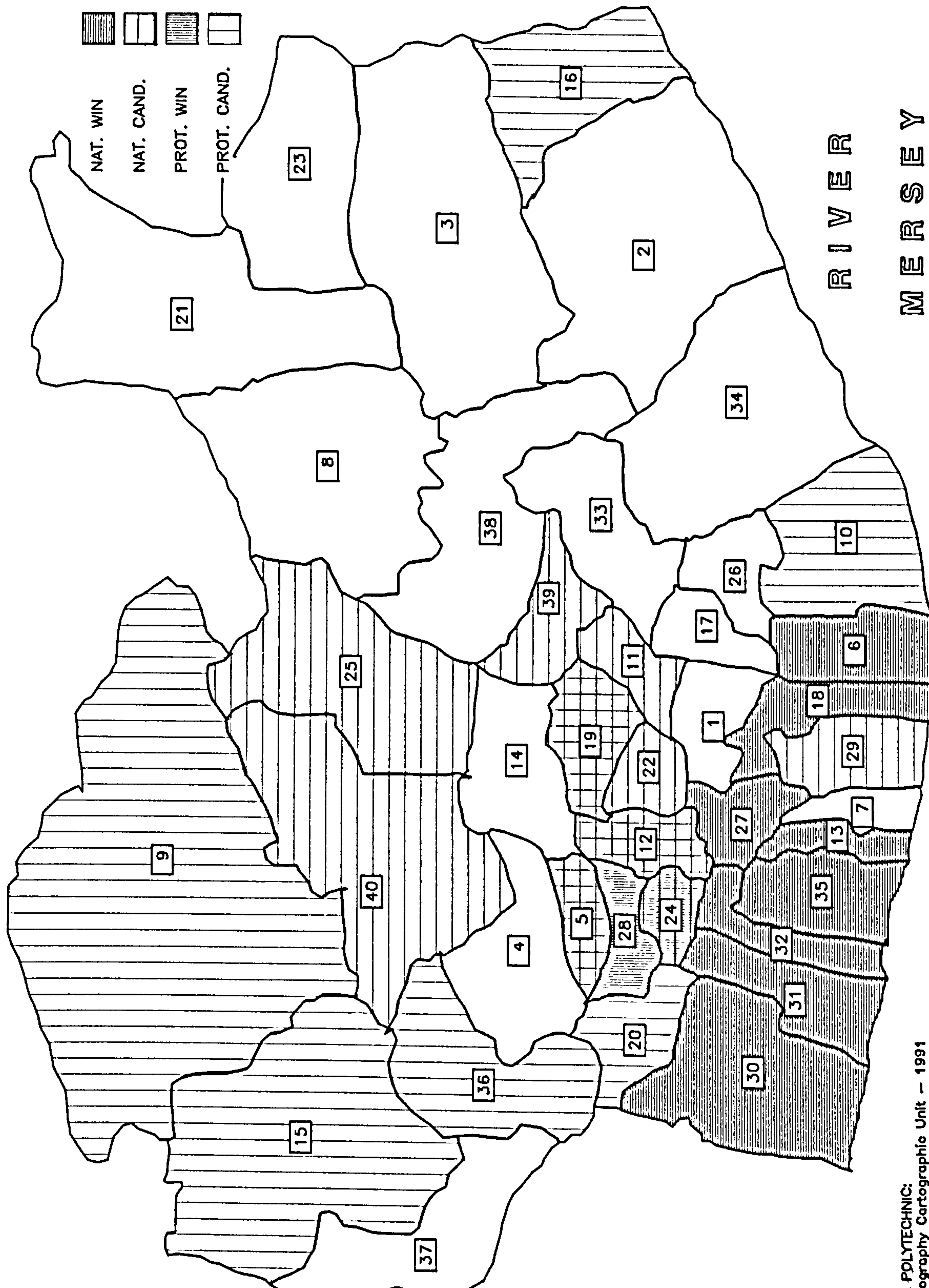
RIVER
MERSEY

Lab. Vote:-

- 50%+
- 40-49%
- <40%

PROTESTANT & NATIONALIST/CATHOLIC/CENTRE CANDIDATES. 1919 - 1938

FIGURE 8.10



M E R S E Y
R I V E R

What pattern of political allegiances can be derived from this data? Taking the pre-1914 situation first, Labour's strength was concentrated *mainly* in the cluster of wards inland from the city centre focused on the Edge Hill Division, namely Edge Hill, Low Hill, Kensington, St. Anne's and Everton. These were predominantly protestant wards, although there was some catholic presence in St. Anne's and Everton. They were also areas with a relatively high proportion of the male workforce concentrated in permanent-employed and often skilled and semi-skilled occupations - railwaymen and various skilled trades in Edge Hill, Kensington, and Low Hill, skilled workers associated with the building and engineering industries in Everton, and workshop crafts in St. Anne's - and a relatively low proportion, by Liverpool standards, in the predominantly casual trades associated with the activities of the docks. Additionally, Labour was strong in Garston, again a mainly protestant ward, but unusual because of the high proportion of workers associated with the railway terminal here.

By contrast, where Labour was notably weak was, first, in the catholic wards along the river from Sandhills to Brunswick and, second, in the protestant wards above them in the north end - Kirkdale, Netherfield & St. Domingo - and to the south of them in the Dingle. All these wards were generally areas where a higher proportion of the male workforce was concentrated in casual, dockside employment. Conversely, these were also the main areas where either the Irish Nationalist Party, in the case of the catholic wards, or the Protestant and Tory Parties, in the protestant wards, were strong. It is notable, though, that the Protestant Party was much stronger in the north end wards, while in the Dingle working class Toryism was dominant.

The post-1918 pattern saw Labour retaining its original areas of strength, but extending its support in the 1920s to those Catholic wards along the river that had previously been Nationalist strongholds. This was by no means a uniform shift, with some wards like Vauxhall and Gt. George being slower to come over to supporting Labour. By the 1930s the process was complete, though, and these wards became Labour's safest seats, often uncontested in the 1930s. Labour also found strong support from 1928 in the new ward of Croxteth, created by the rapid expansion of the Norris Green and Dovecot council house estates. This development was again reflected in the neighbouring ward of Fazakerley in the late 1930s, although less strongly, due to the greater variety of housing developments in this ward. The only other significant shift to Labour can be identified in the late 1930s, when the previously barren ground of Granby and Abercromby wards became Labour strongholds. This was almost certainly due mainly to the social decline of the area of large Georgian and Victorian mansions in the south end of the city that accelerated in this period. As the middle class increasingly decamped to the outer suburbs, so the mansions began to be converted into flats and rented out to working class tenants.

Conversely, after 1918 the strength of the Irish Nationalist Party, while held together to some extent by the succeeding Catholic and Centre Parties, declined in inverse proportion to Labour's rise in the strongly Catholic wards along the dockside. In the strongly Protestant areas, on the other hand, the pattern of support for the Protestant and Tory Parties changed little, except that the Protestant Party became increasingly stronger in its north end redoubts of Netherfield and St. Domingo. In the south end Conservatism appeared to be the

primary expression of working class protestantism, particularly in Dingle ward.

This general pattern is not absolutely clear-cut, nor could it be expected to be so, given the nature of the data on which it is based. Nevertheless it is unmistakeable, and moreover where exceptions appear, they can usually be explained by specific factors. For instance, the fact that St.Domingo fell to Labour on one occasion would appear to contradict the general picture. However, on closer examination, this was clearly a fluke result in 1911. An independent Conservative candidate split the Tory vote almost exactly down the middle, allowing the Labour candidate through to win with 38% of the votes cast. This result was an anomaly, confirmed by the fact that the following year, when the Tories put forward a single candidate, Labour was heavily defeated. In the following three decades, despite Labour's general improvement, only once, in 1926, did Labour narrowly win this ward again.

It would appear no less contradictory that the strongly catholic wards of St. Peter's and Exchange were not Nationalist strongholds earlier, or Labour strongholds later. However, this can be explained by the unusually large number of business voters in these wards, even more significant before 1914 given the restricted franchise as far as the working class was concerned. As a result elections in these wards were decided mainly by businessmen, and Conservatives and Liberals held sway before 1914, to be joined by Independents such as the catholic businessman and publican Peter Kavanagh in the inter-war years.

There are also variations in the general pattern that can only be explained by more complex combinations of factors. In particular, there are subtle distinctions within the group of protestant wards that were generally weak areas for Labour. Both Kirkdale and Dingle stand out here. Kirkdale was rather different to the adjacent protestant wards on the heights above the river, as it had a relatively high proportion of skilled workers - 17% in engineering and metal trades and 9% in building trades, for instance - and a relatively low proportion in the casual sectors - only 39% in transport and associated trades. Its occupational structure was not dissimilar to Edge Hill's, yet its political allegiance was very different. Labour never won in Kirkdale before 1914, while it was the only ward apart from neighbouring Netherfield where the Protestant Party was successful. By contrast, Dingle, much more influenced by dockside, casual trades, is predictably weak Labour territory, yet has no Protestant Party presence at all.

How can these variations be explained? It is clear that protestantism was by no means an homogenous political force. The Protestant Party has been used as *one* indicator of militant protestantism, but Toryism, and in particular the Working Men's Conservative Association (WMCA), was another avenue for the political expression of protestantism. The WMCA, which was organisationally separate from the Tory Party itself, was specifically based in the working class, and even more precisely within the *protestant* working class. Catholics were excluded from membership, and the WMCA's strength was quite explicitly grounded in sectarianism.²

Table 8.11 above, showing where ward branches of the WMCA were strongest, indicates that protestantism as a political force in the south end of the city was extensively catered for within the WMCA. Not only were there, uniquely, two branches in Dingle ward, but also a whole cluster of branches in the surrounding wards of Prince's Park, Sefton Park East, Wavertree West, Edge Hill, Abercromby, Granby and Brunswick. These included wards which were by no means exclusively protestant (Edge Hill, Wavertree West and most obviously, Brunswick), and also wards that were by no means predominantly working class (Abercromby, Granby, Prince's Park and Sefton Park East). Working class conservatism, deeply intertwined with religious sectarianism, was a force which was strongly entrenched in this part of the city over a long period of time.

In the north end, by contrast, the WMCA was strictly confined to the strongly protestant areas of Kirkdale, St. Domingo, Netherfield and Breckfield. Moreover, it was much more seriously challenged by rival Protestant organisations as the legitimate expression of sectarian politics in these areas. It was *only* in the north end that an overtly protestant political organisation, separate from Toryism, took shape.

Why should this be so? Differences of religious affiliation may be partly responsible, with a greater preponderance of non-conformism, and especially Methodism, in the south end, and a greater influence of low-church Anglicanism and newer forms of evangelical dissent in the north end, producing subtly different forms of "protestantism" as a political force. There is no doubt that the significance of catholic/protestant conflict in Liverpool had an effect on the nature of protestantism in the city. Whereas non-conformism in the nineteenth

century had a very real political potential in opposition to Anglicanism in many urban centres (Birmingham and Leicester are two obvious examples), in Liverpool it was overshadowed by low-church Anglicanism. As one authority on local non-conformism has put it:

Here the great issue which inflamed public opinion in the nineteenth century was not Anglicanism versus Dissent...but Protestantism versus Rome; not present Reform but past Reformation. It was Evangelical Anglicanism...which had emerged in Liverpool as a major political force: and with the coming of the Salvidge era and the rise to power of the Layman's League, the Evangelical-Tory axis was so immeasurably strengthened that Dissent, unless it adopted the whole programme of militant Orangism (which only the Irish Presbyterians were at all prone to do) was regarded as irrelevant to the great issue of the age. In this grand religious controversy there was no room for a third force...³

Differences of religious affiliation between north-end and south-end protestantism in Liverpool are not immediately apparent from the figures based on church capacity and school attendance produced above. However, a closer analysis of this data is revealing. Anglican, Protestant Reform, and Presbyterian churches were most representative of the evangelical and anti-ritualist wing of protestantism in Liverpool, whereas Baptist, Welsh Presbyterian and the various branches of Methodist churches were more representative of Dissent. This excludes Unitarianism, which was the main expression of middle-class Dissent, and, as many have argued, was distant from local religious and political conflict.⁴ Using this classification for all church sittings in the adjacent north-end wards of Kirkdale, Breckfield, St.Domingo and Netherfield, gives a total of 17,915 sittings for the evangelicals, and 9,150 for Dissent. Applying the same classification to the adjacent south-end wards of Dingle,

Brunswick and Prince's Park, gives 9,850 for the evangelicals, and 11,160 for Dissent.

In the north-end, then, the evangelical presence outweighed Dissent by a margin of almost two to one. The influence here of the militantly low-church, anti-ritualist Protestant Reformers, and the closely associated Protestant Party led by the Rev. H.D. Longbottom in the inter-war period, becomes much more explicable. On the other hand, in the south-end, Dissenters were marginally in the majority, and leavened out the more extreme elements of protestantism. The Protestant Party's failure to make serious inroads here is also more understandable in the light of this evidence.

Voting trends in these two main centres of working class protestantism also seem to confirm the same pattern. There were two main periods between the wars when an increase in the local protestant sectarian vote was likely; in 1930 and 1931, after the sale of the old workhouse site for the building of the catholic cathedral, which highlighted the recently increased catholic influence in the Labour Party; and between 1936 and 1938, when a dispute over grants for catholic secondary schools again brought sectarian feeling to the boil. On the other hand, national trends for Labour for these two periods varied; 1930 and 1931 were poor years as the Labour government lost popularity and then collapsed; 1936 to 1938, although the evidence is thin, were not particularly bad years for Labour. In both these periods Labour's support fell drastically in the city as a whole, including all the main protestant areas. If the turn-out figures are analysed, however, some interesting divergences can be identified. The turn-out figures for the city as a whole (extracted from Appendix 14) and for four of

the main protestant wards (extracted from Appendix 1) are given below in Table 8.12.

Table 8.12 - Turnout in Four Protestant Wards, 1926-38

Year	<i>Dingle</i> (%)	All L'pool (%)	Kirkdale (%)	Netherf'd (%)	St. Domingo (%)
1926	51	41	36	48	38
1927	55	45	37	54	38
1928	66	52	53	54	53
1929	54	46	47	51	44
1930	51	40	51	60	52
1931	56	45	51	55	48
1932	58	43	44	54	44
1933	54	40	41	59	51
1934	43	37	45	53	39
1935	54	44	46	53	40
1936	59	43	44	56	40
1937	64	52	60	61	54
1938	53	42	51	48	37

These figures show a marked difference in the response to sectarian issues in the north and south-end wards. In 1930 and 1931, when Labour abstentions might have been expected to be high, as they were nationally, voting turn-out for the city as a whole fell compared to the previous three years. Similarly, in Dingle ward in the south end, there was a fall in 1930, although some recovery in 1931. In the north-end protestant wards, however, there is a distinct *rise* in turn out in 1930, presumably reflecting increased sectarian feeling in those areas. Between 1936 to 1938, when there is no reason to suppose nationally that turn-out might have been increasing dramatically or Labour losing support, there was a distinct rise in turn out in Liverpool as a whole for 1937. This time, though, both in the north end and the south-end protestant wards there is a rise in turn out, if anything most sharply and earliest in the Dingle, and presumably related to the increasingly sectarian tone of the debate over school grants.

These findings may seem contradictory, but in fact they tend to confirm the pattern revealed earlier. The 1930 cathedral dispute was likely to raise the ire of anti-ritualists, suggesting to them "Rome on the rates" and increased Catholic influence in the Labour Party.⁵ The response was clearest in the north-end wards, where the evangelical presence was strongest, whereas in the Dingle, where Dissent was much stronger, the sectarian response was muted.

The 1936 school grants dispute, however, was more complex. The origins of the controversy lay in the 1936 Education Act, which allowed for grants to the voluntary sector to build or improve secondary schools.⁶ This roused anti-ritualist protest again, but it also offended Methodists and other Dissenters, who resented state assistance to the voluntary sector. Thus it was the Dingle, with the greater Dissenting presence, which registered the earliest response in 1936. The 1937 local Labour proposals to increase grants specifically to Catholic schools then brought anti-ritualist protest to a peak, accounting for the 1937 surge in turn-out in the north-end wards.

All of this suggests that the broad patterns of political allegiance and their relationship to occupational and religious differentiation that have been identified here were by no means simple and straightforward. Nor is this unexpected. The ensemble of economic, social and cultural relations within which the Liverpool working class found its historical expression was necessarily complex. Nevertheless, among the complexity there were recognizable patterns which have been highlighted in this chapter.

* * * * *

Finally, another form of differentiation within the working class still has to be considered, and that is gender. How this factor inter-related with the intricate set of relationships that have been sketched so far is the subject of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. See C.G.Pooley, "The Residential Segregation of Migrant Communities in Mid-Victorian Liverpool", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol.2, No.3, 1977.
2. P.J.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939*, (Liverpool, 1981), p.117.
3. I.Sellers, "Nonconformist Attitudes in Later Nineteenth-Century Liverpool", *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, (1962), pp.215-216.
4. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, pp.13-15, pp.275-276.
5. *Ibid*, pp.324-326; Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp.49-58.
6. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism*, pp.340-343; Baxter, *The Liverpool Labour Party*, pp.77-86; D.A.Roberts, *Religion and Politics in Liverpool since 1900*, pp.131-137.

CHAPTER NINE - THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMEN

On April 1st, 1936, Liverpool City Council discussed a motion that the annual grant of £100 to the Mothers' Welfare Clinic in Clarence Street be renewed. The leader of the Labour Group, Luke Hogan, led the opposition to the grant being extended to one of the few institutions in the city where women could get advice on birth control. It was reported that:

He fully acknowledged the difficulties which maternity involved. He paid tribute to the clean-minded women who endured them, but he questioned whether birth control was the right way of approaching those difficulties ... Hogan disagreed with birth control because it was the negation of socialism.

In a bitter debate, the main supporter of the grant was a leading member of the left of the Labour Party at that time, Bessie Braddock. She pointed out that in the previous year 87 women had died in the city because of childbirth, and argued that three-quarters of them would still have been alive if they had been able to avoid pregnancy. She added that the sale of drugs for abortion was growing enormously, and that the alternative was "decent, clean, scientific advice such as was given at the Mothers' Welfare Clinic". She was supported "warmly" in the debate by another Labour woman, Mary Cumella, and also by the virulently anti-Catholic leader of the Protestant Party, the Rev. Harry Longbottom.

In the end the vote was taken. For renewing the grant there were 15 Labour members, 4 Protestants, 5 Liberals and 48 Tories, while against

were 34 Labour, 4 Independents and 3 Tories. The motion was carried by 72 votes to 41, and a curious alliance of left and right had triumphed over the majority Catholic caucus in the Labour Group. In a final twist, the four Labour women in the Council were also divided over the issue, with Bessie Braddock and Mary Cumella finding themselves in opposition to Mary Hamilton and Agnes Mitton.¹

Nationally the Labour Party was often divided over the question of birth control in the inter-war period, with male hostility to the provision of advice and facilities usually outweighing the Women's Sections in Conference.² But what the division in Liverpool in 1936 graphically illustrated was the complex inter-connection of class, religion and gender in the politics of the local party. The relationship between class and religion has already been analysed from a number of angles in studies of the Liverpool Labour Party,³ but the significance of gender has been much less studied. In an important contribution to the debate on "traditional" working class culture and "the rise of Labour", Neville Kirk has recently highlighted "the importance of issues of gender and neighbourhood to a full understanding of popular politics", and pointed to local studies of Labour in Preston and Nelson to illustrate the point.⁴ It is in the context of that debate that this chapter will suggest ways of approaching the question of the relationship between the Liverpool Labour Party and women between the wars.

* * * * *

One possible way of examining the impact of issues of gender on the local Party is to look at how women fared within the Party itself, and conversely at how much they were able to influence the Party from within, either in terms of political practices or policies. The problems of examining these relationships are, however, extremely difficult, given the state of the existing records for the inter-war years. There are no surviving records of any Women's Section or any other constituent part of the Liverpool Labour Party specifically involving women. All that are available are the records of the central institutions of the local Party.⁵ Nevertheless, from these it is possible to piece together some picture of women's involvement.

From 1906 to 1918 women, nationally, had been organised separately in support of Labour through the Women's Labour League.⁶ Under the new Constitution of February 1918 they were absorbed into the Party, and the formation of Women's Sections at a local level became a priority. In Liverpool, however, the development of women's organisation seems to have been a rather long-drawn out affair. By September 1918 there was a "Women's Association" organising public meetings over the issue of war pensions and allowances for soldiers' wives and dependents.⁷ This body was organised well enough to have its secretary elected to the Executive Committee of the Party at its AGM in April 1919. Its candidate was nominated under the "other affiliated organisations" section alongside the ILP, Fabians, and the Trades Council, so clearly it was perceived as a separate organisation at this time. It also seems to have withered away fairly quickly after this, and does not appear to be represented at the 1920 AGM.⁸

In April 1921 local reorganisation came with the merger of the Trades Council and Labour Party, and at its first Executive Committee meeting a Women's Sub-Committee was established. However, the title of this sub-committee seemed to be rather a misnomer, as it consisted of three men and only one woman, and it was unable to find a delegate to represent the local divisional parties, suggesting that organisation of women in the city was not well-advanced at this stage. In fact the sub-committee seems to have collapsed fairly quickly, and did not reappear at the next AGM in April 1922.⁹ Eventually in May 1922 a proposal came forward to form a Liverpool Women's Central Council, and it is from this date that women's organisation within the Party began to take shape. The inaugural meeting of the Women's Council consisted of 30 delegates from ward and divisional parties, and the formation of separate Women's Sections in the local wards was much encouraged.¹⁰ By August 1923 six wards and one parliamentary division were recorded as having a Women's Section. The subsequent development of Women's Sections in Liverpool can be seen in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 below, and in the accompanying maps in Figures 9.1 to 9.4.¹¹

TABLE 9.1 - WARD WOMEN'S SECTIONS AUGUST 1923 - JUNE 1930

	Aug23*	Ju125*	Nov26	Aug27	Nov28	Nov29	Jun30
Abercromby							
Aigburth							
Allerton							
Anfield		✓					
Breckfield							✓
Brunswick							
Castle St.							
Childwall		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Croxteth +						✓	✓
Dingle			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Edge Hill		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Everton	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Exchange					✓	✓	✓
Fairfield		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fazakerley		✓	✓				
Garston		✓	✓	✓			
Granby		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Gt. George							
Kensington		✓					
Kirkdale		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
L. Woolton							
Low Hill		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
M. Woolton							
Netherfield ✓					✓	✓	✓
Old Swan ✓	✓	✓					
Princes Pk			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Anne's							
St. Domingo		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Peter's							
Sandhills							
Scotland N							
Scotland S							
Sefton Pk E							
Sefton Pk W					✓	✓	✓
Vauxhall							
Walton		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Warbreck							
Wavertree ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Wavertree W ✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
W. Derby ✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
TOTAL	6	16	14	12	16	18	18

NOTES

* In August 1923 and July 1925 a Women's Section was also listed for the combined Constituency Parties of East and West Toxteth.

+ Croxteth Ward existed only from 1928.

SOURCE: Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, *Minutes*, various dates, 1923-30.

TABLE 9.2 - WARD WOMEN'S SECTIONS JANUARY 1931 - JUNE 1939

	Jan31	Feb32*	Mar33*	Jan35*	May37	Sep38	Jun39
Abercromby			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Aigburth							
Allerton							
Anfield						✓	✓
Breckfield	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Brunswick							
Castle St.							
Childwall							
Croxteth	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dingle	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
Edge Hill	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Everton	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Exchange	✓						
Fairfield	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fazakerley							
Garston							
Granby	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gt. George			✓	✓			
Kensington		✓	✓	✓			
Kirkdale	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
L. Woolton							
Low Hill	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
M. Woolton							
Netherfield	✓	✓	✓				
Old Swan		✓	✓	✓			
Prince's Pk	✓						
St. Anne's		✓	✓			✓	✓
St. Domingo	✓	✓	✓				
St. Peter's							
Sandhills							
Scotland N.							
Scotland S.							
Sefton Pk. E.							
Sefton Pk. W.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Vauxhall							
Walton	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Warbreck							
Wavertree	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
Wavertree W.		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
W. Derby	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TOTAL	17	18	20	17	10	14	11

NOTES

* In February 1932, March 1933 and January 1935 a Women's Section is also listed for W. Toxteth Constituency.

SOURCE: Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party, *Minutes*, various dates, 1931-33, 1937-39; *The Liverpool Official Red Book*, 1935, p.328.

FIGURE 9.1

WARD LABOUR PARTY WOMEN'S SECTIONS - AUGUST 1923

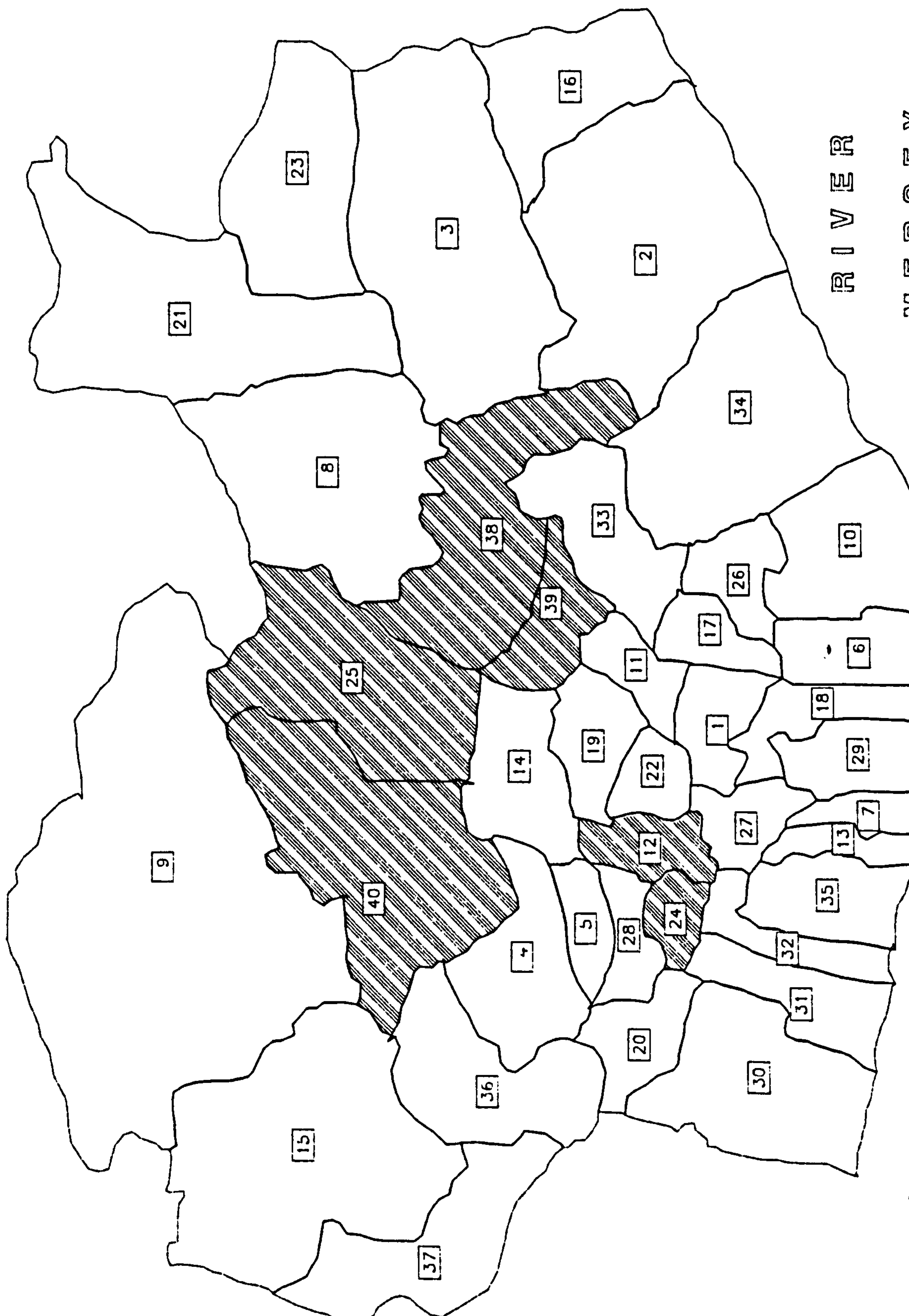


FIGURE 9.2

WARD LABOUR PARTY WOMEN'S SECTIONS - NOVEMBER 1928

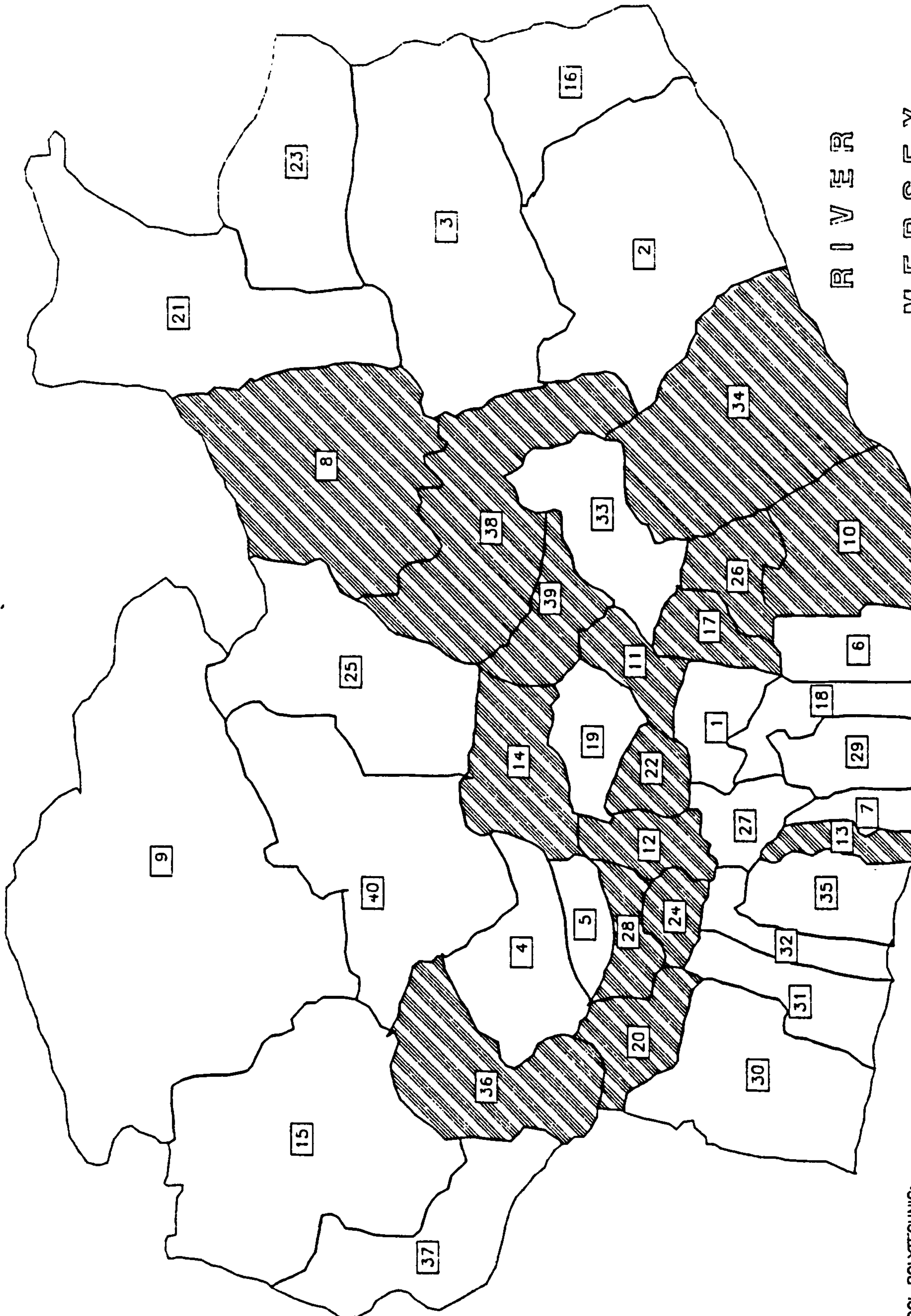


FIGURE 9.3

WARD LABOUR PARTY WOMEN'S SECTIONS - MARCH 1933

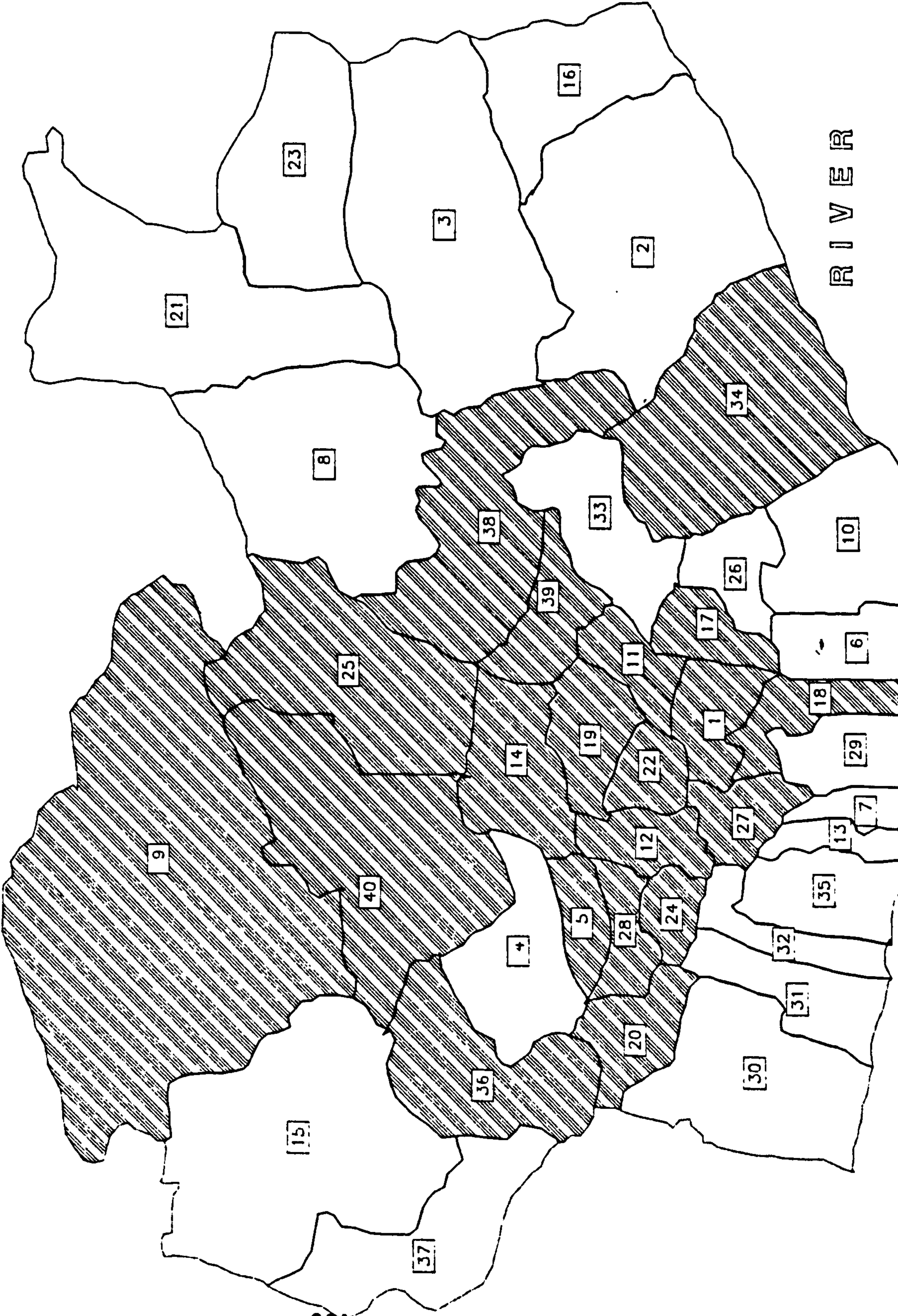
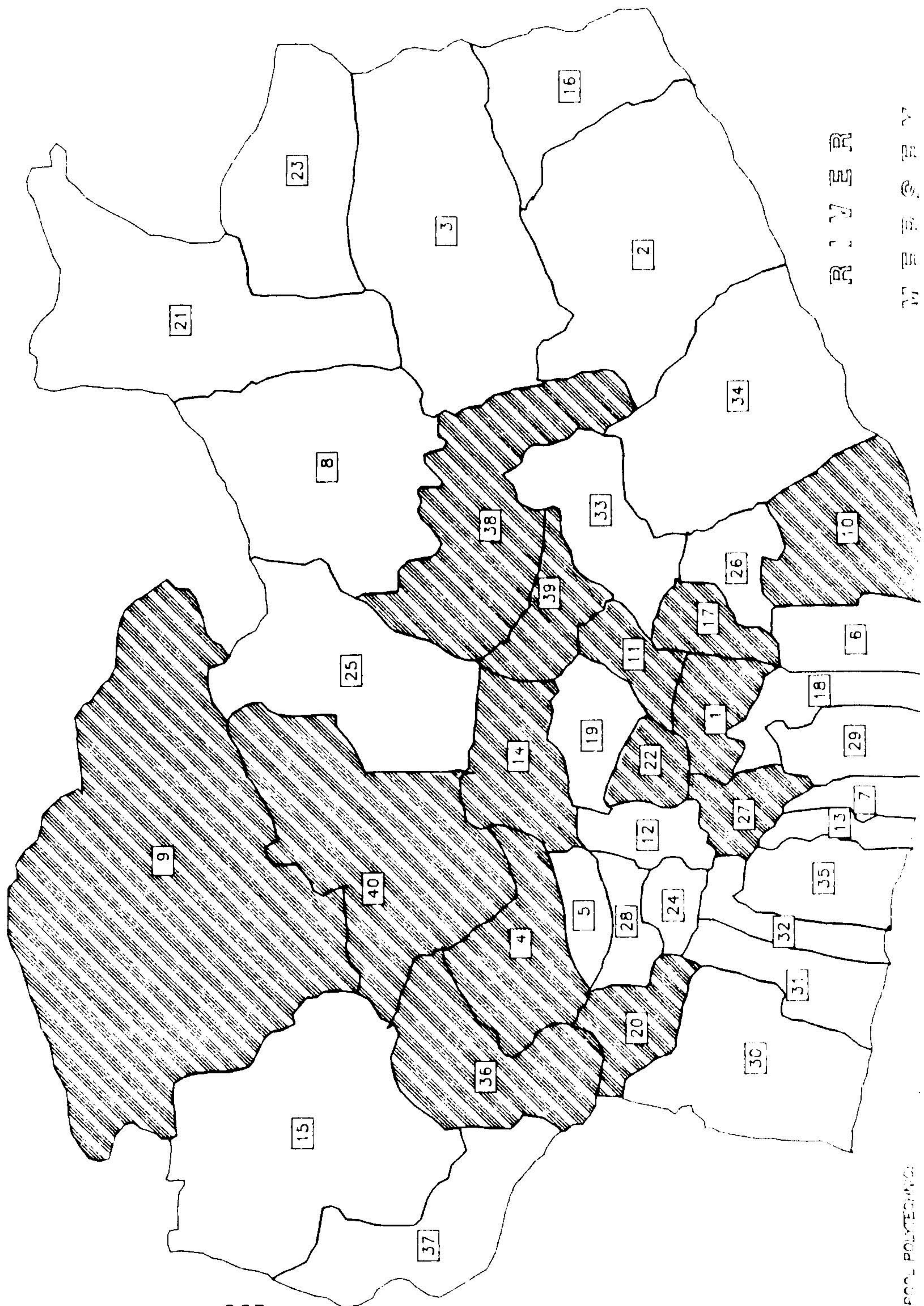


FIGURE 9.4

WARD LABOUR PARTY WOMEN'S SECTIONS - SEPTEMBER 1938



W E R M E R S Y

W E R M E R S Y

W E R M E R S Y

As the tables show, separate Women's Sections were certainly not established throughout the whole of the city at any time in the inter-war period. In fact at the height of their achievement in 1933 only 20 out of a total of 40 wards were organised, and close analysis shows that only about a dozen wards had Women's Sections operating for most of the period. There were some suburban wards like Aigburth, Allerton, Much and Little Woolton, and Warbreck, and also some city centre wards packed with business voters like Castle St. and St. Peter's, which were so solidly middle-class that it is no surprise that Labour had little organisation there.

What is more striking, however, is that in a number of working-class areas where Labour was extremely strong for at least the latter part of this period, women's organisation was non-existent. These consisted of a swathe of dockside wards extending from the northern boundary of the city down as far as the Brunswick Dock - Sandhills, North and South Scotland, Vauxhall, Gt. George and Brunswick. These were all predominantly Catholic, and all became safe Labour seats when the Irish Nationalist councillors who had dominated them from the late-nineteenth century switched their allegiance to Labour in the mid- to late-1920s, as already seen in Chapter Eight. It was the councillors from these areas that also formed the caucus led by Luke Hogan that dominated the Labour Group on the Council in the 1930s, as outlined in Chapter Seven. It is probable that the lack of women's organisation in these areas was a reflection of a general organisational vacuum. By the early 1930s Labour usually won unopposed in these wards, and there was no necessity for any organised electioneering by Labour there. In

fact ward parties, let alone Women's Sections, were a rarity, and an informal political organisation based on close-knit ethnic and neighbourhood ties dominated. Nevertheless, what is particularly significant here is that Catholic women were clearly not organised to any great extent within the Labour Party during this period. Women's organisation in Liverpool was limited, then, mainly to one side only of the sectarian divide, and for that reason alone its impact on the local Party would have been lessened. But there are other factors which may be important in explaining the effect of Women's Sections on the Party.

* * * * *

Among feminists involved in socialist and labour politics, there were some who feared that absorption into separate sections within a male-dominated Labour Party would result in women being confined to a powerless ghetto, and at the same time isolated from a wider feminist movement. At a national level at least these fears were borne out to some extent. The fact that in the 1918 constitution the four women members of the National Executive Committee were to be elected by the party, and not the women's, conference was an early indication that women members were to be kept on a tight rein. It was significant also that the women's conference was only an advisory body with no direct access to shaping Party policy. The failure to win over the party conference on the issues of birth control and family allowances were

important examples of the lack of power of the Women's Sections. By the late 1920s it was also clear that over a number of issues, such as equal pay and protective legislation for women workers, Labour women had diverged sharply from feminists in non-party organisations such as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.¹²

However, this analysis pitched at a national level may be too simplistic to explain the complex reality of women's involvement in the Labour Party. A number of writers associated with the Lancaster Regionalism Group have shown that at a local level the relationship of women to the Labour Party varied greatly. Thus Jane Mark-Lawson et al. have shown how differences in women's participation in the local labour market, and also the gender relations involved in their work, explain marked differences in women's impact on local Labour Parties in Lancaster, Preston and Nelson. In Lancaster the relatively low participation of women in paid employment was linked to a lack of female political activity, and a consequent lack of impact on Labour Party organisation and policies. In Preston a much higher level of paid female employment nevertheless resulted again in a restricted women's impact on the local Party. The patriarchal structure of work relations in the local cotton-weaving industry meant that skilled male trade unionists saw female labour as a threat, and carried over these attitudes into Labour Party practises and policies. In Nelson, however, a similarly high level of female employment resulted in a quite different relationship to Labour. Here men and women were employed in the weaving industry on a more or less equal basis, and also participated in trade union and political life much more equally.

Thus women had a significant impact on the Nelson Labour Party, being highly organised and influencing policy considerably, particularly pushing the Party towards local state intervention in various welfare services.¹³

Michael Savage has shown that changing economic circumstances can also affect the relationship between Labour and women. Thus in the mid-1920s, when employment in Preston was relatively high and therefore the perceived threat of female labour to skilled male workers was reduced, women were able to influence the Party considerably. This resulted in a development of neighbourhood-based politics which benefited the local Party electorally. When high unemployment returned in 1929, however, male attitudes to female labour reverted to their earlier hostility, partly explaining a decline in women's involvement in the Party and a shift in policy away from local state welfare initiatives.¹⁴

Members of the Manchester Women's History Group have developed a rather different perspective in looking at the impact of women on council housing provision in Manchester between the wars. They have shown that women in the Labour Party, and also in the closely linked Women's Co-operative Guild, were very active in attempting to influence the provision of public housing in the city. However, the effect of this campaigning is difficult to assess. The view that housing quality and design was a non-party issue, and therefore to be decided upon in the Council on a free vote, allowed male Councillors to ignore recommendations emanating from the Women's Advisory Council.

