Notes

Introduction

1. ‘When I am MP’, The Vote (paper of the Women’s Freedom League), 15 June 1928, p. 186.
7. O. Banks, Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981), Part III.
10. Law, Suffrage and Power, p. 177.
30. Ibid., p. 2.
35. Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 120.
36. For full details of Carpenter's 'conversion' to feminist causes, see Manton, *Mary Carpenter*, pp. 217–9.
38. Ibid., p. 117.
42. WL 4NVA, minutes, 12 November 1886.
43. Ibid., 4 October 1887; 1 November 1887. The superintendents' responses were mostly negative (minutes, 3 January 1888). Although some historians have claimed the NVA were requesting the appointment of women police, the exact
wording of their demand was ‘women attendants at police cells’. For the campaign for women lawyers, see Chap. 3.

44. TNA HO45/24609, cutting from Common Cause, October 1910. A reader sent the cutting to the Home Secretary, Winston Churchill, adding ‘it is high time [women] had some share in the administration of the criminal law where women and young girls are concerned’.


46. Votes for Women, May 1917; August 1917.


48. Lytton, Prisons and Prisoners, p. 56.


50. WMRC MSS16C/6/P/6, PRL 4th Annual Report 1911.


52. WMRC MSS16C/6/P/6, PRL 6th Annual Report, 1913.

53. The Times, 21 July 1913, p. 10.

54. Ibid., 12 April 1912, p. 10. The NUWW was the forerunner of the NCW.

55. Ibid., 29 March 1919, p. 4.

1 Feminism and Criminal Justice Reform

1. TNA LC02/463, press release 27 July 1920.

2. Ibid., undated memorandum from Schuster to Sir Edward Troup.

3. The Hampshire Women Magistrates’ Association (HWMA) allowed men to attend their meetings as ‘honorary members’, but the response from male colleagues appears to have been poor. See HRO 23M57/1.


7. These were Margaret Wynn Nevinson (Hampstead), The Vote, 30 July 1920, Mrs E. J. Smith (Brighton) Ibid., 27 August 1920 and Miss Tooke (Gateshead) Ibid., 17 September 1920.

8. For example, The Vote, 20 January 1933, p. 18.

9. See Chapter 3.

10. For example, ‘A Magistrates’ Task’, by ‘ASC’ (Alice Schofield Coates, League president and Middlesbrough magistrate), The Vote, 21 September 1928, p. 303.


13. Ibid., p. 386.


15. See Chapter 5.


17. TNA PCOM9/409, letter from Margery Fry to Alexander Paterson, 18 July 1930.


21. GCRO 06165/1, GWMS minutes, 30 September 1922.


24. TNA PCOM/409; *Woman's Leader*, 17 October 1931.


27. Ibid., p. 17.


29. Ibid., p. 178.


31. WL 5/SPG.

32. See Chapter 5.


41. LMA ACC/3613/1/77, PSMC minutes, 25 January 1914.

42. Ibid., 23 June 1921.

43. Ibid., 15 May 1927.

44. See Chapter 3.

45. LMA ACC/3613/1/77, PSMC minutes, 7 December 1922.
46. See TNA HO73/116, evidence of Miss Kelly to the Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders (1925).
47. In her evidence to the committee (ibid.) Miss Kelly admitted, ‘I have not got the correct feminist idea that women police will do everything that is not done at the present time.’ However, her views could be seen as incorporating feminist sentiments.
48. Later known as Madeleine Robinson.
49. She was also a member of the Executive of the Magistrates’ Association.
50. TNA HO73/116.
51. LMA 3613/01/079. The juvenile court rules allowed cases to be tried by men justices without the presence of women, but not vice versa.
52. Ibid., PSMC minutes, 17 November 1965. Wembley branch objected to the suggestion, apparently later dropped, that the country’s first woman judge should be addressed in this way.
54. Ibid., p. 134.
57. Glick, The National Council of Women, p. 149.
58. Ibid., p. 120.
60. Self, Prostitution, p. 183.
63. Ibid., p. 156.
69. WMRC MS16B/ADP/1/1. Gore Booth and Roper were leading suffragists in the north west of England who have been credited with reviving the women’s suffrage movement in the region and with encouraging Christabel Pankhurst to play an active part in it. See J. Liddington and J. Norris, One Hand Tied Behind Us (London: Virago, 1978), pp. 170–1. For a full account of their lives, see G. Lewis, Eva Gore Booth and Esther Roper: A Biography (London: Pandora Press, 1988).
70. WMRC MS16B ADP/4/2/4, list of vice presidents of the NCADP.
71. TNA HO45/16943.
73. WUMRC MSS16C/4/21.
74. The Times, 27 October 1920, p. 9.
76. The six being Miss Fry, Miss Kelly, Mrs Rackham, Mrs Dowson, Miss Tuckwell and Miss Rathbone. See MA Second Annual Report (1923), p. 2.
77. Ibid., p. 5; Third Annual Report (1924), p. 5.
78. GCRO D6156/2, GWMS minutes, 25 February 1947.
81. The work of Sue Innes is an obvious exception, but concerns Scotland, not England and Wales.
86. CCRO RS84/91, Cambridge and District WCA programmes. This WCA was not wound up until 1984.
89. The following section is based upon the GWMS minute book in Gloucestershire County Record Office: GCRO 06156/1.
90. GCRO D6156/2, cutting from *Birmingham Evening Dispatch*, 28 September 1937.
91. Ibid., *Birmingham Evening Dispatch*, 14 October 1937.
92. Ibid., *Birmingham Mail*, 23 September 1937.
93. LMA ACC/3613/1/77, PSMC minutes, 15 May 1930; HRO 23M57/1 and 23M57/5/2.
95. GCRO D6156/1, GWMS minutes, 9 April 1935 and 30 June 1936.
98. HRO: 23M57/9.
99. WUMRC MSS 16C/4/2.