This view also apparently affected votes concerned with education and maternity services. Labour Party women's opposition to flats in principle also seems to have been ineffectual. So despite the evidence of women being well organised and politically active within the Manchester Party, over the issue of housing at least their impact on policy was limited.¹⁵

More recently Pat Thane has argued that women in the party should not be viewed merely as "puppets of male leaders or as traitors to a feminist movement", as such a view "does less than justice to their organizational importance and independence of mind, to the coherence of their analysis of the role of women in society and of their strategies for change". While she concedes that their overall achievement was "minimal" compared with their ambitions, she also argues that in London at a municipal level women had an important influence on the Labour Party in the 1930s. They were elected in large numbers and had a considerable effect on policy, especially with regard to improved levels of health care.¹⁶

* * * * *

Turning back to the local experience in Liverpool, then, there are a number of inter-connected factors which need to be taken into account in examining women's impact on Labour. As far as the local labour market was concerned, women were in a particularly disadvantageous

position. In the 1931 Census, 36% of women aged over 14 in Liverpool were in paid employment or registered as unemployed.¹⁷ Of course there were many unemployed married women excluded from this total due to the vagaries of the Unemployment Insurance system, and women's work has always tended to be underestimated in the Census,¹⁸ but as a comparative measure the Census figure is instructive. By comparison, the national proportion was 35%, and in Lancaster it was 33%, in Preston 53% and in Nelson 57%.¹⁹ Female participation in the paid labour force was low, then, but in the most detailed examination of women's work locally, Linda Grant has also shown that "women workers remained concentrated in an extremely limited range of industries".²⁰ Domestic service, the "sweated trades" in the clothing industry, food, tobacco and paper production, sack making and mending, retail trades and clerical work were the only significant areas of paid women's work.

Linda Grant has also argued that the particularly strong dependence on work in dock-related jobs for men in Liverpool, coupled with the restricted areas of female employment, created a highly distinctive sexual division of labour. The distinction between "men's work" and "women's work" was sharply defined, "producing and reproducing a model of masculinity which implicitly constructed a model of femininity". In turn this sexual division of labour "meshed perfectly with the assumptions of a society which drew sharp lines of distinction between the male and female worlds".²¹ She quotes the example of Liverpool dockers in 1916 resolutely refusing to work with women on the docks as indicative of the strength of this sexual division of labour.²² On the face of it, then, the structural context of women's work seemed

unfavourable for the prospects of women being able to influence the local Labour Party significantly.

However, there were also distinctive features of the local Labour Party and its connections with the working class which have to be taken into account. As shown in Chapter Seven, at least up to the 1920s Liverpool Labour Party was dominated by trades and trade unions which hardly reflected the pattern of employment of male workers in the city.²³ The Party which emerged in Liverpool was based mainly on the support of relatively small sections of skilled and semi-skilled workers generally unrepresentative of the working class as a whole. By contrast, the largest unions representing dockers and seafarers had only a spasmodic and often stormy relationship with Labour.²⁴ The dominant sectors in the Party can be seen in the list of union delegates elected to the Executive Committee of the Trades Council and Labour Party, shown in Appendix 11. In 1927, for instance, delegates of distributive workers, clerks, postal workers, electricians, engineering workers, railwaymen, sheet metal workers, painters, insurance workers and the League of the Blind were elected. One would hardly guess that this group represented the working class of the largest port in Britain.

The unrepresentative nature of the Labour Party up to the mid-1920s paradoxically meant that women had a better chance of influencing the Party overall. Skilled craft unions representing predominantly male workers might also have seen female labour as a threat, especially as the very concept of "skilled" work often had clear gender implications in its exclusivity.²⁵ On the other hand unions representing significant

sectors of female employment were well represented in the Party. Most notable of these were the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers (NUDAW) and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers (NUGMW), but dressmakers, shop assistants, clerical workers, tailors and garment workers were also well represented.

There are clear signs that the Party looked quite favourably on women's involvement, and women were able to win significant support and influence policy up to the mid-twenties. Even before the war, the Trades Council voted to support votes for women in July 1910, December 1911, and again in October 1912.²⁶ The then separate Labour Representation Committee (LRC) also supported the following motion in July 1913:

This LRC strongly protest against the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst and other members of the Women's Social and Political Union by the Liberal Government. Considering the method of dragging them in and out of prison to be an inhuman form of torture and that no body of men suffering under the same indignities and oppression as women are suffering under would be treated in such a manner for rebelling.²⁷

Again in January 1914 the LRC supported the National Union of Suffrage Societies in their campaign for votes for women, and agreed to send a delegate to their Conference and demonstration in London.²⁸

After the war women were also able to influence policy to some extent. Labour's programme for the 1919 municipal elections for instance called for the development of municipal nursery schools, for more provision of playgrounds for children, more public wash-houses, and the

establishment of municipal laundries.²⁹ Again in 1925 the manifesto called for the municipalisation of child welfare services.³⁰ After the elections that year the Secretary of the TC & LP was minuted as saying that "he desired to thank all the workers in the various wards for the fine work done by the various Women's Sections".³¹ Later that year the TC & LP even lifted its head from parochial concerns when it received a motion from one of the Women's Sections calling for the banning of submarines, which was passed unanimously.³² Even on the issue of birth control the Women's Sections made progress within the Party. In 1927 the TC & LP were persuaded to invite a speaker to present the case for a Mother's Welfare Clinic, the same clinic that was to split the Party nine years later. The speaker was listened to with interest and received the thanks of the meeting, and no dissent was recorded in the minutes.³³ One other sign of women's impact on policy can be seen in the influence of the Women's Co-operative Guild. They had mounted a major national campaign in the 1920s over the issue of food purity, improved hygiene in the preparation, packing and distribution of food, and especially the importance of a pure, healthy milk supply.³⁴ This campaign was taken up locally, and was eventually reflected in the 1928 Municipal election programme. Two new demands were inserted in the programme, that "a pure milk supply" be guaranteed for Liverpool, and "that attention to be called for the need for hygienic conditions in all shops dealing with food supplies".³⁵

The clearest sign of women's impact within the Labour Party up to the mid-1920s, however, was the Party's willingness to campaign over women's working conditions and trade unionism. Over these issues before

and after the first world war the key position of Mary Bamber (the mother of Bessie Braddock) in the Liverpool Labour movement was significant. As a NUDAW delegate Mary Bamber was one of the leading figures in the TC & LP for many years. She was re-elected onto the Executive Committee year after year, and continually worked for improvements in the working conditions of women and the unionisation of women. Most of this activity was concerned with women in low-paid and poorly organised sectors of the local economy, but there is also evidence that the relatively small number of women in skilled trades were defended by the TC & LP in this period. Thus in 1923 a resolution from the Printing and Paper Workers' Union was passed unanimously condemning the fact that women workers who had served apprenticeships in a trade were being disallowed unemployment benefit if they refused to take work as domestic servants.³⁶

The Labour Party took up the question of women's trade unionism most enthusiastically in June 1926, when the Industrial Committee of the TC & LP met to launch a major campaign to organise women workers. All affiliated unions were to be contacted, public speakers were to be made available for all meetings, an advert was to be placed in the *Liverpool Echo*, and a major conference was to be organised with other parties in the area. This was perhaps the highpoint of women's activity in the Labour Party between the wars, but it was also a turning point. The campaign ran until the conference in April 1927, but ultimately it petered out due to the poor response of affiliated unions. By December 1926 only 18 unions had taken up the offer of a speaker, and at the conference only 55 organisations were represented, although 486 had

been written to. In the context of the defeat of the General Strike and the subsequent downturn in Trade Union fortunes, perhaps no more should have been expected.³⁷

A new phase in the relationship between the Liverpool Labour Party and women came by the late 1920s. The Women's Sections seemed to become more marginal to the Party, and their impact on policy seemed to decline. Symbolic of the change perhaps was the special appeal made by the TC & LP to the Women's Sections to provide a decorative lorry or tableau for the May Day demonstration of 1927.³⁸ This stress on women's domestic skills within the Party was a pointer to the future.

* * * * *

The politics of the Labour Party changed in the second half of the 1920s. At a national level the Party, along with the TUC, became more inward-looking. Joint action with any organisations outside the Party, and particularly those that had any connection with the Communist Party, was frowned upon. The ending of joint work with the National Unemployed Workers Movement was the most notable sign of this trend.³⁹ At the same time work with feminists outside the Party was also terminated. Disagreement over protective legislation for women workers led to the 1927 decision to prohibit joint action with NUSEC, the leading non-party feminist organisation of the time.⁴⁰ Labour women's isolation was only increased by the performance of their leaders in

Parliament. Margaret Bondfield's assent to the 1927 Unemployment Insurance Act, which imposed a cut in benefit from 15s. to 8s. for women under 21, was a severe defeat for the Women's Sections. Even more damaging was the Anomalies Act introduced by Margaret Bondfield as Minister of Labour in 1931. This Act disallowed benefit to large numbers of married women, discounting their National Insurance contributions prior to marriage and also for any periods of temporary or seasonal work. By April 1933 half a million married women had had their benefit stopped under the terms of the Act.⁴¹

These national trends were reflected locally. Joint action with the NUWM was wound down from April 1926, and by March 1928 the IC & LP was setting up its own rival Unemployed Association.⁴² Work with the Women's Co-operative Guild was also run down gradually. As early as October 1926 the Liverpool Co-operative Society was meeting increasing difficulties in coming to agreements with the Labour Party over standing mutually acceptable candidates in local elections. Labour began to insist that the Co-operative movement should simply be absorbed fully into the Party, and joint work was steadily eroded as relations between the two organisations worsened down to the late 1920s.⁴³ Labour women were at the same time increasingly isolated from local feminists in the Liverpool Women's Citizens Association (WCA), which was affiliated to NUSEC, over the issue of family allowances. The leading proponent of this measure, Eleanor Rathbone, was a Liverpool City Councillor with whom Labour women had worked in the early 1920s. By the late 1920s such cooperation had ceased. The WCA wrote to all local Parliamentary candidates prior to the 1929 General Election

asking them to support family allowances, but only four out of the ten Labour candidates agreed to do so.⁴⁴ At the 1930 Labour Women's Conference Bessie Braddock opposed family allowances, arguing that that they would encourage employers to cut men's wages, and defended the trade union concept of the "family wage".⁴⁵ The impact of the Anomalies Act, which had caused 3,000 women in Liverpool to lose their benefit by November 1931,⁴⁶ further disheartened the Women's Sections in the Party.

There was another significant change locally in the late 1920s which adversely affected women's organisation in the Party. The arrival of the group of Catholic councillors as described earlier had a profound impact on the Party. They brought with them few new ward organisations or new members, and therefore had little effect on the structure of the TC & LP. On the other hand most of them had little sympathy with socialist ideas, but they soon formed a majority in the Labour group on the Council, and began to shape policy there. A conflict between the nominal determiners of policy, the TC & LP, and the real power brokers, the Catholic Caucus in the Council, was inevitable. It came in 1930 over the Catholic Cathedral, and resulted in the Labour Group being confirmed as the dominant force in the Party for the whole of the 1930s.⁴⁷ For women this meant that however effective they might have been within the TC & LP, their efforts could always be negated by the decisions of the Labour Group. The fact that, as in the case of Manchester mentioned earlier, many issues of importance to women were seen as non-party issues and were therefore left to a free vote by Labour Councillors, only served to magnify this major political problem

for women in the Party. The only way women could effectively influence the Party thereafter was by getting onto the Council, and with a few notable exceptions this proved difficult.

The other important effect that this change had as far as women were concerned was to bring religion to the centre of Labour politics. Over a key issue for feminists in the 1930s, birth control, this was damaging. As already stated, nationally it had been divisive in the 1920s, but it had been partially resolved by the Labour government in 1930 allowing Ministry of Health clinics to give free contraceptive advice "in cases where further pregnancy would be detrimental to health".⁴⁸ In other localities like West Yorkshire and Manchester birth control and Catholicism was an explosive mix, but less so in the 1930s than in the 1920s.⁴⁹ In Liverpool the religious complexion of the Labour Group kept the issue alive, as the 1936 split described earlier showed. This is not to suggest, of course, that religion alone accounts for opposition to birth control within the Labour Party. Opposition on the grounds that limitation of population would be forced on the working class to reduce or even eliminate the "lower orders" had a history going back to the ideas of Malthus over a century earlier. The eugenicist idea of population control for the poor to eliminate "social problems" was a significant early twentieth century variant, and many orthodox socialists opposed birth control on these grounds. Oswald Mosley's advocacy of birth control in the 1930s as part of the fascist plan to "improve the race" and eliminate the "unfit" only served to revive fears of birth control among some socialists.⁵⁰ But in

Liverpool it was religion that was the main factor in stirring up the controversy in the 1930s.

In Parliament as well Liverpool's Labour MPs continued to oppose birth control. Davie Logan, who had been the first Nationalist councillor to defect to Labour in January 1923,⁵¹ became the MP for Scotland Division in Liverpool in 1929. In his first speech to Parliament he stated his principles:

I stand for the great things that go to make the family life and to help to make the manhood of the nation great and strong, because of deep religious convictions.⁵²

In 1932 he defended the sanctity of marriage by arguing against divorce even in cases where a spouse was clinically diagnosed as "incurably insane".⁵³ In 1935 and 1936 he opposed any measures to allow contraceptive advice to be given to married women by the Ministry of Health.⁵⁴ A father of ten children, he argued in the 1935 debate:

If the Ministry of Health wishes to encourage the welfare of the nation, it will not be by the scientific dispensation of the knowledge of Marie Stopes. The welfare of the nation will depend upon a healthy manhood and womanhood, not so much the knowledge of the prostitute as the knowledge that goes to make for human happiness and the welfare of the people. This nation was never made on the scientific dissemination of material. It is only fit for the gutter. It is not for decent homes to have any knowledge of ... I believe it is pernicious. I believe it is the worst kind of propaganda that was ever introduced ... The object of the speech that has been made tonight is that, without denying the pleasure of sexual delectation, there must be no children. I am against this doctrine.

Despite much barracking and several attempted interruptions by other members of the House, Logan continued in this vein for ten minutes. For some sections of the Liverpool Labour Party this was clearly still a contentious issue.

It is far less clear, though, to what extent Labour leaders like Logan and Hogan accurately reflected the views of catholic voters, and particularly catholic women, on this and other issues. In the 1936 Council debate on birth control the Protestant leader Longbottom sniped away at his sectarian enemies by questioning their right as an all-male group to speak for catholic women. He was quoted as saying that,

he did not believe the opposition [to birth control] was a layman's opposition; it certainly was not a laywoman's opposition. If this was a free issue there was no doubt the women would have something to say about it.

Of course Longbottom's intervention was a purely sectarian rather than feminist point, but it raised an important issue about the nature of political representation in the catholic community of Liverpool. The councillors who ran the catholic caucus in the Labour Party were as much nominees of a catholic hierarchy as representatives of a catholic electorate, and they appeared to determine as much as reflect catholic opinion. Steve Fielding has done much to explore the internal political and cultural life of catholic Manchester in this period, but in Liverpool similar studies are still awaited.⁵⁵ In the meanwhile one has to be cautious about generalising about catholic attitudes as a whole from the discourse of the catholic caucus. Nevertheless this imposed a new context on women's activities in the Labour Party.

In this new context, women's influence in the Liverpool Labour Party was limited in the 1930s. The Women's Sections faded into insignificance. The only important arena was the Council Chamber, and only one woman was able to make a major impact there, namely Bessie Braddock. Elected to the Council in 1930, she put on almost a one-woman show there for a decade. Significantly she seems to have avoided working in the Women's Sections at all, and in fact fell out with them at times. Martin Pugh has described the women who came to predominate in the inter-war Labour Party as,

orthodox party loyalists ... who put party and class
before sex.⁵⁶

Bessie Braddock certainly put party and class before sex, but she was most emphatically not an orthodox party loyalist. After 1945 in Parliament she became a prominent figure on the right of the Party, but in the 1930s she was firmly on the left, and she was constantly involved in disputes with the Party leadership.

Not long after she had clashed with Luke Hogan over the Mothers' Welfare Clinic in April 1936, she was disciplined for publicly criticising a municipal candidate, Mrs. Elliott, who was the chairperson of the Liverpool Labour Women's Central Council from its inception in 1922 right through to 1939. She was reported as stating,

That Mrs.Elliott was a bad candidate...That Mrs.Elliott was not class-conscious...That on a P.A.C. Committee in St.Anne's ward that Mrs. Elliott remarked to a woman applying for extra nourishment money and receiving 45/- (having a large family) that she was better off than a Railwayman who had only 40/10d. whatever the size of his family.

In the same speech, Mrs. Braddock also criticised another Labour councillor, Reginald Bevins, as he

had voted against the best interests of the working class mothers on the birth control issue...That Mr. Bevins should have got instructions from his ward, as to how he was to vote and obeyed those instructions⁵⁷

She was disciplined again in 1938 for speaking on a public platform with the NUWM.⁵⁸

She would never have described herself as a feminist, but chaired the Maternity and Child Welfare Sub-Committee of the Council from its creation in 1934, and in that capacity did much work on behalf of women. In June 1936 her committee was responsible for the opening of a Maternity and Child Care Centre in Everton which was claimed to be the only one of its kind in the country.⁵⁹ Only a few days later she organised a major national Conference on Maternity and Child Welfare in Liverpool, working with many other non-party women's organisations. The conference called for birth control clinics to be established by all health authorities, and improved pre- and post-natal care, and received much publicity in the local press.⁶⁰

It is difficult to place Bessie Braddock in the context of the feminist movement of the inter-war years. It has been claimed that a "new feminism" placing a stress on the special attributes and needs of women began to predominate over the prewar "equality feminism". The implications of this new feminism are controversial. Some historians see it as failing to challenge, and in fact contributing to,

a reconstruction of gender that circumscribed the roles, activities and possibilities of women.⁶¹

Others have argued that it moved beyond

a mere shedding of the fetters, beyond ... 'me too feminism', beyond the sort of feminism which thinks only 'in terms of men' and therefore betrays an inferiority complex.⁶²

Others again argue that stressing "old" and "new" feminism can give a

somewhat facile division of feminists...[disguising] intricate patterns of thinking.⁶³

However it is judged, Eleanor Rathbone was seen as the leading exponent of this new feminism. Her presidential address to NUSEC in 1925 expressed the shift of emphasis clearly:

We can demand what we want for women, not because it is what men have got, but because it is what women need to fulfil the potentialities of their own natures and to adjust ourselves to the circumstances of their own lives.⁶⁴

Protective legislation for women at work, family allowances, and the availability of birth control were the key demands of the new feminism. As we have seen, Bessie Braddock campaigned vigorously for birth control, but also strongly opposed family allowances. It is the case, perhaps, that she and Eleanor Rathbone represented two quite different discourses by the 1930s, with issues of class as well as gender contributing to the difference.

But of course Bessie Braddock was only one individual, and there were very few women to assist her in the Council. The number of women involved in municipal politics in Liverpool in this period was very small. Even before women had been enfranchised nationally, they had been involved in municipal politics, as Patricia Hollis has recently shown.⁶⁵ In Liverpool the only party to select a woman candidate was the Liberal Party, for whom a Miss Johnson stood unsuccessfully in 1907 and again in 1910. The only other woman who stood for election before the first world war was Eleanor Rathbone, who was returned as an independent in 1910 and again in 1913. Labour's first woman candidate was Mary Bamber, winning in a by-election in 1919. But as Table 9.3 below shows, very few women were selected by any of the major parties.

The Labour Party did at least do better than the others, with 8% of all their candidates between 1905 and 1938 being women, as opposed to 4% and 3% respectively for the Liberals and Tories. But in total on only 18 occasions were Labour women ever successfully elected onto the council between the wars, and only 10 Labour women actually became councillors over the whole period (some of them were elected more than once). This compares very unfavourably with the experience in London recorded by Pat Thane. There 150 out of a total of 729 successful Labour candidates were women in the 1934 elections, a proportion of almost 20%.⁶⁶ In Liverpool, by contrast, only 6 out of 73 Labour winners between 1934 and 1938 were women, a proportion of less than 10%.

TABLE 9.3 - WOMEN CANDIDATES IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN LIVERPOOL, 1905-1938

	All Labour Candidates	All Labour Wins	Labour Women Candidates	Labour Women Wins
1905-9	18	3(17%)	0	0
1910-14	52	14(27%)	0	0
1919-23	108	16(15%)	2(2%)	1(50%)
1924-28	166	51(31%)	14(8%)	1(7%)
1929-33	191	75(39%)	18(9%)	10(56%)
1934-38	192	73(38%)	23(12%)	6(26%)
TOTAL	727	232(32%)	57(8%)	18(32%)

	All Tory Candidates	All Tory Wins	Tory Women Candidates	Tory Women Wins
1905-9	130	102(79%)	0	0
1910-14	119	99(83%)	0	0
1919-23	137	116(85%)	2(1%)	2(100%)
1924-28	152	122(80%)	8(5%)	6(75%)
1929-33	165	120(73%)	10(6%)	7(70%)
1934-38	161	122(76%)	7(4%)	3(43%)
TOTAL	864	681(79%)	27(3%)	18(67%)

	All Liberal Candidates	All Liberal Wins	Liberal Women Candidates	Liberal Women Wins
1905-9	102	61(60%)	1(1%)	0
1910-14	60	46(77%)	1(2%)	0
1919-23	59	28(48%)	6(10%)	5(83%)
1924-28	43	16(37%)	0	0
1929-33	33	16(49%)	2(6%)	2(100%)
1934-38	25	16(64%)	2(8%)	2(100%)
TOTAL	322	183(57%)	12(4%)	9(75%)

	All Other Candidates	All Other Wins	Other Women Candidates	Other Women Wins
1905-9	52	23(44%)	0	0
1910-14	41	25(61%)	2(5%)	2(100%)
1919-23	96	45(47%)	7(7%)	3(43%)
1924-28	64	27(42%)	5(8%)	5(100%)
1929-33	80	21(26%)	10(13%)	6(60%)
1934-38	45	15(33%)	11(24%)	3(27%)
TOTAL	378	156(41%)	35(9%)	19(54%)

	Total Candidates	Total Wins	Total Women Candidates	Total Women Wins
1905-9	302	189(63%)	1(0.3%)	0
1910-14	272	184(68%)	3(1%)	2(67%)
1919-23	400	205(51%)	17(4%)	11(65%)
1924-28	425	216(51%)	27(6%)	12(44%)
1929-33	469	232(50%)	40(9%)	25(63%)
1934-38	423	226(53%)	43(10%)	14(33%)
TOTAL	2291	1252(55%)	131(6%)	64(49%)

SOURCE: Municipal Election Results, Liverpool Official Red Books, 1906-1939.

Even when women were selected as candidates, they were often selected in wards where they had little chance of winning. To take one example, Sarah McArd, a leading local member of the ILP and the Women's Co-operative Guild and a stalwart of the Women's Sections, whose unswerving loyalty to Labour was demonstrated when the ILP was disaffiliated in 1932, was rewarded for her tireless work on behalf of the Party with the following. In 1925 she was selected for St. Domingo ward, the stronghold of Harry Longbottom's Protestant Party, and lost. In 1926, 1927 and 1928 she unsuccessfully contested the safe Tory ward of Old Swan. In 1929 she was selected for a by-election in the fairly safe Labour ward of Edge Hill, and won, but in the 1931 elections she was swept away in the aftermath of the Catholic Cathedral controversy and the collapse of the Labour government. In 1934 she stood unsuccessfully in Wavertree West, another safe Tory seat, in 1936 she gamely contested St. Domingo again and lost, and finally in 1938 she lost in the safe Tory seat of Fazakerley. Sarah McArd *did* get elected after the war in Bessie Braddock's ward of St. Anne's, but lesser persons must surely have given up early against these sort of odds, and it is no surprise that so few Labour women got on the Council.

As far as Parliamentary elections were concerned, no woman stood for Labour before the war. Bessie Braddock was selected for the Exchange Division, but war intervened before she could mount a challenge. Nationally the highest proportion of women candidates for Labour in a general election before the war was only 7% in 1931.⁶⁷ It has been suggested that many women within the Labour Party positively chose not to stand for Parliament and preferred to stay close to their support in

the local community.⁶⁸ This was perhaps borne out in Liverpool when candidates were selected for the 1918 election. Mary Bamber was nominated, but withdrew, stating that

she didn't think the time opportune for women
Parliamentary candidates.⁶⁹

Whatever the reason, Davie Logan never had a local Labour woman to challenge him in Parliament before the war. Local feminists were represented indirectly from 1929 when Eleanor Rathbone was elected as an independent for a Combined Universities seat. The political parties in Liverpool, however, retained an all-male approach to Parliament.

* * * * *

One final way of attempting to assess women's impact on Labour is by linking it to local spending on those municipal services that might be seen as particularly relevant to women's welfare. This approach was used by Jane Mark-Lawson and her colleagues in their study of Preston, Lancaster and Nelson. The stronger women's influence was in a local Party, the more it might have been reflected in local municipal policies, and therefore in council spending. There are serious methodological problems in using this kind of financial data, as they point out in their work, but nevertheless it might be useful to compare similar figures for Liverpool. The results are shown in Table 9.4 below.

TABLE 9.4 - APPROXIMATE PER CAPITA NET EXPENDITURE ON SOME SERVICES IN FINANCIAL YEARS 1924-5 & 1935-6

SERVICE	YEARS	LIVERPOOL	LANCASTER	PRESTON	NELSON
Education (per child under 15 years old)	1924-5	£2 17s 0d	£2 13s 8d	£2 17s 7d	£4 1s 4d
	1935-6	£4 3s 5d	£3 8s 1d	£4 13s 10d	£5 1s 8d
Maternity & Child Welfare (per woman 15-44 years old)	1924-5	3s 2d	7d	8d	5s 11d
	1935-6	9s 6d	4s 1d	5s 6d	8s 2d
Parks, Baths, Libraries & Recreation (per capita)	1924-5	5s 0d	8d	3s 4d	4s 11d
	1935-6	6s 4d	2s 9d	4s 7d	6s 8d

SOURCE: Liverpool City Council, *Treasurer's Accounts*, 1924-5 and 1935-6; Census of Population, 1921 and 1931; Jane Mark-Lawson et al, "Gender and Local Politics", p. 200.

As can be seen, the figures for Lancaster, Preston and Nelson seemed to bear out Jane Mark-Lawson's estimation of the relative impact of women on the Labour Party in each town. The figures for Liverpool are extremely interesting, if less clear cut in their implications. On education Liverpool's expenditure seemed similar to Preston's. On maternity and child welfare, and parks, baths etc., Liverpool appeared to rank alongside Nelson. Taken overall, Liverpool's provision in these areas was perhaps surprisingly generous. This may have reflected the impact that women had on Labour policy in the 1920s, but also perhaps their impact on the other main parties. The importance of an extremely effective feminist like Eleanor Rathbone sitting as an Independent throughout the 1920s may also be reflected in the figures.

The continued or even increased generosity of provision in the 1930s is again intriguing. The increasing dependence of the Tories in Liverpool on a sectarian Protestant working class vote to maintain their hold on the Council in the 1930s may have been relevant. Working class Tory voters' demands in terms of council provision had to be met if the sectarian alliance was to be maintained. It is also interesting that expenditure on Maternity and Child Welfare was higher in Liverpool in the 1930s than in all the other areas. It seems likely that this reflected the key position of Bessie Braddock in chairing the Maternity Sub-Committee throughout this period and very forcefully and publicly campaigning for provision in this area.

The fact that we are comparing councils of such different size, and that Labour was never politically in power in Liverpool in the inter-war years, makes the link between Council expenditure and women's impact on the Labour Party difficult to assess conclusively. The evidence, though, does seem to suggest there was a connection between the two, even if other factors lying outside of the Party also have to be taken into account.

* * * * *

To summarise, the relationship between the Labour Party and women in Liverpool was a complex one. It varied over time, with women's influence in the Party being stronger in the 1920s than the 1930s. It

was influenced by the nature of gender relations in the local labour market, and also by the particular occupational groups that made up the early Labour Party. It was strongly affected by religious considerations from the late 1920s. It was also linked to national changes in the Labour Party in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Comparing the relationship with the few local studies from other parts of the country that we have, women seemed to have had less impact on Labour in Liverpool than they did in either London or Nelson, but more than in Lancaster. The nearest comparison seems to be with Preston, with greater influence in the 1920s declining in the 1930s, but for rather different reasons.

To put these conclusions in the context of the debate raised near the beginning of this chapter on working class culture and politics, it is arguable that class, religion and gender were all factors which influenced working class life and culture in Liverpool, and in turn affected the relationship between that culture and Labour politics. Neither an economic nor a cultural reductionism can do full justice to these complex historical relationships.

FOOTNOTES

1. Liverpool City Council, *Minutes*, 1.4.1936; *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2.4.1936.
2. See S.Rowbotham, *A New World for Women. Stella Browne: Socialist Feminist*, (1977), pp.43-59; J.Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939*, (1980), pp.197-8; B.Campbell, *The Iron Ladies: Why do Women Vote Tory?*, (1987), pp.63-64; H.Wainwright, *Labour: A Tale of Two Parties*, (1987), pp.178-9.

3. See, for instance, A.Shallice, "Liverpool Labourism and Irish Nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s", *Bulletin of the North West Labour History Society*, No.8, (1982); J.Smith, "Labour Tradition in Glasgow and Liverpool", *History Workshop Journal*, XVII, (Spring 1984); P.J.Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939*, (Liverpool, 1981).
4. N.Kirk, "'Traditional Working-Class Culture and 'the Rise of Labour': Some Preliminary Questions and Observations", *Social History*, Vol.16, No.2, (May 1991), p.213; M.Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics: The Labour Movement in Preston, 1880-1940*, (Cambridge, 1987); J.Mark-Lawson, M.Savage & A.Warde, "Gender and Local Politics: Struggles over Welfare Policies, 1918-1939", in L.Murgatroyd et.al., *Localities, Class and Gender*, (1985).
5. The surviving records of Liverpool Labour Party are all kept in the Local History Library, Liverpool City Library; See Bibliography.
6. For the history of the Women's Labour League, see M.Rendel, "The Contribution of the Women's Labour League to the Winning of the Franchise", in L.Middleton (ed.), *Women in the Labour Movement*, (1977); C.Collette, *For Labour and for Women: The Women's Labour League, 1906-14*, (Manchester, 1989).
7. Executive Committee, Liverpool Labour Party, *Minutes*, Sept. 27th, 1918.
8. Liverpool Labour Party, *Minutes*, Apr. 2nd, 1919; Apr. 7th, 1920.
9. Executive Committee, Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Apr. 11th, 1921; Apr.12th, 1922.
10. Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, May 3rd, 1922; Jun. 7th, 1922; Aug. 2nd, 1922.
11. My thanks to Phil Cubbin of the Human Geography Cartographic Unit at Liverpool Polytechnic for his assistance in preparing the maps.
12. On these developments, see Wainwright, *Labour: A Tale of Two Parties*, pp.177-9; H.Smith, "Sex vs. Class: British Feminists and the Labour Movement, 1919-1929", *The Historian*, Vol.47, 1984; M.Pugh, "Domesticity and the Decline of Feminism, 1930-1950", in H.Smith (ed.), *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, (Aldershot, 1990).
13. Mark-Lawson et al., "Gender and Local Politics", pp.209-13.
14. Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-class Politics*, pp.167-187.
15. Manchester Women's History Group, "Ideology in Bricks and Mortar: Women's Housing in Manchester between the Wars", *North West Labour History*, No.12, 1987, especially pp.32-35. Linda Walker

has been further developing this work on women and the Labour Party, and the results of her research are awaited with interest.

- 16.P.Thane, "The Women of the British Labour Party and Feminism, 1906-1945", in Smith(ed.), *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*.
- 17.*1931 Census*, Tables of Occupation.
- 18.E.Roberts, *Women's Work, 1840-1940*, (1988), pp.18-20.
- 19.Mark-Lawson et al., "Gender and Local Politics", pp. 210-11.
- 20.L.Grant, *Women Workers and the Sexual Division of Labour: Liverpool 1890-1939*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Liverpool, 1987, p.102.
- 21.*Ibid*, pp.85-97.
- 22.*Ibid*, p.86.
- 23.S.Davies, "The Liverpool Labour Party and the Liverpool Working Class, 1900-1939", *Bulletin of the North West Labour History Society*, No.6, 1979-80.
- 24.See, for instance, E.Taplin, *The Dockers' Union: A Study of the National Union of Dock Labourers, 1889-1922*, (Leicester, 1986), pp. 133-37.
- 25.See Ann Phillips & Barbara Taylor, "Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics", *Feminist Review*, No.6, 1980.
- 26.Liverpool Trades Council, *Minutes*, Jul.27th, 1910; Dec.13th, 1911; Oct.23rd, 1912.
- 27.Liverpool LRC, *Minutes*, Jul.2nd, 1913.
- 28.Liverpool LRC, *Minutes*, Jan. 30th, 1914.
- 29.Liverpool Labour Party, *Minutes*, Sep. 3rd, 1919.
- 30.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Sep. 13th, 1925.
- 31.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Nov. 4th, 1925.
- 32.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Dec.2nd, 1925.
- 33.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, April 20th, May 19th, 1927.
- 34.See for instance the Women's Co-operative Guild pamphlets *The Milk we Want* (1925), *Food Purity* (1926), and *Food Values* (1926) in the Labour Archive at the University of Hull Library.
- 35.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Sep.26, 1928.

- 36.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Aug.15, 1923.
- 37.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Jun.23rd, 1926 - Apr.7th, 1927.
- 38.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Nov.15th, 1926.
- 39.See J.Saville, "May Day 1937", in A.Briggs & J.Saville (eds.), *Essays in Labour History, 1918-39*, (1977).
- 40.Smith, "Sex vs. Class", pp.32-3.
- 41.On the full implications of the Anomalies Act, see S.Davies et al., *Genuinely Seeking Work: Mass Unemployment on Merseyside in the 1930s*, (Liverpool, 1992), Ch.5.
- 42.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Apr.12th, 1926; Mar.23rd, 1928.
- 43.Liverpool Co-operative Society Ltd., *Quarterly Report*, Oct.25, 1926, pp. 12-13.
- 44.*Liverpool Daily Post*, May 28th, 1929.
- 45.Pugh, "Domesticity and the Decline of Feminism", p.157.
- 46.Davies et al., *Genuinely Seeking Work*, Ch.5.
- 47.M.Nightingale et al., *Merseyside in Crisis*, (Liverpool, 1980), pp.76-9; Tony Lane, *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire*, (1987), pp.137-8.
- 48.Thane, "The Women of the British Labour Party and Feminism", p.137.
- 49.J.Reynolds & K.Laybourn, *Labour Heartland: A History of the Labour Party in W.Yorkshire during the Inter-war Years, 1918-39*, (Bradford,1987), p.42; S.Fielding, *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford: Aspects of their Religious and Political History, 1890-1939*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1988).
- 50.S.Rowbotham, *Hidden from History*, (London, 1973), pp.151-6.
- 51.Liverpool TC & LP, *Minutes*, Jan.3rd, 1923.
- 52.*Parliamentary Debates*, 5th series, vol.234, 538-42, Jan.24th, 1930.
- 53.*Parliamentary Debates*, vol.272, 826-28, Nov.30th, 1932.
- 54.*Parliamentary Debates*, vol.304, 1136-40, Jul.17th, 1935; vol.317, 1048, Nov.12th, 1936.
- 55.Steve Fielding, *The Irish Catholics of Manchester and Salford*; also by Fielding, "Irish Politics in Manchester, 1890-1914", *International Review of Social History*, XXXIII, (1988).

- 56.M.Pugh, "Domesticity and the Decline of Feminism", pp.156-7.
- 57.Labour Group Meeting, *Minutes*, Jun. 2nd, 1936.
- 58.Labour Group Meeting, *Minutes*, Mar. 11th, 1938.
- 59.*Liverpool Daily Post*, Jun. 27th, 1936.
- 60.National Conference on Maternity and Child Welfare, Liverpool, Jul. 1st-3rd, 1936, *Official Programme and Handbook*.
- 61.S.Kingsley Kent, "Gender Reconstruction after the First World War" in Smith, (ed.), *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, p.80.
- 62.B.Harrison, *Prudent Revolutionaries: Portraits of British Feminists between the Wars*, (Oxford, 1987), p. 104.
- 63.J.Alberti, *Beyond Suffrage: Feminists in War and Peace, 1914-28*, (1989), p.165.
- 64.Quoted in S.Kingsley Kent, "The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism", in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.27, No.3, (July, 1988), p.240.
- 65.P.Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865-1914*, (Oxford, 1987).
- 66.Thane, "The Women of the British Labour Party and Feminism", p.140.
- 67.B.Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*, (1978), pp.236-7.
- 68.M.Stacey & M.Price, *Women, Power and Politics*, (1981), p.91.
- 69.Liverpool Labour Party, *Minutes*, Nov. 24th, 1918.

CHAPTER TEN - CONCLUSION

What general conclusions can be drawn from the analysis? The first point to stress is that Liverpool's largely maritime economic function created a distinctive working class. The predominance of trade and commerce in Liverpool's economic life up to 1939 was strong. If there was structural change at all between 1900 and 1939, it only emphasised the centrality of port-based activity in the city. While there was some new manufacturing industry developing on the outer estates of the city from the mid-1930s, it was more than offset by the decline of skilled workshop trades and the remnants of ship-building on the Liverpool side of the Mersey. Despite the fall in port activity which reflected the trading fortunes of the British economy in the 1920s and 1930s, Liverpool remained heavily dependent on dock-related employment. The proportion of the male workforce employed in the main sectors of waterfront work remained more or less constant between 1911 and 1931. No other major city had a workforce so concentrated in port-related activities.¹

Given Liverpool's socio-economic circumstances, any party which based its appeal mainly on working class support, had of necessity to win over a large proportion of those workers and their families who were employed in the waterfront sectors. It is the contention of this thesis that the Labour Party failed to do this to a sufficient degree to guarantee a strong base of support in the city. However, we have seen that this was not the *only* cause of Labour's weakness in Liverpool. Religious sectarianism was almost certainly not as

important as twentieth century convention has had it, but it was still relevant. "Gerrymandering" of the municipal electoral system, which has been all but ignored, was plainly of considerable significance. The impact of these two factors has to be assessed first.

As far as sectarianism is concerned, the analysis in Chapter Eight shows that its effect on voting patterns, especially after 1918, was far from straightforward. In the protestant wards, the harnessing of anti-catholic sentiment to working class Conservatism was by no means pervasive. In a number of wards, such as Edge Hill, Everton, Garston, St.Anne's and Croxteth, the appeal of sectarianism was limited. Only in the north end wards of St.Domingo and Netherfield, overwhelmingly, and Kirkdale, marginally, and in the south end ward of Dingle, could the sectarian vote be seen to be a major factor adversely affecting Labour. Even then, there were differences in the sectarian response, with the north end wards adopting an overtly protestant politics, rather than Conservatism, in the 1930s. It was also the case that the sectarian appeal was not a major factor consistently throughout the inter-war years. Only in the mid-1920s and late 1930s was it unequivocally of significance in these wards. Labour's worst years electorally, in 1930 and 1931, were far more linked to the Party's national crisis than to any local, sectarian upsurge.

"Gerrymandering" was a real factor affecting Labour detrimentally in Liverpool, and one which has not been identified previously. As Chapters Three to Six show, the long-unreformed ward boundaries gave a crucial advantage to Labour's opponents in local elections. The

manipulation of the aldermanic system provided a further buffer against Labour's advance. Additionally, the restrictions of the municipal franchise and the surviving anomaly of the business vote also disadvantaged Labour. All of these effects were potentially significant elsewhere, but the balance of probability is plainly that they were more influential in Liverpool than in many other cities. The lack of comparable evidence for other boroughs is striking, though, and this would appear to be an important area for further research. Nevertheless, it is incontestable that Labour's electoral shortcomings in Liverpool relative to other areas was, at the very least, magnified by this factor.

But analytical readjustment of this nature still leaves Liverpool Labour looking weak relative to other cities. It has been argued that this can be indirectly accounted for by the labour market structures typical of port cities. The evidence for this lies in Chapters Seven and Eight of this thesis. As shown there, the Labour Party fared less successfully in those areas where casual, port-related employment was predominant. This can be shown by the weak support for Labour from the general unions, by the poor party organisation, and by the low level of electoral support in these areas. Without the wholesale, and fortuitous, conversion of the Catholic dockside wards from Nationalism to Labour in the late 1920s, these areas would have remained barren territory for Labour for the duration of the inter-war period. Even then, no real organisational strength came with this bloc of seats. The party's genuine strength was in those wards where significant numbers of non-waterfront workers were based, and in the support of

predominantly craft unions. One writer, Tony Adams, has challenged this evidence recently, claiming to find much more support for Labour in the dockside areas of Liverpool than has been credited here. However, this claim is based on a limited, and certainly unrepresentative, analysis of elections for the period immediately before and after the first world war.² The longer-term and more detailed study outlined earlier still reveals a pattern of labour weakness in these key areas.

However, this lack of success was not *inevitable*. Waterfront workers in general were not *inherently* "anti-Labour", as some writers have implied.³ The evidence suggests that the politics of dockside workers was altogether more complex; a politics that was shaped by the distinctive nature of the work, life, community and culture of the waterfront. It is not possible to explore these connections in detail within the confines of this study, but comparative international evidence suggests that this would be a fruitful area for future investigation.⁴

The hypothesis here is that one cannot divorce the analysis of the industrial relations of maritime workers from their wider social and political context. At work, the casual nature of their employment engendered attitudes of independence, but strong traditions of solidarity were also forged in their bitter struggles with employers. Their militant industrial attitudes were often expressed in localised action and unofficial forms of organisation, which resulted in conflict with their predominantly pragmatic industrial leaders. The

intensely close-knit nature of the dockside community, coupled with its inherently cosmopolitan atmosphere, gave a further special characteristic to maritime work. In turn, the social and cultural distinctiveness of waterfront workers gave rise to a distinctive politics.⁵

The hallmark of that politics was the independent and critical attitude of maritime workers. Distrust of authority and leaders, whether industrial or political, was a consequence of their everyday experience of the insecurity of work and life. The explosive nature of their industrial relations pointed them towards direct and decentralised action. The "inevitability of gradualness", the long-term goal of evolutionary reform, struck a discordant note in communities used to surviving from one day to the next. In Britain, and elsewhere, the dominant political strand in the *national* labour movement was not the intuitive home of waterfront workers. The significance of syndicalism, and later communism, to maritime workers, even in countries where those tendencies were relatively weak, is striking evidence of their potentially radical *politics*.⁶ Conversely, their adherence to divisive and racist politics in some historical circumstances was another, albeit less common, manifestation of their independence.⁷

In the period up to 1939 at least, the work and culture of dockside labourers did not pre-dispose them to a strong identification with the politics of the Labour Party. This is not to say that they were "*anti-Labour*" necessarily, but that they were open to a wider spectrum of

political influences than other groups of workers, and that they maintained a more critical, independent and conditional loyalty to the Labour Party than other groups.⁸ In Liverpool, the Labour Party was competing with a number of other significant political trends amongst waterfront workers. The syndicalist influences of the 1911 period in Liverpool have already been referred to. Holton has shown the significance of syndicalism for the whole period between 1900 and 1926, arguing that overgeneralisations by historians about the 'reformism' of the British labour movement have tended to eclipse such tendencies.⁹ It is arguable that this mood of syndicalism was stronger on the waterfront than in any other setting apart from the coal-mines in the pre-1914 period. Moreover, it probably had its most long-lived influence amongst maritime workers, lingering well into the inter-war period, simply because the volatile industrial relations of the docks was most conducive to its survival.

The syndicalist mood, never expressed in strong organisational form, co-existed with another significant tendency in dockside politics after 1918. This was Communism, which had an influence among maritime workers far in excess of its wider appeal. The memoirs of Jack Dash are a vivid reminder of the Communist presence in the London docks, for instance, and even the ex-Communist Bessie Braddock ended up denouncing their activity in the Liverpool docks.¹⁰ Of course, it is hard to disentangle the truth from much of the propaganda that sought to exaggerate Communist control. No less than three official enquiries were held between 1947 and 1951 to investigate the supposed Communist hold on the docks, and they all greatly overstated the case.¹¹ This is

an unwritten history as yet, but there is little doubt that behind the rhetoric there was a real presence.

This has to be put in the context of the earlier analysis, showing the differential support for Labour in the dockside and non-dockside wards of the city, the significant competition for the vote of the dockside areas from the Tory and sectarian parties, the lack of Labour Party organisation or activity in the waterfront wards, and the predominance of non-dockside workers in the internal life of the Party. All of this must be seen as being related to some extent to the distinctive political consciousness of waterfront workers.

To argue that there was a real *connection* between the work and politics of certain groups of workers, does not imply that a simple, one-to-one relationship between work and politics should be expected in the historical evidence. As has been argued consistently throughout this thesis, other factors affected the basic relationship to varying degrees. Only a detailed examination of the specific historical circumstances can unravel the underlying continuities. This thesis has pursued this last aim, and shown how religion, ethnicity, and gender intersected with the crucial structural features of a predominantly maritime economy to produce a particular pattern of working class politics. The Labour Party's role within that pattern was a limited one up to 1939, and this was the underlying reason for the Party's weakness in Liverpool.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the analysis of census data in Appendix 12 and 15.
2. T.Adams, "Labour and the First World War: Economy, Politics and the Erosion of Local Peculiarity?", *Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, (Summer, 1990), especially p.37.
3. See, for instance, G.Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*, (1971), p.343-44, where he refers to the "rootless volatility" of the casual poor posing "unforeseen problems" for the socialist movement in London.
4. See the excellent comparative analysis of the industrial relations of waterfront workers in F.Broeze, "Militancy and Pragmatism: An International Perspective on Maritime Labour, 1870-1914", *International Review of Social History*, Vol.XXXVI, No.2, (1991); For other international studies, see, especially, B.Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s*, (Urbana, 1988); also, M.Grüttner, "The Rank-and-File Movements and the Trade Unions in the Hamburg Docks from 1896-7", in W.J.Mommsen & H.-G.Husung, (eds), *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914*, (1985); D.Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labour*, (Cambridge, 1987), pp.90-109.
5. For waterfront workers in Liverpool, see E.L.Taplin, *Liverpool Dockers and Seamen, 1870-1890* (Hull, 1974); Taplin, *The Dockers' Union: A Study of the National Union of Dock Labourers, 1889-1922*, (Leicester, 1985); H.Hikins, "Liverpool Dockers 1967", in H.R.Hikins (ed.), *Building the Union: Studies on the Growth of the Workers' Movement: Merseyside 1756-1967*, (Liverpool, 1973); T.Lane, "'Philosophical Anarchists': British Merchant Seamen and their Attitudes to Authority, 1850-1910", *Encrages*, No.11-12, 1983-4; R.Bean, "Custom, Job Regulation and Dock Labour in Liverpool, 1911-39", *International Review of Social History*, Vol.XXVII, Pt.3, (1982); M.Allen, "Post-War Dock Strikes 1945-1955: Unofficial Action in a Cold War Climate", *Bulletin of the North West Labour History Group*, No.15, (1990/91); T.Wailey, "The Other Stormy Passage: Liverpool Seamen and their Union", *Bulletin of the North West Labour History Group*, No.14, (1989/90). For evidence of the distinctive nature of waterfront work and life elsewhere, see Broeze, "Militancy and Pragmatism"; Grüttner, "The Rank-and-File Movements..."; Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront*; Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labour*; V.H.Jensen, *Hiring of Dock Workers*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); J.Iliffe, "The Creation of Group Consciousness Among the Dockworkers of Dar es Salaam 1929-50", in R.Sandbrook & R.Cohen (eds), *The Development of an African Working Class: Studies in Class Formation and Action*, (1975); E.Arnesen, "To Rule or Ruin: New Orleans Dock Workers' Struggle for Control

1902-1903", *Labor History*, Vol.28, No.2, (Spring 1987), pp.147-148; H.Mills & D.Wellman, "Contractually Sanctioned Job Action and Workers' Control: The Case of San Francisco Longshoremen", *Labor History*, Vol.28, No.2, (Spring 1987).

6. See Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront*, p.257; Grüttner, "The Rank-and-File Movements...", p.118.; R.A.Comfort, *Revolutionary Hamburg: Labor Politics in the Early Weimar Republic*, (Stanford, 1966), pp.116, 124; L.Peterson, "A Social Analysis of KPD Supporters: The Hamburg Insurrectionaries of October 1923", *International Review of Social History*, Vol.XXXVII, Pt.2, (1983), pp.213-214; 233-238; Broeze, "Militancy and Pragmatism", p.173.
7. For racist policies in US seamen's unions, see Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront*, p.30; pp.48-50; in British NUS, see S.Davies, et al, *Genuinely Seeking Work*, (Liverpool, 1992), p.31.; amongst Welsh dockers, see P.J.Leng, *The Welsh Dockers*, (Ormskirk, 1981), pp.58-9; for fascist activity amongst Genoese seamen, see, Broeze, "Militancy and Pragmatism", pp.192-3.
8. For variations in support for the Labour Party by dockside workers, see Adams, "Labour and the First World War", pp.35-40; for an example of the limited and conditional support given in the London docks, see J.Marriott, *The Culture of Labourism: The East End between the Wars*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp.163-183; but, for a more positive assessment, see, J.A.Gillespie, *Economic and Political Change in the East End of London during the 1920s*, (D.Phil., University of Cambridge, 1984).
9. Holton, "Revolutionary Syndicalism and the British Labour Movement", in Mommsen & Husung, *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany*, p.267.
10. J.Dash, *Good Morning, Brothers!*, (1969), pp.52-75; 80-187; E.& J.Braddock, *The Braddocks*, (1963).
11. Allen, "Post-War Dock Strikes 1945-1955", p.90.

APPENDIX 1 - MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS IN LIVERPOOL BY WARD, 1905-1938

Abbreviations used for party names are as follows:-

Anti-waste	= Anti-waste	MCU	= Middle Classes Union
C	= Conservative	N	= Irish Nationalist
Cath	= Catholic Party	Nat.L	= National Liberal
Centre	= Centre Party	P	= Protestant
Comm	= Communist Party	Pat.Lab	= Patriotic Labour
Co.L	= Coalition Liberal	Pat.Prot.	= Patriotic Protestant
Con.-Lab	= Conservative-Labour	People's	= People's
Co-op.	= Co-operative	Prot.Const.	= Protestant Constitutionalist
Co-op.Lab	= Co-operative Labour		
Dem.C	= Democratic Conservative		
Dem.Lab	= Democratic Labour	Ratep'rs	= Ratepayers
Fasc.	= Fascist	SDF	= Social Democratic Federation
I.L.P	= Independent Labour Party	Soc.	= Socialist
Ind	= Independent	Soldiers	= Soldiers
Ind.C	= Independent Conservative	Unemp.	= Unemployed
Ind.L.	= Independent Liberal	Youth	= Youth
Ind.Lab.	= Independent Labour		
Ind.N	= Independent Nationalist		
Ind.P	= Independent Protestant		
Ind.Ratep'rs	= Independent Ratepayers		
I.P	= Irish Party		
L	= Liberal		
Lab	= Labour		
[N.C. = No Contest]			

N.B. In the Summary Tables for each ward, average vote for parties is calculated only for years when they contested seats. Average turnout is also calculated only for the years when seats were contested. 1914 has been excluded from totals as an electoral truce was in force. By-elections are excluded from summaries.

ABERCROMBY (1)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/ Acre</u>
1911	23,326	2,510	268	87.0
1921	24,933	6,916		93.0
1931	23,427	9,493		87.4
<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>		<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.46	6.33	1.71	0.93

Churches 1929

				<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	6			5,620
Catholic	0			0
Non-Conformist	10	(Welsh)	2	9,074 (1,420)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,091
Catholic	0
Board	0
Wesleyan	497

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Cabinet Mkrs	
Glasswkrs	
Hammermen	(Total 4)
Shipwrights	

WMCA Branch

1920	✓
1931	✓
1939	✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON- TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	55%	65%	0	0	0
1910-13	0	4	-	61%	53%	3	0	0
1905-13	0	8	-	56%	63%	3	0	0
1919-23	0	5	-	58%	40%	4	0	0
1924-28	0	5	39	61%	40%	3	0	0
1929-33	0	5	36%	63%	35%	0	0	0
1934-38	2	3	51%	49%	44%	0	0	0
1919-38	2	18	44%	58%	40%	7	0	0

ABERCROMBY (1)- FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	A.Black(L) W.Phillips(C)	850 827	51% 49%	2647	63%
1906	E.Lawrence(C) Col.Whitney(L)	879 756	54% 46%	2580	63%
1907	J.T.Smith jun.(C) Dr.Permewan(L)	973 676	59% 41%	2514	66%
1908	H.H.Clarke(C) A.Black(L)	873 677	56% 44%	2417	64%
1909	E.Lawrence(C) P.D.Holt(L)	882 700	56% 44%	2369	67%
1910	T.J.Smith jun.(C) Miss.H.M.Johnson(L)	761 487	61% 39%	2344	53%
1911	C.H.Hayhurst(C)	N.C.	-	2510	-
1912	E.Lawrence(C)	N.C.	-	2355	-
1913 ¹ (Mar)	F.J.S.Heaney(C)	N.C.	-	2355	-
1913	J.W.Smith(C)	N.C.	-	2412	-
1914	C.H.Hayhurst	N.C.	-	2401	-

1919	E.Thompson(C) J.B.Baillie(Soldiers)	1439 1038	58% 42%	6251	40%
1920	F.W.Bailey(C)	N.C.	-	6828	-
1921	W.T.Roberts(C)	N.C.	-	6916	-
1922 ² (Sep)	C.F.Francis(C) A.Robinson(L)	1741 897	66% 34%	6916	38%
1922	E.Thompson(C)	N.C.	-	7524	-
1923	C.F.Francis(C)	N.C.	-	7504	-
1924	W.T.Roberts(C)	N.C.	-	8187	-
1925	E.Thompson(C)	N.C.	-	8077	-
1926	C.F.Francis(C) S.S.Silverman(Lab)	1899 1263	60% 40%	8221	38%

1 Death of T.J.Smith jun.

2 Death of F.W.Bailey.

ABERCROMBY (Contd.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1927	W.T.Roberts(C) S.S.Silverman(Lab)	2077 1274	62% 38%	8218	41%
1928	E.Thompson(C)	N.C.	-	7959	-
1929 ¹ (Apr)	G.C.Ollason(C) B.L.Myer(Lab)	1507 1187	56% 44%	7959	34%
1929	C.F.Francis(C) B.L.Myer(Lab)	1813 1535	54% 46%	9020	37%
1930	W.T.Roberts(C) P.Campbell(Lab)	2209 723	75% 25%	9000	33%
1931	A.M.Finlason(C) B.L.Myer(Lab)	2447 851	74% 26%	9493	35%
1932	C.W.Bailey(C) Mrs.A.Milton(Coop.Lab) L.J.P.McAdam(Youth)	1821 1231 139	57% 39% 4%	9444	34%
1933	W.T.Roberts(C) R.Tissyman(Lab)	1896 1513	56% 44%	9619	35%
1934	A.Lumb(Lab) A.M.Finlason(C)	1535 1496	51% 49%	9633	31%
1935	C.W.Bailey(C) J.R.Bevins(Lab)	2118 2081	50% 50%	9574	44%
1935 ² (Dec)	J.R.Bevins(Lab) A.M.Finlason(C)	1991 1756	53% 47%	9574	39%
1936	W.T.Roberts(C) Mrs.A.E.Elliott(Lab)	2383 2245	51% 49%	9829	47%
1937	J.R.Bevins(Lab) R.Clitherow(C)	2803 2291	55% 45%	9647	53%
1938 ³ (Apr)	J.J.E.Sloan(C) A.Campbell(Lab) T.L.Hurst(Ind)	1978 1972 27	50% 49% 1%	9647	41%
1938	C.W.Bailey(C) J.H.Sayle(Lab)	2239 2154	51% 49%	9676	45%

1 Election of E.Thompson as Alderman.

2 Resignation of A.Lumb.

3 Election of W.T.Roberts as Alderman.

AIGBIRTH (2)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	9,493	1,819	1,101	8.6
1921	11,331	4,612		10.3
1931	16,122	8,493		14.6
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.64	5.81	1.03	0.65

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2		1,732
Catholic	1		224
Non-Conformist	2	(Welsh)	0
			1,020

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	176
Catholic	133
Board	1,009

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	51%	75%	1	0	0
1910-13	0	4	-	54%	74%	3	0	0
1905-13	0	7	-	52%	75%	4	0	0
1919-23	0	5	-	67%	64%	4	0	0
1924-28	0	3	-	-	-	5	0	0
1929-33	0	4	25%	69%	41%	1	0	0
1934-38	0	5	-	60%	43%	1	0	0
1919-38	0	17	25%	65%	44%	11	0	0

AIGBURTH (2) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	H.Wilson(C) A.E.Jacob(L)	469 466	50% 50%	1319	71%
1906	A.E.Jacob(L) W.P.Wethered(C)	559 520	52% 48%	1405	77%
1907	W.P.Wethered(C) A.Bathgate(L)	696 389	64% 36%	1450	75%
1908	H.Wilson(C)	N.C.	-	1593	-
1909	A.E.Jacob(L) D.Jackson(C)	760 542	58% 42%	1691	77%
1910	W.P.Wethered(C) W.Abercromby(L)	704 591	54% 46%	1754	74%
1911	H.Wilson(C)	N.C.	-	1819	-
1912	H.M.Miller(C)	N.C.	-	1858	-
1913	W.P.Wethered(C)	N.C.	-	1937	-
1914	W.J.Burgess(C)	N.C.	-	2079	-

1919	H.M.Miller(C)	N.C.	-	4422	-
1920	A.E.Jacob(C)	N.C.	-	4476	-
1921	J.Ritchie(C) W.J.Austin(MCU)	1955 974	67% 33%	4612	64%
1922	H.M.Miller(C)	N.C.	-	4960	-
1923	A.E.Jacob(C)	N.C.	-	5085	-
1924 ¹ (Jan)	E.J.Deane(C) Col.A.Melly(L)	1407 1319	52% 48%	5085	54%
1924	E.J.Deane(C)	N.C.	-	5237	-
1924 ² (Nov)	W.B.Stoddart(L)	N.C.	-	5237	-
1925 ³ (Jun)	W.S.Mitcalfe(C)	N.C.	-	5237	-
1925	W.B.Stoddart(L)	N.C.	-	5507	-
1926	A.Layfield(C)	N.C.	-	5831	-

1 Death of J.Ritchie.

2 Election of H.M.Miller as Alderman.

3 Election of A.E.Jacob as Alderman.

AIGBURTH (Contd.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1927	E. J. Deane(C)	N.C.	-	6489	-
1928	W. B. Stoddart(L)	N.C.	-	6899	-
1929	F. C. Wilson(C) Rev. J. H. Howard(Lab)	2549 1147	69% 31%	7561	49%
1930	E. J. Deane(C) W. E. Lloyd(Lab)	2743 582	82% 18%	8187	41%
1931 ¹ (May)	V. E. Cotton(C)	N.C.	-	8187	-
1931	W. B. Stoddart(L)	N.C.	-	8493	-
1932	V. E. Cotton(C) A. D. Dennis(L)	1974 1293	60% 40%	8819	37%
1933	E. J. Deane(C) A. D. Dennis(L)	2132 1272	63% 37%	9165	37%
1934	E. Errington(C) A. D. Dennis(L)	2001 1418	59% 41%	9653	35%
1935	V. E. Cotton(C) A. D. Dennis(L)	2699 1780	60% 40%	10095	44%
1936 ² (Mar)	A. D. Dennis(L) H. D. Arrowsmith(C)	2415 1267	66% 34%	10095	36%
1936 ³ (Sep)	J. R. Jones(L)	N.C.	-	10095	-
1936	E. J. Deane(C) P. Binnes(L)	2777 1853	60% 40%	10421	44%
1937	W. E. S. Napier(C) J. R. Jones(L)	3121 2151	59% 41%	10569	50%
1938	V. E. Cotton(C)	N.C.	-	10993	-

1 Election of F. C. Wilson as Alderman.

2 Resignation of E. Errington.

3 Resignation of A. D. Dennis.

ALLERTON (3)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	-	-	-	-
1921	2,072	803	1,589	1.3
1931	9,068	4,379		5.7
<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>		<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.91	5.41	1.04	0.75

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2	1,250
Catholic	1	200
Non-Conformist	0 (Welsh)	0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	-
Catholic	-
Board	-

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

<u>YEARS</u>	<u>LAB. WINS</u>	<u>TORY WINS</u>	<u>AVGE. LAB VOTE</u>	<u>AVGE. TORY VOTE</u>	<u>AVGE. TURN-OUT(%)</u>	<u>NO CON-TESTS</u>	<u>NAT. CANDS. (WINS)</u>	<u>PROT. CANDS. (WINS)</u>
1905-9								
1910-13								

1905-13								

1919-23	0	2	-	32%	54%	1	0	0
1924-28	0	3	24%	65%	50%	0	0	0
1929-33	0	5	23%	66%	48%	2	0	0
1934-38	0	5	25%	75%	46%	0	0	0

1919-38	0	15	24%	67%	48%	3	0	0

ALLERTON (3) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1920	Dr.P.Nelson(C)	N.C.	-	787	-
1923	Mrs.G.E.Wilson(Nat.Lib)	518	35%	1385	54%
	W.J.Austin(C) (2 elected)	475	32%		
	F.Williams(Ind.Lib)	388	26%		
	J.H.Naylor(Ind)	116	7%		
1924	G.A.Strong(C)	803	66%	2277	53%
	F.Williams(L)	406	34%		
1925	Mrs.G.E.Wilson(Ind)	1041	78%	2487	54%
	G.F.Dutton(Lab)	298	22%		
1926	W.J.Austin(C)	674	63%	2619	41%
	W.Murphy(Lab)	395	37%		
1927	G.A.Strong(C)	837	65%	2277	56%
	G.McKinnon(L)	362	28%		
	T.Crossland(Lab)	84	7%		
1928	Mrs.G.E.Wilson(Ind)	1130	72%	3359	47%
	T.Crossland(Lab)	445	28%		
1929	H.J.Davis(C)	950	50%	3903	49%
	H.N.Whittall(Lab)	626	33%		
	W.J.Tristram(L)	317	17%		
1930	G.A.Strong(C)	1351	66%	4115	50%
	Mrs.A.Elliott(Lab)	380	19%		
	H.Banks(L)	315	15%		
1931 ¹ (Oct)	W.G.Heath(C)	N.C.	-	4115	-
1931	G.E.Wilson(C)	1624	83%	4379	45%
	Miss.Hickling(Lab)	337	17%		
1932	J.W.Jones(C)	N.C.	-	4572	-
1933	G.A.Strong(C)	N.C.	-	4802	-
1934	G.E.Wilson(C)	1181	66%	4969	36%
	C.E.Hargreaves(Lab)	612	34%		
1935	J.W.Jones(C)	1968	71%	5250	53%
	C.E.Hargreaves(Lab)	790	29%		
1936	G.A.Strong(C)	2091	80%	5428	48%
	C.W.Baker(Lab)	517	20%		
1937	G.E.Wilson(C)	2453	79%	6074	51%
	J.A.Riddell(Lab)	635	21%		
1938	J.McMillan(C)	2061	79%	6459	40%
	C.E.Hargreaves(Lab)	537	21%		

¹ Election of H.J.Davis as Alderman.

ANFIELD (4)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	20,303	3,578	536	37.9
1921	20,731	9,246		38.7
1931	24,261	10,867		45.3
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.87	5.35	1.05	0.76

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	5		3,375
Catholic	2		1,100
Non-Conformist	11	(Welsh) 6	5,494 (2,544)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,532
Catholic	1,373
Board	243

Trades Council Delegates 1905

N.A.U.L.(2)

WMCA Branch

None

(Total 2)

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	1	-	83%	42%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	2	-	80%	25%	3	0	0

1905-13	0	3	-	82%	36%	6	0	0

1919-23	1	1	23%	41%	51%	0	0	0
1924-28	0	3	22%	41%	52%	0	0	0
1929-33	0	1	24%	34%	37%	2	0	0
1934-38	0	3	31%	69%	35%	2	0	0

1919-38	1	8	24%	45%	46%	4	0	0

ANFIELD (4) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	W.Evans(L)	N.C.	-	2570	.
1906	H.Jones(L) J.Bowers(Ind)	1030 174	86% 14%	2737	44%
1907	E.Russell Taylor(C) W.R.Roberts(Ind)	930 190	83% 17%	2830	40%
1908	W.Evans(L)	N.C.	-	2848	-
1909	H.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	2957	-
1910	E.Russell Taylor(C) W.R.Roberts(Ind)	628 154	80% 20%	3170	25%
1911	W.Evans(L)	N.C.	-	3578	
1912	H.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	3628	-
1913	E.Russell Taylor(C)	N.C.	-	3735	-
1914	W.Evans(L)	N.C.	-	3930	-
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1919	G.T.Holliday(Lab) J.E.Richardson(C) W.O.Thomas(L)	1294 1276 1030	36% 35% 29%	8706	41%
1920	W.O.Thomas(L) J.P.Redish(Lab)	3445 1149	75% 25%	8707	53%
1921	W.B.Stoddart(L) A.Morrow(C) M.H.Taylor(Lab)	1950 1927 870	41% 41% 18%	9246	51%
1922	G.Y.Williamson(C) A.Gates(L) F.Robinson(Lab)	2602 1510 1124	50% 29% 21%	9243	57%
1923 ¹ (Jan)	A.Gates(L) A.Venmore(Nat.L)	1524 1336	53% 47%	9243	31%
1923	A.Gates(L) J.P.Thomas(C) W.J.Daniel(Lab)	2400 1866 855	47% 36% 17%	9448	54%
1924	C.G.S.Gordon(C) W.B.Stoddart(L) J.Badlay(Lab)	2268 2060 897	43% 40% 17%	9500	55%

¹ Resignation of W.O.Thomas.

ANFIELD (Contd.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1925	G.Y.Williamson(C) J.J.Cleary(Lab) W.H.Cartwright(L)	2633 1416 1342	49% 26% 25%	9493	57%
1926	A.Gates(L) A.Morrow(C) J.J.Cleary(Lab)	2036 1620 1167	42% 34% 24%	9663	50%
1927	A.R.Price(L) C.G.S.Gordon(C) R.J.McDonnell(Lab)	1952 1639 845	44% 37% 19%	10061	44%
1928	G.Y.Williamson(C) C.Baxter(L) J.Sheehan(Lab)	2233 1863 1206	42% 35% 23%	10088	53%
1929	A.Gates(L) L.S.Holmes(C) W.A.Robinson jun.(Lab)	2231 1723 1164	43% 34% 23%	10873	47%
1930	A.R.Price(L) A.Rainford(Lab)	2364 682	78% 22%	10924	28%
1931	G.Y.Williamson(C)	N.C.	-	10867	-
1932	A.Gates(L) J.Jones(Lab)	2989 1024	74% 26%	10829	37%
1933	A.R.Price(L)	N.C.	-	10703	-
1934	G.Y.Williamson(C) R.H.Williams(Lab)	2244 1227	65% 35%	10696	32%
1935 ¹ (Mar)	A.R.Gates(L)	N.C.	-	10696	-
1935	A.R.Gates(L)	N.C.	-	10987	-
1936	A.O.Roberts(L) R.H.Williams(Ind)	2257 389	85% 15%	11285	23%
1937	G.Y.Williamson(C) J.F.Kenrick(Lab)	4179 1528	73% 27%	11273	51%
1938 ² (Aug)	W.J.Harrop(C)	N.C.	-	11273	-
1938	A.J.White(C)	N.C.	-	11270	-

1 Election of A.Gates as Alderman.

2 Election of G.Y.Williamson as Alderman.

BRECKFIELD (5)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	24,481	4,225	175	139.9
1921	25,182	9,624		143.9
1931	22,273	10,369		127.3
<u>1931: Avge. Family</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.93	5.44	1.15	0.83

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3	2,250
Catholic	0	0
Non-Conformist	2 (Welsh)	0 1,200

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	0
Catholic	0
Board	2,489

Trades Council Delegates 1905

	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Engineers	1920 ✓
Saddlers (Total 4)	1931 ✓
Upholsterers	1939 ✓
Whitesmiths	

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	5	-	62%	59%	3	0	1(0)
1910-13	0	4	42%	59%	47%	1	0	0
1905-13	0	9	42%	60%	52%	4	0	1(0)
1919-23	1	4	34%	65%	53%	1	0	1(0)
1924-28	1	4	44%	57%	45%	0	1(0)	0
1929-33	1	4	41%	55%	41%	0	0	0
1934-38	0	5	35%	63%	43%	0	1(0)	0
1919-38	3	17	39%	60%	45%	1	2(0)	1(0)

BRECKFIELD (5) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	L.S.Cohen(C) J.H.Taylor(P)	1612 978	62% 38%	4190	62%
1906	W.H.Priest(C)	N.C.	-	4214	-
1907	L.S.Cohen(C) J.Meek(L)	1421 881	62% 38%	4133	56%
1908	F.J.Leslie(C)	N.C.	-	4132	-
1909	W.H.Priest(C)	N.C.	-	4126	-
1910	W.Rudd(C) T.Williams(L)	1109 781	59% 41%	4040	47%
1911	F.J.Leslie(C) R.Donaldson(Lab)	966 867	53% 47%	4225	43%
1912	A.Griffiths(C) R.Donaldson(Lab)	1339 738	64% 36%	4176	50%
1913	W.Rudd(C)	N.C.	-	4212	-
1914	E.Powell(C)	N.C.	-	4282	-
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1919	H.A.Booth(Lab) A.Griffiths(C)	2295 1873	55% 45%	9269	45%
1920	A.Griffiths(C) A.N.Denaro(Lab)	3859 1398	73% 27%	9427	56%
1921	T.H.Burton(C) W.Smith(Lab)	3811 1281	75% 25%	9624	53%
1922	E.J.Jones(C) H.A.Booth(Lab) J.Gaffney(N)	3594 1611 121	67% 30% 3%	9557	56%
1923	A.Griffiths(C)	N.C.	-	9637	-
1924	T.H.Burton(C) C.Wilson(Lab)	3000 1425	68% 32%	9708	46%
1925	E.J.Jones(C) T.J.C.Rowan(Lab)	2822 1966	58% 41%	9957	48%
1925 ¹ (Dec)	Rev.H.D.Longbottom(C) W.A.Robinson(Lab)	2451 2175	53% 47%	9957	46%
1926	H.E.Rose(Lab) H.D.Longbottom(Prot.Const.)	1977 1883	51% 49%	9846	39%

¹ Death of A.Griffiths.

BRECKFIELD (Continued)

YEAR	CANDIDATES	VOTES	%	VOTERS	TURNOUT
1927	T.H.Burton(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	2081 1947	52% 48%	9697	42%
1928	E.J.Jones(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	2491 2368	51% 49%	9405	52%
1929	H.E.Rose(Lab) C.H.Beatty(C)	2430 2119	53% 47%	10418	44%
1930	T.H.Burton(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab) G.E.Lewis(L)	2338 1324 921	51% 29% 20%	10398	44%
1931 ¹ (Mar)	Mrs.A.M.Burton(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab) G.E.Lewis(P)	1506 857 604	51% 29% 20%	10398	29%
1931	H.J.Pearson jun.(C) A.Hargreaves(Lab)	3066 1281	71% 29%	10369	42%
1932	Mrs.A.M.Burton(C) A.Hargreaves(Lab)	2134 1910	53% 47%	10450	39%
1933	T.H.Burton(C) A.Hargreaves(Lab)	2054 1912	52% 48%	10547	38%
1934	H.J.Pearson(C) A.W.Boothman(Lab) G.E.Lewis(P)	1880 1365 389	52% 38% 10%	10353	35%
1935	Mrs.A.M.Burton(C) A.W.Boothman(Lab)	2294 1895	55% 45%	10292	41%
1936 ² (Jan)	D.J.Lewis(C) A.W.Boothman(Lab)	1398 682	67% 33%	10292	20%
1936	D.J.Lewis(C) J.L.Jones(Lab)	2679 1640	62% 38%	10154	43%
1937	G.W.Prout(C) W.Tipping(Lab)	4546 1343	77% 23%	9955	59%
1938	Mrs.A.M.Burton(C) W.Tipping(Lab)	2642 1139	70% 30%	9948	38%

1. Election of H.E.Rose as Alderman.

2. Election of T.H.Burton as Alderman.

BRUNSWICK (6)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	21,994	2,661	238	92.4
1921	23,077	7,576		97.0
1931	22,016	9,088		92.5
1931:	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.19	4.86	1.46	1.26

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	4	2,900
Catholic	2	2,074
Non-Conformist	4 (Welsh)	0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	336
Catholic	2,128
Board	1,174

Trades Council Delegates 1905

	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
N.A.U.L	1920 ✓
(Total 1)	1931 ✓
	1939 ✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	0	-	-	-	5	2(2)	0
1910-13	1	0	54%	45%	57%	2	1(1)	0
1905-13	1	0	54%	45%	54%	7	3(3)	0
1919-23	1	0	32%	-	46%	2	3(3)	0
1924-28	3	0	76%	26%	51%	2	3(2)	0
1929-33	5	0	81%	23%	45%	1	0	0
1934-38	5	0	-	-	-	5	0	0
1919-38	14	0	68%	27%	47%	10	6(5)	0

BRUNSWICK (6) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	T.Roberts(L)	N.C.	-	2793	-
1906 ¹ (May)	P.C.Kelly(L) W.R.Gasking(C) T.Byrne(Ind)	730 444 174	54% 33% 13%	2793	48%
1906	J.A.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	2827	-
1907	P.C.Kelly(L)	N.C.	-	2758	-
1908	T.Roberts(L)	N.C.	-	2605	-
1909	J.A.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	2571	-
1910	P.C.Kelly(L)	N.C.	-	2575	-
1911	T.J.Hickling(Lab) T.Roberts(L)	781 667	54% 46%	2661	54%
1912	J.A.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	2571	-
1913	P.C.Kelly(L) W.Fraser(C)	861 693	55% 45%	2640	59%
1914	P.Kean(Lab)	N.C.	-	2710	-

1919	J.A.Kelly(N) M.Mason(C)	2493 857	74% 26%	7251	46%
1920	L.King(Ind)	N.C.	-	7484	-
1921	L.Hogan(Lab) E.E.Jacks(C)	2171 1503	59% 41%	7576	48%
1922	J.A.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	7786	-
1923	L.King(I.P.) J.H.Dutton(Lab)	3433 154	96% 4%	8197	44%
1924	L.Hogan(Lab) B.Fisher(C)	3228 1456	69% 31%	8451	55%
1925	J.A.Kelly(Cath)	N.C.	-	8523	-
1926	L.King(Centre)	N.C.	-	8570	-
1927	T.Hanley(Lab) T.H.Nabb(C)	3431 930	79% 21%	8589	51%

1 Resignation of T.Byrne (previously Liberal councillor).

BRUNSWICK (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1928	P.Moorhead(Lab) J.A.Kelly(Centre)	3111 740	81% 19%	8447	46%
1929	L.King(Lab) T.H.Nabb(C) J.F.Hughes(Ind)	3615 606 145	83% 14% 3%	9643	46%
1930	T.Hanley(Lab) D.Jukes(C)	2382 935	72% 28%	9058	37%
1931	P.Moorhead(Lab) D.Jukes(C)	3422 1190	74% 26%	9088	51%
1932	L.King(Lab) F.W.Gibson(Comm.)	3912 212	95% 5%	8843	47%
1933	T.Hanley(Lab)	N.C.	-	8746	-
1934	P.Moorhead(Lab)	N.C.	-	8580	-
1935	L.King(Lab)	N.C.	-	8356	-
1936	T.Hanley(Lab)	N.C.	-	8169	-
1937 ¹ (Feb)	Mrs.A.Cain(Lab)	N.C.	-	8169	-
1937	P.Moorhead(Lab)	N.C.	-	7993	-
1937 ² (Dec)	J.Whitehead(Lab)	N.C.	-	7993	-
1938	Mrs.A.Cain(Lab)	N.C.	-	7815	-

1 Election of L.King as Alderman.

2 Resignation of P.Moorhead.

CASTLE ST (7)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	560	2,053	78	7.2
1921	512	2,678		6.6
1931	366	2,360		4.7
<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>		<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.47	4.32	1.01	0.81

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	0	-
Catholic	0	-
Non-Conformist	0	(Welsh) -

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	0
Catholic	0
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON- TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	53%	62%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	3	-	-	-	4	0	0
1905-13	0	6	-	53%	62%	7	0	0
1919-23	0	4	-	65%	46%	4	0	0
1924-28	0	3	-	-	-	5	0	0
1929-33	0	3	-	-	-	5	0	0
1934-38	0	4	-	66%	39%	4	0	0
1919-38	0	14	-	66%	43%	18	0	0

CASTLE STREET (7) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	T.A.Patterson(L) A.Wilson(C)	675 600	53% 47%	2106	61%
1905 ¹ (Dec)	J.W.Alsop(C)	N.C.	-	2106	-
1906	J.W.Alsop(C)	N.C.	-	2135	-
1907	C.F.Garner(C) F.C.Bowring(L)	774 533	59% 41%	2099	62%
1908	R.G.Hough(L)	N.C.	-	2076	-
1909	J.W.Alsop(C)	N.C.	-	2034	-
1910	J.P.Reynolds(C)	N.C.	-	2028	-
1911	R.G.Hough(L)	N.C.	-	2053	-
1912	J.W.Alsop(C)	N.C.	-	1975	-
1913	J.P.Rayner(C)	N.C.	-	1982	-
1914	R.G.Hough(L)	N.C.	-	1958	-

1919	F.A.Goodwin(C)	N.C.	-	2409	-
1920	B.Cookson(C)	N.C.	-	2557	-
1921 ² (Sep)	J.S.Allen(C)	N.C.	-	2557	-
1921	R.G.Hough(L)	N.C.	-	2678	-
1922	J.S.Allen(C)	N.C.	-	2514	-
1923 ³ (Jun)	F.W.Frodsham(C)	N.C.	-	2514	-
1923	F.W.Frodsham(C) T.R.Little(L)	793 418	65% 35%	2643	46%
1924	W.Denton(L)	N.C.	-	2640	-
1925	J.S.Allen(C)	N.C.	-	2586	-
1926	R.Rutherford(C)	N.C.	-	2593	-
1927	W.Denton(L)	N.C.	-	2606	-
1928	J.S.Allen(C)	N.C.	-	2576	-

1 Resignation of J.T.Wood.

2 Death of F.A.Goodwin.

3 Death of B.Cookson.

CASTLE STREET (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1928 ¹ (Dec)	R.G.Sheldon(C)	N.C.	-	2576	-
1929	R.G.Sheldon(C)	N.C.	-	2666	-
1929 ² (Dec)	A.E.Shennan(C) C.H.Taunton(Lab)	967 41	96% 4%	2666	38%
1930	W.Denton(L)	N.C.	-	2426	-
1931	A.E.Shennan(C)	N.C.	-	2360	-
1932	R.G.Sheldon(C)	N.C.	-	2340	-
1932 ³ (Nov)	J.Bennett(C)	N.C.	-	2340	-
1933	W.Denton(L)	N.C.	-	2246	-
1934 ⁴ (Sep)	W.S.S.Hannay(L)	N.C.	-	2249	-
1934	H.N.Bewley(C) W.E.McLachlan(Ind.C.)	565 295	66% 34%	2203	39%
1935	J.Bennett(C)	N.C.	-	2182	-
1936	W.S.S.Hannay(L)	N.C.	-	2099	-
1937	H.N.Bewley(C)	N.C.	-	2070	-
1939	J.Bennett(C)	N.C.	-	2010	-

1 Election of R.Rutherford as Alderman.

2 Resignation of J.S.Allen.

3 Election of R.G.Sheldon as Alderman.

4 Election of W.Denton as Alderman.

CHILDWALL (8)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	-	-	-	-
1921	1,590	952	1,285	1.2
1931	5,986	3,105		4.7
1931:	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.45	6.04	1.01	0.58

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	1	500
Catholic	1	300
Non-Conformist	0 (Welsh)	0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	0
Catholic	0
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT (%)	NO CON- TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9								
1910-13								

1905-13								

1919-23	0	1	33%	69%	73%	1	0	0
1924-28	0	5	36%	63%	60%	1	0	0
1929-33	0	3	14%	49%	60%	1	0	0
1934-38	0	1	14%	52%	46%	1	0	0

1919-38	0	10	24%	56%	57%	4	0	0

CHILDWALL (8) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1920	Mrs.H.Muspratt(L) J.M.Robertson(Lab)	491 250	66% 34%	1016	73%
1921	H.J.Davis(C) J.M.Robertson(Lab)	479 214	69% 31%	952	73%
1923	Mrs.H.Muspratt(Nat.Lib.)	N.C.	-	992	-
1924	H.J.Davis(C)	N.C.	-	1242	-
1926	Mrs.H.Muspratt(C) Miss L.M.Hamilton(Lab) J.Whiteside(L)	674 356 104	59% 31% 10%	1795	63%
1927	H.J.Davis(C) (2 Seats) E.N.Heath(C) Mrs.Hamilton(Lab) C.M.Belk(Lab)	777 719 438 382	34% 31% 19% 16%	2107	55%
1928	E.P.Johnson(C) Mrs.Hamilton(Lab)	972 570	63% 37%	2525	61%
1929 ¹ (Apr)	A.A.Boyle(L) G.H.Taylor(C) F.Stapleton(Lab)	621 523 225	45% 38% 16%	2525	54%
1929	Mrs.H.Muspratt(C) A.C.Williams(L) G.T.Pollard(Lab)	893 435 391	52% 25% 23%	2941	58%
1930	A.A.Boyle(L) H.Beckett(C) T.Crossland(Lab)	936 679 151	53% 38% 9%	3076	57%
1931	G.C.Ollason(C) A.C.Williams(L)	1094 816	57% 43%	3105	62%
1932	Mrs.H.Muspratt(C) W.J.Tristram(L) A.Donohue(Lab)	978 849 195	48% 42% 10%	3299	61%
1933	A.A.Boyle(L)	N.C.	-	3557	-
1934 ² (Jun)	W.J.Tristram(L) J.D.R.Tilney(C)	1033 929	53% 47%	3557	55%

1 Election of H.J.Davis as Alderman.

2 Election of Mrs. H.Muspratt as Alderman.

CHILDWALL (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1934	Mrs.C.M.Boyle(L) G.C.Ollason(C)	907 866	51% 49%	3854	46%
1935	W.J.Tristram(L) A.A.Arnot(Lab)	1813 385	82% 18%	4554	48%
1936	A.A.Boyle(L)	N.C.	-	6140	-
1937	S.Foster(C) W.M.Mirrless(L) J.Wood(Lab)	2423 1639 319	55% 38% 7%	7427	59%
1938 ¹ (Feb)	W.H.Moss(Ind.Ratep'rs) E.T.White(C) A.M.Moris(Ratep'rs) A.Campbell(Lab)	2142 878 581 226	56% 23% 15% 6%	7427	52%
1938	W.J.Tristram(L) A.A.Arnot(Lab)	2017 417	83% 17%	8252	29%

¹ *Resignation of A.A.Boyle.*

CROXTETH (9)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	-	-	-	-
1921	-	-	-	-
1931	25,024	10,851	3,553	7.0
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge.Family</u>	<u>Rooms Per</u>	<u>Families Per</u>	<u>Persons Per</u>
	<u>Size</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Room</u>
	4.62	4.71	1.00	0.98

Churches 1929

Anglican	0	
Catholic	1	
Non-Conformist	0	(Welsh)

Sittings

	-
	-
	-

School Rolls 1923

Anglican
Catholic
Board

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

1920
1931
1939 ✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON- TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9								
1910-13								

1905-13								

1919-23								
1924-28	1	0	63%	37%	53%	0	0	0
1929-33	4	2	56%	43%	39%	0	1(0)	0
1934-38	5	0	62%	34%	33%	2	0	1(0)

1919-38	10	2	59%	40%	39%	2	1(0)	1(0)

CROXTETH (9) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1928	A.Hargreaves(Lab) W.E.McLachlan(C)	1935 1157	63% 37%	5886	53%
1929	G.H.Boothman(Lab) Miss L.M.Hamilton(Lab) Miss G.E.Bartlett(C) H.Beckett(C)(2 Elected)	2014 1976 1253 1246	31% 30% 19% 19%	8125	40%
1930	O.Wade(C) A.Hargreaves(Lab)	1853 1520	55% 45%	9541	35%
1931	F.W.Anderson(C) Mrs.M.L.Hamilton(Lab)	2091 2000	51% 49%	10851	39%
1932	G.H.Boothman(Lab) J.Moores(C) P.J.Haines(Dem.Lab) C.W.Heaton(Comm.)	3397 2422 221 118	55% 39% 4% 2%	12936	48%
1932 ¹ (Nov)	Mrs.M.L.Hamilton(Lab) D.Walker(C)	3574 1556	70% 30%	12936	40%
1933	Mrs.M.L.Hamilton(Lab) P.G.Moore(C)	2896 1658	64% 36%	15544	35%
1934	A.Hargreaves(Lab) J.Loughlin(C) F.Kenny(P)	3617 1602 392	64% 29% 7%	17330	32%
1935	G.H.Boothman(Lab)	N.C.	-	18803	-
1936	Mrs.M.L.Hamilton(Lab) Miss.B.Whittingham-Jones(C)	4374 2833	61% 39%	19357	37%
1937 ² (Jun)	J.L.Jones(Lab) Miss.B.Whittingham-Jones(C)	3331 1727	66% 34%	19357	26%
1937	A.Hargreaves(Lab) J.C.Pollard(Ind)	3570 2148	62% 38%	19973	29%
1938	G.H.Boothman(Lab)	N.C.	-	20489	-

1 Resignation of O.Wade.

2 Resignation of Mrs.Hamilton.

DINGLE (10)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	35,757	5,785	376	95.1
1921	37,571	13,445		99.9
1931	35,235	15,469		93.7
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.20	4.56	1.16	1.07

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3		2,480
Catholic	1		800
Non-Conformist	6	(Welsh) 0	2,700

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,646
Catholic	925
Board	5,347

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Carpenters(2)	Railway Servants
Gasfitters	Engin'rs & Cranem'n
Hammermen	Painters
Loco Engin'rs & Firem'n	(Total 8)

WMCA Branch

1920	/(2)
1931	/(2)
1939	/(2)

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	5	-	69%	42%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	4	38%	63%	52%	2	0	0
1905-13	0	9	38%	66%	47%	5	0	0
1919-23	0	5	39%	61%	57%	0	0	0
1924-28	0	5	45%	55%	60%	0	0	0
1929-33	3	2	46%	43%	55%	0	0	4(0)
1934-38	2	3	50%	50%	55%	0	0	0
1919-38	5	15	45%	52%	57%	0	0	4(0)

DINGLE (10) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	R.Caton(C)	N.C.	-	5168	-
1906	O.H.Williams(C) T.Byrne(Ind)	1499 586	72% 28%	5131	41%
1907	E.J.Chevalier(C) Miss.Johnson(L)	1487 765	66% 34%	5268	43%
1908	R.Caton(C)	N.C.	-	5502	-
1909	O.H.Williams(C)	N.C.	-	5566	-
1910	A.C.F.Henderson(C)	N.C.	-	5567	-
1911	R.Caton(C) J.F.Bower(Lab)	1686 1360	55% 45%	5785	53%
1912	T.C.Huxley(C) J.F.Bower(Lab)	2012 860	70% 30%	5747	50%
1913	A.J.Branwood(C)	N.C.	-	5728	-
1914	J.C.Walker(C)	N.C.	-	5919	-
<hr/>					
1919	W.W.Kelly(C) W.J.Daniel(Lab)	3594 1869	66% 34%	12830	43%
1920	J.D.Flood(C) W.M.Wright(Lab)	5214 1751	75% 25%	13212	53%
1921	W.P.Coslett(C) H.G.Cole(Lab)	4362 4044	52% 48%	13445	63%
1922	W.W.Kelly(C) H.G.Cole(Lab)	4741 4243	53% 47%	13765	65%
1923	J.D.Flood(C) J.Gibbins(Lab) D.Protheroe(Unemp.)	4803 3482 56	58% 42% 1%	13968	60%
1924 ¹ (Jul)	F.B.Brown(C) H.G.Cole(Lab)	3769 3420	52% 48%	13968	51%
1924	F.B.Brown(C) R.J.McDonnell(Lab)	5619 3512	62% 38%	14408	63%
1925	W.W.Kelly(C) Mrs.G.A.Cole(Lab)	5314 4252	56% 44%	14446	66%

¹ Death of W.P.Coslett.