2 Juvenile Justice

3. Gertrude Tuckwell Papers (GTP), cutting from the *Times Educational Supplement* (1919?).
20. Youth movements were established partly in order to divert youthful energies away from harmful activities. See J. Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).
26. The Barrow Cadbury Trust was one of the sponsors of the 2004 Report of the Fawcett Society Commission on Women and the Criminal Justice System.


29. Ibid., p. 6.


32. GTP, cutting from *Daily Express*, 21 December 1918.


34. Banks, *Faces of Feminism*, p. 89.


37. LMA ACC/3613/1/77, PSMC minutes, 12 May 1920.


39. GTP, cutting from *Reynold’s News*, 16 June 1919.

40. Ibid., cutting from *Daily Chronicle*, 14 April 1926.


42. Juvenile Courts (Metropolis) Act, 1920 (10 & 11 Geo. 5.), pp. 1–2.


44. TNA LCO2/897066; WL SNCW, recruitment leaflet n. d. (c. 1968).


47. TNA LCO2/463.


49. TNA LCO2/463, memorandum from Clarke Hall, 20th February 1920.

50. Ibid., letter from Biron, 31 July 1920. This description is reminiscent of similar terms used for women’s suffrage supporters.

51. TNA LCO2/463, reply to Schuster from Home Office, n. d.

52. Ibid., report from Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, 25 February 1920.

53. Ibid., letter from Schuster to the Home Office, 19 March 1920.


55. TNA LCO2/463, letter to Lord Chancellor from Robert Parr, NSPCC Director, 20 March 1920.

56. Ibid., cutting from *Westminster and Pimlico News*, n. d.


58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., 12 May 1920, p. 12.

60. Ibid., 13 May 1920, p. 12.

61. Ibid., 21 May 1920, p. 11.

62. TNA LCO2/463, letter to Claud Schuster from Gertrude Tuckwell, 16 June 1920.

63. TNA HO45/10970/404139.

64. TNA LCO2/463, memorandum from ‘B.S.’, 27 May 1920.


67. Ibid., columns 593–9, 624.

68. Ibid., 21 June 1920, columns 809–11; 6 August 1920, column 921.
69. Ibid., 6 August 1920, column 918.
70. TNA LCO2/463, letters from Schuster to Tuckwell 17 June and 26 July 1920; Tuckwell to Schuster 25 July 1920.
71. For the full list, see The Times, 20 July 1920, p. 14.
72. TNA LCO2/463, letter from Schuster to Tuckwell, 26 July 1920.
73. Ibid., letter from Biron, 31 July 1920.
74. House of Commons Debates, 1 November 1920, columns 134–52.
75. Ibid., column 146.
76. The Times, 11 January 1921, p. 7.
77. Ibid., 17 January 1921, p. 7.
78. TNA HO45/13777, minutes of evidence of the Home Office committee on the Metropolitan Courts and Juvenile Courts, 10 December 1928.
79. TUC Library, copy of Home Office memorandum, 17 December 1929.
80. TNA HO45/13777/27.
81. TNA HO45/13403/12.
82. J. Lovat Fraser, Child Offenders (London: State Children's Association, 1928), pp. 3–4. Lovat Fraser was a barrister on the South Wales circuit, a Cardiff councillor and Labour MP.
83. Woman's Leader, 14 August 1925, p. 230.
84. Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, Report (1927), Cmd. 2381, Appendix 1, p. 131.
85. Ibid., pp. 26–7.
86. TNA HO45/13402/2.
87. TNA HO45/13402/6. With very few exceptions, notably Clarke Hall and Mullins, stipendiaries did not involve themselves in the Magistrates' Association.
88. TNA LCO2/1955.
89. TNA HO45/15746/59.
90. TNA LCO2/1955.
91. LMA/3613/01/079, PSMC minutes, 17 June 1948; 15 October 1955.
92. TNA HO45/15746/74.
94. TNA HO45/15746/51.
96. The Vote, 22 May 1931, p. 165.
97. The Vote, 22 May 1931, p. 165.
100. Cadbury, Young Offenders, pp. 116–7. The age of criminal responsibility was eight.
101. Cadbury, Young Offenders, pp. 73–4.
102. Whitney, Geraldine S. Cadbury, p. 124. The hostel ceased to be used after the Second World War.
103. Ibid., p. 119.
104. Woman's Leader, 26 December 1927, p. 359.
109. Cadogan Report, p. 44.
111. See, for example, J. L. Gibbin, ‘Recollections of a Magistrate’, *Labour Woman*, (March 1932).
113. Powys Archive B/PS/Y/JCP/01. Justices were supposed to establish Probation Committees to oversee the work of probation officers with both adult and young offenders. I am grateful to John Minkes who gave me this reference and an example of a ‘voluntary honorary’ probation officer in Wales who, unpaid, handled a very small caseload in the 1930s.
116. A joint meeting of the PSMC and the NCW legislation committee met to discuss this issue in 1939. Mavis Tate MP spoke in favour of corporal punishment and Cicely Craven JP of the Howard League against. No vote was recorded. LMA ACC/3613/03/002/A PSMC minutes, 19 April 1939.
121. Ibid., 21 February 1930, p. 60.
122. See, for example, *House of Commons Debates*, 18 February 1937, 15 March 1937, 29 April 1937.
125. See list in Appendix I of the Cadogan Committee Report.
128. Cicely Craven in *The Times*, 7 December 1948, p. 5.
131. TNA HO291/20, MA memorandum, April 1960.
133. Ibid. AC216, memorandum on public opinion.