DINGLE (Continued)

YEAR	CANDIDATES	VOTES	%	VOTERS	TURNOUT
1926	J.D.Flood(C) J.H.R.Latham(Lab)	3842 3589	52% 48%	14497	51%
1927	F.B.Brown(C) T.H.Jones(Lab)	4092 3811	52% 48%	14428	55%
1928	W.W.Kelly(C) W.Jones(Lab)	4696 4560	51% 49%	14084	66%
1929 ¹ (Sep)	W.Jones(Lab)	N.C.	-	14084	-
1929	W.Jones(Lab) Mrs.N.Proctor(C)	4385 4134	51% 49%	15671	54%
1929 ² (Nov)	Mrs.N.Proctor(C) A.Newman(Lab)	4291 4224	50% 50%	15671	54%
1930	H.Bosworth(C) A.Demain(Lab) A.H.Osborne(P)	4088 3061 789	51% 39% 10%	15516	51%
1931	Mrs.Proctor(C) J.Lawrenson(Lab) R.Bradley(P)	4108 3027 1501	48% 35% 17%	15469	56%
1932	W.Jones(Lab) J.Bennett(C) R.Bradley(P)	4478 3084 1362	50% 35% 15%	15518	58%
1933	J.Gibbins(Lab) W.S.Finlason(C) G.E.Lewis(P)	4750 2565 1087	57% 31% 12%	15543	54%
1934 ³ (Mar)	C.M.Belk(Lab) H.H.Nuttall(C)	2875 2479	54% 46%	15543	34%
1934	J.D.Towers(Lab) Mrs.N.Proctor(C)	3915 2691	59% 41%	15330	43%
1935	C.M.Belk(Lab) Mrs.N.Proctor(C)	4817 3365	59% 41%	15215	54%
1936	G.H.Duckett(C) J.Gibbins(Lab)	4480 4393	50% 50%	14930	59%
1937	G.W.N.Gillespie(C) J.D.Towers(Lab)	5798 3678	61% 39%	14812	64%
1938	E.T.White(C) C.M.Belk(Lab)	4645 3306	58% 42%	14990	53%

1 Election of J.D.Flood as Alderman.

2 Election of W.W.Kelly as Alderman.

3 Resignation of W.Jones.

EDGE HILL (11)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	31,493	4,858	248	127.0
1921	34,449	11,652		138.9
1931	31,008	13,274		125.0
<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>		<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.18	4.55	1.14	1.05

Churches 1929

Anglican	2			<u>Sittings</u>	1,656
Catholic	2				1,300
Non-Conformist	4	(Welsh)	0		2,240

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,486
Catholic	1,141
Board	3,752

Cinemas 1940Trades Council Delegates 1905

Blind Basket Mkrs	Plasterers
Carpenters	Upholsterers
Coach Mkrs	
Painters	(Total 6)

WMCA Branch

1920	✓
1931	✓
1939	✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	61%	51%	1	0	0
1910-13	2	2	49%	50%	53%	0	0	0
1905-13	2	6	49%	55%	52%	1	0	0
1919-23	1	4	42%	53%	51%	0	1(0)	0
1924-28	5	0	56%	43%	48%	0	0	0
1929-33	3	2	48%	46%	40%	0	0	0
1934-38	4	1	52%	48%	48%	0	0	0
1919-38	13	7	50%	47%	47%	0	1(0)	0

EDGE HILL (11) - LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	C.Freeman(L) J.Gordon(C)	1380 1341	51% 49%	4831	56%
1906	W.E.Parry(C) G.Parker(L)	1551 870	64% 36%	4922	49%
1907	J.H.Harrison(C) T.Byrne(Ind) C.Wilson(SDF)	1461 589 341	61% 25% 14%	4791	50%
1908	W.W.Walker(C) C.Freeman(L)	1605 701	70% 30%	4643	50%
1909	R.J.Clarke(C)	N.C.	-	4645	-
1910	E.Whitely(Lab) J.H.Harrison(C) C.Wilson(SDF) J.Murphy(Soc.)	1001 952 69 8	49% 47% 3% -	4525	45%
1911 ¹ (Apr)	F.R.Brough(C) W.R.Blair(Soc.)	1017 848	55% 45%	4525	41%
1911	W.R.Blair(Lab) A.J.Bramwood(C)	1544 1159	57% 43%	4858	56%
1912	R.J.Clarke(C) A.Hawkes(Lab)	1444 1064	58% 42%	4744	53%
1913	F.B.Brough(C) E.Whitely(Lab)	1323 1294	51% 49%	4714	56%
1914	F.T.Richardson(Lab)	N.C.	-	4838	-
1919	C.Burden(Lab) D.C.Williams(C)	2527 2240	53% 47%	11068	43%
1919 ² (Nov)	S.Mason(Lab) D.C.Williams(C)	2759 2516	52% 48%	11068	48%
1920	D.C.Williams(C) B.L.Myer(Lab)	4333 2153	67% 33%	11416	57%
1921	J.Jude(C) R.Tissyman(Lab)	3364 3055	52% 48%	11652	55%
1922	R.J.Hall(C) C.Burden(Lab) W.H.McGuinness(N) C.Stamper(Pat.Lab.)	3206 2438 502 345	49% 38% 8% 5%	11955	54%

1 Resignation of E.Whitely.

2 Election of F.T.Richardson as Alderman.

EDGE HILL (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1923	D.C.Williams(C)	2920	50%	12228	48%
	C.Burden(Lab)	2690	46%		
	W.H.McGuinness(I.P.)	182	3%		
	C.Stamper(Pat.Lab.)	52	1%		
1924	R.Tissyman(Lab)	3373	51%	12421	53%
	J.Jude(C)	3193	49%		
1925	C.Wilson(Lab)	3542	55%	12571	51%
	R.J.Hall(C)	2916	45%		
1926 ¹ (Apr)	W.Smith(Lab)	3045	54%	12571	45%
	A.Layfield(C)	2642	46%		
1926	W.Smith(Lab)	3315	59%	12679	45%
	Miss E.R.Conway(C)	2340	41%		
1927	R.Tissyman(Lab)	3230	58%	12616	44%
	R.Roberts(C)	2301	42%		
1928 ² (Sep)	A.Griffin(Lab)	3144	55%	12616	45%
	H.G.Grace(C)	2368	42%		
	L.McGree(Comm.)	172	3%		
1928	C.Wilson(Lab)	3314	59%	12188	46%
	E.Cheshire(C)	2172	39%		
	L.McGree(Comm.)	155	2%		
1929	A.Griffin(Lab)	3143	63%	13310	37%
	D.Jukes(C)	1721	35%		
	L.McGree(Comm.)	110	2%		
1929 ³ (Nov)	Mrs.S.A.McArd(Lab)	N.C.	-	13310	-
1930 ⁴ (Aug)	R.Tissyman(Ind.Lab.)	986	63%	13310	12%
	H.O.Pugh(Lab)	585	37%		
1930	H.H.Nuttall(C)	2508	52%	13336	36%
	R.Tissyman(Ind.Lab.)	1241	26%		
	H.O.Pugh(Lab)	1050	22%		
	D.Protheroe(Fasc.)	36	-		
1931	S.R.Williams(C)	3772	62%	13274	46%
	Mrs.S.A.McArd(Lab)	2272	38%		
1932	A.Griffin(Lab)	3402	60%	13138	43%
	W.Murphy(C)	2018	36%		
	J.F.Hughes(ILP)	246	4%		

1 *Death of D.C.Williams.*

2 *Resignation of W.Smith.*

3 *Election of C.Wilson as Alderman.*

4 *Resignation of R.Tissyman.*

EDGE HILL (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1933	J. Johnstone(Lab) H.H. Nuttall(C) C.W. Heaton(Comm.)	2834 2231 107	55% 43% 2%	13055	40%
1934	Mrs. A. Mitton(Lab) S.A. Williams(C)	2499 2212	53% 47%	12827	37%
1935	A. Griffin(Lab) B.S. Morgan(C)	3443 2325	60% 40%	12745	45%
1936	J. Johnstone(Lab) B.S. Morgan(C)	2908 2675	52% 48%	12274	45%
1937	B.S. Morgan(C) Mrs. A. Mitton(Lab)	3518 2817	56% 44%	11591	55%
1938	A. Griffin(Lab) S. Minion(C)	3230 3082	51% 49%	11129	57%

EVERTON (12)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	35,547	4,484	210	169.3
1921	35,966	11,768		171.3
1931	32,602	13,501		155.3
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.93	4.74	1.33	1.10

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	4		4,870
Catholic	2		2,533
Non-Conformist	7	(Welsh) (2)	3,926 (1,750)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,704
Catholic	3,101
Board	2,737
Wesleyan	574

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Brassfounders	Masons	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Brushmkr	Postmen	1920 ✓
Carpenters	Printers Cutters	1931
Coachmkr	Typo. Printers	1939
Mill Sawyers	(Total 9)	

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	56%	52%	3	0	0
1910-13	1	3	46%	67%	41%	2	0	0
1905-13	1	6	46%	62%	47%	5	0	0
1919-23	2	2	48%	50%	51%	0	1(0)	0
1924-28	5	0	62%	38%	54%	0	0	0
1929-33	4	1	58%	36%	43%	0	0	1(0)
1934-38	5	0	69%	31%	44%	1	0	0
1919-38	16	3	59%	39%	48%	1	1(0)	1(0)

EVERTON (12) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	Capt.Denton(L) O.H.Williams(C)	1319 1163	53% 47%	4631	54%
1906	E.L.Lloyd(C)	N.C.	-	4501	-
1907	G.Kyffin-Taylor(C) C.Philips(L)	1392 768	64% 36%	4375	49%
1907 ¹ (Dec)	R.Rutherford(C)	N.C.	-	4375	-
1908	W.Denton(L)	N.C.	-	4252	-
1909	R.Rutherford(C)	N.C.	-	4188	-
1910	G.Kyffin-Taylor(C)	N.C.	-	4088	-
1911	J.H.Naylor(Lab) W.Denton(L)	983 718	58% 42%	4484	38%
1912	R.Rutherford(C) R.Dixon(Lab)	1230 616	67% 33%	4197	44%
1913	G.Kyffin-Taylor(C)	N.C.	-	4237	-
1914	J.H.Naylor(Lab)	N.C.	-	4407	-

1919 ² (May)	Mrs.M.Bamber(Lab) Dr.J.A.Manson(C)	1427 1407	50% 50%	10678	27%
1919	H.Walker(Lab) C.E.Pugh(C)	2974 1784	63% 37%	11010	43%
1920	J.Ellis(C) J.Whittaker(Lab)	3736 2931	56% 44%	11672	57%
1921	T.Dugdale Stubbs(Co.L.) J.H.Naylor(Lab)	2947 2535	54% 46%	11768	47%
1922	H.Walker(Lab) A.M.Urding(C) M.Grogan(N) J.Linge(Ind.)	4633 3542 26 11	56% 43% - -	12025	68%
1923	J.Ellis(C) J.H.Naylor(Lab) J.Young(Unemp.)	3177 1590 115	65% 33% 2%	12350	40%

1 Election of E.L.Lloyd as Alderman.

2 Resignation of G.Kyffin-Taylor.

EVERTON (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924	B.V.Kirby(Lab) H.A.Proctor(C) D.Dolovitz(Ind)	3790 3243 51	54% 46% -	12526	57%
1925	H.Walker(Lab) A.Hemmons(C)	4732 3329	59% 41%	12768	63%
1926	F.T.Richardson(Lab) J.Ellis(C)	4028 2380	63% 37%	12782	50%
1927	B.V.Kirby(Lab) J.Gardner(C)	3809 1826	68% 32%	12647	45%
1928	H.Walker(Lab) W.J.L.Croft(C)	4278 2153	67% 33%	12194	53%
1929	F.T.Richardson(Lab) H.E.Davies(C)	3787 1824	67% 33%	13731	41%
1929 ¹ (Dec)	J.Braddock(Lab) (2 Seats) A.Smitton(Lab)	N.C. N.C.	- -	13731 13731	- -
1930	B.V.Kirby(Lab) T.H.Nabb(C) T.Conifer(Ind.Lab.) T.Dunne(P)	2680 1411 1008 645	47% 25% 18% 10%	13549	42%
1931	J.McKay(C) A.Smitton(Lab)	3128 2735	53% 47%	13501	43%
1932	J.Braddock(Lab) J.H.Irwin(C)	4408 2383	65% 35%	13436	51%
1933	B.V.Kirby(Lab) D.Rowan(C)	3547 1744	65% 35%	13243	40%
1934	D.Nickson(Lab) M.R.F.Rogers(C)	3296 1372	75% 25%	12985	34%
1935	J.Braddock(Lab) M.R.F.Rogers(C)	3936 1372	74% 26%	12831	41%
1936	B.V.Kirby(Lab) G.G.Mulligan(C)	3530 1970	64% 36%	12570	44%
1937	D.Nickson(Lab) J.Moore(C)	4258 2418	64% 36%	12052	55%
1938	J.Braddock(Lab)	N.C.	-	11583	-

¹ Election of F.T.Richardson and H.Walker as Aldermen.

EXCHANGE (13)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	3,928	1,792	82	47.9
1921	3,482	2,664		42.5
1931	3,091	2,492		37.7
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.04	3.82	1.19	1.26

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	1	1,332
Catholic	1	900
Non-Conformist	0 (Welsh)	0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	487
Catholic	839
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	2	-	55%	72%	4	0	0
1910-13	0	1	-	-	-	4	0	0

1905-13	0	3	-	55%	72%	8	0	0

1919-23	0	0	-	34%	61%	1	5(5)	0
1924-28	0	0	18%	-	36%	3	5(5)	0
1929-33	0	0	21%	-	45%	1	3(3)	0
1934-38	0	0	31%	-	48%	2	0	0

1919-38	0	0	24%	34%	49%	7	13(13)	0

EXCHANGE (13) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.Bibby(L)	N.C.	-	1735	-
1906	J.S.Harmood Banner(C)	N.C.	-	1756	-
1907	R.D.Holt(L)	N.C.	-	1643	-
1908	J.Bibby(L)	N.C.	-	1625	-
1909 ¹ (Jan)	F.C.Bowring(L)	N.C.	-	1625	-
1909	J.S.Harmood Banner(C) A.Gates(L)	683 549	55% 45%	1705	72%
1910	F.C.Bowring(L)	N.C.	-	1726	-
1911	J.Bibby(L)	N.C.	-	1792	-
1912	J.S.Harmood Banner(C)	N.C.	-	1625	-
1913	F.C.Bowring(L)	N.C.	-	1634	-
1914	C.S.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	1603	-

1919	P.Kavanagh(N) P.T.Stolterfoht(C)	935 486	66% 34%	2549	56%
1920	H.Granby(N) F.C.Bowring(L)	907 829	52% 48%	2672	65%
1921	J.Quinn(N) C.S.Jones(L)	948 840	53% 47%	2664	67%
1922	P.Kavanagh(N)	N.C.	-	2692	-
1923	Miss A.McCormick(I.P.) M.P.Rathbone(L) J.Masterman(Ind) J.Bingham(Unemp.)	904 575 50 7	59% 37% 3% -	2747	56%
1924	J.Quinnn(N)	N.C.	-	2768	-
1925	P.Kavanagh(Cath)	N.C.	-	2805	-
1926	Miss A.M.McCormick(Centre) A.E.Price(Lab)	709 214	77% 23%	2758	33%
1927	J.Quinn(Centre) J.Nugent(Lab)	910 123	88% 12%	2710	38%

¹ Death of R.D.Holt.

EXCHANGE (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1928	P.Kavanagh(Centre)	N.C.	-	2582	-
1929	Miss A.McCormick(Centre) Mrs.M.McFarlane(Lab)	760 384	66% 34%	2697	42%
1930	J.Farrell jun.(Centre)	N.C.	-	2553	-
1931	P.Kavanagh(Ind) S.S.Silverman(Lab)	1228 116	91% 9%	2492	54%
1932	Miss A.McCormick(Centre) A.Smitton(Lab) A.J.G.Smyth(Youth) M.E.Boggin(ILP)	717 258 69 7	68% 25% 6% 1%	2465	43%
1933	J.Farrell(Ind) A.Smitton(Lab)	837 166	83% 17%	2407	42%
1934	P.Kavanagh(Ind)	N.C.	-	2383	-
1935 ¹ (Feb)	T.P.Staunton(Ind) J.Gorman(Lab)	640 417	61% 39%	2383	44%
1935	T.P.Staunton(Ind) A.Donohue(Lab)	757 438	63% 37%	2351	51%
1936	J.Farrell(Ind) H.Carr(Lab)	731 304	71% 29%	2332	44%
1937	P.Kavanagh(Ind)	N.C.	-	2168	-
1938	H.Granby(Ind) J.G.Morgan(Lab)	765 300	72% 28%	2122	50%

¹ *Death of Miss. A.M.McCormick*

FAIRFIELD (14)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	22,740	3,991	506	44.9
1921	25,544	9,140		50.4
1931	22,630	10,220		44.7
<u>1931: Avge. Family</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.83	6.03	1.16	0.74

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	4		2,650
Catholic	1		200
Non-Conformist	5	(Welsh) 2	3,303 (1,100)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	0
Catholic	424
Board	3,896

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Painters(2)

Tailors (Total 3)

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT(%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	2	-	63%	50%	2	1(0)	0
1910-13	0	1	-	56%	49%	1	0	0
1905-13	0	3	-	60%	50%	3	1(0)	0
1919-23	0	1	-	55%	49%	1	0	0
1924-28	0	3	34%	52%	47%	1	0	0
1929-33	0	3	32%	67%	40%	1	0	0
1934-38	0	4	37%	63%	37%	0	0	0
1919-38	0	11	34%	60%	43%	3	0	0

FAIRFIELD (14) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	F.J.Leslie(C) J.M'Cormick(I.P)	650 126	84% 16%	3694	21%
1906 ¹ (Apr)	A.Gates(L) T.Dowd(C)	1000 894	53% 47%	3694	51%
1906	F.L.Joseph(L)	N.C.	-	3855	-
1907	J.Hughes jun.(L) H.S.Badger(C)	1141 1124	50% 50%	3845	59%
1908	T.Dowd(C) A.Gates(L)	1477 1156	56% 44%	3816	69%
1909	F.L.Joseph(L)	N.C.	-	3870	-
1910	J.Hughes jun.(L) Dr.Bailey(C)	1118 989	53% 47%	3864	55%
1911	T.Dowd(C) A.E.Kennedy(Ind)	861 352	71% 29%	3991	30%
1912	F.L.Joseph(L)	N.C.	-	3957	-
1913 ² (Oct)	J.Lucas(L) J.Waterworth(C)	956 861	53% 47%	3957	46%
1913	J.Hughes(L) K.Kusel(C)	1297 1238	51% 49%	4045	63%
1914	T.Dowd(C)	N.C.	-	4186	-
1919	J.Lucas(L)	N.C.	-	8636	-
1920	J.Hughes(L) E.Rose(Co-op)	3455 1154	75% 25%	8949	52%
1921	T.Dowd(C) G.F.Travis(L)	2566 2127	55% 45%	9140	51%
1922	G.E.Travis(L) J.Lucas(Co-L)	2809 1821	61% 39%	9061	51%
1923 ³ (Mar)	C.S.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	9061	-
1923	J.Hughes(Nat.L) W.H.Davies(L)	1966 1854	51% 49%	9159	42%
1924	C.S.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	9143	-

1 Resignation of F.J.Leslie.

2 Resignation of F.L.Joseph.

3 Election of T.Dowd as Alderman.

FAIRFIELD (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924 ¹ (Dec)	J. Barry (C) J. R. Hobhouse (L)	1842 1432	56% 44%	9143	36%
1925	A. J. Chapman-Durant (C) V. H. E. Baker (Lab) E. D. Roberts (L)	2813 1346 814	57% 27% 16%	9445	53%
1926	J. Barry (C) V. H. E. Baker (Lab)	2261 1483	60% 40%	9457	40%
1927	C. S. Jones (L) V. H. E. Baker (Lab)	2475 1411	64% 36%	9478	41%
1928	C. G. S. Gordon (C) V. H. E. Baker (Lab) A. Boyle (L)	2043 1659 1392	40% 33% 27%	9233	55%
1929	J. Barry (C) J. Braddock (Lab)	2653 1821	59% 41%	10252	44%
1930	C. S. Jones (L) W. H. Baxter (Lab)	2361 931	72% 28%	10272	32%
1931	C. G. S. Gordon (C) R. J. Hughes (Lab)	3444 1085	76% 24%	10220	44%
1932	J. Barry (C) R. T. Hughes (Lab)	2557 1350	65% 35%	10309	38%
1933	C. S. Jones (L)	N. C.	-	10487	-
1934	C. G. S. Gordon (C) R. T. Hughes (Lab)	1776 1292	58% 42%	10385	30%
1935	J. Barry (C) R. T. Hughes (Lab)	2595 1573	62% 38%	10430	40%
1936	C. M. Dolby (L) T. D. Vallance (Lab)	2239 1231	65% 35%	10470	33%
1937	C. G. S. Gordon (C) H. S. Martin (Lab)	2983 1813	62% 38%	10410	46%
1937 ² (Nov)	R. Clitherow (C) H. S. Martin (Lab)	2305 831	74% 26%	10410	30%
1938	R. Clitherow (C) Ms. I. Levin (Lab)	2665 1121	70% 30%	10410	36%

1 Death of J. Hughes.

2 Death of J. Barry.

FAZAKERLEY (15)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	5,155	752	1,710	3.0
1921	6,054	2,411		3.5
1931	25,940	10,866		15.2
1931:	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.52	4.68	1.02	0.98

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2	1,200
Catholic	0	0
Non-Conformist	1 (Welsh)	0 300

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	120
Catholic	0
Board	346

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

1920

1931

1939 /

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	2	-	65%	79%	1	0	0
1910-13	0	1	-	67%	50%	0	0	0
1905-13	0	3	-	66%	65%	1	0	0
1919-23	0	5	37%	63%	53%	2	0	0
1924-28	1	4	36%	62%	48%	0	0	1(0)
1929-33	1	4	42%	54%	41%	0	0	0
1934-38	1	4	42%	57%	44%	0	0	1(0)
1919-38	3	17	40%	58%	46%	2	0	2(0)

FAZAKERLEY (15) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	H.S.Higginbottom(C) T.Hesketh(N)	290 154	65% 35%	560	79%
1908	H.S.Higginbottom(C)	N.C.	-	684	-
1911	Dr.H.H.Clarke(C) G.Lovely(Ind)	252 123	67% 33%	752	50%
1914	G.B.S.Broderick(C)	N.C.	-	823	-

1919	F.Quayle(C) A.N.Denaro(Lab)	701 506	58% 42%	2421	50%
1920	M.Leitch snr.(C) J.Williams(Lab)	870 452	66% 34%	2577	51%
1921	G.H.Charters(C) R.Watson(Lab)	901 498	64% 36%	2411	58%
1922	F.Quayle(C)	N.C.	-	2630	-
1923	A.H.Letheren(C)	N.C.	-	2707	-
1924	G.H.Charters C) A.N.Denaro(Lab)	1055 539	66% 34%	2775	57%
1925	F.S.H.Ashcroft(C) A.F.Johnson(Lab) Rev.H.D.Longbottom(P)	944 410 341	56% 24% 20%	2886	59%
1926	A.H.Letheren(C) R.A.Rockcliff(Lab)	868 418	67% 33%	3070	42%
1927	G.H.Charters(C) Mrs.Davison(Co-op.)	1053 459	70% 30%	4366	35%
1928	F.B.Fitzpatrick(Lab) F.Ashcroft(C)	1699 1659	51% 49%	7324	46%
1929	R.Edwards(Lab) C.S.McNair(C)	2287 1686	58% 42%	9145	43%
1930 ¹ (Jun)	W.G.Gregson(C) B.L.Myer(Lab)	1798 1245	59% 41%	9145	33%
1930	W.G.Gregson(C) B.L.Myer(Lab)	2347 1727	58% 42%	10374	39%

¹ Resignation of G.H.Charters.

FAZAKERLEY (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>	
1931	E.Tyson(C) F.B.Fitzpatrick(Lab)	3125 1593	66% 34%	10866	43%
1932	R.Disley(C) F.Lavery(Lab) R.Edwards(I.L.P.)	2413 1261 943	52% 27% 21%	11026	42%
1933	W.G.Gregson(C) F.Lavery(Lab)	2262 2161	51% 49%	10943	40%
1934	F.Lavery(Lab) W.E.Backhouse(C) R.F.Henderson(P)	2203 1898 271	50% 43% 7%	11422	38%
1935	F.Baxter(C) Mrs.S.A.Demain(Lab)	2505 2286	52% 48%	11367	42%
1936	W.G.Gregson(C) L.Cunningham(Lab)	3077 1919	62% 38%	11992	42%
1937	A.G.Meredith(C) F.Lavery(Lab)	4168 2278	65% 35%	11985	54%
1938	K.P.Thompson C) Mrs.S.A.McArd(Lab)	3477 2100	62% 38%	13039	43%

GARSTON (16)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	14,359	2,258	573	25.1
1921	17,399	5,318		30.4
1931	17,262	7,131		30.1
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avg. Family</u>	<u>Rooms Per</u>	<u>Families Per</u>	<u>Persons Per</u>
	<u>Size</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Room</u>
	4.51	4.89	1.12	1.03

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2	1,650
Catholic	1	320
Non-Conformist	8 (Welsh)	2,297 (590)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,391
Catholic	521
Board	1,544

Trades Council Delegates 1905

	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Painters	1920 ✓
Railway Servants	1931 ✓
N.A.U.L	1939 ✓
	(Total 3)

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON- TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	36%	55%	76%	3	0	0
1910-13	1	3	46%	54%	80%	1	0	0
1905-13	1	6	44%	54%	78%	4	0	0
1919-23	1	4	42%	55%	64%	0	0	0
1924-28	1	4	44%	52%	62%	0	0	0
1929-33	3	2	53%	47%	58%	0	0	0
1934-38	3	2	53%	44%	58%	0	0	1(0)
1919-38	8	12	48%	49%	61%	0	0	1(0)

GARSTON (16)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.Pickthall(L) G.W.Hughes(C)	832 706	54% 46%	2016	76%
1906	J.Burrow(C) W.G.Gerrard(Lab)	1035 575	64% 36%	2139	75%
1907	F.J.Rawlinson(C)	N.C.	-	2185	-
1908	J.Pickthall(L)	N.C.	-	2229	-
1909	J.Burrow(C)	N.C.	-	2192	-
1910	F.J.Rawlinson(C)	N.C.	-	2145	-
1911	W.A.Robinson(Lab) J.Pickthall(L)	1035 624	62% 38%	2258	73%
1912	J.Burrow(C) J.Cleary(Lab)	1127 757	60% 40%	2270	83%
1913	F.J.Rawlinson(C) G.Porter(Lab)	1234 713	63% 37%	2353	83%
1914	W.A.Robinson(Lab)	N.C.	-	2489	-
1919	J.H.Dutton(Lab) T.Tushingham(C)	1458 1419	51% 49%	5114	56%
1919 ¹ (Nov)	A.E.Beavan(Lab) T.Tushingham(C)	1977 1879	51% 49%	5114	75%
1920	J.Burrow(C) W.H.Paulson(Lab)	2267 1468	61% 39%	5187	72%
1921	G.Atkin(C) W.H.Paulson(Lab)	2082 1525	58% 42%	5318	68%
1922	E.R.Thompson(C) J.H.Dutton(Lab)	1988 1496	57% 43%	5802	60%
1923	J.Case(C) H.O.Pugh(Lab) J.Scott(L)	1841 1375 530	49% 37% 14%	5897	64%
1924	G.Atkin(C) R.P.Edwards(Lab) W.J.Ireland(L)	2137 1506 490	52% 36% 12%	6040	68%
1925	E.R.Thompson(C) J.Lawrenson(Lab)	2010 1521	57% 43%	6175	57%

¹ Election of W.A.Robinson as Alderman.

GARSTON (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926	J. Case (C) J. Lawrenson (Lab)	1776 1616	52% 48%	6287	54%
1927 ¹ (May)	J. Williams (C) J. J. Cleary (Lab)	1731 1684	51% 49%	6287	54%
1927 ² (Jun)	E. W. Turner (C) J. J. Cleary (Lab) N. McKinnon (L)	1841 1827 335	46% 46% 8%	6287	64%
1927	J. J. Cleary (Lab) E. W. Turner (C)	2011 1993	50% 50%	6400	63%
1928	J. Williams (C) W. S. Dytor (Lab) J. Fry (L)	2208 2038 259	49% 45% 6%	6421	70%
1929	J. Case (C) W. S. Dytor (Lab)	2359 1937	55% 45%	7124	60%
1930	J. J. Cleary (Lab) R. Abel (C)	2218 1953	53% 47%	7042	59%
1931	J. Williams (C) W. S. Dytor (Lab)	2189 1813	55% 45%	7131	56%
1932	W. S. Dytor (Lab) J. Case (C)	2658 1808	60% 40%	7695	58%
1933	J. J. Cleary (Lab) J. Moore (C)	2844 1611	64% 36%	7741	58%
1934	J. H. Webster (Lab) J. Williams (C) J. Moore (P)	2436 1302 524	57% 31% 12%	7395	58%
1935	W. S. Dytor (Lab) A. M. Profitt (C)	2766 1939	59% 41%	7920	59%
1936	J. J. Cleary (Lab) J. Williams (C)	2963 1973	60% 40%	7960	62%
1937	A. M. Profitt (C) J. H. Webster (Lab)	2857 2201	56% 44%	8205	62%
1938	J. Williams (C) W. S. Dytor (Lab)	2299 2044	53% 47%	8467	51%

1 Death of E. R. Thompson.

2 Death of G. Atkin.

GRANBY (17)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	22,547	3,754	185	121.9
1921	20,791	8,890		112.4
1931				
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.86	5.36	1.23	0.88

<u>Churches 1929</u>			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3		2,050
Catholic	1		350
Non-Conformist	3	(Welsh) 1	2,010 (800)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,692
Catholic	487
Board	2,514

<u>Trades Council Delegates 1905</u>	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Engineers	1920 ✓
Machine Wkrs (Total 3)	1931 ✓
N.A.U.L	1939 ✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	2	27%	40%	52%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	1	-	39%	56%	3	0	0
1905-13	0	3	27%	40%	53%	6	0	0
1919-23	0	1	-	-	40%	3	0	0
1924-28	1	1	42%	38%	47%	0	0	0
1929-33	0	2	39%	54%	36%	2	0	0
1934-38	2	3	50%	53%	43%	0	0	0
1919-38	3	7	45%	48%	43%	5	0	0

GRANBY (17) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.Lea(C)	N.C.	-	3849	-
1906	J.H.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	3797	-
1907	R.H.Bullen(L)	941	40%	3683	63%
	H.J.Davis(C)	928	40%		
	F.J.Welland(Soc)	463	20%		
1908	J.Lea(C)	N.C.	-	3659	-
1909	J.H.Jones(L)	962	66%	3600	41%
	F.J.Welland(Soc)	497	34%		
1910	Miss E.Rathbone(Ind)	1211	61%	3556	56%
	R.Richards(C)	769	39%		
1911	J.Lea(C)	N.C.	-	3754	-
1912	J.H.Jones(L)	N.C.	-	3631	-
1913	Miss E.Rathbone(Ind)	N.C.	-	3645	-
1914	J.Waterworth(C)	N.C.	-	3819	-

1919	J.H.Jones(L)	1922	59%	8293	39%
	F.J.Norris(Co-op)	1353	41%		
1920 ¹	F.C.Wilson(L)	N.C.	-	8293	-
1920	Miss E.Rathbone(Ind)	N.C.	-	8623	-
1921	J.Waterworth(C)	N.C.	-	8890	-
1922	F.C.Bowring(L)	2283	65%	8847	40%
	R.Tissyman(Ind)	1225	35%		
1923	Miss E.Rathbone(Ind)	N.C.	-	9075	-
1924	Mrs.R.Hoch(C)	2026	45%	9425	47%
	C.Burden(Lab)	1937	43%		
	S.Skelton(L)	490	12%		
1925	F.C.Bowring(L)	2851	62%	9450	49%
	W.H.Barton(Lab)	1734	38%		
1926	Miss E.Rathbone(Ind)	2581	62%	9360	45%
	K.T.Graham(C)	1587	38%		

¹ Election of J.H.Jones as Alderman.

GRANBY (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1927	J. Johnstone(Lab) Mrs. R. Hoch(C) A. D. Dennis(L)	1873 1361 986	44% 32% 24%	9322	45%
1928	F. C. Bowring(L) G. H. Boothman(Lab)	2743 1886	59% 41%	9132	51%
1929	Miss E. Rathbone(Ind)	N.C.	-	9932	-
1930	W. A. Edwards(C) J. Johnstone(Lab)	1983 1414	58% 42%	9408	36%
1931	F. C. Bowring(L) J. Johnstone(Lab)	2974 1015	75% 25%	9918	40%
1932	Miss E. Rathbone(Ind)	N.C.	-	9858	-
1933	W. A. Edwards(C) D. Nickson(Lab)	1618 1617	50% 50%	9966	32%
1934	Miss M. A. Cumella(Lab) H. H. Jones(L)	1922 1424	57% 43%	9914	34%
1935	C. E. Burke(Lab) H. H. Jones(L)	2191 1949	53% 47%	9760	42%
1936	W. A. Edwards(C) G. E. Humphrey(Lab)	2201 1953	53% 47%	9774	43%
1937 ¹ (Jun)	W. Clark(C) J. Bagot(Lab)	1630 1479	52% 48%	9774	32%
1937	E. Tyrer(C) Mrs. M. Cumella(Lab)	2781 2554	52% 48%	9699	55%
1938	J. E. Thompson(C) C. E. Burke(Lab)	2203 1888	54% 46%	9422	43%

¹ *Death of W. A. Edwards.*

GT. GEORGE (18)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	14,307	1,662	236	60.6
1921	14,241	4,006		60.3
1931	12,995	5,043		55.1

<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
3.92	5.49	1.57	1.12

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2		1,950
Catholic	3		2,740
Non-Conformist	2	(Welsh) 0	1,850

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	360
Catholic	2,333
Board	1.597

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Life Ass. Agents (Total 1)

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	59%	73%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	1	-	52%	73%	2	1(1)	0
1905-13	0	4	-	56%	73%	5	1(1)	0
1919-23	0	0	17%	-	57%	2	5(5)	0
1924-28	2	0	44%	-	41%	2	4(3)	0
1929-33	3	0	44%	-	33%	0	5(2)	0
1934-38	5	0	61%	40%	43%	0	2(0)	0
1919-38	10	0	51%	40%	42%	4	16(10)	0

GREAT GEORGE (18) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.L.Eills(L)	N.C.	-	1734	-
1906	W.Muirhead(C) H.Muspratt(L)	836 454	65% 35%	1755	74%
1907	Dr.A.E.Davies(C) B.W.Eills(L)	641 601	52% 48%	1761	71%
1908	J.L.Eills(L)	N.C.	-	1729	-
1909	W.Muirhead(C)	N.C.	-	1663	-
1910	S.Skelton(L) A.E.Davies(C)	575 559	51% 49%	1608	71%
1911	J.L.Eills(L)	N.C.	-	1662	-
1912	W.Muirhead(C) Dr.W.H.Broad(L)	656 529	55% 45%	1607	74%
1913	S.Skelton(L)	N.C.	-	1608	-
1913 ¹ (Nov)	T.P.Maguire(N) J.C.Walker(C) J.Cleary(Lab)	478 468 72	47% 46% 7%	1608	63%
1914	J.L.Eills(L)	N.C.	-	1571	-

1919	T.O.Ruddin(N)	N.C.	-	3853	-
1920	W.Grogan(N) S.Skelton(L)	1766 955	65% 35%	3875	70%
1921	T.J.Marner(N) W.H.Broad(L) J.Bennett(Ind)	1299 703 283	57% 31% 12%	4006	57%
1922	T.O.Ruddin(N)	N.C.	-	4267	-
1923	W.Grogan(I.P) G.H.Bennett(Lab)	1587 322	83% 17%	4461	43%
1924	T.J.Marner(Ind)	N.C.	-	4596	-
1925	T.O.Ruddin(Cath) A.J.Ward(Lab)	1199 561	68% 32%	4665	38%

¹ Election of W.Muirhead as Alderman.

GREAT GEORGE (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926	W.Grogan(Centre) J.Loughlin(Lab)	1016 816	55% 45%	4694	39%
1927	J.Loughlin(Lab) Dr.Bligh(Centre) T.J.Marner(Ind) W.J.Doyle(People's)	1265 810 125 67	56% 36% 6% 3%	4840	47%
1928	H.L.Gaffaney(Lab)	N.C.	-	4820	-
1928 ¹ (Dec)	M.Grogan(Ind) J.Coburne(Lab)	945 756	56% 44%	4820	35%
1929	M.Grogan(Lab) Miss L.M.Murray(Centre)	1546 496	76% 24%	5299	39%
1930	J.Loughlin(Ind.Lab) R.T.Hughes(Lab)	814 389	68% 32%	5042	24%
1931	H.L.Gaffaney(Dem.Lab) P.Campbell(Lab)	858 594	59% 41%	5043	29%
1932 ² (Aug)	J.Hamilton(Lab)	N.C.	-	5043	-
1932	P.E.Sherwin(Lab) M.Grogan(Dem.Lab) L.P.Taylor(Youth)	951 933 64	49% 48% 3%	5048	39%
1933	J.Campbell(Lab) J.Loughlin(Ind.N)	1047 538	66% 34%	4912	32%
1934	J.Hamilton (Lab) W.O.Stein(C)	1121 569	66% 34%	4916	34%
1935	P.E.Sherwin(Lab) D.R.Jones(C)	1403 964	59% 41%	4771	50%
1936	J.Campbell(Lab) Dr.W.H.Broad(C)	1220 965	56% 44%	4563	48%
1937	J.Hamilton(Lab) S.Botley(Ind.N)	1310 631	67% 33%	4346	45%
1938	P.E.Sherwin(Lab) M.J.Fanning(Ind.N)	886 690	56% 44%	4144	38%

1 *Death of W.Grogan.*

2 *Resignation of H.L.Gaffaney.*

KENSINGTON (19)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	26,823	4,718	252	106.4
1921	27,841	10,492		110.5
1931	24,588	11,351		97.6
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.86	5.09	1.09	0.82

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2		1,645
Catholic	0		0
Non-Conformist	9	(Welsh) 4	4,166 (1,370)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	483
Catholic	2,840
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

		<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Carpenters(5)	Masons	1920 ✓
Farriers	Organ Builders	1931 ✓
NAFTA	Painters	1939 ✓
Musicians	Litho Printers	
Postmen	(Total 13)	

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	1	4	38%	59%	56%	0	0	0
1910-13	0	4	36%	64%	52%	0	0	0
1905-13	1	8	37%	61%	54%	0	0	0
1919-23	1	4	40%	60%	54%	0	1(0)	0
1924-28	0	5	45%	55%	52%	0	0	0
1929-33	1	4	40%	57%	44%	0	0	1(0)
1934-38	0	5	36%	64%	43%	0	0	0
1919-38	2	18	40%	59%	48%	0	1(0)	1(0)

KENSINGTON (19) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.W.T.Morrisey(Soc.)	1137	40%	4632	62%
	C.A.Hill(C)	1076	37%		
	B.L.Wilson(L)	659	23%		
1906	R.L.Burns(C)	1784	69%	4725	54%
	A.K.Bulley(Soc.)	787	31%		
1907	S.M.Hutchinson(C)	1677	69%	4754	51%
	N.Taylor(I.L.P)	767	31%		
1908	J.Gordon(C)	1641	58%	4639	61%
	J.W.T.Morrisey(Soc.)	1203	42%		
1909	R.L.Burns(C)	1434	62%	4606	50%
	J.W.T.Morrisey(Soc.)	865	38%		
1910	S.M.Hutchinson(C)	1404	80%	4537	41%
	A.K.Bulley(Soc.)	470	20%		
1911	J.Gordon(C)	1260	51%	4718	53%
	A.K.Bulley(Lab)	1234	49%		
1912	R.L.Burns(C)	1718	61%	4712	60%
	A.K.Bulley(Lab)	1117	39%		
1913	S.M.Hutchinson(C)	1617	63%	4753	54%
	P.M'Conville(Lab)	946	37%		
1914	J.Gordon(C)	N.C.	-	4876	-

1919	J.Badlay(Lab)	2889	55%	9935	53%
	R.L.Burns(C)	2366	45%		
1920	J.Ashworth(C)	4174	65%	10212	63%
	W.H.Smithwick(Lab)	2286	35%		
1921	J.Gordon(C)	3512	64%	10492	52%
	J.Mooney(Lab)	1955	36%		
1922 ¹ (May)	W.B.Lewis(C)	N.C.	-	10492	-
1922	J.H.Rutherford(C)	3755	67%	10548	53%
	C.Wilson(Lab)	1703	31%		
	E.J.De laney(N)	121	2%		
1923	J.Ashworth(C)	2970	59%	10677	47%
	F.Jones(Lab)	2098	41%		
1924	H.Baxter(C)	3204	55%	10724	54%
	F.T.Richardson(Lab)	2623	45%		

1 Election of J.Gordon as Alderman.

KENSINGTON (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1925	J.H.Rutherford(C) R.A.Rockcliff(Lab)	3403 2310	60% 40%	10874	53%
1926	J.Ashworth(C) J.Kay(Lab)	2308 2268	50% 50%	10874	42%
1926 ¹ (Dec)	A.Fry(C) J.Kay(Lab)	2688 2618	51% 49%	10874	49%
1927	A.Fry(C) W.R.Blair(Lab)	3202 2634	55% 45%	10846	54%
1928	Sir.H.Rutherford(C) G.E.Swift(Lab)	3347 2697	55% 45%	10641	57%
1929 ² (Apr)	T.N.Jones(C) G.E.Swift(Lab)	2259 2041	53% 47%	10641	40%
1929	G.E.Swift(Lab) T.N.Jones(C) A.D.Dennis(L)	2575 2313 347	49% 44% 7%	11485	46%
1930	T.N.Jones(C) G.Porter(Lab)	2935 1626	64% 36%	11398	40%
1931	J.Gardner(C) J.Whitehead(Lab)	3877 1708	69% 31%	11351	49%
1932	E.C.R.Littler-Jones(C) B.L.Myer(Lab) W.H.Ledson(L)	2479 1944 323	52% 41% 7%	11270	42%
1933 ³	J.Case(C) G.Porter(Lab) A.D.Adams(P) W.H.Ledson(L)	1850 1324 299 183	51% 36% 8% 5%	11270	32%
1933	J.Moores(C) A.Donohue(Lab)	2694 1990	58% 42%	11169	42%
1934	J.Case(C) Mrs.S.A.Demain(Lab)	2233 1587	58% 42%	11041	35%

1 *Death of H.Baxter.*

2 *Election of J.Ashworth as Alderman.*

3 *Death of J.Gardner.*

KENSINGTON (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1935 ¹ (Feb)	J.Cresswell(C) Mrs.S.A.Demain(Lab)	2018 1500	57% 43%	11041	32%
1935	E.C.R.Littler-Jones(C) T.E.Martin(Lab)	2753 1844	60% 40%	11030	42%
1936	J.Cresswell(C) C.G.Prest(Lab)	3152 1660	66% 34%	10954	44
1937 ² (Jul)	F.H.Bailey(C) G.Williams(Lab)	2093 1018	67% 33%	10954	28%
1937	J.Case(C) L.P.Taylor(Lab)	3808 1780	68% 32%	10871	51%
1938	F.H.Bailey(C) J.M.Campbell(Lab)	2961 1443	67% 33%	10824	41%

1 Resignation of J.Moores.

2 Death of E.C.R.Littler-Jones.

KIRKDALE (20)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	42,778	6,476	317	134.9
1921	43,210	14,363		136.3
1931	40,389	17,017		127.4
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.18	4.97	1.18	0.99

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	6		4,695
Catholic	1		900
Non-Conformist	10	(Welsh) 2	5,350 (1,120)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	2,592
Catholic	2,580
Board	5,884

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Coppersmiths	NAUL
Engine & Cranemen	Shipwr'ts
Loco Eng'rs & Firemen	
Railway Servants	(Total 6)

WMCA Branch

1920	✓
1931	✓
1939	✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)M
1905-9	0	4	31%	58%	45%	1	0	2(1)
1910-13	0	4	40%	60%	46%	0	0	0

1905-13	0	8	36%	59%	45%	1	0	2(1)

1919-23	0	5	34%	65%	47%	1	0	0
1924-28	2	3	45%	59%	41%	0	0	0
1929-33	3	2	39%	40%	47%	0	0	4(0)
1934-38	2	3	47%	50%	49%	0	0	1(0)

1919-38	7	13	41%	53%	46%	1	0	5(0)

KIRKDALE (20) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.Utting(C) J.S.Ratcliffe(Lab)	1609 986	62% 38%	6338	41%
1906	T.Lowey(C) W.Singleton(P) F.Norris(Lab)	1570 1200 612	46% 35% 19%	6367	53%
1907	J.G.Paris(P) W.Brooks(Lab)	1584 847	65% 35%	6396	38%
1908	J.Utting(C)	N.C.	-	6342	-
1909	T.Lowey(C) W.White(Lab)	1937 967	67% 33%	6236	47%
1910	J.G.Paris(C) J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab)	1620 948	63% 37%	6314	41%
1911	J.Utting(C) W.McLean(Lab)	1625 1456	53% 47%	6476	48%
1912	A.Buckley(C) J.Clayton(Lab)	1832 1151	61% 39%	6401	47%
1913	J.G.Paris(C) J.Clayton(Lab)	1900 1120	63% 37%	6542	46%
1914	J.L.Rankin(C)	N.C.	-	6584	-

1919	R.G.Sheldon(C) S.Mason(Lab) J.G.Freeman(L)	2971 2813 340	49% 46% 5%	14107	43%
1920	J.G.Paris(C) F.Jones(Lab)	5486 2396	70% 30%	14288	55%
1921 ¹ (Aug)	A.G.Gullan(C) F.Jones(Lab)	3839 1450	73% 37%	14288	37%
1921	J.L.Rankin(C) F.Jones(Lab)	4577 1855	71% 29%	14363	45%
1922	R.G.Sheldon(C) F.Jones(Lab) A.Slater(Pat.Lab.)	4629 1903 117	70% 30%	14890	45%
1923	A.G.Gullan(C)	N.C.	-	15211	-
1924	C.Porter(C) F.Jones(Lab)	4794 2328	67% 33%	15312	47%
1925	R.G.Sheldon(C) J.Dodd(Ind)	3824 1165	77% 23%	15740	32%

¹ Election of J.G.Paris as Alderman.

KIRKDALE (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926	A.G.Gullan(C) F.Jones(Lab) F.T.J.Evans(Ind)	2889 2481 307	51% 44% 5%	15874	36%
1927	F.Jones(Lab) C.Porter(C)	2874 2868	50% 50%	15680	37%
1928	R.J.McDonnell(Lab) R.G.Sheldon(C)	4120 4008	51% 49%	15321	53%
1929	W.H.Barton(Lab) A.G.Gullan(C)	4099 3914	51% 49%	16959	47%
1930	C.Porter(C) F.Jones(Lab) Mrs.M.J.Longbottom(P)	3283 3160 2316	37% 36% 26%	17015	51%
1931	F.H.S.Ashcroft(C) R.J.McDonnell(Lab) Mrs.M.J.Longbottom(P)	3801 2708 2217	44% 31% 25%	17017	51%
1932	W.H.Barton(Lab) E.Tyrer(C) W.R.Price(P) C.H.Cund(ILP) A.E.Cole(Comm.)	2546 2471 1771 536 125	34% 33% 24% 7% 2%	17097	44%
1933	F.Jones(Lab) E.Tyrer(C) W.R.Price(P)	3167 2562 1301	45% 36% 19%	17149	41%
1934	W.J.Riddick(Lab) F.S.H.Ashcroft(C) G.H.Dunbar(P)	3204 3171 1222	42% 42% 16%	16985	45%
1935	W.H.Barton(Lab) A.M.Brown(C)	4259 3494	55% 45%	16787	46%
1936	A.M.Brown(C) F.Jones(Lab)	3844 3383	53% 47%	16419	44%
1937	J.A.Reston(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	5420 4209	56% 44%	16128	60%
1938 ¹ (Jul)	W.E.McLachlan(C) J.H.Sayle(Lab)	3226 2644	55% 45%	16128	36%
1938	H.H.Nuttall(C) W.H.Barton(Lab)	4376 3699	54% 46%	16007	51%

¹ Resignation of A.M.Brown.

LITTLE WOOLTON (21)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	-	-	-	-
1921	1,319	427	1,389	0.9
1931	1,470	592		1.1
<u>1931: Avge. Family</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.85	5.96	1.03	0.66

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	0	-
Catholic	0	-
Non-Conformist	0 (Welsh)	-

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	309
Catholic	0
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9								
1910-13								

1905-13								

1919-23	0	1	-	-	-	1	0	0
1924-28	0	2	6%	94%	64%	1	0	0
1929-33	0	1	-	-	-	1	0	0
1934-38	0	2	12%	88%	65%	1	0	0

1919-38	0	6	9%	91%	65%	4	0	0

LITTLE WOOLTON (21) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1922	R.H.Bremner(C)	N.C.	-	433	-
1925	R.H.Bremner(C) J.H.Naylor jun.(Lab)	267 16	94% 6%	443	64%
1928	R.H.Bremner(C)	N.C.	-	444	-
1931	R.H.Bremner(C)	N.C.	-	592	-
1934	R.H,Bremner(C)	N.C.	-	744	-
1937	R.H.Bremner(C) G.T.Wood(Lab)	496 69	88% 12%	874	65%

LOW HILL (22)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	27,167	3,909	175	155.2
1921	29,255	9,695		167.2
1931	26,345	11,271		150.5
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avgc.Family</u>	<u>Rooms Per</u>	<u>Families Per</u>	<u>Persons Per</u>
	<u>Size</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Dwelling</u>	<u>Room</u>
	3.97	4.91	1.21	0.97

<u>Churches 1929</u>				<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2			1,600
Catholic	1			700
Non-Conformist	3	(Welsh)	0	1,800

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	695
Catholic	990
Board	2,178

<u>Trades Council Delegates 1905</u>			<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Carpeters	Painters		1920 ✓
Litho Printers	Postmen	(Total 8)	1931
Masons	Slaters		1939 ✓
Packing Case Mkrs	Clothier Ops.		

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON- TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	36%	61%	48%	1	0	0
1910-13	1	3	45%	56%	49%	0	0	0

1905-13	1	7	42%	58%	48%	1	0	0

1919-23	1	4	38%	52%	53%	0	2(0)	0
1924-28	4	1	55%	45%	49%	0	0	0
1929-33	3	2	53%	47%	39%	0	0	0
1934-38	2	3	49%	51%	49%	0	0	0

1919-38	10	10	49%	49%	48%	0	2(0)	0

LOW HILL (22) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.M'Evoy(L) J.Roby(C)	1013 972	51% 49%	3977	50%
1906	A.Shelmerdine(C) E.A.Davies(L)	1277 703	64% 36%	3938	50%
1907	W.Boote(C) D.Little(Lab)	1265 686	65% 35%	3874	50%
1908 ¹ (Apr)	D.Pearson(C) W.Nash(L)	1013 689	60% 40%	3874	44%
1908	D.Pearson(C)	N.C.	-	3777	-
1909	A.Shelmerdine(C) G.J.Jones(Lab)	1039 591	64% 36%	3803	43%
1910	W.Boote(C) G.Nelson(Lab)	893 602	60% 40%	3624	41%
1910 ² ()	F.W.Bailey(C) G.Nelson(Lab)	999 909	52% 48%	3624	53%
1911	G.Nelson(Lab) D.Pearson(C)	993 955	51% 49%	3909	50%
1912	F.W.Bailey(C) A.Broom(Lab)	1129 769	59% 41%	3729	51%
1913	W.Boote(C) J.P.Cotter(Lab)	1084 918	54% 46%	3845	52%
1914	G.Nelson(Lab)	N.C.	-	3978	-
<hr/>					
1919	T.J.Rowan(Lab) F.W.Bailey(C) J.Masterson(L)	1872 1729 672	44% 40% 16%	8947	48%
1920	R.H.Mitchell(C) J.H.Johnston(Lab)	3309 2086	61% 39%	9454	57%
1921	A.G.Alsop(C) G.Nelson(Lab)	2876 2126	57% 43%	9695	52%
1922	E.K.Yates(C) T.J.Rowan(Lab) J.Loughran(N)	2978 1530 1112	53% 27% 20%	9851	57%
1923	R.H.Mitchell(C) T.J.Rowan(Lab) J.Loughran(I.P) P.Maguire(Unemp)	2432 1770 708 33	49% 36% 14% 1%	10128	49%

1 J.M'Evoy resigned.

2 Election of A.Shelmerdine as Alderman.

LOW HILL (Contd.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924	A.G.Alsop(C) T.J.Rowan(Lab)	2684 2484	52% 48%	10268	50%
1925 ¹ (Feb)	R.E.B.Trevor(C) F.Robinson(Lab)	1948 1886	51% 49%	10268	43%
1925	F.Robinson(Lab) R.E.B.Trevor(C)	2880 2818	51% 49%	10392	55%
1926	M.J.McEntegart(Lab) W.J.Acheson(C)	2782 2228	56% 44%	10351	48%
1927	E.G.Deery(Lab) A.G.Alsop(C)	2835 2229	56% 44%	10305	49%
1928	F.Robinson(Lab) F.J.Gearing(C)	2926 1617	64% 36%	10095	45%
1929	M.J.McEntegart(Lab) S.Smart(C)	2562 1024	71% 29%	11215	32%
1929 ² (Nov)	J.Whitehead(Lab) T.Broster(C)	2624 1615	62% 38%	11215	38%
1930	C.E.Pugh(C) J.Whitehead(Lab)	2049 1744	54% 46%	11186	34%
1931	G.R.Kitchen(C) F.Robinson(Lab)	3334 2273	59% 41%	11271	50%
1932	F.Robinson(Lab) G.E.Mills(C) J.F.Hedley(Comm)	2520 2053 103	54% 44% 2%	11316	41%
1933	A.Kay(Lab) C.E.Pugh(C)	2213 2096	51% 49%	11213	38%
1934	F.C.Pasco(Lab) G.W.Prout(C)	2235 1934	54% 46%	11171	37%
1935	F.Robinson(Lab) D.Rowan(C)	2783 2422	53% 47%	11056	47%
1936	S.C.Saltmarsh(C) A.Kay(Lab)	3055 2265	57% 43%	10780	49%
1937	K.H.Steel(C) F.C.Pasco(Lab)	3271 2932	53% 47%	10319	60%
1938	J.N.M.Entwhistle(C) F.Robinson(Lab)	2840 2686	51% 49%	10007	52%

1 *Death of E.K.Yates.*

2 *Resignation of E.G.Deery.*

MUCH WOOLTON (23)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	-	-	-	-
1921	4,416	1,600	792	5.6
1931	5,200	2,299		6.6

<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
4.01	4.92	1.04	0.85

<u>Churches 1929</u>			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	2		750
Catholic	1		200
Non-Conformist	3	(Welsh) 0	730

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	579
Catholic	399
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9								
1910-13								

1905-13								

1919-23	0	2	38%	63%	77%	1	0	0
1924-28	0	2	30%	71%	56%	0	0	0
1929-33	0	5	23%	55%	64%	0	0	0
1934-38	0	4	21%	63%	63%	0	0	0

1919-38	0	13	26%	61%	64%	1	0	0

MUCH WOOLTON (23) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1920	T.Harrison(C) C.J.EDwards(Lab)	756 438	63% 37%	1586	75%
1921	R.Gladstone(Co.L) C.J.Edwards(Lab)	776 475	62% 38%	1600	78%
1923	J.F.R.Reynolds(C)	N.C.	-	1647	-
1924	R.Gladstone(Ind) C.J.Edwards(Lab)	785 346	69% 31%	1691	67%
1926	J.F.R.Reynolds(C) W.H.Paulson(Lab)	600 271	69% 31%	1755	50%
1927	W.E.S.Napier(C) F.Stapleton(Lab)	683 262	72% 28%	1801	52%
1929	C.S.Pethick(C) (2 Elected) J.F.R.Reynolds(C) J.R.Bevins(Lab) R.E.Cottier(Lab) E.A.Ferguson(L)	773 736 513 495 108	57% 38% 5%	2046	64%
1930	W.E.S.Napier(C) W.R.Snell(Lab)	753 258	74% 26%	2186	46%
1931	H.N.Bewley(C) E.Whitely(Ind)	885 821	52% 48%	2299	74%
1932	Mrs.C.Whitely(Ind) E.P.Thompson(C) A.Lumb(Lab) P.O'B.Hendley(Ind.Lab)	850 740 52 7	52% 45% 3% -	2371	70%
1933	J.Butterfield(C) E.Whitely(Ind) J.R.Bevins(Lab)	759 745 163	46% 44% 10%	2558	65%
1934	E.Whitely(Ind) I.Robinson(C) C.F.Hind(Ratepayers) A.J.Holman(Lab)	731 724 227 140	40% 40% 12% 8%	2591	70%
1935	I.Robinson(C) Mrs.C.Whitely(Ind) J.R.Jones(L)	1013 853 123	51% 43% 6%	2747	72%
1935 ¹ (Dec)	V.F.Crosthwaite(C) Mrs.C.Whitely(Ind) C.E.Haig(Lab)	804 611 87	54% 41% 5%	2747	55%
1936	J.Butterfield(C) W.S.Fraser(Lab)	1104 331	77% 23%	2828	51%
1937	V.F.Crosthwaite(C) A.Campbell(Lab)	1453 586	71% 29%	2911	70%
1938	I.Robinson(C) D.Whe lan(Lab)	1144 359	76% 24%	2975	51%

¹ Resignation of E.Whitely.

NETHERFIELD (24)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	32,023	4,015	129	248.2
1921	32,835	10,615		254.5
1931				
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.50	4.28	1.23	1.30

<u>Churches 1929</u>			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	6		4,752
Catholic	0		0
Non-Conformist	5	(Welsh) 0	2,350

<u>School Rolls 1923</u>	
Anglican	1,600
Catholic	0
Board	4,398

<u>Trades Council Delegates 1905</u>	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Iron & Steel Dressers	1920 ✓
French polishers (Total 4)	1931 ✓
Scientific Inst. Mkrs	1939 ✓
Carpenters	

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	60%	46%	0	0	4(1)
1910-13	0	3	39%	54%	44%	0	0	1(1)
1905-13	0	7	39%	57%	45%	0	0	5(2)
1919-23	0	3	19%	74%	43%	0	1(0)	3(2)
1924-28	2	2	46%	55%	50%	0	0	2(1)
1929-33	3	2	41%	43%	56%	0	0	3(0)
1934-38	1	3	37%	57%	54%	0	0	3(1)
1919-38	6	10	36%	55%	51%	0	1(0)	11(4)

NETHERFIELD (24) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	W.W.Rutherford(C) J.Carr(Ind)	1244 342	78% 22%	4144	38%
1906 ¹ (Jul)	J.Tomkinson(C) J.Walker(P)	797 619	56% 44%	4144	34%
1906	C.H.Rutherford(C) J.Walker(P)	1057 807	57% 43%	4151	45%
1907	G.Sturla(C) J.Walker(P)	1400 764	65% 35%	4093	53%
1907 ² (Nov)	W.Waugh(C) J.Walker(P)	879 585	60% 40%	4093	36%
1908	W.Waugh(C) J.Walker(P)	996 740	57% 43%	4007	43%
1908 ³ (Nov)	J.A.Irving(C) J.Walker(P)	1008 721	58% 42%	4007	43%
1909	J.Walker(P) C.H.Rutherford(C)	1064 831	56% 44%	3711	51%
1910	W.Ball(C) W.H.Archer(Ind)	792 310	72% 28%	3514	31%
1911	H.E.Davies(C) J.Challinor(Lab) J.Carr(Ind)	855 722 268	46% 39% 15%	4015	46%
1912	J.Walker(P) W.E.McLachlan(C)	1230 717	63% 37%	3841	51%
1913	W.Ball(C) C.Rolls(Ind)	1116 759	60% 40%	3975	47%
1914	H.E.Davies(C)	N.C.	-	4060	-
1919	J.Walker(P) W.E.McLachlan(Con.-Lab.)	2109 649	76% 24%	10152	27%
1920	W.Ball(C) J.A.Metcalf(Lab)	4042 1481	73% 27%	10349	53%

¹ Election of S.Jude as Alderman² Election of W.Rutherford as Alderman.³ Resignation of G.Sturla.

NETHERFIELD (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1921	H.E.Davies(C) V.Lloyd(Lab)	3696 598	86% 14%	10615	40%
1922	J.Walker(Pat.Lab.) W.E.McLachlan(Ind.C) C.Chadwick(Lab) P.C.Roche(N)	2654 2219 1350 55	42% 35% 22% 1%	10745	58%
1923 ¹ (Jul)	W.E.M'Lachlan(C) C.Stamper(Ind.P) G.Chadwick(Lab)	2437 717 406	68% 20%	10745	33%
1923	W.E.M'Lachlan(C) C.Haigh(Pat.P) G.Chadwick(Lab)	2665 1155 470	62% 27% 11%	11291	38%
1924 ² (Apr)	A.M.Urding(C) C.Haigh(Pat.Lab.)	2134 673	76% 24%	11291	25%
1924	A.M.Urding(C) G.Chadwick(Lab)	4358 1617	73% 27%	11548	52%
1925	J.Walker(P) G.Chadwick(Lab)	2844 2023	58% 42%	11763	41%
1926	G.Chadwick(Lab) W.E.M'Lachlan(C)	3341 2280	59% 41%	11808	48%
1927	A.M.Urding(C) J.Bagot(Lab)	3164 3102	50% 50%	11590	54%
1928	J.Bagot(Lab) J.Walker(P)	3150 2864	52% 48%	11178	54%
1929	G.Chadwick(Lab) J.Walker(C)	3199 3165	50% 50%	12438	51%
1930	A.M.Urding(C) A.Kay(Lab) A.Clayton(P) W.E.McLachlan(Ind.)	3770 1721 1518 276	52% 24% 21% 3%	12178	60%
1931	W.J.M.Clark(C) J.Bagot(Lab)	3632 2984	55% 45%	12090	55%

¹ *Death of W.Ball.*² *Election of H.E.Davies as Alderman.*

NETHERFIELD (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1932	G.Chadwick(Lab)	3079	47%	12078	54%
	A.Barkby(C)	1980	30%		
	A.Clayton(P)	1490	23%		
1933	J.Bagot(Lab)	2823	40%	11895	59%
	R.Bradley(P)	2384	34%		
	A.M.Urding(C)	1815	26%		
1934	Dr.J.Sytner(Lab)	2344	38%	11544	53%
	R.Bradley(P)	1912	32%		
	W.J.M.Clark(C)	1855	30%		
1935	W.J.M.Clark(C)	3451	57%	11301	53%
	G.Chadwick(Lab)	2505	42%		
	J.G.Perkins(Ind.P)	68	1%		
1936	R.Bradley(P)	3497	57%	11023	56%
	J.Bagot(Lab)	2692	43%		
1937	E.T.Edwards(C)	4436	68%	10638	61%
	J.Bagot(Lab)	2073	32%		
1938	W.J.M.Clark(C)	3571	72%	10299	48%
	W.J.Riddick(Lab)	1379	28%		

OLD SWAN (25)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	21,307	3,641	1,140	18.7
1921	29,788	10,866		26.1
1931	35,706	15,881		31.3

<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
4.12	5.12	1.06	0.85

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3	1,414
Catholic	2	900
Non-Conformist	4 (Welsh)	0 1,790

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,296
Catholic	1,128
Board	2,879

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Carpenters	
Painters	(Total 3)
Railway Servants	

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	5	26%	69%	54%	1	0	0
1910-13	0	4	36%	65%	45%	2	0	0
1905-13	0	9	31%	67%	51%	3	0	0
1919-23	1	4	36%	61%	49%	0	2(0)	0
1924-28	0	5	40%	60%	39%	0	0	0
1929-33	2	3	43%	57%	40%	0	0	0
1934-38	0	5	42%	58%	40%	0	0	0
1919-38	3	17	40%	59%	42%	0	2(0)	0

OLD SWAN (25) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.Hunter(C) J.Hoult(L)	849 609	58% 42%	2473	59%
1906	J.W.Walker(C) J.Harrison(L)	1044 498	68% 32%	2731	56%
1907	J.Lister(C) A.Tracy(Soc)	1042 364	74% 26%	2984	47%
1908	J.Edwards(C) A.Tracy(Soc)	1265 431	75% 25%	3173	53%
1908 ¹ (Nov)	C.Burchall(C)	N.C.	-	3173	-
1909	J.W.Walker(C)	N.C.	-	3227	-
1910	C.Burchall(C)	N.C.	-	3430	-
1911	J.Edwards(C)	N.C.	-	3641	-
1912	J.Walker(C) J.Mooney(Lab)	1116 588	65% 35%	3696	46%
1913	C.Burchall(C) J.Mooney(Lab)	1056 606	64% 36%	3909	43%
1914	J.Edwards(C)	N.C.	-	4163	-

1919	H.E.Rose(Lab) T.H.Burton(C)	2161 2126	50% 50%	9548	45%
1920	A.E.Shennan(C) J.E.Summers(Lab)	3617 1599	69% 31%	9945	52%
1921	J.Edwards(C) W.J.Daniel(Lab)	3598 1619	69% 31%	10866	48%
1922	J.Waterworth(C) H.E.Rose(Lab) J.Farrell jun.(N)	3485 1893 813	56% 31% 13%	11263	55%
1923 ² (Feb)	G.Whittle(C) H.E.Rose(Lab)	2060 1664	55% 45%	11263	33%
1923	A.E.Shennan(C) H.E.Rose(Lab) W.O'Neill(I.P.)	3011 1965 67	60% 39% 1%	11474	44%
1924	J.P.Thomas(C) J.E.Summers(Lab)	3394 1616	68% 32%	11733	43%

¹ Election of J.Lister as Alderman.² Election of J.Edwards as Alderman.

OLD SWAN (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1925	J. Waterworth (C) R. J. McDonnell (Lab)	3193 1648	66% 34%	11996	40%
1926	A. E. Shennan (C) Mrs. S. A. McArd (Lab)	2196 1430	61% 39%	12279	30%
1927	J. P. Thomas (C) Mrs. S. A. McArd (Lab)	2520 2072	55% 45%	12949	35%
1928	J. Waterworth (C) Mrs. S. A. McArd (Lab)	3112 3023	51% 49%	13273	46%
1929	T. Williamson (Lab) A. E. Shennan (C) W. H. Ledson (L)	3280 3237 273	48% 48% 4%	14824	46%
1930	M. Greenberg (C) W. S. Dytor (Lab)	3571 2219	62% 38%	15247	38%
1931	J. Waterworth (C) A. Demain (Lab)	4495 1780	72% 28%	15881	40%
1932	T. Williamson (Lab) G. C. E. Simpson (C)	3659 3440	52% 48%	16181	44%
1933	M. Greenberg (C) C. M. Belk (Lab)	2916 2607	53% 47%	16465	34%
1934	J. Waterworth (C) T. E. Martin (Lab)	3145 2792	53% 47%	17065	35%
1935	C. H. Leftwich (C) T. Williamson (Lab)	3913 3784	51% 49%	18115	42%
1936	M. Greenberg (C) J. Strathdene (Lab)	4428 3118	59% 41%	18486	41%
1937	J. Waterworth (C) J. G. Houston (Lab)	5770 3370	63% 37%	18227	50%
1938 ¹ (Jun)	A. Haswell (C) J. G. Houston (Lab)	2223 1212	65% 35%	18227	19%
1938	Mrs. J. Waterworth (C) Mrs. J. Ridde11 (Lab)	3573 2070	63% 37%	18159	31%

¹ Death of J. Waterworth.

PRINCES PK (26)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	21,344	3,614	259	82.4
1921	23,017	8,437		88.9
1931	21,570	9,913		83.3
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.80	5.15	1.19	0.88

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	4		4,070
Catholic	0		0
Non-Conformist	11	(Welsh) 3	7,650 (2,350)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,519
Catholic	0
Board	662

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Bricklayers	Brassfounders
Engineers	
Enginemen & Cranemen	(Total 4)

WMCA Branch

1920	✓
1931	✓
1939	✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	56%	60%	2	0	0
1910-13	0	3	-	-	-	4	0	0
1905-13	0	6	-	56%	60%	6	0	0
1919-23	0	4	30%	70%	52%	3	0	0
1924-28	0	5	40%	60%	51%	1	0	0
1929-33	0	5	39%	61%	44%	0	0	0
1934-38	1	4	43%	57%	50%	0	0	0
1919-38	1	18	39%	61%	48%	4	0	0

PRINCES PARK (26) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	A.L.R.Rathbone(L) F.W.Frodsham(C)	1098 1069	51% 49%	3686	59%
1906	H.C.Dowdall(C) W.E.Woodhall(L)	1297 838	61% 39%	3617	59%
1907	F.W.Frodsham(C) M.Muspratt(L)	1331 927	59% 41%	3600	63%
1908	A.L.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	3590	-
1909	H.C.Dowdall(C)	N.C.	-	3546	-
1910 ¹ (Aug)	D.Jackson(C)	N.C.	-	3546	-
1910	C.H.Rutherford(C)	N.C.	-	3494	-
1911	A.L.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	3614	-
1912	D.Jackson(C)	N.C.	-	3523	-
1913	C.H.Rutherford(C)	N.C.	-	3589	-
1914	A.L.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	3612	-

1919	D.Jackson(C) J.Hayes(Lab)	2365 1330	64% 36%	7765	48%
1920	C.H.Rutherford(C) T.Griffiths(Lab)	3461 1116	76% 24%	8211	56%
1920 ² (Dec)	R.L.Burns(C)	N.C.	-	8211	-
1921 ³ (Mar)	Miss M.Beavan(L) T.Griffiths(Lab)	1883 489	79% 21%	8211	29%
1921	Miss M.Beavan(L)	N.C.	-	8437	-
1922	D.Jackson(C)	N.C.	-	8477	-
1923	A.Wood(C)	N.C.	-	8853	-
1924 ⁴	D.M.Ritchie(C) Mrs.L.Hughes(Lab)	2686 1128	70% 30%	8853	43%

1 Resignation of H.C.Dowdall.

2 Election of C.H.Rutherford as Alderman.

3 Resignation of A.L.R.Rathbone.

4 Resignation of D.Jackson.

PRINCES PARK (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924	Miss M.Beavan(C)	N.C.	-	9130	-
1925	D.M.Ritchie(C) R.Dixon-Smith(Lab)	3259 1815	64% 36%	9344	54%
1926	A.Wood(C) W.Jones(Lab)	2431 1757	58% 42%	9410	45%
1927	Miss M.Beavan(C) R.Edwards(Lab)	2919 1621	64% 36%	9256	49%
1928	J.D.Griffiths(C) R.Edwards(Lab)	2671 2198	55% 45%	9094	54%
1929	A.Wood(C) F.Lavery(Lab)	2325 1921	55% 45%	9982	43%
1930	Miss M.Beavan(C) R.E.Cottier(Lab)	3077 1298	70% 30%	9857	44%
1931	J.D.Griffiths(C) J.Hamilton(Lab)	3122 1213	72% 28%	9913	44%
1932 ¹ (Sep)	C.R.Clare(C) A.Dema in(Lab)	1794 1331	57% 43%	9913	32%
1932	C.R.Clare(C) A.Dema in(Lab)	2448 2029	55% 45%	9905	45%
1933	W.T.Thomas(C) A.Dema in(Lab)	2155 2058	51% 49%	9968	42%
1934	A.Dema in(Lab) J.B.Noble(C)	1985 1912	51% 49%	9860	40%
1935	C.R.Clare(C) J.S.Ogden(Lab)	2746 2406	53% 47%	9850	52%
1936	D.Rowan(C) Mrs.S.A.Dema in(Lab)	2896 2079	58% 42%	9811	51%
1937	A.P.Bevan(C) A.Dema in(Lab)	3484 2050	63% 37%	9664	57%
1938	C.R.Clare(C) A.Dema in(Lab)	2849 1607	64% 36%	9239	48%

¹ *Death of A.Wood.*

ST. ANNE'S (27)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	24,651	2,735	213	115.7
1921	23,129	7,013		108.6
1931	20,944	9,253		98.3
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.84	4.06	1.60	1.51

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	5		4,034
Catholic	1		500
Non-Conformist	1	(Welsh) 0	700

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	650
Catholic	310
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Bootmakers	1920 /
Brassfounders (Total 4)	1931 /
Carvers	1939
Engineers	

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	2	0	55%	44%	42%	2	1(0)	0
1910-13	1	0	51%	48%	62%	2	0	0
1905-13	3	0	53%	46%	50%	4	1(0)	0
1919-23	1	0	42%	-	46%	1	2(2)	0
1924-28	4	0	54%	-	44%	1	4(1)	0
1929-33	5	0	76%	-	37%	2	3(0)	0
1934-38	5	0	79%	21%	40%	4	0	0
1919-38	15	0	61%	21%	42%	8	9(3)	0

ST. ANNE'S (27) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	J.Sexton(Lab) H.Fineberg(C) J.Murphy(Ind)	884 709 2	55% 44% -	2903	55%
1906 ¹ (Mar)	Dr.J.C.Baxter(L) Dr.Maguire(N)	710 574	55% 45%	2903	44%
1906	G.King(L)	N.C.	-	2883	-
1907	Dr.J.C.Baxter(L) D.Pearson(C)	984 729	57% 43%	2806	61%
1908	J.Sexton(Lab)	N.C.	-	2788	-
1909	G.King(L) G.Gretton(Ind)	209 34	86% 14%	2703	9%
1910 ² (Jun)	P.D.Holt(L)	N.C.	-	2703	-
1910	Dr.J.C.Baxter(L)	N.C.	-	2692	-
1911	J.Sexton(Lab) R.J.Ward(C)	913 870	51% 49%	2735	65%
1912	P.D.Holt(L)	N.C.	-	2578	-
1913	Dr.J.C.Baxter(L) R.J.Ward(C)	813 735	53% 47%	2665	58%
1914	J.Sexton(Lab)	N.C.	-	2701	-

1919	P.D.Holt(L)	N.C.	-	7087	-
1920	P.A.Durkin(N) Dr.J.C.Baxter(L)	2563 918	74% 26%	6977	50%
1921	J.Sexton(Lab) J.Nield(Comm)	1685 1274	57% 43%	7013	42%
1922	J.Nield(Comm) P.D.Holt(L)	2181 1642	57% 43%	7745	49%
1923	P.A.Durkin(I.P.) R.McCann(Lab) A.Phillips(Unemp.)	2155 903 432	62% 26% 12%	8412	41%

¹ Reason for by-election unstated.

² Resignation of G.King.

ST. ANNE'S (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924	J.Sexton(Lab)	1567	53%	8556	34%
	J.Farrell(I.P.)	1322	45%		
	J.Young(Comm.)	25	1%		
	J.Corcoran(Ind)	21	1%		
1925	J.Farrell(Cath)	2093	48%	8639	51%
	M.Eschwege(Lab)	1545	35%		
	J.Nield(Comm.)	706	16%		
	J.Corcoran(Ind)	27	1%		
1926	M.Eschwege(Lab)	2932	73%	8591	47%
	P.A.Durkin(Centre)	1051	26%		
	J.Nield(Comm.)	32	1%		
1927	J.Sexton(Lab)	2152	56%	8525	45%
	C.Devlin(Centre)	1666	44%		
1928	J.D.Mack(Lab)	N.C.	-	8473	-
1929	M.Eschwege(Lab)	3468	81%	9751	44%
	H.Granby(Centre)	838	19%		
1929 ¹ (Nov)	Mrs.L.F.Hughes(Lab)	N.C.	-	9751	-
1930	Mrs.M.E.Braddock(Lab)	1392	60%	9436	25%
	Mrs.L.F.Hughes(Ind.Lab)	935	40%		
1931	J.D.Mack(Lab)	N.C.	-	9253	-
1932	S.S.Silverman(Lab)	3227	86%	9108	41%
	T.Conifer(Dem.Lab)	505	14%		
1933	Mrs.E.Braddock(Lab)	N.C.	-	8983	-
1934	J.D.Mack(Lab)	N.C.	-	8228	-
1935	S.S.Silverman(Lab)	2425	79%	7725	40%
	T.H.Nabb(C)	650	21%		
1936	Mrs.E.Braddock(Lab)	N.C.	-	7182	-
1937	J.D.Mack(Lab)	N.C.	-	6919	-
1938	H.Livermore(Lab)	N.C.	-	6612	-

¹ Election of J.Sexton as Alderman.

ST. DOMINGO (28)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	28,814	4,547	179	161.0
1921	30,520	10,431		170.5
1931	27,182	11,734		151.9
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.27	4.56	1.14	1.06

Churches 1929

Anglican	3		
Catholic	1		
Non-Conformist	7	(Welsh)	0

Sittings

2,130
575
3,938

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	746
Catholic	1,188
Board	3,189

Cinemas 1940Trades Council Delegates 1905

Enginemen & Cranemen	
Painters	
Stereotypers	(Total 3)

WMCA Branch

1920	✓
1931	✓
1939	✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	65%	46%	1	0	4(0)
1910-13	1	3	33%	53%	49%	2	0	0
1905-13	1	7	33%	60%	47%	3	0	4(0)
1919-23	0	4	39%	68%	41%	2	0	1(1)
1924-28	1	3	44%	57%	43%	0	0	2(1)
1929-33	0	2	28%	37%	48%	0	0	4(3)
1934-38	0	0	33%	32%	42%	0	0	5(5)
1919-38	1	9	36%	48%	44%	2	0	12(10)

ST. DOMINGO (28) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	G.W.Whittaker(Ind.C) W.Ellis Jones(P)	1406 1059	57% 43%	4553	54%
1906	J.Roby(C) S.G.Thomas(P)	1155 984	54% 46%	4587	47%
1907	Dr.C.A.Hill(C) H.Porter(P)	1214 946	56% 44%	4522	48%
1908	G.W.Whittaker(C) J.Adams(P)	1345 232	85% 15%	4447	35%
1909	J.Roby(C)	N.C.	-	4365	-
1910	Dr.C.A.Hill(C)	N.C.	-	4284	-
1911	J.Stephenson(Lab) D.J.Williams(C) G.W.Whittaker(Ind.C)	939 798 715	38% 33% 29%	4547	54%
1912	W.H.Moore(C) J.Murphy(Lab)	1382 535	72% 28%	4394	44%
1913	C.A.Hill(C)	N.C.	-	4539	-
1914	C.Wilson(Lab)	N.C.	-	4639	-

1919	T.White(C) W.S.Shaw(Lab)	1991 1831	52% 48%	9920	39%
1920	W.E.Backhouse(C)	N.C.	-	10179	-
1921	A.Clayton(P) C.Wilson(Lab)	3008 1277	70% 30%	10431	41%
1922	T.White(C) C.H.Allam(Pat.Lab)	3917 721	84% 16%	10545	44%
1923	W.E.Backhouse(C)	N.C.	-	10762	-
1924	A.Clayton(P) G.Williams(Lab)	2542 1597	61% 39%	10926	38%
1925	T.White(C) Mrs.S.A.McArd(Lab)	3565 1648	68% 32%	11130	47%
1926	W.E.Backhouse(C) J.Hamilton(Lab)	2128 2087	50% 50%	11188	38%

ST. DOMINGO (Contd.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1927	J. Hamilton(Lab) A. Clayton(P)	2243 1948	54% 46%	11101	38%
1928	Sir T. White(C) W. H. Barton(Lab)	3044 2699	53% 47%	10805	53%
1929	W. E. Backhouse(C) W. J. Daniel(Lab)	2882 2473	54% 46%	12053	44%
1930	Rev. H. D. Longbottom(P) W. T. Thomas(C) J. Hamilton(Lab)	2862 1682 1570	46% 28% 26%	11737	52%
1931	C. H. Leftwich(C) A. Clayton(P) F. Jones(Lab)	2292 1848 1489	41% 33% 26%	11734	48%
1932	Mrs. M. J. Longbottom(P) W. E. Backhouse(C) R. J. McDonnell(Lab) G. E. Humphreys(I. L. P)	1784 1566 1370 432	35% 30% 27% 8%	11712	44%
1933	Rev. H. D. Longbottom(P) W. E. Backhouse(C) R. J. McDonnell(Lab)	3101 1907 922	52% 32% 16%	11669	51%
1934	W. R. Price(P) C. H. Leftwich(C) F. Stapleton(Lab) H. S. Revill(Ind. P)	1452 1411 1379 193	33% 32% 31% 4%	11365	39%
1935	Mrs. M. J. Longbottom(P) G. T. Holliday(Lab)	2506 2024	55% 45%	11382	40%
1935 ¹ (Dec)	G. H. Dunbar(P) G. T. Holliday(Lab)	2024 1482	57% 43%	11382	31%
1936	G. H. Dunbar(P) Mrs. S. A. McArd(Lab)	2836 1686	63% 37%	11166	40%
1937	W. R. Price(P) J. V. Shortt(Lab)	4559 1350	77% 23%	10968	54%
1938	Mrs. M. J. Longbottom(P) J. Cullen(Lab)	2828 1189	70% 30%	10957	37%

¹ Election of Rev. H. D. Longbottom as Alderman.

ST. PETER'S (29)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	6,624	1,711	225	29.4
1921	5,669	2,632		25.2
1931	5,567	2,779		24.7
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avg. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.99	4.96	1.46	1.17

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	1	900
Catholic	1	1,300
Non-Conformist	0 (Welsh)	0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	387
Catholic	1,600
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	1	-	50%	61%	2	0	0
1910-13	0	1	-	47%	69%	2	0	0
1905-13	0	2	-	49%	64%	4	0	0
1919-23	0	2	38%	64%	46%	1	2(0)	0
1924-28	0	2	39%	54%	42%	1	0	0
1929-33	0	1	29%	81%	43%	0	0	0
1934-38	1	1	43%	53%	42%	0	0	0
1919-38	1	6	37%	60%	43%	2	2(0)	0

ST. PETER'S (29) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	A. Armour(L)	N.C.	-	1805	-
1906	G.F. Clarke(C) W. Crosfield(L)	629 430	59% 41%	1809	59%
1907	H. Miles(Ind)	N.C.	-	1791	-
1908 ¹ (Apr)	H.K. Muspratt(L)	N.C.	-	1791	-
1908	B.W. Eills(L) H. Lyons(C)	617 516	54% 46%	1744	65%
1909 ² (Jun)	J. Burne(L)	N.C.	-	1744	-
1909	T. Shaw(L) H. Toner(C)	562 456	55% 45%	1715	59%
1910	J. Byrne(L)	N.C.	-	1687	-
1911	B.W. Eills(L)	N.C.	-	1711	-
1912	H.A. Cole(C) T. Shaw(L)	596 533	53% 47%	1650	68%
1913	L.D. Holt(L) J.C. Walker(C)	655 454	59% 41%	1591	70%
1914	B.W. Eills(L)	N.C.	-	1535	-

1919	H.A. Cole(C) E. Fergus(Lab)	743 451	62% 38%	2520	47%
1920	L.D. Holt(L) J. Friery(N)	991 101	91% 9%	2697	40%
1921	B.W. Eills(L)	N.C.	-	2632	-
1922	H.A. Cole(C) F. Bowman(Ind)	732 402	65% 35%	2564	44%
1923	L.D. Holt(L) F.H.U. Bowman(Ind) O. Gerachty(I.P) J.E. Ashton(Unemp)	946 333 155 16	65% 23% 11% 1%	2729	53%
1924	B.W. Eills(L) F. Bowman(Ind)	846 399	68% 32%	2882	43%

¹ Death of H.Miles.² Resignation of H.K.Muspratt

ST. PETER'S (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924 ¹ (Nov)	H.W.Levy(C) F.Bowman(Ind) C.Wilson(Lab)	695 369 286	51% 27% 21%	2882	47%
1925	H.W.Levy(C) J.Loughlin(Lab) F.Bowman(Ind)	766 369 207	57% 27% 16%	2947	46%
1926	L.D.Holt(L)	N.C.	-	2931	-
1927	B.W.Eills(L) F.Bowman(Ind)	806 198	80% 20%	2885	35%
1928	H.W.Levy(C) G.W.Hincks(Lab)	631 628	50% 50%	2778	45%
1929	L.D.Holt(L) F.W.Tucker(Lab)	1130 472	71% 29%	3070	52%
1930	Miss M.M.Eills(L) Miss E.E.L.Hickling(Lab)	850 304	74% 26%	3054	38%
1931	H.W.Levy(C) J.Nugent(Lab)	973 232	81% 19%	2779	43%
1932	A.Robinson(L) R.E.Cottier(Lab) W.E,McLachlan(Ind)	671 488 130	52% 38% 10%	2853	45%
1933 ² (May)	S.J.Hill(C) J.Whitehead(Lab) F.Bowman(Ind)	485 340 72	54% 38% 8%	2853	31%
1933	Miss M.M.Eills(L) P.Campbell(Lab)	666 309	68% 32%	2778	35%
1934	S.J.Hill(C) S.Part(Lab)	623 445	58% 42%	2761	39%
1935	J.Bennion(L) L.W.Kennan(Lab)	630 482	57% 43%	2504	44%
1936	Miss M.M.Eills(L) L.W.Kennan(Lab)	647 393	62% 38%	2455	42%
1937	H.Carr(Lab) S.J.Hill(C)	551 512	52% 48%	2353	45%
1938	J.Bennion(L) R.E.Cottier(Lab)	545 374	59% 41%	2214	42%

¹ Election of H.A.Cole as Alderman.² Resignation of H.W.Levy.

SANDHILLS (30)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	24,685	3,539	611	40.4
1921	26,647	8,603		43.6
1931	24,031	9,499		39.3

<u>1931: Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
4.46	4.63	1.20	1.16

Churches 1929

		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	0	0
Catholic	2	1,330
Non-Conformist	1 (Welsh)	500

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	837
Catholic	1,926
Board	1,248

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Engineers
Sailors
N.A.U.L.

(Total 3)

WMCA Branch

1920 ✓
1931 ✓
1939

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	0	-	50%	54%	3	4(4)	0
1910-13	0	0	-	43%	52%	1	3(3)	0
1905-13	0	0	-	45%	53%	4	7(7)	0
1919-23	0	0	11%	-	43%	2	5(5)	0
1924-28	4	0	57%	-	45%	1	4(1)	0
1929-33	5	0	88%	18%	37%	2	0	0
1934-38	5	0	-	-	-	5	0	0
1919-38	14	0	63%	18%	42%	10	9(6)	0

SANDHILLS (30) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	P.J.Deery(L & N) W.Singleton(P)	1002 978	51% 49%	3332	59%
1906	M.Kearney(N)	N.C.	-	3340	-
1907	J.A.Appleton(L) J.L.Rankin(C)	938 932	50% 50%	3353	56%
1908	P.J.Deery(N) J.Carr(Ind.C) J.Maher(Ind)	928 459 134	61% 39% 10%	3303	46%
1909	M.Kearney(N)	N.C.	-	3196	
1910	A.Gates(L) J.L.Rankin(C)	1085 736	60% 40%	3199	57%
1911	J.Cunningham(N) P.J.Deery(Ind.N)	806 456	64%	3539	36%
1912 ¹ (May)	T.W.Byrne(N)	N.C.	-	3539	-
1912	T.W.Byrne(N)	N.C.	-	3294	
1913	A.Gates(L) W.B.Anderson(C)	1207 994	55% 45%	3423	64%
1914	J.Cunningham(N)	N.C.	-	3586	-

1919	T.W.Byrne(N)	N.C.	-	8268	-
1920	J.W.Baker(N) A.Gates(L)	2780 2243	55% 45%	8321	60%
1921	J.Cunningham(N) J.Freeman(L)	2181 600	78% 22%	8603	32%
1922 ² (Jul)	J.Hanratty(N) J.Freeman(L)	1852 669	73% 27%	8603	29%
1922	T.W.Byrne(N)	N.C.	-	8678	-
1923	J.W.Baker(I.P.) P.Roy(Lab) D.Williams(Unemp)	2680 353 161	84% 11% 5%	8711	37%

¹ Death of M.Kearney.² Death of J.Cunningham.

SANDHILLS (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924	T.Dakin(Lab) W.H.McGuinness(I.P.)	2120 1855	53% 47%	8808	45%
1925	T.W.Byrne(Lab) W.H.McGuinness(Cath)	2829 1696	63% 37%	8995	50%
1926	J.W.Baker(Centre) T.H.Dunford(Lab)	1790 1737	51% 49%	8996	39%
1927	J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab) C.Maguire(Centre)	2638 1492	64% 36%	8841	47%
1928	T.W.Byrne(Lab)	N.C.	-	8656	.
1929	J.W.Baker(Lab) J.E.Freeman(C)	3905 868	82% 18%	9535	50%
1929 ¹ (Dec)	T.H.Dunford(Lab)	N.C.	-	9535	.
1930	J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab)	N.C.	-	9495	.
1931	T.H.Dunford(Lab) Mrs.Bruce(Comm.)	2355 314	88% 12%	9499	28%
1932	J.W.J.Baker(Lab) I.P.Hughes(Comm.)	2904 198	94% 6%	9396	33%
1933	J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab)	N.C.	-	9308	.
1934	T.H.Dunford(Lab)	N.C.	-	9194	.
1934 ² (Nov)	S.Part(Lab)	N.C.	-	9194	.
1935	S.Part(Lab)	N.C.	-	9153	.
1936	J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab)	N.C.	-	8920	.
1937	T.H.Dunford(Lab)	N.C.	-	8722	.
1937 ³	H.Alldritt(Lab) W.E.McLachlan(C)	3085 1548	67% 33%	8722	53%
1938	S.Part(Lab)	N.C.	-	8490	.

¹ Election of T.W.Byrne as Alderman.² Death of J.W.Baker.³ Election of J.W.T.Morrissey as Alderman.

SCOTLAND NORTH (31)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	23,922	2,938	282	84.8
1921	22,205	7,379		78.7
1931	21,381	8,758		75.8
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.43	3.87	1.28	1.46

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	1		800
Catholic	3		3,000
Non-Conformist	1	(Welsh) 0	700

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	229
Catholic	4,664
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	0	-	-	49%	4	5(5)	0
1910-13	0	0	-	-	-	4	4(4)	0
1905-13	0	0	-	-	49%	8	9(9)	0
1919-23	0	0	47%	-	56%	2	5(5)	0
1924-28	4	0	53%	-	54%	1	4(1)	0
1929-33	5	0	89%	-	34%	0	0	0
1934-38	5	0	86%	-	40%	4	0	0
1919-38	14	0	70%	-	46%	7	9(6)	0

SCOTLAND NORTH (31)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	M.Phe lan(N) J.Bolger(Ind.N)	809 713	53% 47%	3123	49%
1906	T.Kel ly(N)	N.C.	-	3154	-
1907	G.J.Lynskey(N)	N.C.	-	3174	-
1908	J.Bolger(N)	N.C.	-	3120	-
1909	Dr.Maguire(N)	N.C.	-	2963	-
1910	G.J.Lynskey(N)	N.C.	-	2848	-
1911 ¹ (Sep)	J.Clancy(N)	N.C.	-	2848	-
1911	J.Bolger(N)	N.C.	-	2938	-
1912	J.Clancy(N)	N.C.	-	2822	-
1913 ²	W.J.Loughrey(N)	N.C.	-	2822	-
1913	W.J.Loughrey(N)	N.C.	-	2868	-
1914	J.Bolger(N)	N.C.	-	2900	-

1919	J.Clancy(N)	N.C.	-	7233	-
1920	W.J.Loughrey(N)	N.C.	-	7584	-
1921	J.Bolger(N) W.H.Davies(L)	3634 85	98% 2%	7379	50%
1922	J.Clancy(N) E.Campbell(Lab)	2499 2011	55% 45%	7649	59%
1923	J.P.Farrelly(I.P) E.Campbell(Lab)	2412 2283	51% 49%	8075	58%
1924 ³ (Jul)	D.G.Logan(Lab) T.J.Hennessy(I.P)	3272 881	79% 21%	8075	51%
1924	D.G.Logan(Lab) E.Gerachty(I.P.)	3403 734	82% 18%	8178	51%

¹ Dr.Maguire resigned.² Election of G.J.Lynskey as Alderman.³ Election of J.Bolger as Alderman.

SCOTLAND NORTH (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1925 ¹ (Aug)	R.McCann(Lab) F.W.Tucker(I.P.)	1850 935	66% 34%	8178	34%
1925	Rev.T.George(Cath) R.McCann(Lab) J.Kearney(Ind)	3465 617 256	80% 14% 6%	8121	53%
1926	W.A.Robinson(Lab) Rev.T.J.Rigby(Centre)	2328 1780	57% 43%	8182	50%
1927	D.G.Logan(Lab) J.O'Hare(Centre) E.Campbell(Ind)	3059 2048 30	60% 39% 1%	8214	63%
1928	P.Fay(Lab)	N.C.	-	8025	-
1929	W.A.Robinson(Lab) W.H.Hill (Ind)	3055 477	86% 14%	8931	40%
1929 ² (Dec)	P.Duffy(Lab) (2 elected) Mrs.M.McFarlane(Lab)	N.C. N.C.	- -	8931 8931	-
1930	F.W.Tucker(Lab) L.McGree(Comm)	1985 428	82% 18%	8695	28%
1931	P.Fay(Lab) L.J.McGree(Comm)	2966 412	88% 12%	8758	39%
1932	Mrs.M.McFarlane(Lab) L.J.McGree(Comm)	2429 206	92% 8%	8684	30%
1933	F.W.Tucker(Lab) W.F.Fielding(Comm)	2715 88	97% 3%	8703	32%
1934	P.Fay(Lab)	N.C.	-	8561	-
1935	H.Gaskin(Lab) Mrs.M.McFarlane(Ind)	2870 465	86% 14%	8360	40%
1936	F.W.Tucker(Lab)	N.C.	-	8019	-
1937	P.Fay(Lab)	N.C.	-	7860	-
1937 ³ (Dec)	P.O'Brien(Lab)	N.C.	-	7860	-
1938	P.O'Brien(Lab)	N.C.	-	7547	-

¹ Election of J.Clancy as Alderman.² Election of W.A.Robinson & D.G.Logan as Alderman.³ Death of H.Gaskin.

SCOTLAND SOUTH (32)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	22,654	2,944	238	95.2
1921	22,937	8,053		96.4
1931	21,372	8,789		89.8
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.34	3.51	1.24	1.54

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	5	4,760
Catholic	5	4,220
Non-Conformist	0 (Welsh)	0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	846
Catholic	5,145
Board	1,008

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

1920 ✓

1931

1939

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT(%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	0	-	-		5	5(5)	0
1910-13	0	0	-	-		4	4(4)	0
1905-13	0	0	-	-		9	9(9)	0
1919-23	0	0	46%	-	61%	2	5(5)	0
1924-28	2	0	45%	-	50%	1	4(3)	0
1929-33	5	0	71%	-	40%	3	2(0)	0
1934-38	5	0	95%	-	41%	3	2(0)	0
1919-38	12	0	59%	-	49%	9	13(8)	0

SCOTLAND SOUTH (32)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	A.Harford(N)	N.C.	-	3166	
1906	J.O'Shea(N)	N.C.	-	3152	
1907	F.J.Harford(N)	N.C.	-	3021	
1908	A.Harford(N)	N.C.	-	3025	
1909	J.O'Shea(N)	N.C.	-	2963	
1910	F.J.Harford(N)	N.C.	-	2902	
1911	A.Harford(N)	N.C.	-	2944	
1912	J.O'Shea(N)	N.C.	-	2840	
1913	F.J.Harford(N)	N.C.	-	2989	
1914 ¹ (Jul)	P.J.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	2989	
1914	P.J.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	3133	

1919	J.O'Shea(N)	N.C.	-	7864	
1920	D.G.Logan(N) H.Gaskin(Lab)	2611 2252	54% 46%	8036	61%
1921	P.J.Kelly(N)	N.C.	-	8053	
1922	M.O'Mahoney(N) H.Gaskin(Lab)	2540 2499	50% 50%	8036	63%
1923	J.G.Murphy(I.P.) D.G.Logan(Lab)	2841 2014	59% 41%	8289	59%
1924	J.O'Donoghue(Lab) P.J.Kelly(I.P.)	2419 1832	57% 43%	8121	52%
1925	M.O'Mahoney(Cath) E.Campbell(Lab)	3013 1646	65% 35%	8468	55%
1926	J.G.Murphy(Centre) J.Harrington(Lab)	1673 1523	52% 48%	8544	37%
1927	Miss M.O'Shea(Centre) J.Harrington(Lab)	2767 1927	59% 41%	8437	56%
1928	J.Harrington(Lab)	N.C.	-	8298	

¹ Election of A.Harford as Alderman.

SCOTLAND SOUTH (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1929 ¹ (Feb)	M.J.Reppion(Lab)	N.C.	-	8298	-
1929	J.Sheehan(Lab) J.G.Murphy(Centre)	2604 1793	59% 41%	9235	48%
1930	M.J.Reppion(Lab) J.Loughran(Ind.Lab)	2310 524	82% 18%	8839	32%
1931	J.Harrington(Lab)	N.C.	-	8789	-
1932	J.Sheehan(Lab)	N.C.	-	8712	-
1933	M.J.Reppion(Lab)	N.C.	-	8602	-
1934	J.Harrington(Lab)	N.C.	-	8428	-
1935	J.Sheehan(Lab) T.P.Sheehan(Ind.Lab)	2625 187	93% 7%	8308	34%
1936	M.J.Reppion(Lab)	N.C.	-	8193	-
1937	J.Harrington(Lab) C.M.Williams(Ind.Lab)	3619 113	97% 3%	7964	47%
1938	J.Sheehan(Lab)	N.C.	-	7477	-

¹ Death of Miss M.O'Shea.

SEFTON PARK EAST (33)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	21,256	3,846	490	43.4
1921	20,788	8,569		42.4
1931	19,885	8,969		40.6
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.68	6.15	1.11	0.66

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3		1,260
Catholic	1		450
Non-Conformist	6	(Welsh) 1	3,610 (200)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,239
Catholic	0
Board	1,946

Trades Council Delegates 1905

	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Postmen	1920 ✓
(Total 1)	1931 ✓
	1939 ✓

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	1	-	49%	64%	2	0	0
1910-13	0	3	18%	69%	53%	2	0	0
1905-13	0	4	18%	57%	60%	4	0	0
1919-23	0	5	-	51%	53%	3	0	0
1924-28	0	5	-	60%	44%	3	0	0
1929-33	0	5	29%	71%	37%	4	0	0
1934-38	0	5	23%	69%	39%	2	0	0
1919-38	0	20	25%	62%	44%	12	0	0

SEFTON PARK EAST (33) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	W.B.Stoddart(L) W.P.Wethred(C)	1137 983	54% 46%	3484	61%
1906	J.Japp(L)	N.C.	-	3556	-
1907	J.Morris(L) R.G.Layton(C)	1122 1100	50% 50%	3643	61%
1908	R.G.Layton C) W.B.Stoddart(L)	1318 1239	52% 48%	3634	70%
1909	J.Japp(L)	N.C.	-	3668	-
1910	J.S.Rankin(C) J.Morris(L)	1238 1033	55% 45%	3729	61%
1911 ¹ (Apr)	A.A.Paton(L)	N.C.	-	3729	-
1911	R.G.Layton(C) G.Porter(Lab)	1405 312	82% 18%	3846	45%
1912	A.A.Paton(L)	N.C.	-	3840	-
1913	J.S.Rankin(C)	N.C.	-	3871	-
1914	A.B.Holmes(C)	N.C.	-	3933	-

1919	A.Rushton(C) J.P.Edwards(L) Ms.A.Billinge(Co-op.)	2261 1302 695	53% 31% 16%	8104	53%
1920	M.C.Dixon(C)	N.C.	-	8346	-
1921	G.E.Holme(C) Ms.J.J.Beavan(L) W.T.Oversby(M.C.U.)	2170 1671 696	48% 37% 15%	8569	53%
1922	A.Rushton(C)	N.C.	-	8505	-
1923	M.C.Dixon(C)	N.C.	-	8667	-
1924	G.E.Holme(C) A.M.Finlason(L)	2662 1312	67% 33%	8905	45%
1925	A.Rushton(C)	N.C.	-	8899	-
1926	M.C.Dixon(C)	N.C.	-	8727	-

¹ Death of J.Japp.

SEFTON PARK EAST (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOIERS</u>	<u>TURNOU</u>
1927	G.E.Holme(C) A.O.Roberts(L)	1941 1735	53% 47%	8688	42%
1928	A.Rushton(C)	N.C.	-	8629	
1929	M.C.Dixon(C) P.L.Duncan(Lab)	2382 967	71% 29%	9138	37%
1930 ¹ (Mar)	G.Robertson(C) A.O.Roberts(L) F.Stapleton(Lab)	1815 934 359	58% 30% 12%	9138	34%
1930	G.E.Holme(C)	N.C.		8946	
1931	G.Robertson(C)	N.C.	-	8969	
1932	M.C.Dixon(C)	N.C.	-	8993	
1933	G.E.Holme(C)	N.C.	-	8917	
1934	G.W.G.Armour(C)	N.C.	-	8892	
1935	M.C.Dixon(C)	N.C.	-	8871	
1936	E.D.M.Heriot-Hill(C) G.E.Holme(Dem.C) G.Porter(Lab)	2104 860 793	56% 23% 21%	8782	43%
1937 ² (Mar)	J.Moores(C) J.Murphy(Ratep'rs)	1494 274	85% 15%	8782	20%
1937	G.W.G.Armour(C) J.H.Higgins(Lab)	2710 848	76% 24%	8752	41%
1938 ³ (May)	D.Walker(C) Miss M.E.Mee(Lab)	1344 418	76% 24%	8752	20%
1938	J.Moores(C) A.Leadbetter(Lab)	2249 761	75% 25%	8809	34%

¹ Death of A.Rushton.² Election of M.C.Dixon as Alderman.³ Resignation of E.D.M.Heriot-Hill.

SEFTON PARK WEST (34)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	13,242	2,531	828	16.0
1921	13,326	5,809		16.1
1931	13,226	6,438		16.0
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.67	6.03	1.08	0.65

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3	2,030
Catholic	1	470
Non-Conformist	1 (Welsh)	0 900

<u>School Rolls 1923</u>	
Anglican	447
Catholic	141
Board	926

<u>Trades Council Delegates 1905</u>	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Nil	None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	58%	66%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	1	-	46%	68%	2	0	0
1905-13	0	4	-	52%	67%	5	0	0
1919-23	0	1	14%	64%	55%	3	0	0
1924-28	0	5	25%	69%	53%	2	0	0
1929-33	0	5	29%	77%	44%	3	0	0
1934-38	0	5	24%	76%	48%	2	0	0
1919-38	0	16	23%	73%	50%	10	0	0

SEFTON PARK WEST (34) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	R.Dart(C) H.G.Crossfield(L)	780 618	56% 44%	2092	67%
1906	H.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	2307	-
1907	F.Pritchard(C) J.Wilson(L)	949 630	60% 40%	2467	64%
1908	R.Dart(C)	N.C.	-	2520	-
1909 ¹	E.C.Given(C)	N.C.	-	2520	-
1909	H.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	2481	
1910	F.Wilson(L) F.Pritchard(C)	875 800	52% 48%	2491	67%
1911	E.C.Given(C)	N.C.	-	2531	-
1912	H.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	2540	
1913	F.C.Wilson(L) J.D.Flood(C)	989 774	56% 44%	2566	69%
1914	E.C.Given(C)	N.C.	-	2618	

1919 ² (May)	Miss M.Fletcher(C)	N.C.	-	5251	
1919	H.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	5484	-
1920	F.C.Wilson(L) Mrs.J.Taylor(Lab)	2944 460	86% 14%	5607	61%
1921	Miss M.Fletcher(C) Ms.L.Scaiff(Anti-waste) A.B.Harper(M.C.U.)	1825 518 498	64% 18% 18%	5809	49%
1922	H.R.Rathbone(L)	N.C.	-	5768	
1923	F.C.Wilson(Nat.L)	N.C.	-	5836	
1924	Miss M.Fletcher(C)	N.C.	-	5944	
1925	J.G.Reece(C) H.R.Rathbone(L)	2051 1580	56% 44%	6047	60%

¹ Election of R.Dart as Alderman.² Resignation of E.Given.

SEFTON PARK WEST (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926	F.C.Wilson(C)	N.C.	-	5944	
1927	Miss M.Fletcher(C) Mrs.G.A.Cole(Lab)	2093 690	75% 25%	6025	46%
1927 ¹ (Dec)	R.Clayton(C) Mrs.G.A.Cole(Lab)	1955 675	74% 26%	6025	44%
1928	J.G.Reece(C) Mrs.G.A.Cole(Lab)	2375 784	75% 25%	5948	53%
1929	R.P.Clayton(C) Mrs.G.A.Cole(Lab)	2057 830	71% 29%	6341	46%
1930	W.T.Lancashire(C) Mrs.J.G.Taylor(Co-op)	2160 446	83% 17%	6328	42%
1931	J.G.Reece(C)	N.C.	-	6438	-
1932	R.P.Clayton(C)	N.C.	-	6435	-
1933	W.T.Lancashire(C)	N.C.	-	6453	-
1934	J.G.Reece(C)	N.C.	-	6575	
1935	W.J.Austin(C)	N.C.	-	6547	
1936	W.T.Lancashire(C) G.Thompson(Lab)	2426 782	76% 24%	6713	48%
1937	J.G.Reece(C) Mrs.W.M.Wallbank(Lab)	2785 876	76% 24%	6718	54%
1938	A.M.Finlason(C) Miss.M.E.Mee(Lab)	2255 684	77% 23%	6839	43%

¹ Election of F.C.Wilson as Alderman.

VAUXHALL (35)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	8,691	1,749	244	35.6
1921	8,247	3,530		33.8
1931	8,635	3,783		35.4
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.36	4.30	1.24	1.25

<u>Churches 1929</u>		<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	0	0
Catholic	1	1,500
Non-Conformist	0	(Welsh) 0

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	408
Catholic	785
Board	0

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

1920 ✓

1931

1939

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	0	-	45%	66%	4	3(3)	0
1910-13	0	0	-	-	-	4	3(3)	0
1905-13	0	0	-	45%	66%	8	6(6)	0
1919-23	0	0	24%	-	43%	1	5(5)	0
1924-28	1	0	26%	-	40%	2	4(4)	0
1929-33	2	0	48%	-	45%	1	5(3)	0
1934-38	5	0	75%	36%	37%	2	2(0)	0
1919-38	8	0	45%	36%	41%	6	16(12)	0

VAUXHALL (35) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	R.R.Meade-King(L)	N.C.	-	1797	
1906	T.Burke(N)	N.C.	-	1789	-
1907	J.G.Taggart(N)	N.C.	-	1789	-
1908 ¹ (Sep)	J.Hughes(N) G.M.Davey(C)	574 413	58% 42%	1789	55%
1908	M.Muspratt(L) G.M.Davey(C)	651 530	55% 45%	1779	66%
1909	T.Burke(N)	N.C.	-	1754	
1910	J.Highes(N)	N.C.	-	1671	
1911	M.Muspratt(L)	N.C.	-	1749	-
1912	T.Burke(N)	N.C.	-	1630	
1913	J.Hughes(N)	N.C.	-	1662	
1914	M.Muspratt(L)	N.C.	-	1654	

1919	T.Burke(N)	N.C.	-	3484	
1920	J.O'Hare(N) J.Bennion(L)	1234 542	69% 31%	3494	51%
1921	J.Belger(N) A.McCabe(L)	1313 115	92% 8%	3530	40%
1922	T.A.Murphy(N) M.J.Mulvihill(Lab)	1068 389	73% 27%	3572	41%
1923	Dr.P.Hayes(I.P.) J.McChrystal(Lab) J.W.Veidman(Unemp.)	1167 294 15	79% 20% 1%	3720	40%
1924	J.Belger(I.P.) R.McCann(Lab)	1200 422	74% 26%	3821	42%
1925	T.A.Murphy(Cath)	N.C.	-	3848	-
1926	Dr.P.H.Hayes(Centre) H.Hayes(Lab)	949 386	71% 29%	3756	36%

¹ Election of J.G.Taggart as Alderman.

VAUXHALL (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1927	J. Belger (Centre) P. Duffy (Lab)	1171 349	77% 23%	3723	41%
1928	A. B. Hoer (Lab)	N. C.	-	3565	-
1929	Dr. P. H. Hayes (Lab) J. O'Hare (Centre)	1016 782	57% 43%	3979	45%
1930	J. Belger (Centre)	N. C.	-	3816	-
1931	T. A. Murphy (Dem. Lab) A. B. Hoer (Lab)	849 644	57% 43%	3783	39%
1931 ¹ (Nov)	S. McBride (Dem. Lab) S. Part (Lab)	771 486	61% 39%	3783	33%
1932 ² (Jun)	J. O'Hare (Dem. Lab) A. B. Hoer (Lab)	801 651	55% 45%	3783	38%
1932	A. B. Hoer (Lab) S. McBride (Dem. Lab)	953 779	55% 45%	3704	47%
1933	J. O'Hare (Ind) J. E. Orford (Lab)	1044 622	63% 37%	3581	47%
1934	J. L. Carney (Lab) Mrs. M. V. Fernie (Ind)	1010 236	81% 19%	3715	34%
1935	A. B. Hoer (Lab) Mrs. M. V. Fernie (Ind)	877 220	80% 20%	3604	30%
1936	T. Hogan (Lab) J. A. Bryning (C)	1057 588	64% 36%	3556	46%
1937	J. L. Carney (Lab)	N. C.	-	3324	-
1938	A. B. Hoer (Lab)	N. C.	-	3123	-

¹ Resignation of Dr. P. H. Hayes.² Election of J. Belger as Alderman.

WALTON (36)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	28,559	5,079	679	42.1
1921	30,785	11,761		45.3
1931	36,510	16,395		53.8
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.14	4.96	1.07	0.85

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3		2,700
Catholic	3		800
Non-Conformist	10	(Welsh) 2	3,505

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	952
Catholic	336
Board	7,151

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON-TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	58%	55%	3	0	0
1910-13	0	4	30%	71%	43%	0	0	0
1905-13	0	8	30%	66%	47%	3	0	0
1919-23	0	5	36%	69%	44%	2	0	0
1924-28	0	5	44%	56%	37%	2	0	0
1929-33	0	5	39%	61%	40%	0	0	0
1934-38	0	5	33%	65%	43%	0	0	1(0)
1919-38	0	20	37%	63%	41%	4	0	1(0)

WALTON (36) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	G.B.Smith-Broderick(C) G.Mitchell(L)	1079 1059	50% 50%	4062	53%
1906	R.Pritchard(C) T.Uttley(L)	1583 835	65% 35%	4318	56%
1907	Dr.J.G.Moyles(C)	N.C.	-	4449	
1908	J.McDermott(L)	N.C.	-	4499	
1909	R.Pritchard(C)	N.C.	-	4618	
1910	Dr.J.G.Moyles(C) H.D.Large(Soc)	1627 520	76% 24%	4715	46%
1911	S.Gannon(C) H.D.Large(Lab)	1089 840	56% 44%	5079	38%
1912	R.Pritchard(C) H.D.Large(Lab)	1694 692	71% 29%	5181	47%
1913	J.G.Moyles(C) W.Cruickshanks(Lab)	1780 460	79% 21%	5349	42%
1914	J.C.Cross(C)	N.C.	-	5537	

1919	S.A.Kelly(C) M.Curtis(Lab)	3177 2642	55% 45%	11292	52%
1920 ¹ (Jul)	G.M.Platt(C) R.J.McDonnell(Lab)	2504 1890	57% 43%	11292	39%
1920	G.M.Platt(C) R.J.McDonnell(Lab)	4298 1502	74% 26%	11661	50%
1921	J.C.Cross(C)	N.C.	-	11761	-
1922	C.R.Clare(C)	N.C.	-	12124	
1923	G.M.Platt(C) J.E.Freeman(L)	3029 842	78% 22%	12471	31%
1924	J.C.Cross(C)	N.C.	-	12734	-
1925	W.Swift(C)	N.C.	-	13042	

¹ Election of J.G.Moyles as Alderman.

WALTON (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926 ¹ (Feb)	R.J.Hall(C) R.A.Rockliff(Lab)	2223 1575	59% 41%	13042	29%
1926	G.M.Platt(C) T.H.Pye(Lab)	2596 2009	56% 44%	13819	33%
1927	R.J.Hall(C) T.H.Pye(Lab)	2868 2284	56% 44%	15312	34%
1928	W.Swift(C) R.T.Hughes(Lab)	3845 2977	56% 44%	15283	45%
1929	G.M.Platt(C) R.T.Hughes(Lab)	3638 3411	52% 48%	14437	49%
1930	R.J.Hall(C) J.R.Bevins(Lab)	3776 2026	65% 35%	16119	36%
1931	R.R.Bailey(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	5530 1888	75% 25%	16395	45%
1932 ² (Feb)	J.H.Irwin(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	2558 1564	62% 38%	16395	25%
1932	G.M.Platt(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	3581 2614	58% 42%	16370	38%
1933	R.J.Hall(C) J.T.Kenny(Lab)	3169 2436	57% 43%	16251	34%
1934	R.R.Bailey(C) J.T.Kenny(Lab) R.Bradley(P)	3080 2527 431	51% 42% 7%	16305	37%
1935	J.H.Irwin(C) M.F.Hudson(Lab)	4374 2852	61% 39%	16460	44%
1936	R.J.Hall(C) A.W.Boothman(Lab)	4581 1946	70% 30%	16541	39%
1937	R.R.Bailey(C) R.A.Rockliff(lab)	6289 2442	72% 28%	16609	53%
1938	J.H.Irwin(C) C.W.Baker(Lab)	4844 1786	73% 27%	16501	40%

¹ Election of J.C.Cross as Alderman.

² Election of G.M.Platt as Alderman.

WARBRECK (37)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	26,320	4,160	691	38.1
1921	29,522	10,746		42.7
1931	28,267	12,376		40.9
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.85	5.39	1.08	0.77

Churches 1929Sittings

Anglican	1		800
Catholic	1		650
Non-Conformist	3	(Welsh) 1	1,370 (300)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	419
Catholic	501
Board	2,640

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

1920 ✓

1931

1939

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN- OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	65%	53%	2	0	0
1910-13	0	2	28%	57%	48%	1	0	0
1905-13	0	5	28%	61%	51%	3	0	0
1919-23	0	4	22%	70%	39%	0	0	0
1924-28	0	4	34%	66%	37%	2	0	0
1929-33	0	5	30%	68%	38%	0	0	0
1934-38	0	5	28%	70%	35%	0	0	0
1919-38	0	18	29%	69%	37%	2	0	0

WARBRECK (37) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	E. West(L) T.A. Bell(C)	957 663	59% 41%	2828	57%
1906	R.C. Herman(C) R.M. Owen(L)	1194 651	65% 35%	2998	62%
1907	R. Kelly(C) J.S. Smith(Ind)	1157 141	89% 11%	3190	41%
1907 ¹ (Nov)	S.E. Davies(C) W. Holgate(L)	1103 553	67% 33%	3190	52%
1908	E. West(L)	N.C.	-	3332	
1909	R.C. Herman(C)	N.C.	-	3559	
1910	T. Fleming(L) S.E. Davies(C)	978 850	54% 46%	3792	48%
1911	E. West(L)	N.C.	-	4160	
1912	R.C. Herman(C) J. Lowry(Lab)	1436 549	72% 28%	4183	47%
1913	J.A. Thompson(C) T. Fleming(L)	1114 1029	52% 48%	4327	50%
1914	E. West(L)	N.C.	-	4631	

1919	R.C. Herman(C) Ms. A. Blair(Co-op.)	2588 1674	61% 39%	10391	41%
1920	J.A. Thompson(C) Mrs. Daniels(Co-op.)	3540 982	78% 22%	10521	43%
1921	E. West(Co.L) J.H. Mawdsley(Lab)	3811 1082	78% 22%	10746	46%
1922	J.B. Herman(C) F. Fitzpatrick(Lab)	2856 745	79% 21%	10902	33%
1923	J.A. Thompson(C) W. Pritchard(L)	2287 1467	61% 39%	10965	34%
1924	E. West(L)	N.C.	-	11152	
1925	A. Critchley(C) F. Lavery(Lab)	3515 1673	68% 32%	11430	45%

¹ Election of R. Kelly as Alderman.

WARBRECK (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926 ¹ (Feb)	J. Jude(C) F. Lavery(Lab)	2019 1394	59% 41%	11430	30%
1926	J. Jude(C) F. Lavery(Lab)	2348 1567	60% 40%	11450	34%
1927 ² (Mar)	J. Hill(C) F. Lavery(Lab)	2165 1023	68% 32%	11450	28%
1927	J. Hill(C) J. Fraser(Lab)	2494 1094	70% 30%	11572	31%
1928	A. Critchley(C)	N.C.	-	11543	
1929	J. Jude(C) J. C. Branson(Lab) S. F. Heape(L)	2536 2139 454	49% 42% 9%	12425	41%
1930	J. Hill(C) J. F. Kitchen(Co-op.)	3299 1392	70% 30%	12415	38%
1931	A. Critchley(C) E. A. Rockliff(Lab)	4504 883	84% 16%	12376	44%
1932	J. Jude(C) W. Bent(Lab)	2847 1460	66% 34%	12409	35%
1933	H. Wagstaff(C) E. J. McCartney(Lab)	2706 1083	71% 29%	12527	30%
1934	A. Critchley(C) A. Mutton(Lab)	2585 1140	69% 31%	12539	30%
1935	J. Jude(C) A. Smitton(Lab) W. Fry(Ind)	3003 1470 264	63% 31% 6%	13188	36%
1936	H. Wagstaff(C) A. Rainford(Lab) W. Fry(Ind)	3350 956 213	74% 21% 5%	13219	34%
1937	A. Critchley(C) W. Bent(Lab)	4251 1778	71% 29%	13336	45%
1938	J. Jude(C) C. McDonald(Lab)	2986 1128	73% 27%	13363	31%

¹ Death of J.A. Thompson.² Election of E. West as Alderman.

WAVERTREE (38)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	23,750	3,966	1,076	22.1
1921	23,927	9,456		22.2
1931	30,702	14,576		28.5
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.86	5.60	1.04	0.71

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	3		2,100
Catholic	2		850
Non-Conformist	7	(Welsh) 1	4,605 750)

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,318
Catholic	371
Board	2,054

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

1920 ✓

1931

1939

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	3	-	50%	61%	0	0	0
1910-13	0	3	-	55%	53%	3	0	0
1905-13	0	6	-	51%	60%	3	0	0
1919-23	0	4	29%	53%	51%	0	0	0
1924-28	0	4	33%	55%	40%	0	0	0
1929-33	0	5	33%	67%	39%	1	0	0
1934-38	0	5	29%	72%	37%	1	0	0
1919-38	0	18	31%	62%	42%	2	0	0

WAVERTREE (38) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	C.C.Morrison(L) J.Sewart(C)	907 543	63% 37%	2323	62%
1906	A.Crosthwaite(C) T.P.Maguire(L)	805 586	58% 42%	2479	56%
1907	R.S.Porter(C) J.Kellitt(L)	884 752	54% 46%	2629	62%
1908	C.C.Morrison(L) G.B.Smith-Broderick(C)	960 864	53% 47%	2958	62%
1909	G.Bowler(C) W.B.Stoddart(L)	1117 959	54% 46%	3313	63%
1910	R.S.Porter(C) H.T.Ellis(L)	1040 865	55% 45%	3593	53%
1911	C.C.Morrison(L)	N.C.	-	3966	
1912	G.Bowler(C)	N.C.	-	4214	
1913	R.S.Porter(C)	N.C.	-	4162	
1914	C.C.Morrison(L)	N.C.	-	4328	
1919	P.Gill(C) A.E.Johns(Lab)	2305 1955	54% 46%	9065	47%
1920	H.L.Beckwith(C) R.Tissyman(Lab)	3793 1795	68% 32%	9456	59%
1921	J.M.Griffith(Co.L) H.Frame(L) G.H.Boothman(Lab)	2073 1491 1265	43% 31% 26%	9456	51%
1922 ¹ (Apr)	A.Angers(C) G.H.Boothman(Lab)	1785 846	68% 32%	9456	28%
1922	A.Angers(C) C.S.Jones(L) G.Boothman(Lab)	2228 2070 885	43% 40% 17%	9707	53%
1923	H.L.Beckwith(C) H.Frame(L) R.Tissyman(Lab)	2184 1318 1110	47% 29% 24%	10314	45%
1924	J.M.Griffith(L) A.C.Crosby(Lab)	2556 1287	67% 33%	11070	35%
1925	A.Angers(C) W.S.Dytor(Lab) E.E.Edwards(L)	2860 1598 1318	50% 28% 22%	11603	50%

¹ Death of P.Gill.

WAVERTREE (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1926	H.L.Beckwith(C) W.S.Dytor(Lab)	2495 1466	63% 37%	12100	33%
1927	J.M.Griffith(C) W.S.Dytor(Lab)	2728 1700	62% 38%	12737	35%
1928	H.Shuttleworth(C) P.L.Duncan(Lab) J.R.Jones(L)	2852 1823 1737	44% 28% 27%	13247	48%
1929 ¹ (Apr)	J.G.Elliott(Lab) H.G.Nash(C) J.R.Hobhouse(L)	1655 1607 1537	34% 33% 32%	13247	36%
1929	A.E.Martin(C) J.G.Elliott(Lab)	3248 2717	54% 46%	14314	42%
1930	J.M.Griffith(C) J.G.Elliott(Lab)	3525 1582	69% 31%	14333	36%
1931	J.Village(C) J.R.Bevins(Lab)	4767 1396	77% 23%	14576	42%
1931 ² (Dec)	F.Redmond(C)	N.C.	-	14576	
1932	F.Redmond(C) J.R.Bevins(Lab)	3583 1701	68% 32%	14857	36%
1933	J.M.Griffith(C)	N.C.	-	15080	
1934	J.Village(C) D.H.James(I.L.P)	3232 1184	73% 27%	15209	29%
1935	S.R.Williams(C) J.G.Elliott(Lab)	4337 2445	64% 36%	15480	44%
1936	J.M.Griffith(C) D.Whelan(Lab)	4184 1421	75% 25%	15498	36%
1937	J.Village(C)	N.C.	-	16252	
1938 ³ (Jan)	H.T.Wilson(C) E.Edwards(Fasc.)	2969 132	96% 4%	16252	19%
1938	S.R.Williams(C) D.Mackay(Lab)	4243 1475	74% 26%	15491	37%

¹ Election of H.L.Beckwith as Alderman.² Death of A.E.Martin.³ Election of J.M.Griffith as Alderman.

WAVERTREE WEST (39)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	18,852	3,673	308	61.2
1921	20,618	8,213		66.9
1931	18,881	8,906		61.3
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	3.84	5.31	1.07	0.78

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	1		850
Catholic	0		0
Non-Conformist	3	(Welsh) 0	1,450

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	515
Catholic	856
Board	1,734

Trades Council Delegates 1905

	<u>WMCA Branch</u>
Bricklayers	1920 ✓
Carpenters(2)	1931 ✓
Coach Makers	(Total 5) 1939 ✓
Shipwrights	

SUMMARY OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	52%	59%	0	0	0
1910-13	0	3	37%	51%	58%	0	0	0
1905-13	0	7	37%	51%	58%	0	0	0
1919-23	1	4	34%	55%	52%	0	1(0)	0
1924-28	2	3	37%	43%	53%	0	0	0
1929-33	1	4	40%	53%	48%	0	0	0
1934-38	0	5	37%	62%	44%	0	0	0
1919-38	4	16	37%	53%	49%	0	1(0)	0

WAVERTREE WEST (39) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	W.B.Jones(L) J.W.Alsop(C)	1167 938	55% 45%	3496	60%
1906	H.P.Reynolds(C) G.R.Searle(L)	1065 890	54% 46%	3558	55%
1907	J.M.Hargreaves(C) C.H.Brunner(L)	1188 971	55% 45%	3552	61%
1908	E.G.Jackson(C) W.B.Jones(L)	1175 971	55% 45%	3475	62%
1909	H.P.Reynolds(C) C.H.Brunner(L)	987 960	51% 49%	3465	56%
1910	C.H.Brunner(L) H.Davies(C)	1119 909	55% 45%	3503	58%
1911	E.G.Jackson(C) W.A.Colcutt(Lab)	1214 972	56% 44%	3673	60%
1912	A.Parsons(C) W.A.Colcutt(Lab)	1136 854	57% 43%	3673	54%
1913	E.Haigh(C) C.Brunner(L) J.Cleary(Lab)	988 726 513	44% 33% 23%	3726	60%
1914	D.B.Seaman(C)	N.C.	-	3847	
1919	W.A.Colcutt(Lab) J.Glynn(C)	1856 1837	50% 50%	7633	48%
1920	E.Haigh(C) A.E.Johns(Lab)	3303 1612	67% 33%	8040	61%
1921	S.S.Dawson(C) C.M.Belk(Lab)	2967 1470	67% 33%	8213	54%
1922	J.G.Legge(C) W.A.Colcutt(Lab) J.R.Hobhouse(L) B.M'Ginnity(N)	2067 1170 1149 134	46% 26% 25% 3%	9239	49%
1923 ¹ (May)	J.R.Hobhouse(L) E.P.Parker(C) W.A.Colcutt(Lab)	1490 1270 934	40% 34% 26%	9239	40%
1923	E.Haigh(C) A.M.Finlason(L) C.M.Belk(Lab)	1915 1193 1129	45% 28% 27%	8396	50%
1924	C.H.Barker(C) H.E.Rose(Lab) J.R.Hobhouse(L)	2095 1365 1009	47% 31% 22%	8525	52%

¹ Resignation of S.S.Dawson.

WAVERTREE WEST (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1925	W.M.Paul(C) H.E.Rose(Lab)	2414 1794	57% 43%	8555	49%
1926	E.Haigh(C) F.Stapleton(Lab) J.R.Hobhouse(L)	1697 1085 1043	44% 28% 28%	8499	45%
1927	E.Whiteley(Lab) C.H.Barker(C) J.R.Hobhouse(L)	1856 1509 1313	40% 32% 28%	8402	56%
1928	C.M.Belk(Lab) W.A.Edwards(C) W.J.Tristram(L)	2097 1782 1136	42% 36% 22%	8235	61%
1928 ¹ (Dec)	Mrs.C.Whiteley(Lab) W.A.Edwards(C) W.J.Tristram(L)	1571 1395 647	43% 39% 18%	8235	44%
1929	Mrs.C.Whiteley(Lab) Miss M.J.Haigh(C)	2389 2186	52% 48%	8901	51%
1930	A.Levy(C) E.Whiteley(Lab) W.H.Shepherd(L)	2243 1970 580	47% 41% 12%	8973	53%
1931	N.J.Price(C) C.M.Belk(Lab)	2936 1444	67% 33%	8906	49%
1932	C.Thompson(C) C.M.Belk(Lab) Mrs.C.Whiteley(Ind)	2141 1000 929	53% 25% 22%	8898	46%
1933	A.Levy(C) W.J.Riddick(Lab)	1787 1647	52% 48%	8786	39%
1934	N.J.Price(C) Mrs.S.A.McArd(Lab)	1766 1376	56% 44%	8813	36%
1935	C.Thompson(C) D.Whehan(Lab)	2152 1508	59% 41%	8833	41%
1936	A.Levy(C) T.Williamson(Lab)	2433 1548	61% 39%	8788	45%
1937 ² (Jan)	D.Walker(C) R.E.Cottier(Lab) T.J.A.Duggan(L)	1598 783 363	58% 29% 13%	8788	31%
1937	M.Voss(C) D.Whehan(Lab) W.Edwards(Fasc.)	3129 1436 129	67% 31% 2%	8681	54%
1938	H.Lees(C) F.Stapleton(Lab)	2485 1195	68% 32%	8624	43%

¹ Election of E.Haigh as Alderman.

² Resignation of C.Thompson.

WEST DERBY (40)

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Persons/Acre</u>
1911	19,571	3,512	1,329	14.7
1921	24,188	9,282		18.2
1931	41,855	18,498		31.5
<u>1931:</u>	<u>Avge. Family Size</u>	<u>Rooms Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Families Per Dwelling</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>
	4.20	5.39	1.07	0.83

Churches 1929

			<u>Sittings</u>
Anglican	1		1,000
Catholic	0		0
Non-Conformist	2	(Welsh) 0	880

School Rolls 1923

Anglican	1,325
Catholic	559
Board	2,628

Trades Council Delegates 1905

Nil

WMCA Branch

None

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

YEARS	LAB. WINS	TORY WINS	AVGE. LAB. VOTE	AVGE. TORY VOTE	AVGE. TURN-OUT (%)	NO CON TESTS	NAT. CANDS. (WINS)	PROT. CANDS. (WINS)
1905-9	0	4	-	58%	64%	1	0	0
1910-13	0	4	23%	69%	48%	1	0	0
1905-13	0	8	23%	62%	57%	2	0	0
1919-23	1	4	29%	62%	51%	0	1(0)	0
1924-28	0	5	32%	62%	42%	0	0	0
1929-33	0	5	37%	63%	35%	2	0	0
1934-38	0	5	31%	69%	38%	1	0	0
1919-38	1	19	32%	64%	42%	3	1(0)	0

WEST DERBY (40) - FULL LIST OF MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1905	S.Skelton(L) S.S.Dawson(C)	966 741	57% 43%	2742	62%
1906	W.H.Parkinson(C) T.Shaw(L)	1208 624	66% 34%	2847	64%
1907	R.E.W.Stephenson(C) Miss E.Robinson(L)	1182 620	66% 34%	2917	62%
1908	W.J.Bailes(C) S.Skelton(L)	1103 882	56% 44%	3029	66%
1909	W.H.Parkinson(C)	N.C.	-	3149	
1910	R.E.W.Stephenson(C) C.Freeman(L)	1066 616	63% 37%	3295	51%
1911 ¹ (May)	T.Ithell(C) T.Utley(Ind)	600 463	56% 44%	3295	32%
1911	W.J.Bailes(C) J.Murphy(Lab)	1114 327	77% 23%	3512	41%
1912	W.H.Parkinson(C)	N.C.		3571	
1913	E.H.Cooke(C) A.E.Faulkner(L)	1310 673	66% 34%	3758	53%
1914	W.J.Bailes(C)	N.C.		3937	

1919	W.P.Helm(Lab) A.J.Muskett(C) T.Utley(Ind)	1542 1294 959	41% 34% 25%	8376	45%
1920	F.W.Riley(C) J.Smith(Lab)	3755 1550	71% 29%	8928	59%
1921	W.J.Bailes(C) C.H.Taunton(Lab)	3468 1327	72% 28%	9282	52%
1922 ² (Apr)	W.J.L.Croft(C) C.H.Taunton(Lab)	2185 952	70% 30%	9282	34%
1922	R.D.French(C) W.P.Helm(Lab) J.P.Farrelly(N)	3950 1489 77	72% 27% 1%	10754	51%
1923	F.W.Riley(C) H.A.Crick(Lab) S.Skelton(L)	3953 1270 1078	63% 20% 17%	12909	49%

¹ Election of R.E.W.Stephenson as Alderman.² Death of W.J.Bailes.

WEST DERBY (Continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1924	J.H.Dovener(C) G.H.Boothman(Lab) S.Skelton(L)	4079 1285 1015	64% 20% 16%	13800	46%
1925	R.D.French(C) G.H.Boothman(Lab) S.Skelton(L)	4451 1964 1015	60% 26% 14%	14321	52%
1926	W.H.Young(C) G.H.Boothman(Lab)	3165 1904	62% 38%	14607	35%
1927	J.H.Dovener(C) G.H.Boothman(Lab)	3304 2094	61% 39%	15837	34%
1928	R.D.French(C) J.Blundell(Lab)	4182 2646	61% 39%	16297	42%
1929 ¹ (Jan)	J.R.Dovener(C) J.Sheehan(Lab)	2229 1605	58% 42%	16297	24%
1929	A.Morrow(C) F.J.Colson(Lab)	3504 2928	54% 46%	17673	36%
1930	E.A.Cookson(C) W.D.Jones(Lab)	4339 1747	71% 29%	18299	33%
1931	R.D.French(C)	N.C.	-	18498	
1932	A.Morrow(C) J.Hamilton(Lab)	4176 2322	64% 36%	18628	35%
1933	E.A.Cookson(C)	N.C.	-	18853	
1934	R.D.French(C) L.W.Kennan(Lab)	3853 2006	66% 34%	18854	31%
1935	A.Morrow(C) Miss M.Kennedy(Lab)	4777 2671	64% 36%	19521	38%
1936	E.A.Cookson(C) Miss M.Kennedy(Lab)	5360 1782	75% 25%	20446	35%
1937	R.D.French(C) J.H.Sayle(Lab)	6869 2810	71% 29%	20686	47%
1938 ² (Jul)	C.M.Wingrove(C)	N.C.	-	20686	
1938	A.Morrow(C)	N.C.	-	20742	

¹ Death of J.H.Dovener.² Election of R.D.French as Alderman.

APPENDIX 2 - ESTIMATED VOTES IN UNCONTESTED SEATS, 1919-38

The following formula has been applied to the raw voting figures. In each case where the Labour or Tory candidate was unopposed, a hypothetical vote for the winner has been calculated based on, i) the average of the share of the vote won by the winners on the last previous, and the next subsequent, occasion when the seat was contested; ii) the average of the turnout in the last and next contested elections; iii) the size of the electorate in the ward in the uncontested year. That hypothetical vote has then been added to the total votes won by each party in the relevant year. A similar formula based on the previous and next contested elections has been used to estimate the *total* vote expected in each uncontested election, and these estimates have been added to the total votes cast in the relevant year. New, hypothetical, estimates of the proportion of the total vote won by each of the two main parties can then be calculated which compensate each party for its uncontested winners.

An example will suffice to illustrate the formula more clearly. For Princes Park in 1922, an estimated 3263 votes would have been cast for the Conservative Party out of a total poll of 4662 votes, calculated in the following way:

- a) Last previous election (1920) - Conservative vote 76%
- b) Next subsequent election (1925) - Conservative vote 64%
- c) Average of a) and b) = 70%
- d) 1920 - Turn-out 56%
- e) 1925 - Turn-out 54%
- f) Average of d) and e) - 55%
- g) Voters on electoral register in 1922 - 8477
- h) Total estimated vote in 1922 - 55% of 8477 = 4662
- i) Total estimated Conservative vote in 1922 - 70% of 4662 = 3263

The only exceptions to this formula were where uncontested elections took place near the beginning or end of the inter-war period, and therefore the last previous election was before 1914 or the next subsequent one after 1945. In these cases only the nearest inter war election was used to calculate the hypothetical votes, as the dislocation of war would clearly make comparisons dubious.

The effects of applying this formula are shown overleaf:

LABOUR AND CONSERVATIVE SHARE OF VOTES WON, ADJUSTED FOR NON CONTESTS, 1919-38

Year	Actual	Actual	Total	No-	Added	Added	Added	Adjusted	Adjusted					
	Lab. Votes Won	(%) Con. Votes Won	(%) Votes Cast	Contests	Lab. Votes	Con. Votes	Total Votes	Lab. Votes Won	(%) Con. Votes Won					
1919	34265	36	43422	46	94858	0	2	-	2616	3938	34265	35	46038	47
1920	32125	25	63813	50	126849	0	6	-	9434	15827	32125	23	73247	51
1921	32927	27	54586	45	120381	0	3	-	7136	11697	32927	25	61722	47
1922	33112	29	50270	43	115609	0	8	-	15114	22519	33112	24	65384	47
1923	26127	25	40321	39	102774	0	9	-	23207	34412	26127	19	63528	46
1924	46686	39	52070	43	119706	0	6	-	12662	19389	46686	34	64732	47
1925	48153	36	62018	46	134293	0	4	-	7777	12429	48153	33	69795	48
1926	53991	45	49282	41	120227	0	4	-	7754	12067	53991	41	57036	43
1927	63420	44	56208	39	142948	0	1	-	2515	3699	63420	43	58723	40
1928	60837	47	57993	45	130106	6	5	12476	7466	31703	73313	45	65459	40
1929	85206	52	68317	42	164219	0	1	-	797	1226	85206	52	69114	42
1930	48126	35	66860	48	138543	1	1	3148	2290	7281	51274	35	69150	47
1931	48104	35	75426	55	137368	2	6	4781	12120	24545	52885	33	87546	54
1932	66732	46	57097	39	144830	1	4	2530	6725	12319	69262	44	63822	41
1933	50903	47	44976	41	109049	4	5	12347	13660	37453	63250	43	58636	40
1934	51210	43	54893	46	119311	5	3	14765	5083	23303	65975	46	59976	42
1935	67834	48	63229	44	142678	3	3	10716	5280	21026	78550	48	68509	42
1936	57089	39	73609	50	146220	5	0	14634	-	16223	71723	44	73609	45
1937	63886	37	98219	57	173475	5	2	12106	5129	21041	75992	39	103348	53
1938	40957	36	65689	58	113491	8	4	22353	14962	50799	63310	39	80651	49

APPENDIX 3 - STRENGTH OF LABOUR SUPPORT IN WARDS, BY QUINQUENNIAL, 1919-38 (Ranked in descending order)

Ward	1919-23			Ward	1924-28		
	Labour Votes	Total* Votes	Labour %		Labour Votes	Total* Votes	Labour %
1, Everton	14663	30001	48.9	1, Brunswick	9770	12896	75.8
2, Scotland N	4294	9205	46.6	2, Croxteth	1935	3092	62.6
3, Scotland S	6765	14757	45.8	3, Everton	20637	33619	61.4
4, Edge Hill	12863	30007	42.9	4, Sandhills	9324	16157	57.7
5, Garston	7322	17449	42.0	5, Edge Hill	16774	29851	56.2
6, Dingle	15389	38159	40.3	6, Low Hill	13907	25483	54.6
7, St. Anne's	2588	6449	40.1	7, St. Anne's	8196	15139	54.1
8, Kensington	10931	27829	39.3	8, Scotland N	9407	17720	53.1
9, St. Domingo	3108	8107	38.3	9, Nethertield	13233	28743	46.0
10, St. Peter's	451	1194	37.8	10, Dingle	19724	43287	45.6
11, M. Woolton	913	2445	37.3	11, Gt. George	2642	5859	45.1
12, Low Hill	9384	25233	37.2	12, Kensington	12532	27996	44.8
13, Fazakerley	1456	3928	37.1	13, Scotland S	7515	16800	44.7
14, Walton	4144	11619	35.7	14, Garston	8692	19565	44.4
15, Old Swan	9237	25954	35.6	15, Kirkdale	11803	26669	44.3
16, Wavertree W	7237	21802	33.2	16, Breckfield	9683	21960	44.1
17, Breckfield	6585	19843	33.2	17, Walton	7270	16579	43.9
18, Kirkdale	8967	27087	33.1	18, St. Domingo	10274	23501	43.7
19, Childwall	464	1434	32.4	19, Granby	7430	17887	41.5
20, Brunswick	2325	7261	32.0	20, Old Swan	9789	24204	40.4
21, Princes Pk	2446	8272	29.6	21, Princes Pk	7391	18671	39.6
22, Wavertree	7010	24472	28.6	22, Abercromby	2537	6513	39.0
23, W. Derby	7178	25712	27.9	23, Fazakerley	3066	7933	38.6
24, Vauxhall	683	2933	23.3	24, St. Peter's	997	2601	38.3
25, Anfield	5292	23298	22.7	25, Wavertree W	8197	22195	36.9
26, Warbreck	1827	8494	21.5	26, Childwall	1746	4992	35.0
27, Nethertield	3899	20385	19.1	27, Warbreck	4334	12691	34.2
28, Gt. George	322	1909	16.9	28, Fairfield	5899	17697	33.3
29, Sefton Pk. W	460	3404	13.5	29, Wavertree	7874	24420	32.2
30, Sandhills	353	3194	11.1	30, W. Derby	9893	31104	31.8
31, Abercromby	No Candidates		0	31, M. Woolton	879	2947	29.8
Aigburth	No Candidates		0	32, Vauxhall	1157	4477	25.8
Allerton	No Candidates		0	33, Sefton Pk. W	1474	5942	24.8
Castle St.	No Candidates		0	34, Allerton	1222	5266	23.2
Exchange	No Candidates		0	35, Anfield	5531	25177	22.0
Fairfield	No Candidates		0	36, Exchange	337	1956	17.2
Granby	No Candidates		0	37, L. Woolton	16	267	6.0
L. Woolton	No Candidates		0	38, Aigburth	No Candidates		0
Sefton Pk. E	No Candidates		0	Castle St.	No Candidates		0
				Sefton Pk. E	No Candidates		0
Total	158556	451836	35.1	Total	273087	621856	43.9

* "Total Votes" column includes all votes cast in contests where Labour stood candidates, but excludes contests where Labour did not stand.

(Continued Overleaf)

APPENDIX 3 (Continued)

Ward	1929-33			Ward	1934-38		
	Labour Votes	Total Votes	Labour %		Labour Votes	Total Votes	Labour %
1, Scotland N	13150	14761	89.1	1, Brunswick	No Opponents		100.0
2, Sandhills	9164	10544	86.9	2, Sandhills	No Opponents		100.0
3, Brunswick	13331	16419	81.2	3, Scotland S	6244	6544	95.4
4, St. Anne's	8087	10365	78.0	4, Scotland N	2870	3335	86.1
5, Scotland S	4914	7231	68.0	5, St. Anne's	2425	3075	78.9
6, Everton	17157	29300	58.6	6, Vauxhall	2944	3988	73.8
7, Croxteth	13803	24665	56.0	7, Everton	15020	21866	68.7
8, Gt. George	4527	8230	55.0	8, Croxteth	11561	18536	62.4
9, Garston	11470	21390	53.6	9, Gt. George	5940	9759	60.9
10, Low Hill	11312	21971	51.5	10, Garston	12410	23304	53.3
11, Vauxhall	3235	6689	48.4	11, Edge Hill	14897	28709	51.9
12, Edge Hill	12701	26691	47.6	12, Abercromby	10818	21345	50.7
13, Dingle	19701	42419	46.4	13, Granby	10508	21066	49.9
14, Old Swan	13545	31477	43.0	14, Dingle	20109	41088	48.9
15, Fazakerley	9029	21805	41.4	15, Low Hill	12901	26423	48.8
16, Breckfield	8857	21489	41.2	16, Kirkdale	18754	40281	46.6
17, Netherfield	13806	33836	40.8	17, St. Peter's	2245	5202	43.2
18, Wavertree W	8450	21252	39.8	18, Princes Pk	10127	24014	42.2
19, Kensington	9843	24811	39.7	19, Old Swan	15134	35963	42.1
20, Princes Pk	8519	21646	39.4	20, Fazakerley	10786	26182	41.2
21, Kirkdale	15680	39977	39.2	21, Netherfield	10993	29783	36.9
22, Walton	12375	32069	38.6	22, Wavertree W	7063	19157	36.9
23, Granby	4046	10621	38.1	23, Fairfield	7030	19288	36.4
24, W. Derby	6997	19016	36.8	24, Kensington	8314	23221	35.8
25, Abercromby	5853	16178	36.2	25, Breckfield	7382	21812	33.8
26, Wavertree	7396	22519	32.8	26, Walton	11553	35152	32.9
27, Fairfield	5187	16202	32.0	27, St. Domingo	7628	23413	32.6
28, Warbreck	5565	18612	29.9	28, Exchange	1042	3295	31.6
29, St. Peter's	1805	6225	29.0	29, W. Derby	9269	30128	30.8
30, Sefton Pk, E	967	3349	28.9	30, Anfield	2755	9178	30.02
31, Sefton Pk, W	830	2887	28.7	31, Wavertree	5341	18105	29.50
32, St. Domingo	7824	28180	27.8	32, Warbreck	6472	23124	28.0
33, Aigburth	1729	7021	24.6	33, Allerton	3091	12845	24.1
34, Anfield	2870	12177	23.6	34, Sefton Pk, W	2342	9808	23.9
35, Allerton	1343	5900	22.8	35, Sefton Pk, E	2402	10325	23.3
36, M. Woolton	1481	6952	21.3	36, M. Woolton	1416	6799	20.8
37, Exchange	924	4542	20.3	37, Childwall	1121	9013	12.4
38, Childwall	737	5507	13.4	38, L. Woolton	69	565	12.2
39, Castle St, L. Woolton	No Candidates No Candidates		0 0	39, Aigburth Castle St,	No Candidates No Candidates		0 0
Total	298216	674925	44.2	Total	280976	665691	42.2

APPENDIX 4 - ALDERMEN ELECTED IN LIVERPOOL, 1919-38

a) CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS 1919-38

APPROX. DATE	NEW ALDERMAN	YEAR OF ELECTION	OLD ALDERMAN	WARD
Nov.19	F.T.Richardson(Lab) W.A.Robinson(Lab)	1914 1911	? ?	Everton Fazakerley
20	J.H.Jones(L)	1903	W.Evans(L)	Exchange
Jul.20	J.G.Moyles(C)	1902	R.S.Porter(C)	Wavertree
Dec.20	C.H.Rutherford(C)	1910	W.Roberts(C)	Walton
Aug.21	J.G.Paris(C)	1904	J.W.Alsop(C)	Setton Pk.F
Nov.21	T.Burke(N) M.Muspratt(C)	1899 1908	G.J.Lynskey(N) Heald(C)	Vauxhall M.Woolton
Feb.22	R.C.Herman(C)	1906	S.Jude(C)	Wavertree W
May 22	J.Gordon(C)	1908	E.H.Cookson(C)	Dingle
Nov.22	R.L.Burns(C)	1920	F.J.Rawlinson(C)	O.Swan
Feb.23	J.Edwards(C)	1908	R.Dart(C)	Fairfield
Mar.23	T.Dowd(C)	1908	J.R.Grant(C)	Warbreck
Apr.24	H.E.Davies(C) J.R.Grant(C)	1911 1890	F.T.Richardson(Lab) L.S.Cohen(C)	Everton Kensington
Jul.24	J.Bolger(I.P.)	1908	W.H.Watts(L)	St.Anne's
Nov.24	H.M.Miller(C) H.A.Cole(C)	1912 1912	A.S.Mather(C) W.Boote(C)	Allerton Princes Pk
Jun.25	A.E.Jacob(C)	1920	J.H.Jones(L)	Exchange
Aug.25	J.Clancy(I.P)	1911(Sep)	J.G.Taggart(N)	Gt.George
25	H.R.Rathbone(L)	1900	E.J.Chevalier(C)	Aigburth
Nov.25	P.J.Kelly(Cath)	1914(Jul)	W.A.Robinson(Lab)	Fazakerley
Feb.26	J.C.Cross(C)	1914	A.Crosthwaite	Anfield
Mar.27	E.West(L)	1905	H.Banner(C)	Breckfield
Oct.27	L.Hogan(Lab) F.C.Wilson(C)	1921 1910	J.Lea(L) J.Utting(C)	St.Domingo Granby

APPROX. DATE	NEW ALDERMAN	YEAR OF ELECTION	OLD ALDERMAN	WARD
Nov.28	R.Rutherford	1926	H.E.Davies(C)	Everton
Nov.28	E.Haigh(C) H.E.Davies(C)	1913 1911	W.B.Forwood J.R.Grant(C)	St.Peter's Kensington
? .29	E.Thompson(C) J.Ashworth(C) H.L.Beckwith(C)	1919 1920 1920	A.Salvidge(C) J.Edwards(C) W.J.Burgess(C)	Abercromby Fairfield Garston
Sep.29	J.D.Flood(C)	1920	A.E.Jacob(C)	Exchange
Oct.29	W.W.Kelly(C)	1919	E.West(C)	Breckfield
Nov.29	C.Wilson(Lab) J.Sexton(Lab) W.A.Robinson(Lab) R.Rutherford(C)	1925 1905 1926 1926	J.W.Walker(C) F.C.Wilson(C) R.Rutherford(C) H.Wilson(C)	Edge Hill Granby Everton Low Hill
Dec.29	F.T.Richardson(Lab) H.Walker(Lab) T.W.Byrne(Lab) D.G.Logan(Lab)	1926 1919 1912(May) 1924(Jul)	A.S.Mather(C) R.C.Herman(C) Hutchinson(C) None	Childwall Wavertree W Kirkdale Croxteth
Apr.30	Miss.M.Fletcher(C)	1919	C.H.Rutherford(C)	Walton
Oct.30	M.Muspratt(C)	1908	H.R.Rathbone(L)	Aigburth
Oct.30	B.W.Eills(L)	1901	M.Muspratt(C)	M.Woolton
Jan.31	H.E.Rose(Lab)	1926	T.W.Byrne((Lab)	Kirkdale
Apr.31	F.C.Wilson(C)	1929	J.Cordon(C)	Dingle
May.31	H.J.Davis(C)	1929	J.G.Moyles(C)	Wavertree
Oct.31	T.White(C)	1919	R.Rutherford(C)	Low Hill
Jun.32	J.Belger(Centre)	1921	C.Wilson	Edge Hill
Jul.32	R.Rutherford(C)	1932	H.J.Davis	Wavertree
Nov.32	R.G.Sheldon(C)	1928(Dec)	J.D.Flood	Exchange
Feb.33	G.M.Platt(C)	1920(Jul)	J.Ashworth	Fairfield
May 34	A.E.Shennan(C)	1929(Dec)	W.W.Kelly(C)	Breckfield
Jun.34	Mrs.H.Muspratt(C)	1920	M.Muspratt(C)	Aigburth
Jul.34	W.Denton(L)	1924	J.L.Eills(L)	Scotland S

APPROX. DATE	NEW ALDERMAN	YEAR OF ELECTION	OLD ALDERMAN	WARD
Sep.34	W.B.Stoddart(L)	1921	R.Meade-King(L)	Sandhills
Feb.35	A.Gates(L)	1923(Jan)	W.Stoddart(L)	Sandhills
Mar.35	J.Bennett(C)	1932(Nov)	J.Clancy(Centre)	Gt.Geo.
Dec.35	H.D.Longbottom(P) T.H.Burton(C)	1930 1921	J.Bennett(C) H.Beckwith(C)	Gt.George Garston
Jun.36	C.S.Jones(L) A.R.Price(L)	1923(Mar) 1927	B.W.Eills(L) F.Smith(Ind)	M.Woolton Castle St
Jan.37	L.King(Lab)	1920	P.J.Kelly(Lab)	Fazakerley
Feb.37	M.C.Dixon(C)	1920	A.Shelmerdine(C)	Selton Pk.W
Oct.37	J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab)	1927	H.Walker(Lab)	Wavertree W
Dec.37	J.M.Griffith(C)	1921	M.H.Maxwell(C)	W.Derby
Mar.38	W.T.Roberts(C)	1921	T.White(C)	Low Hill
Jul.38	R.D.French(C) G.Y.Williamson(C)	1922 1922	E.Haigh(C) J.Bolger(Centre)	St.Peter's St.Anne's

b) ALDERMEN BY WARD, 1918-38

ABERCROMBY	A.T.Salvidge(C)	29 E.Thompson(C)	
AIGBURTH	E.J.Chevalier(C)	25 H.R.Rathbone(L)	30 M.Muspratt(C)
	34 Mrs.H.Muspratt(C)		
ALLERTON	A.S.Mather(C)	24 H.M.Miller(C)	
ANFIELD	A.Crosthwaite(C)	26 J.C.Cross(C)	
BRECKFIELD	H.Banner(C)	27 E.West(C)	29 W.W.Kelly(C)
	34 A.E.Shennan(C)		
BRUNSWICK	E.Russel-Taylor(C)		
CASTLE ST	F.Smith(Ind)	36 A.R.Price(L)	
CHILDWALL	20 A.S.Mather(C)	29 F.T.Richardson(Lab)	
CROXTETH	29 D.G.Logan(Lab)		
DINGLE	E.H.Cookson(C)	22 J.Gordon(C)	31 F.C.Wilson(C)
EDGE HILL	J.W.Walker(C)	29 C.Wilson(Lab)	32J.Belger (Centre)
EVERTON	F.T.Richardson(Lab)	24 H.E.Davies(C)	28 R.Rutherford(C)
	29 W.A.Robinson(Lab)		
EXCHANGE	W.Evans(L)	20 J.H.Jones(L)	25 A.E.Jacob(C)
	29 J.D.Flood(C)	32 R.G.Sheldon(C)	
FAIRFIELD	R.Dart(C)	23 J.Edwards(C)	29 J.Ashworth(C)
	33 G.M.Platt(C)		
FAZAKERLEY	W.A.Robinson(Lab)	25 P.J.Kelly(Lab)	37 L.King(Lab)
GARSTON	W.J.Burgess(C)	29 H.L.Beckwith(C)	35 T.H.Burton(C)
GRANBY	J.Utting(C)	27 F.C.Wilson(C)	29 J.Sexton(Lab)
GT.GEORGE	J.G.Taggart(N)	25 J.Clancy(I.P.)	35 J.Bennett(C)
	35 H.D.Longbottom(P)		
KENSINGTON	L.S.Cohen(C)	24 J.R.Grant(C)	28 H.E.Davies(C)
KIRKDALE	S.M.Hutchinson(C)	29 T.W.Byrne(Lab)	31 H.E.Rose(Lab)
L.WOOLTON	None		
LOW HILL	H.Wilson(C)	29 R.Rutherford(C)	31 T.White(C)
	38 W.T.Roberts(C)		
M.WOOLTON	Heald(C)	21 M.Muspratt(C)	30 B.W.Eills(L)
	36 C.S.Jones(L)		
NETHERFIELD	W.Muirhead(C)		
O.SWAN	F.J.Rawlinson(C)	22 R.L.Burns(L)	
PRINCES PK	W.Boote(C)	24 H.A.Cole(C)	
ST.ANNE'S	W.H.Watts(L)	24 J.Bolger(I.P.)	
	38 G.Y.Williamson(C)		
ST.DOMINGO	J.Lea(L)	27 L.Hogan(Lab)	
ST.PETER'S	W.B.Forwood(C)	28 E.Haigh(C)	38 R.D.French(C)
SANDHILLS	R.R.Meade-King(L)	34 W.Stoddart(L)	35 A.Gates(L)
SCOTLAND N	A.Harford(N)		
SCOTLAND S	J.L.Eills(L)	34 W.Denton(L)	
SEFTON PK.E	J.W.Alsop(C)	21 J.G.Paris(C)	
SEFTON PK.W	A.Shelmerdine(C)	37 M.C.Dixon(C)	
VAUXHALL	G.J.Lynskey(N)	21 T.Burke(N)	
WALTON	W.Roberts(C)	20 C.Rutherford(C)	30 M.Fletcher(C)
WARBRECK	J.R.Grant(C)	23 T.Dowd(C)	
WAVERTREE	R.S.Porter(C)	20 J.G.Moyles(C)	31 H.J.Davis(C)
	32 R.Rutherford(C)		
WAVERTREE W	S.Jude(C)	22 R.C.Herman(C)	29 H.Walker(Lab)
	37 J.W.T.Morrissey(Lab)		
W.DERBY	M.H.Maxwell(C)	37 J.M.Griffith(C)	

APPENDIX 5 - PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL ELECTORATES IN LIVERPOOL, 1919-38 (By constituency)¹

Year	Scotland/ Exchange			W.Toxteth			E.Toxteth		
	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)
1919	69126	51788	25.1	35739	27856	22.1	33381	26303	21.2
1920	68702	53041	22.8	36483	28907	20.8	33959	27054	20.3
1921	67014	53474	20.2	36512	29458	19.3	34228	27871	18.6
1922	69158	55239	20.1	36500	30028	17.7	33877	28080	17.1
1923	72598	57291	21.1	37462	31018	17.2	34466	28663	16.8
1924	74075	58795	20.6	38546	31989	17.0	35238	29511	16.3
1925	74958	59131	21.1	39028	32313	17.2	35781	29903	16.4
1926	75064	59266	21.0	38954	32477	16.6	35803	29862	16.6
1927	74641	58909	21.1	38561	32273	16.3	36385	30524	16.1
1928	72884	57732	20.8	37775	31625	16.3	36388	30608	15.9
1929	92306	64153	30.5	47608	35116	26.2	48812	32972	32.5
1930	90622	62356	31.2	46840	34431	26.5	49518	33279	32.8
1931	90613	62449	31.1	46766	34470	26.3	50357	33818	32.8
1932	89709	61754	31.2	46309	34266	26.0	50898	34105	33.0
1933	88402	61136	30.8	46057	34257	25.6	51503	34501	33.0
1934	86870	60039	30.9	45373	33770	25.6	52182	35034	32.9
1935	84456	58533	30.7	44634	33421	25.1	52543	35273	32.9
1936	81493	57150	29.9	43558	32910	24.4	52963	35690	32.6
1937	78250	55373	29.2	42559	32469	23.7	52556	35828	31.8
1938	74954	53615	28.5	41580	32044	22.9	52432	36063	31.2

Year	Edge Hill/ Fairfield			Everton			Kirkdale		
	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)
1919	62109	48134	22.5	27019	21162	21.7	31148	24027	22.9
1920	63139	49976	20.8	27420	22021	19.7	30989	24467	21.0
1921	64419	51845	19.5	27362	22383	18.2	30862	24794	19.7
1922	64572	52678	18.4	27423	22770	17.0	31312	25345	19.1
1923	65212	53767	17.6	28193	23641	16.1	31955	25973	18.7
1924	65684	54289	17.3	28725	24074	16.2	32262	26228	18.7
1925	67224	55278	17.8	29402	24521	16.6	33076	26870	18.8
1926	67663	55680	17.7	29532	24590	16.7	33139	27062	18.3
1927	67598	56094	17.0	28982	24237	16.4	32804	26781	18.4
1928	66495	55430	16.6	28093	23372	16.8	31919	26126	18.1
1929	85699	61086	28.7	35430	26169	26.1	40646	29012	28.6
1930	86228	61439	28.7	35082	25727	26.7	40825	28752	29.6
1931	87373	61997	29.0	34969	25591	26.8	40862	28751	29.6
1932	87533	62214	28.9	34815	25514	26.7	40892	28809	29.5
1933	87752	62427	28.9	34166	25138	26.4	40833	28818	29.4
1934	87974	62489	29.0	33192	24529	26.1	40068	28350	29.2
1935	88569	63376	28.4	32275	24132	25.2	39150	28169	28.0
1936	87793	62964	28.3	31383	23593	24.8	38189	27585	27.8
1937	85181	61418	27.9	29600	22690	23.3	36980	27096	26.7
1938	83629	60529	27.6	28454	21882	23.1	36321	26964	25.8

Year	Walton			W. Derby			Wavertree		
	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters	Diff. (%)
1919	29326	24104	17.8	32907	26351	19.9	31652	25595	19.1
1920	29629	24759	16.4	32989	27062	18.0	32475	26475	18.5
1921	29086	24918	14.3	34045	28152	17.3	32726	26913	17.8
1922	30478	25656	15.8	35330	29554	16.3	33558	27744	17.3
1923	30910	26143	15.4	37618	31994	15.0	34869	29025	16.8
1924	31482	26661	15.3	38579	33008	14.4	36936	31294	15.3
1925	32293	27358	15.3	39730	33771	15.0	38077	32495	14.7
1926	33088	28339	14.4	40230	34116	15.2	39167	33521	14.4
1927	35766	31150	12.9	41844	35595	14.9	40379	34782	13.9
1928	39131	34150	12.7	41791	35790	14.4	41795	36182	13.4
1929	51175	38007	25.7	54745	38964	28.8	53989	39729	26.4
1930	53170	38908	26.8	55192	39621	28.2	55622	40268	27.6
1931	54605	39637	27.4	55752	39736	28.7	57171	40987	28.3
1932	55238	39855	27.8	56367	39907	29.2	58341	42344	27.4
1933	55295	39718	28.2	56674	40103	29.2	59584	43022	27.8
1934	56164	40266	28.3	56892	39903	29.9	61053	44165	27.7
1935	57136	41285	27.7	58031	40802	29.7	62840	45577	27.5
1936	57404	41662	27.4	59457	41885	29.6	65375	47494	27.4
1937	57781	41930	27.4	59163	41914	29.2	67397	50224	25.5
1938	58807	42903	27.0	59061	41960	29.0	68803	51189	25.6

All Liverpool Divisions

Year	Parl. Voters	Mun. Voters ²	Diff. (%)
1919	352407	275320	21.9
1920	355755	283762	20.2
1921	357034	289817	18.8
1922	362208	297164	18.0
1923	373283	307514	17.6
1924	381527	315859	17.2
1925	389569	321660	17.4
1926	392640	324913	17.2
1927	396960	330345	16.8
1928	396271	331015	16.5
1929	510410	365208	28.4
1930	513099	364781	28.9
1931	518468	367436	29.1
1932	520102	368768	29.1
1933	520316	369320	29.0
1934	519718	368545	29.1
1935	519634	370568	28.7
1936	517695	370933	28.3
1937	509466	368942	27.6
1938	504041	366980	27.2

Notes: 1. Where wards were divided between divisions, the totals for the combined divisions have had to be compared. This applies to the Scotland and Exchange Divisions, which shared Vauxhall ward, and the Edge Hill and Fairfield Divisions, which shared Kensington ward.

2. From 1928, the municipal electorate of Croxleth ward has not been included, as it was not incorporated into any of the Liverpool Parliamentary Divisions. The total for municipal voters here, then, is not the same as the full municipal electorate.

APPENDIX 6 - ESTIMATES OF POPULATION AGED 21 OR OVER IN LIVERPOOL
WARDS, 1931

To calculate these estimates, it has been necessary to combine the figures provided in the 1931 Census for:

- i) the total population for each ward;
- ii) the number of private families in each ward;
- iii) the total population in private families in each ward;
- and iv) the total population aged 21 or over for the whole County Borough of Liverpool (which were not broken down by ward).

These figures were combined in the following way:

- A) The total population in private families in each ward was divided by the total number of private families in each ward, to obtain an average family size in each ward. These figures varied between a maximum of 4.62 per family in Croxteth ward, and a minimum of 3.45 per family in Childwall ward.
- B) The total population in private families for the whole County Borough was divided by the total number of private families in the whole Borough, to obtain an average family size for the Borough as a whole. This figure was 4.06 per family.
- C) The degree to which average family size in each ward diverged from the average for the Borough as a whole was then calculated as a percentage, either negative or positive. As an example, Croxteth ward was .56 over the average of 4.06, which in percentage terms is 13.68% above average. Conversely, Childwall was .61 below the average, which in percentage terms is 15.02% below average.
- D) The proportion of the population aged 21 or over for the Borough as a whole was then calculated. There were 517,645 people aged 21 or over out of a total of 855,688, which gives a figure of 60.49% aged 21 or over for the Borough as a whole.
- E) For each ward, therefore, 60.49% of the total population is then calculated, but this figure is then either reduced or increased in inverse proportion to the degree to which they diverged from the average family size, as calculated in C) above. This is on the assumption that the larger the average family size in a ward, the more members of each family were likely to be under 21. This assumption cannot be guaranteed to be absolutely accurate, as the proportion of children over 21 still living in the family cannot be calculated, and may have varied between wards. However, *most* children still living in the home were *probably* below 21, and therefore these estimates are probably not too far away from the real figures for each ward.

As an example, Croxteth ward had a total population of 25,024. 60.49% of this total gives a figure of 15,137, but as Croxteth was 13.68% *above* average for family size, this figure must be

reduced by 13.68%, giving a final aggregate of 13,066. Conversely, Childwall's population of 5,986 reduced by 60.49% is 3,621, but as its family size was 15.10% *below* average, this total has to be *increased* by 15.01%, giving a final aggregate of 4,165. [N.B. There may be slight discrepancies between these final figures and those quoted in Table 4.4, as figures have been rounded here to two decimal points, whereas the full table was constructed by computer with much greater precision]

The full list of these estimated figures of population aged 21 or over is given in Table 4.4 on page 121.

APPENDIX 7PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS IN LIVERPOOL BY DIVISION, 1918-39

The results of by-elections are printed in italics.

The abbreviations of party names are the same as those used in Appendix 1, with the exception of the following:

Ind.Irish = Independent Irish

Nat.C = National Conservative

Nat.Lab. = National Labour

NFDSS = National Federation of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors

N.B. Of the Liverpool municipal wards, all were part of Liverpool Divisions, with the exception of:

Croxteth ward [from formation in 1928], in the Ormskirk Division;

The Speke part [from formation in 1932] of Garston ward, in Widnes Division.

EAST TOXTETH (1)

(Comprised of wards: Aigburth, Granby, Sefton Park E, Sefton Park W)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	J.S.Rankin(C)	N.C.	-	33067	-
1922 (Nov)	J.S.Rankin(C) Miss.E.Rathbone(Ind)	15149 9984	60% 40%	33877	74%
1923 (Dec)	J.S.Rankin(C)	N.C.	-	34466	-
1924 (Oct)	A.E.Jacob(C) C.Burden(Lab) F.C.Bowring(L)	16139 6620 4163	60% 25% 15%	35238	76%
1929 (May)	H.L.Mond(C) J.J.Cleary(Lab) A.O.Roberts(L)	17678 9904 9287	48% 27% 25%	48812	76%
1931 (Feb)	P.G.T.Buchan Hepburn(C) C.Burden(Lab)	17040 5550	75% 25%	49518	46%
1931 (Oct)	P.G.T.Buchan Hepburn(C) A.S.Doran(Nat.L.)	28817 9093	76% 24%	50357	74%
1935 (Nov)	P.G.T.Buchan Hepburn(C) A.D.Dennis(L)	20638 13622	60% 40%	52543	65%

EDGE HILL(2)

(Wards: Edge Hill, Kensington [part], Low Hill)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	W.W.Rutherford(C) P.J.Tevenan(Lab)	9832 5587	64% 36%	30558	50%
1922 (Nov)	W.W.Rutherford(C) J.H.Hayes(Lab)	14186 9520	60% 40%	33634	70%
1923 (Mar)	J.H.Hayes(Lab) J.W.Hills(C)	10300 9250	53% 47%	33634	58%
1923 (Dec)	J.H.Hayes(Lab) O.Stanley(C)	13538 10249	57% 43%	34021	70%
1924 (Oct)	J.H.Hayes(Lab) D.C.Williams(C)	14168 12587	53% 47%	34254	78%
1929 (May)	J.H.Hayes(Lab) H.Rutherford(C) A.D.Dennis(L)	17650 11622 2581	55% 36% 8%	42516	75%
1931 (Oct)	H.Rutherford(C) J.H.Hayes(Lab)	19901 11772	63% 37%	42394	75%
1935 (Nov)	A.Critchley(C) J.H.Hayes(Lab)	13882 13581	51% 49%	40328	68%

EVERTON (3)

(Wards: Everton, Netherfield)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	J.S.Harmood-Banner(C) A.W.Brooksbank(NFDSS)	6370 5799	52% 48%	25606	48%
1922 (Nov)	J.S.Harmood-Banner(C) J.Toole(Lab)	11667 7600	61% 39%	27423	70%
1923 (Dec)	J.S.Harmood-Banner(C) H.Walker(Lab)	9183 7693	54% 46%	28193	60%
1924 (Oct)	H.C.Woodcock(C) H.Walker(Lab)	10705 10075	52% 48%	28725	72%
1929 (May)	D.H.Caine(Lab) Miss.M.Beavan(C)	14234 12667	53% 47%	35430	76%
1931 (Oct)	F.Hornby(C) S.L.Treleavan(Lab) D.H.Caine(Nat.Lab)	12186 7786 4950	49% 31% 20%	34969	71%
1935 (Nov)	B.V.Kirby(Lab) R.Etherton(C)	10962 10785	50% 50%	32275	67%

EXCHANGE (4)

(Wards: Abercromby, Castle St., Exchange, Gt.George, St.Anne's,
St.Peter's, Vauxhall [part])

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	L.F.Scott(C) A.Harford(N)	10286 8225	56% 44%	35614	52%
1922 (Nov)	L.F.Scott(C) J.Devlin(N)	15650 12614	55% 45%	37797	75%
1923 (Dec)	L.F.Scott(C) W.Grogan(Ind.Irish)	10551 10322	51% 49%	40221	52%
1924 (Oct)	L.F.Scott(C)	N.C.	-	41178	-
1929 (May)	J.P.Reynolds(C) W.A.Robinson(Lab)	17169 16970	50% 50%	51820	66%
1931 (Oct)	J.P.Reynolds(C) T.McLean(Lab)	24038 10894	69% 31%	50638	69%
1933 (Jan)	J.J.Shute(C) S.S.Silverman(Lab)	15198 12412	55% 45%	50060	55%
1935 (Nov)	J.J.Shute(C) S.Mahon(Lab)	17439 13027	57% 43%	46404	66%

FAIRFIELD (5)

(Wards: Fairfield, Kensington [part], Old Swan)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	J.B.Brunel Cohen(C) F.L.Joseph(L) G.Porter(Lab)	7698 4188 3337	51% 28% 21%	27727	55%
1922 (Nov)	J.B.Brunel Cohen(C) G.Porter(Lab)	14316 5478	72% 28%	30938	64%
1923 (Dec)	J.B.Brunel Cohen(C)	N.C.	-	31191	-
1924 (Oct)	J.B.Brunel Cohen(C) Mrs. M.E.Mercer(Lab)	14277 8412	63% 37%	31430	72%
1929 (May)	J.B.Brunel Cohen(C) J.H.Sutcliffe(Lab)	16436 14614	53% 47%	43183	72%
1931 (Oct)	C.E.R.Brocklebank A.Dodd(Lab)	24639 7960	76% 24%	44979	72%
1935 (Nov)	C.E.R.Brocklebank(C) A.S.Moody(Lab)	18596 11155	63% 37%	48241	62%

KIRKDALE (6)

(Wards: Kirkdale, St.Domingo)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	J.De F.Pennefather(C) S.Mason(Lab)	10380 5012	67% 33%	30760	50%
1922 (Nov)	J.De F.Pennefather(C)	N.C.	-	31312	-
1923 (Dec)	J.De F.Pennefather(C)	N.C.	-	31955	-
1924 (Oct)	J.De F.Pennefather(C) E.Sandham(Lab)	14392 9369	61% 39%	32262	74%
1929 (May)	E.Sandham(Lab) R.Rankin(C)	15222 14429	51% 49%	40646	73%
1931 (Oct)	R.Rankin(C) E.Sandham(Lab) H.D.Longbottom(P)	14303 9531 7834	45% 30% 25%	40862	77%
1935 (Nov)	R.Rankin(C) J.Hamilton(Lab) H.D.Longbottom(P)	10540 9984 6677	39% 37% 24%	39150	69%

SCOTLAND (7)

(Wards: Sandhills, Scotland N., Scotland S., Vauxhall [part])

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	T.P.O'Connor(N)	N.C.	-	33098	-
1922 (Nov)	T.P.O'Connor(N)	N.C.	-	31361	-
1923 (Dec)	T.P.O'Connor(N)	N.C.	-	32377	-
1924 (Oct)	T.P.O'Connor(N)	N.C.	-	32897	-
1929 (May)	T.P.O'Connor(N)	N.C.	-	40486	-
1929 (Dec)	D.G.Logan(Lab)	N.C.	-	40486	-
1931 (Oct)	D.G.Logan(Lab)	15521	57%	39975	69%
	E.Errington(C)	10280	37%		
	L.J.McGree(Comm.)	1544	6%		
	F.Abraham(Ind)	99	-		
1935 (Nov)	D.G.Logan(Lab)	16036	66%	38052	64%
	L.H.Wright(C)	8372	34%		

WALTON (8)

(Wards: Fazakerley, Walton, Warbreck)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	H.W.S.Chilcott(C) R.Dixon Smith(Lab)	11457 4580	71% 29%	28916	55%
1922 (Nov)	H.W.S.Chilcott(C)	N.C.	-	30478	-
1923 (Dec)	H.W.S.Chilcott(C)	N.C.	-	30910	-
1924 (Oct)	H.W.S.Chilcott(C) T.Gillinder(Lab) S.Skelton(L)	13387 8924 1910	55% 37% 8%	31482	77%
1929 (May)	R.Purbrick(C) F.A.P.Rowe(Lab) G.H.Jones(L)	16623 16395 5857	43% 42% 15%	51175	76%
1931 (Oct)	R.Purbrick(C) F.A.P.Rowe(Lab)	31135 11183	74% 26%	54605	77%
1935 (Nov)	R.Purbrick(C) F.L.McGhee(Lab)	22623 14079	62% 38%	57136	64%

WAVERTREE (9)

(Wards: Allerton, Childwall, Garston [excluding Speke part which was in Widnes Division], Little Woolton, Much Woolton, Wavertree, Wavertree W.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	D.N.Raw(C) C.Wilson(Lab) A.Booth(L)	11326 5103 2484	60% 27% 13%	31287	60%
1922 (Nov)	H.Smith(C) Rev.J.Vint-Laughland(Lab)	14372 8941	62% 38%	33558	69%
1923 (Dec)	H.R.Rathbone(L) H.Smith(C) Rev.J.Vint-Laughland(Lab)	9349 8700 7025	37% 35% 28%	34869	72%
1924 (Oct)	J.A.Tinne(C) W.A.Robinson(Lab) H.R.Rathbone(L)	14063 10383 5206	47% 35% 18%	36936	80%
1929 (May)	J.A.Tinne(C) S.T.Treleavan(Lab) H.R.Rathbone(L)	16880 13585 11723	40% 32% 28%	53989	78%
1931 (Jun)	A.R.Nall-Cain(C) S.T.Treleavan(Lab)	18687 10042	65% 35%	57171	50%
1931 (Oct)	A.R.Nall-Cain(C) C.G.Clark(Lab)	33476 9503	78% 22%	57171	75%
1935 (Feb)	J.J.Cleary(Lab) J.Platt(Nat.C) R.Churchill(Ind.C) W.A.Morris(L)	15611 13771 10575 4208	35% 31% 24% 10%	61053	72%
1935 (Nov)	P.S.Shaw(C) J.J.Cleary(Lab)	26915 19068	59% 41%	62840	73%

WEST DERBY (10)

(Wards: Anfield, Breckfield, West Derby)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	F.E.Smith(C) G.Nelson(Lab)	11622 5618	67% 33%	31310	55%
1919 (Feb)	R.Hall(C) G.Nelson(Lab)	6062 4670	56% 44%	31310	34%
1922 (Nov)	R.Hall(C) D.R.Williams(Lab)	16179 6785	70% 30%	35330	65%
1923 (Dec)	C.S.Jones(L) R.Hall(C)	12942 10952	54% 46%	37618	64%
1924 (Oct)	J.S.Allen(C) T.G.Adams(Lab) C.S.Jones(L)	15667 8807 5321	53% 30% 18%	38579	77%
1929 (May)	J.S.Allen(C) W.H.Moore(Lab) A.P.Jones(L)	16794 14124 8368	43% 36% 21%	54745	72%
1931 (Oct)	J.S.Allen(C) J.J.Cleary(Lab)	32202 9077	78% 22%	55762	74%
1935 (Jul)	D.P.Maxwell-Fyfe(C)	N.C.	-	58031	-
1935 (Nov)	D.P.Maxwell-Fyfe(C) J.Haworth(Lab) D.K.Mitchell(L)	21196 10218 4911	58% 28% 14%	58031	63%

WEST TOXTETH (11)

(Wards: Brunswick, Dingle, Prince's Park)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>VOTERS</u>	<u>TURNOUT</u>
1918 (Dec)	R.P.Houston(C) W.A.Robinson(Lab)	13083 6850	66% 34%	35806	56%
1922 (Nov)	R.P.Houston(C) J.Gibbins(Lab)	15030 10209	60% 40%	36500	69%
1923 (Dec)	R.P.Houston(C) J.Gibbins(Lab)	12457 12318	50% 50%	37462	66%
1924 (May)	J.Gibbins(Lab) T.White(C)	15505 13034	54% 46%	37462	76%
1924 (Oct)	J.Gibbins(Lab) T.White(C)	15542 15163	51% 49%	38546	80%
1929 (May)	J.Gibbins(Lab) G.Watson(C)	19988 16309	55% 45%	47608	76%
1931 (Oct)	C.T.Wilson(C) J.Gibbins(Lab)	20613 14978	58% 42%	46766	76%
1935 (Jul)	J.Gibbins(Lab) J.W.J.Cremlyn(C)	14908 9565	61% 39%	44634	52%
1935 (Nov)	J.Gibbins(Lab) R.Churchill(C)	18543 16539	53% 47%	44634	79%

APPENDIX 8 - PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL ELECTION RESULTS COMPARED

These tables show the votes cast in general elections for parliamentary divisions, compared with the votes cast in the nearest municipal elections for the combined wards that made up those divisions. In many cases this direct comparison was not possible, for two main reasons.

First, some divisions did not correspond exactly with ward boundaries. Edge Hill and Fairfield divisions cut through the middle of Kensington ward, and Scotland and Exchange divisions cut through Vauxhall ward. These four divisions have been excluded throughout, therefore. After 1932, the new Speke portion of Garston ward lay within the Widnes division, and so the Wavertree division is automatically excluded for the 1935 general election.

Second, where wards and/or divisions were uncontested, direct comparison could also not be made.

Most of the general elections between the wars coincided fairly closely with the November municipal elections, and therefore the choice of years to compare with was fairly obvious. The only exceptions were:

a) The December 1918 general election, which was held immediately after the end of the war and before municipal elections could be organised for that year. The first post-war municipal elections did not take place until November 1919, and it is with these that the comparison has to be made.

b) The May 1929 general election, which fell almost equi-distant between the 1928 and 1929 municipal elections. Both the general election and local elections of 1929 were the first to be fought with the new franchise including women voters between the ages of 21 and 30. It would not be appropriate therefore to make the comparison with the smaller electorate which pertained in the 1928 elections, and the November 1929 local elections are the ones compared.

The abbreviations for party names are as those used in Appendices 2 and 6.

1918 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(Dec. 1918)

KIRKDALE

Con. 10380 (67%)
Lab. 5012 (33%)

Voters 30760
Turn-out 50%

WALTON

Con. 11457 (71%)
Lab. 4580 (29%)

Voters 28916
Turn-out 55%

WEST DERBY

Con. 11622 (67%)
Lab. 5618 (33%)

Voters 31310
Turn-out 55%

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov. 1919)

KIRKDALE & ST. DOMINGO

Con. 4962 (50%)
Lab. 4644 (47%)
L 340 (3%)¹

Voters 24027
Turn-out 41%

FAZAKERLEY, WALTON & WARBRECK

Con. 6466 (58%)
Lab. 4822 (42%)

Voters 24104
Turn-out 47%

ANFIELD, BRECKFIELD & W. DERBY

Con. 4443 (38%)
Lab. 5131 (44%)
L. 1030 (9%)²
Ind. 959 (8%)³

Voters 26351
Turnout 44%

Notes:

1. Liberal candidate in Kirkdale ward only.
2. Liberal candidate in Anfield ward only.
3. Independent candidate in West Derby ward only.

1922 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(Nov.1922)

EVERTON

Con.	11667	(61%)
Lab.	7600	(39%)

Voters 27423
Turn-out 70%

WEST DERBY

Con.	16179	(70%)
Lab.	6785	(30%)

Voters 35330
Turn-out 65%

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov.1922)

EVERTON & NETHERFIELD

Con.	5761	(40%) ¹
Lab.	5983	(41%)
N	81	(-) ²
Ind.	11	(-) ²
Pat.Lab.	2654	(18%) ³

Voters 22770
Turn-out 64%

ANFIELD, BRECKFIELD & W.DERBY

Con.	10146	(63%)
Lab.	4224	(26%)
L.	1510	(9%) ⁴
N.	198	(1%) ⁵

Voters 29554
Turn-out 54%

Notes:

1. Independent Conservative candidate in Netherfield ward, unopposed by official Conservative, and standing again as official candidate six months later in by-election, counted as a Conservative.
2. Independent candidate in Everton ward only.
3. Patriotic Labour candidate in Netherfield ward only.
4. Liberal candidate in Anfield ward only.
5. Nationalist candidates in Breckfield and West Derby wards only.

1923 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(Dec.1923)

EVERTON

Con. 9183 (54%)
 Lab. 7673 (46%)

Voters 28193
 Turn-out 60%

WEST TOXTETH

Con. 12457 (50%)
 Lab. 12318 (50%)

Voters 37462
 Turn-out 66%

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov.1923)

EVERTON & NETHERFIELD

Con. 5842 (64%)
 Lab. 2060 (22%)
 Pat.P. 1155 (13%)¹
 Unemp. 115 (1%)²

Voters 23641
 Turn-out 39%

BRUNSWICK, DINGLE & PRINCES PK.³

Con. 7489 (48%)
 Lab. 4764 (30%)
 I.P. 3433 (22%)⁴
 Unemp. 56 (-)⁵

Voters 31018
 Turn-out 51%

Notes:

1. Patriotic Protestant candidate in Netherfield ward only.
2. Unemployed candidate in Everton ward only.
3. Princes Park ward was uncontested in the 1923 municipal elections, but was contested in a by-election later in the same month, and the figures for the by-election are used here.
4. Irish Party candidate in Brunswick ward only.
5. Unemployed candidate in Dingle ward only.

1924 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(Oct.1924)

EVERTON

Con. 10705 (52%)
 Lab. 10075 (48%)

Voters 28725
 Turn-out 73%

KIRKDALE

Con. 14392 (61%)
 Lab. 9369 (39%)

Voters 32262
 Turn-out 74%

WEST DERBY

Con. 15667 (53%)
 Lab. 8807 (30%)
 L 5321 (18%)

Voters 38579
 Turn-out 77%

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov.1924)

EVERTON & NETHERFIELD

Con. 7601 (41%)
 Lab. 5407 (58%)
 Ind. 51 (-)¹

Voters 24074
 Turn-out 54%

KIRKDALE & ST.DOMINGO

Con. 4794 (43%)²
 Lab. 3925 (35%)
 P 2542 (23%)³

Voters 26238
 Turn-out 43%

ANFIELD, BRECKFIELD & WEST DERBY

Con. 9347 (58%)
 Lab. 3607 (23%)
 L 3075 (19%)⁴

Voters 33008
 Turn-out 49%

Notes:

1. Independent candidate in Everton ward only.
2. No Conservative candidate in St.Domingo ward.
3. Protestant candidate in St. Domingo ward only.
4. Liberal candidates in Anfield and West Derby wards only.

1929 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(May 1929)

EVERTON
 Con. 12667 (47%)
 Lab. 14234 (53%)
 Voters 35430
 Turn-out 76%

KIRKDALE
 Con. 14429 (49%)
 Lab. 15222 (51%)
 Voters 40646
 Turn-out 73%

WALTON
 Con. 16623 (43%)
 Lab. 16395 (42%)
 L. 5857 (15%)
 Voters 51175
 Turn-out 76%

HAVERTREE
 Con. 16880 (40%)
 Lab. 13585 (32%)
 L. 11723 (28%)
 Voters 53989
 Turn-out 78%

EAST DERBY
 Con. 16794 (43%)
 Lab. 14124 (36%)
 L. 8368 (21%)
 Voters 54745
 Turn-out 72%

ST TOXTETH
 Con. 16309 (45%)
 Lab. 19988 (55%)
 Voters 47608
 Turn-out 76%

Notes:

Liberal candidate in Warbreck ward only.
 No election held in L.Woolton ward (electorate 444) in 1929.
 Liberal candidates in Allerton, Childwall and M.Woolton wards only.
 Liberal candidate in Anfield ward only.
 Independent candidate in Brunswick ward only.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov.1929)

EVERTON & NETHERFIELD
 Con. 4989 (42%)
 Lab. 6986 (58%)
 Voters 26169
 Turn-out 46%

KIRKDALE & ST.DOMINGO
 Con. 6796 (51%)
 Lab. 6572 (49%)
 Voters 29012
 Turn-out 46%

FAZAKERLEY, WALTON & WARBRECK
 Con. 7860 (49%)
 Lab. 7837 (49%)
 L. 454 (3%)¹
 Voters 36007
 Turn-out 45%

ALLERTON, CHILDWALL, GARSTON,
 L.& M. WOOLTON, W'TREE, W'TREE W.²
 Con. 10390 (52%)
 Lab. 8564 (43%)³
 L. 860 (4%)³
 Voters 39229
 Turn-out 51%

ANFIELD, BRECKFIELD & W.DERBY
 Con. 7346 (46%)
 Lab. 6522 (41%)⁴
 L. 2231 (14%)⁴
 Voters 38964
 Turn-out 41%

BRUNSWICK, DINGLE & PRINCES PK.
 Con. 7065 (41%)
 Lab. 9921 (58%)⁵
 Ind. 145 (1%)⁵
 Voters 35296
 Turn-out 49%

1931 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(Oct. 1931)

EVERTON
 Con. 12186 (49%)
 Lab. 7786 (31%)
 Ind. Lab. 4950 (20%)
 Voters 34969
 Turn-out 71%

KIRKDALE
 Con. 14303 (45%)
 Lab. 9531 (30%)
 P. 7834 (25%)
 Voters 40862
 Turn-out 77%

WALTON
 Con. 31135 (74%)
 Lab. 11183 (26%)
 Voters 54605
 Turn-out 77%

EAST TOXTETH
 Con. 20613 (58%)
 Lab. 14978 (42%)
 Voters 46766
 Turn-out 76%

Notes:

Protestant candidate in Dingle ward only.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov. 1931)

EVERTON & NETHERFIELD
 Con. 6760 (54%)
 Lab. 5719 (46%)

Voters 25591
 Turn-out 49%

KIRKDALE & ST. DOMINGO
 Con. 6093 (42%)
 Lab. 4197 (29%)
 P. 4065 (28%)
 Voters 28751
 Turn-out 50%

FAZAKERLEY, WALTON & WARBRECK
 Con. 13159 (75%)
 Lab. 4364 (25%)
 Voters 39637
 Turn-out 44%

BRUNSWICK, DINGLE & PRINCES PARK
 Con. 8420 (48%)
 Lab. 7662 (44%)
 P. 1501 (9%)¹
 Voters 34470
 Turn-out 51%

1935 GENERAL ELECTIONPARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
(Nov.1935)

EVERTON

Con. 10785 (50%)
 Lab. 10962 (50%)

Voters 32275
 Turn-out 67%

KIRKDALE

Con. 10540 (39%)
 Lab. 9984 (37%)
 P. 6677 (24%)

Voters 39150
 Turn-out 69%

WALTON

Con. 22623 (62%)
 Lab. 14079 (38%)

Voters 57136
 Turn-out 64%

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(Nov.1935)

EVERTON & NETHERFIELD

Con. 4823 (43%)
 Lab. 6441 (57%)
 Ind.P. 68 (1%)¹

Voters 24132
 Turn-out 47%

KIRKDALE & ST.DOMINGO

Con. 3494 (28%)
 Lab. 6283 (51%)
 P. 2506 (20%)²

Voters 28169
 Turn-out 44%

FAZAKERLEY, WALTON & WARBRECK

Con. 9882 (59%)
 Lab. 6608 (39%)
 Ind. 264 (2%)³

Voters 41015
 Turn-out 41%

Notes:

1. Independent Protestant candidate in Netherfield ward only.
2. Protestant candidate in St.Domingo ward only.
3. Independent candidate in Warbreck ward only.

APPENDIX 9 - DELEGATES TO LIVERPOOL TRADES COUNCIL, 1905

UNION	NO. OF DELEGATES	WARDS WHERE DELEGATES LIVED
Blind Basket & Brush Mkrs.	1	Edge Hill
Bootmakers	1	St. Anne's
Bookbinders	1	(Birkenhead)
Brassfounders	3	Everton, St. Anne's, Prince's Park
Bricklayers(2)	3	Wavertree W, Prince's Park, (Bootle)
Brushmakers	1	Everton
Cabinet Makers	1	Abercromby
Carpenters(2)	17	Wav'tree W(2), Kensington(5), Dingle(2), Everton, Edge Hill, Low Hill, Old Swan, Netherfield, (Bootle 3)
Carvers	1	St. Anne's
Clothiers Op'tives	1	Low Hill
Coach Makers	3	Everton, Edge Hill, Wavertree W.
Coppersmiths	1	Kirkdale
Engineers	8	Breckfield, Sandhills, Prince's Park, Granby, St. Anne's, (Bootle 3)
Enginemen & Cranemen	4	Dingle, Kirkdale, St. Domingo, Prince's Park
Farriers	1	Kensington
Furniture Trades	1	Kensington
Gasfitters	1	Dingle
Glassworkers	1	Abercromby
Hammermen	2	Dingle, Abercromby
Iron&Steel Dressers	1	Netherfield
Life Ass. Agents	1	Gt. George
Litho Artists	1	(Birkenhead)
Litho Printers	2	Low Hill, Kensington
Loco Eng'rs&Firemen	2	Kirkdale, Dingle
Machine Wkrs	1	Granby
Mill Sawyers	1	Everton
Musicians	1	Kensington
Masons	3	Low Hill, Everton, Kensington
NAUL	7	Brunswick, Anfield(2), Sandhills, Garston, Kirkdale, Granby
Organ Builders	1	Kensington
Packing Case Mkrs	1	Low Hill
Painters(3)	9	Fairfield(2), Dingle, Old Swan, Garston, St. Domingo, Kensington, Edge Hill, Low Hill
Plasterers	1	Edge Hill
French Polishers	1	Netherfield
Postmen	4	Kensington, Low Hill, Sefton Pk.E, Everton
Printers Cutters	1	Everton
Railway Servants	4	Dingle, Garston, Old Swan, Kirkdale
Saddlers	1	Breckfield
Sailors & Firemen	1	Sandhills
Scient. Inst. Mkrs	1	Netherfield
Shipwrights	3	Kirkdale, W'tree W., Abercromby
Slaters	1	Low Hill

UNION	NO. OF DELEGATES	WARDS WHERE DELEGATES LIVED
Stereotypers	1	St.Domingo
Tailors	2	Fairfield, (Wallasey)
Typo.Printers	1	Everton
Upholsterers	2	Breckfield, Edge Hill
Whitesmiths	1	Breckfield
Wartermen & Porters	3	(Ellesmere Pt., Chester, Birkenhead)

TOTAL NO. OF UNIONS AFFILIATED : 52

TOTAL NO. OF DELEGATES : 111

Summary of Occupational Groups Represented

Building Trades	35 (31.5%)
Furnishing Trades	5 (4.5%)
Railwaymen	6 (5.4%)
Engineering & Metal Trades	24 (21.6%)
Workshop Trades	10 (9.0%)
Printing Trades	7 (6.3%)
Clothing Trades	4 (3.6%)
Retail & Services	1 (0.9%)
Transport & Associated	4 (3.6%)
White Collar & Supervisory	5 (4.5%)
Miscellaneous	10 (9.0%)
Total	111

APPENDIX 10TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS TO THE THE LIVERPOOL TRADES COUNCIL AND
LABOUR PARTY, YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1925

<u>UNION</u>	<u>NO.s</u>	<u>UNION</u>	<u>NO.s</u>
Altogether Builders	360	Street Masons	80
Amal. Marine Wkrs	300	Tailors & G Wkrs	140
Bakers & Confectioners	200	Theatrical Employees	50
Boilermakers	674	Tobacco Wkrs	60
Boot & Shoe Ops.	50	T&GWU	4200
Brushmakers	22	Typographical Soc.	1360
Clerks	240	Upholsterers	200
Coopers	500	Vehicle Builders	400
Dressmakers	200	Woodcutting Mach.s	620
Electricians	400	Woodworkers	1422
Electro & Stereotypers	80		
Engineers	537	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>27422</u>
Engine & Firemen	525		
Farriers	200		
Foundry Wkrs	170		
NATSOPA	200		
NUG&MW	1270		
Heating & Dom. Engs.	400		
I&S Metal dressers	180		
League of Blind	320		
Life Ass. Agents	105		
Litho Artists	60		
Litho printers	326		
Loco Engs.- Edge Hill	280		
Musical Instrument Mkrs.	40		
Musicians Union	500		
NAFTA	845		
NUDAW	2750		
Painters	654		
Plasterers	400		
Plumbers	300		
Police & Prison Officers	40		
Postal Wkrs	1000		
P.O. Engineers	200		
Printing & Paper Wkrs.	900		
Railwaymen	2648		
Railway Clerks	1224		
Sailors & Firemen	540		
Shop Assistants	375		
Saddlers & Leather Wkrs	35		
Sheet Metal Workers	440		

SOURCE : LTC&LP, *Minutes*, Financial Accounts for Six Months Ending
Sep.30th, 1924; Mar.31st, 1925.

APPENDIX 11 - ELECTIONS TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF LIVERPOOL TRADES COUNCIL & LABOUR PARTY

a) 1921-30

	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
R.Armitage(L.of Blind)	TU		TU		TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
Mrs.M.Bamber(NUDAW)						TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
W.H.Barton				S	S	S	S			
B.G.Bennett(Plasterers)										TU
Mrs.A.Billinge(Dressmkrs)	TU	TU								
J.Bond(P.O.Wkrs)			TU							
H.Booth	D									
J.H.Borlase(NSFU)	TU									
J.Braddock(Fairfield)									D	D
A.Broom(NAFTA)				TU						
E.Campbell(Scot.)		D	D							
T.Cann(Shop Assts.)		TU								
W.Carlisle(RCA)							TU			
G.Chadwick(ETU)					TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
Mrs.Churchill(Upholst'rs)		TU								
J.J.Cleary(W.Derby/ILP)							D	O		
H.A.Cooke(Teachers)						O				
A.C.Crosby(Actors)				TU						
W.J.Daniel(M.E.A)		TU	TU							
A.Davison(Walton)		D	V	P	P	D				
A.Demain(Tox/Coopers)			D	D				TU		
P.Duffy(RCA)										TU
R.Edwards(ILP)							O		O	O
Mrs.A.Elliott(W'tree)				D	D	D	D	D	D	D
J.G.Elliott(RCA)									TU	
Dr.A.Fitch(Exch.)						D				
F.Fitzpatrick(RCA)	T	T								
A.Griffin(E.Hill)			D	D	D					
J.Hamilton(AUBTW)								T	T	T
A.Hargreaves(W.Derby)								D	D	D
L.Hogan(NUDAW)	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	V	P	P	P	
J.W.Horan(AEU)							TU	TU	TU	TU
D.Hornby(NUR)							TU	TU	TU	TU
C.Hoyle(A.E.U)						TU				
J.G.Houston(NUG&MW)						TU				
B.V.Kirby(NUC)		TU	TU	TU	TU	P	V	V	V	P
V.Lloyd(Wood Mach'sts)	TU	TU	TU							
D.G.Logan(Scot)					D		D			
Mrs.S.McArd(K'Dale)						D				
H.S.Martin(Tailors)			TU	TU	TU	TU				
J.Mee	D									
T.Millard(ILP)						O				
G.Milligan(NUDL)	TU									
J.Mooney(EC,ILP)		O			O					
J.O'Dwyer(MEA)	TU									
F.Pasco(Low Hill L.Club)							O			
S.Reeves(Fab.)		O			O	O	O	O		

(Continued overleaf)

	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
J.Revel(Plumbers)	TU									
?Rice(Unknown)		D								
F.T.Richardson(UPW)	P		D	D	TU	TU	TU			
F.Robinson(Sheet Met.Wrs)		TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	
W.A.Robinson(NUDAW)		P	P							
H.E.Rose(Life Ass.Agnts)	V	V	TU	V	V	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
T.J.Rowan(NUDAW)	AS	AS	AS							
J.Scambler		D								
S.Silverman(Exch.)										D
W.H.Smith(Police)	AS			TU	TU					
?Smithwick(Police)	TU									
G.Tatham(Print.&P.Wrs)		TU	TU	TU	TU			TU	TU	TU
C.H.Taunton(UPW)	S	S	S	T	T	T	T			
R.Tissyman(ILP)										V
J.Troy(Kirkdale)								D	D	
H.Walker(Ev'tn)					D		D	D	D	
R.Watson(NUR)	TU	TU		TU						
C.Wilson(Painters)				TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	

b) 1931-39

	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
W.Addison(NUG&MW)				TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
L.Baines(Unknown)								TU	TU
Mrs.M.Bamber(NUDAW)	TU	TU	TU	TU					
C.H.Beeks(Unknown)								TU	TU
B.G.Bennett(Plasterers)	TU			TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
J.Braddock(Fairf'd)	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
F.H.Cain(W.Tox)						D	V	V	P
J.D.Carter(L.of Blind)						TU			
G.Chadwick(ETU)	TU								
W.Christian(Print&P.Ws)		TU							
Mrs.Cund(K'dale)		D							
E.Darwick(Crox.)		O	O	O					
A.Demain(E.Tox)	D	D	D	D	D				
A.G.Demain(NUDAW)						TU	TU	TU	
Mrs.C.Doyle(W.Derby)							D		
P.Duffy(RCA)	TU	TU							
H.W.Eden(Heating&Dom.Engrs)			TU	TU					
Mrs.A.Elliott(W'tree)	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
J.G.Elliott(RCA)			TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU
J.Gibbins(W.Tox)					V				D
J.Hamilton(AUBTW)	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
L.Hogan(NUDAW)					TU	P	P	P	TU
D.Hornby(NUR)	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU				
H.Inglis(Unknown)	TU								
J.Johnstone(Low Hill L.C.)		O							
?Kay(Unknown)	O								
?Keeling(Unknown)	O								
T.Keeling(Carters)							TU	TU	TU
J.T.Kenny(Walton)				D	D				
B.V.Kirby(NUC)	P	P	P	P	P				
?Lambert(Walton)			D						

	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
Mrs.S.McArd(K'dale)						D	D	D	D
J.McDonald(K'dale)			D						
T.E.Martin(AUBTW)						TU	TU	TU	TU
Miss.M.Mee(Unknown)									TU
P.O'Brien(Scot.)									V
J.Orford(NUVB)					TU	TU	TU	TU	V
G.Porter(ASW)	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	V	TU	TU	TU
?.Pugh(ILP)		O							
W.J.Riddick(Ass.Ws.)	TU				TU	TU			
F.Robinson(Sheet Met.Ws)		TU	TU						TU
H.E.Rose(Ass.Ws)	V	TU	TU	TU	V	V	V	TU	TU
P.Sherwin(NUVB)		TU	TU						
G.Shipton(Painters)	TU	TU							
S.Silverman((Exch.)	D	V	V	V					
R.Tissyman(Police)					TU				
C.R.Torpey(Boilermkrs)			TU	TU		TU	TU	TU	
J.Whitehead(LowHill LC)					O	O	O	O	O
D.Williams(Ev'tn)				D	D	D	D	D	
G.Williams(T&G)	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU		
R.E.Williamson(Painters)			TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	TU	

Key: TU = Trade Union section O = Other Bodies section
D = Divisional section S = Secretary
P = President T = Treasurer
V = Vice-President AS = Assistant Secretary

SOURCE: LTC&LP, *Minutes*, AGMs, various dates, 1921 to 1939.

APPENDIX 12 - SURVEY OF MALE OCCUPATIONS IN TEN LIVERPOOL WARDS,
1900, 1911 and 1940

A survey of nine working class wards was carried out using *Gore's Street Directory* of 1900 and 1911. The wards were selected in order to cover both catholic and non-catholic areas, and also the various geographical parts of the city where working class neighbourhoods were located. The 1911 directory would have been most appropriate, coinciding with a census year, but in some wards very few streets were listed for that year, and it was necessary to go back to 1900 in some cases. In all cases, the figures found in the directories were supplemented by information on occupations of heads of households given in lists of tenants of corporation tenements for 1907 (Report of M.O.H., 1907), in order to reflect the occupations of the poorest streets excluded from the street directories.

The data for these nine wards was compiled as follows. An alphabetical list of all streets in the wards was taken from electoral registers. A 50% sample of streets was then drawn by taking the names of alternate streets. The Directory was then consulted and where the streets were listed, occupations were counted. The data is not perfect since not all names appearing against a particular address had occupations attached to them. Also, where streets were not listed, it was assumed that the distribution of occupations of Corporation tenants would be similar to that in the population of unlisted streets. There is ample justification for this, as most Corporation tenants at this time were people rehoused from slum clearance (i.e. from the poorest streets most likely to be unlisted in the Directories). Therefore, the proportions of occupations listed among Corporation tenants in 1907 were incorporated into the raw figures for each ward, in proportions according to the number of unlisted streets in each ward. This also requires the further assumption that on average unlisted streets contained as many addresses as those listed. An example will illustrate this procedure more clearly:

In Everton ward, there were 144 streets listed in the electoral register. Of the 72 streets in the 50% sample, 50 were listed in the Directory and 22 unlisted. In total, there were 948 people with occupations stated listed in the Directory for those 50 streets. It was assumed that there were another 417 people (i.e. $948/50 \times 22$) to be added to this total, representing the missing streets. These extra 417 people were then allocated to the various occupational categories in the proportions found in the list of Corporation tenants. Thus, for instance, labourers made up 20% of the Corporation tenants, so 20% of 417 (83) were added to the raw figure of 85, giving a total of 168 for labourers in Everton. By the same process, 33 carters (8% of 417) were added to 70 in the raw figures, giving a total of 103, and so on.

The figures for the tenth ward, Croxteth, were simply taken from the 1940 Directory, as nearly all streets were listed. Due to the large size of this ward, not all streets were sampled, but only those that made up the central section of the Norris Green estate. New job classifications that only apply to the Croxteth survey are indicated in brackets. The full results of these surveys are listed overleaf.

[N.B. The compilation of the data was carried out by the following people: Dingle, Garston, Everton, St. Anne's, Scotland South, and Croxteth, by the author; Edge Hill and Kirkdale, by Tony Lane; Brunswick, by Ron Noon; and St. Domingo, by Andrew Shallice.]

	Edge Hill 1900	Dingle 1900	Scot. South 1900	Kirkdale 1900	Brunswick 1911	Garston 1911	Everton 1911	St. Annes 1911	St. Domingo 1911	Croxtheth 1940
<u>Building Trades</u>										
(Asphalters)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bricklayers	28	14	3	19	5	4	6	2	17	9
(Decorators)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Flaggers & Paviers (& Floorlayers)	3	1	1	3	-	2	-	-	6	4
(Demolition Workers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Glaziers (& Leadlighters)	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	2
Jobbers	3	3	-	2	2	3	9	5	4	1
Joiners & Carpenters	101	42	11	99	30	21	29	17	94	27
(Mosaic Makers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Painters & Paperhangers	90	46	3	29	29	20	59	20	126	20
Plasterers	11	10	5	4	13	4	10	2	9	7
Plumbers	30	14	2	27	16	11	11	8	28	6
Scaffolders (& Erectors)	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Signwriters	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Slaters (& Tilers)	4	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	4	1
Steeplejacks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Stonemasons	29	10	4	15	3	-	7	-	14	1
TOTALS:	306	141	29	198	99	65	137	56	304	92
<u>Furnishing Trades</u>										
Cabinetmakers	32	4	5	2	2	-	10	45	13	2
Chairmakers	1	-	-	-	1	-	4	5	-	-
French polishers	11	2	1	2	3	-	6	11	8	2
Upholsterers	8	3	1	3	4	3	3	4	11	4
TOTALS:	52	9	7	7	10	3	23	65	32	8
<u>Railwaymen</u>										
Brakesmen	-	-	-	-	-	25	1	-	-	-
Clerks, Ticket Inspectors	20	11	1	20	-	5	2	3	4	9
Engine Drivers & Guards (Loco Firemen)	43	30	7	60	12	50	7	4	12	6
Managers, Stationmasters	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
Foremen	-	-	-	-	3	8	-	-	-	-
Pointsmen, Shunters & Engine Cleaners	24	5	1	7	-	33	4	-	6	2
Rlwy.Porters, Platelayers & Rlwy.Carters	25	24	4	22	6	28	7	4	9	4
Railwaymen, etc.	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	7
Signalmen	4	-	-	1	-	15	-	-	2	1
TOTALS:	117	70	13	110	27	166	21	11	33	30

	Edge Hill 1900	Dingle 1900	Scot. South 1900	Kirkdale 1900	Brunswick 1911	Garston 1911	Everton 1911	St. Annes 1911	St. Domingo 1911	Croxteth 1940
<u>Engineering & Metal Trades</u>										
Boilermakers	7	31	13	68	27	10	5	6	34	2
Copper/Tin/Blacksmiths, Moulders, Iron & Brass Wkrs, (Sheet Metal Wkrs)	68	56	29	94	29	58	40	29	81	19
(Die Setters, Tool Grinders/Setters, Coremakers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Electricians, (& Elec. Engineers)	11	5	-	5	-	-	2	-	7	24
Fitters, Engineers, Mechanics, etc.	72	65	16	147	20	37	24	8	59	50
Patternmakers	3	-	-	13	4	-	-	-	6	1
Safemakers	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scalers	4	5	7	3	8	5	3	4	6	-
Shipwrights, (Ships Rivetters/ Fender Mkrs/Riggers)	10	56	1	44	14	7	2	-	4	10
(Welders)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTALS:	190	218	66	374	102	117	76	47	197	112

Workshop Trades

Basket Makers	1	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Brushmakers	1	1	3	-	2	-	2	-	2	-
Coachbuilders (& Motor Body Builders)	26	2	-	6	-	-	7	2	6	2
(Coffin Makers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Coopers	12	12	18	20	12	3	12	10	22	3
Cutlers	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	1	-
Cycle Makers	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-
Dyers (Frame-Makers)	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-
Instrument Makers	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	5
Leather Workers	1	1	3	11	-	4	2	-	5	2
Locksmiths	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Packing Case Makers	2	2	5	3	3	3	3	2	7	2
Saddlers	9	1	3	2	-	-	3	-	4	-
Sail, Canvas & Rope Makers	1	9	2	8	9	-	2	1	16	1
Spar & Block Makers	1	2	-	3	-	-	1	-	1	-
Umbrella Makers	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Watch & Clock Makers (& Jewellers)	23	1	1	4	8	3	3	4	6	1
Wheelwrights (Window-blind Mkrs)	-	3	6	17	2	2	3	6	9	1
TOTALS:	88	35	43	78	36	15	46	28	83	21

Printing Trades

Printers, Compositors, Lithographers	29	11	3	10	8	13	29	13	32	14
(Bookbinders)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
(Stereotypers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTALS:	29	11	3	10	8	13	29	13	32	16

Clothing Trades

Boot & Shoe Makers	21	11	15	13	19	17	17	32	20	-
Hatters	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tailors, Dressmakers	38	6	2	8	12	13	27	65	18	1
TOTALS:	60	17	17	21	31	30	44	97	38	1

	Edge Hill 1900	Dingle 1900	Scot. South 1900	Kirkdale 1900	Brunswick 1911	Garriston 1911	Everton 1911	St. Annes 1911	St. Domingo 1911	Crox-teth 1940
<u>Retail & Services</u>										
Artists	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
Bakers	27	16	3	21	25	11	27	12	37	3
Bottlers	2	3	3	2	7	2	5	1	12	-
Butchers	17	6	3	18	20	13	24	24	2	7
Carpet Planners	4	-	-	-	2	5	2	-	-	-
Cooks	7	3	2	4	3	3	7	3	8	1
(Footballers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
(Furniture Porters)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gardeners	4	6	-	4	-	9	-	-	2	5
Hairdressers	5	1	2	8	11	9	10	17	6	4
Lamplighters	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	6	-
Laundry Wkrs	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
(Lift Attendants)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Musicians	6	1	1	1	-	3	5	1	8	4
(Pawnbrokers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Piano Tuners	5	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	1
Shop Assistants	31	10	2	25	2	5	11	4	35	17
Waiters, Barmen, Stewards, etc.	11	12	1	18	4	4	29	3	42	11
Window Cleaners, Sweeps	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	4	-	4
TOTALS:	119	60	17	104	75	80	124	69	160	65

<u>Transport & Associated</u>										
Carters, Coachmen, Drivers, (Bus Drivers & Conductors, Chauffeurs)	164	107	149	174	75	46	103	69	290	58
Checkers	10	17	-	21	4	12	10	10	32	7
Crane Drivers	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Dock Labourers (Ferry-men)	-	136	217	108	177	102	105	151	270	15
Grooms, Ostlers	7	-	-	5	-	-	2	1	5	-
Labourers	268	108	200	91	306	117	168	155	459	149
Mariners	121	145	147	180	142	59	67	71	185	20
Packers	14	4	2	4	-	2	14	2	15	-
Porters	67	53	58	58	27	19	52	36	119	16
Portworkers: Dockgatenen, Boatmen, Stevedores, Wharfingers, Flatmen	19	46	7	91	15	36	12	8	46	3
Ships Stewards	2	1	-	35	4	-	9	-	19	16
Storekeepers	9	2	-	8	4	2	2	1	8	7
Tramwaymen	2	12	1	10	-	-	3	-	8	21
Warehousemen	60	19	21	46	5	1	28	9	65	16
Watchmen	20	7	9	15	3	7	14	10	15	10
Weighmen	4	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-
TOTALS:	767	657	811	849	762	408	589	523	1536	344

	Edge Hill 1900	Dingle 1900	Scot. South 1900	Kirkdale 1900	Brunswick 1911	Garston 1911	Everton 1911	St. Annes 1911	St. Domingo 1911	Croxtheth 1940
<u>White Collar & Supervisory</u>										
Army Officers	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Bookkeepers (Chemists, Lab.Assts.)	86	22	1	54	8	19	14	2	24	4
Clerks	55	20	2	42	4	26	25	3	70	59
Commercial Travellers	28	1	-	13	-	2	14	-	13	22
Customs (Draughtsmen)	-	-	-	14	-	2	2	1	9	4
Foremen	21	12	7	45	19	45	8	4	28	14
Insurance & Commission Agents	19	3	1	14	8	10	9	-	17	10
Managers (Meat Inspectors)	11	3	-	17	7	15	24	4	19	21
(Office Wkrs, Secretaries, Cashiers,Civil Servants)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
(Piermasters)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Police	58	45	-	51	4	10	21	-	92	38
Post Office (Ships Officers, Naval Instructors)	32	10	-	8	5	4	10	2	17	11
Teachers (school & music)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Timekeepers (Vicars, Priests)	5	1	-	14	4	4	14	5	8	1
	-	2	1	11	2	5	4	2	11	3
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
TOTALS:	315	119	12	283	61	142	147	23	308	217
<u>Miscellaneous</u>										
Brewery Workers	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	2
Cable Makers (Cinema Operators)	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Collectors (Corporation Workers)	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	2	2	-
Firemen & Stokers	2	20	27	28	36	17	12	10	11	8
Food Process Workers (Factory Hands, Process Wkrs)	-	-	1	7	-	-	7	2	3	14
Gas Fitters	10	-	-	3	5	-	6	-	1	1
Gas Stokers (& Gas Workers)	8	4	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	4
Glass Workers	7	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	-	-
Hawkers (Hospital Workers)	-	-	29	-	23	15	16	20	12	-
Meter Readers	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Millers	1	4	5	18	14	4	7	4	10	-
Oil Refiners	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1
Others	75	69	24	55	26	55	51	69	8	15
Paint Workers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
Rubber Workers	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Soap Workers (Spinners, Silk Spinners)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
(Timber Labourers)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Tobacco Workers	3	1	12	1	-	4	6	4	4	2
Woodworkers, Turners, Sawyers	11	-	3	4	2	19	9	3	3	3
TOTALS:	117	100	104	122	107	114	130	119	45	83
GRAND TOTAL:	2160	1437	1122	2156	1318	1153	1365	1051	2768	989

APPENDIX 13 - BRANCHES OF THE LIVERPOOL WORKING MEN'S CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION, 1920-39.

WARD	1920	1931	1939
ABERCROMBY	✓	✓	✓
AIGBURTH			
ALLERTON			
ANFIELD			
BRECKFIELD	✓	✓	✓
BRUNSWICK	✓	✓	✓
CASTLE ST			
CHILDWALL			
CROXTETH			✓
DINGLE	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
EDGE HILL	✓	✓	✓
EVERTON	✓		
EXCHANGE			
FAIRFIELD			
FAZAKERLEY			✓
GARSTON	✓	✓	✓
GRANBY	✓	✓	✓
GT. GEORGE			
KENSINGTON	✓	✓	✓
KIRKDALE	✓	✓	✓
L. WOOLTON			
LOW HILL	✓		✓
M. WOOLTON			
NETHERFIELD	✓	✓	✓
O. SWAN			
PRINCES PK	✓	✓	✓
ST. ANNE'S	✓	✓	
ST. DOMINGO	✓	✓	✓
ST. PETER'S			
SANDHILLS	✓	✓	
SCOTLAND N			
SCOTLAND S	✓		
SEFTON PK. E	✓	✓	✓
SEFTON PK. W			
VAUXHALL	✓		
WALTON			
WARBRECK	✓		
WAVERTREE	✓		
WAVERTREE W	✓	✓	✓
W. DERBY			

SOURCE: *Liverpool Official Red Books, 1920, 1931, 1939.*

APPENDIX 14 - TURNOUT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1919-38

Year	(A) Votes Cast	(B) Total Electorate	(C) Electors in Uncontested Seats	(D) Contested Electorate (B)-(C)	(E) Turnout (%) $\frac{(A)}{(D)} \times 100$
1919	94,858	275,320	66,552	208,768	45.44
1920	126,849	283,762	57,284	226,478	56.01
1921	120,381	289,817	50,597	239,220	50.32
1922	115,609	297,164	71,369	225,795	51.20
1923	102,774	307,514	86,400	221,114	46.48
1924	119,706	315,859	73,070	242,789	49.30
1925	134,293	321,660	56,519	265,141	50.65
1926	120,227	324,913	35,062	289,851	41.48
1927	142,948	330,345	9,558	320,787	44.56
1928	130,106	336,901	84,330	252,571	51.51
1929	164,219	373,333	13,098	360,235	45.59
1930	138,543	374,322	27,779	346,543	39.98
1931	137,368	378,287	74,259	304,028	45.18
1932	144,830	381,704	41,410	340,294	42.56
1933	107,549	384,864	117,280	267,584	40.19
1934	119,311	385,875	61,585	324,290	36.79
1935	142,678	389,371	65,872	323,499	44.10
1936	146,220	390,290	49,574	340,716	42.92
1937	173,475	388,915	55,308	333,607	52.00
1938	113,491	387,469	119,076	268,393	42.29
TOTAL	2,595,435			5,701,703	45.52

APPENDIX 15 - A COMPARISON OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR FORCE IN
LIVERPOOL AND FOUR OTHER CITIES, 1911, 1921 AND 1931

1911	L'pool	M'chester	London	Preston	Hull
Total Male Workforce(+10Yrs)	224,584	231,204	1,404,262	36,753	87,714
<u>Proportion of Male Workers:</u>					
Conveyance in Docks	10%	-	2%	2%	9%
Conveyance on Sea	6%	-	1%	1%	7%
Carters, etc.	5%	4%	4%	3%	3%
Storage, Porters, Messengers	6%	4%	5%	2%	4%
General Labourers	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%
Fishing	-	-	-	-	2%
Sub-Total	30%	11%	15%	11%	29%
Metals, machines, Etc.	10%	18%	8%	14%	13%
Textiles	-	4%	-	26%	-
Clerical Workers	6%	6%	6%	2%	4%

Total Female Workforce (+10Yrs)	95,563	116,583	769,552	27,716	29,070
Females as Proportion of Total Workforce	30%	34%	35%	43%	25%
Proportion of All Females (+10Yrs) Recorded as Working	32%	39%	40%	54%	26%
<u>Proportion of Female Workers:</u>					
Domestic service	22%	12%	26%	5%	24%
Textiles	2%	14%	1%	69%	2%
Clerical workers	3%	3%	4%	-	2%

(Continued Overleaf)

APPENDIX 15 (Continued)

1921	L'pool	M'chester	London	Preston	Hull
Total Male Workforce(+12Yrs)	247,249	237,951	1,385,701	37,925	93,546
<u>Proportion of Male Workers:</u>					
Conveyance in Docks & on Sea	15%	1%	3%	2%	16%
Carters, etc.	5%	4%	5%	3%	2%
Storage, Porters, Messengers	7%	8%	7%	4%	4%
General Labourers	9%	7%	6%	9%	9%
Fishing	-	-	-	-	2%
Sub-Total	36%	20%	21%	18%	33%
Metals, machines, Etc.	9%	18%	8%	14%	12%
Textiles	-	2%	-	17%	-
Clerical Workers	7%	7%	7%	4%	5%

Total Female Workforce (+12Yrs)	108,080	126,001	780,511	26,669	31,387
Females as Proportion of Total Workforce	30%	35%	36%	41%	25%
Proportion of All Females (+12Yrs) Recorded as Working	34%	41%	40%	52%	28%
<u>Proportion of Female Workers:</u>					
Domestic service	15%	10%	22%	4%	18%
Textiles	1%	12%	1%	64%	1%
Clerical workers	10%	10%	13%	2%	9%

(Continued Overleaf)

APPENDIX 15 (Continued)

1931	L'pool	M'chester	London	Preston	Hull
Total Male Workforce(+14Yrs)	267,670	257,368	1,461,041	39,271	104,626
<u>Proportion of Male Workers:</u>					
Conveyance in Docks & on Sea	13%	1%	2%	3%	16%
Carters, etc.	4%	4%	4%	3%	3%
Storage, Porters, Messengers	7%	8%	8%	4%	4%
General Labourers	12%	11%	9%	15%	14%
Fishing	-	-	-	-	3%
Sub-Total	37%	24%	23%	25%	40%
Metals, machines, Etc.	7%	13%	7%	11%	9%
Textiles	-	2%	-	10%	-
Clerical Workers	7%	8%	9%	5%	6%

Total Female Workforce (+14Yrs)	122,075	146,215	850,667	26,844	36,766
Females as Proportion of Total Workforce	31%	36%	37%	41%	26%
Proportion of All Females (+14Yrs) Recorded as Working	36%	45%	44%	53%	30%
<u>Proportion of Female Workers:</u>					
Domestic service	16%	10%	22%	6%	23%
Textiles	1%	8%	-	54%	1%
Clerical workers	11%	11%	15%	4%	10%

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