3 Women in the Criminal Courts

9. I am grateful to Rosemary Auchmuty for this information.
11. Ibid., pp. 55–6.
15. TUC library, GTP.
16. WL 7HLN, speech notes.
18. Ibid.
20. WL 7HLN.
24. Ibid., p. 398.
27. WL 5/SPG/C/09.
32. Ibid., 14 January 1921, p. 332.
33. Ibid., 16 April 1920, p. 20.
34. *Woman’s Leader*, 11 February 1921, p. 35.
35. Ibid., 4 February 1921.
37. Ibid., p. 46.
38. Ibid., p. 47.
39. Kent and Sussex Courier, 7 January 1921.
40. The Vote, 15 April 1921, p. 434.
41. The Times, 1 February 1921, p. 10.
42. Ibid., 2 February 1921, p. 6.
43. Woman’s Leader, 11 February 1921, p. 35.
44. The Times, 1 February 1921, p. 10.
45. The Vote, 15 April 1921, p. 463.
46. Ibid., 20 January 1933, p. 36.
51. The Times, 6 December 1966, p. 11.
52. Ibid., 20 April 1966, p. 12.
53. WL S/SPG/J84.
55. The Townswoman, XXIX, 2 (February 1962), p. 32.
56. The Times, 22 October 1965, p. 17.
60. Ibid., p. 17.
61. Ibid., pp. 15–7.
62. Ibid., p. 17.
63. Ibid., pp. 103–4.
64. WL S/SPG/J80.
65. LMA/3613/01/079 PSMC minutes, 29 April 1965.
68. Ibid., 18 March 1971, col. 367.
70. WL SSPG/J74.
76. The introduction of fingerprinting in the early 20th century made the labelling more official still. See Laite, 'Paying the Price Again'.

77. Self, *Prostitution*, p. 105. Lady Nunburnholme was also president of the National Vigilance Association.


80. Ibid., pp. 99–100.

81. For a detailed summary of the law on prostitution and the changes to it in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Self, *Prostitution*, pp. 37–58.


83. WUMRC, MS16B/1/1; *Howard Journal*, II, 3 (1927), pp. 214–9.


86. Self, *Prostitution*, p. 54.

87. This had broken away from the Pankhurst-led WSPU during the Great War. Members included Dorothy Evans, later of the Six Point Group.

88. WL 7/ASC/4/2/1 Handbill in the papers of Amelia Scott, n. d.

89. WL 3/AMS/B/04/3, cutting from *The Shield*, April 1949.


92. WL 3/AMS/B/04/3 cutting from *The Shield*, April 1949.

93. For a brief account of the Savidge Case, see Self, *Prostitution*, pp. 5–6.


98. WL 3AMS/B/04/10, Critique of the Street Offences Committee Report by Helen Wilson MD, president, W. C. Roberts, chairman and Alison Neilans, secretary, AMSH, 11 December 1928.


100. WL 3/AMS/B/04/3, cutting from *The Shield*, April 1949.

101. WL 3/AMS/B/04/11, letter from Neilans to Pethick-Lawrence, 13 January 1937.

102. Ibid., ‘Liberty of the Subject: How Prostitutes are Treated’ (AMSH leaflet, 1937).

103. WL 3/AMS/B/04/12.


106. WL 3/AMS/B/04/3, letter from Margery Fry to Chave Collisson, 26 April 1950.

107. WUMRC MSS16B/1/5, HLPR minutes, 18 February 1955.


111. Ibid., 4 May 1951, column 1514.
113. Self, Prostitution, pp. 100–1.
118. Richardson was one of the sponsors of Maureen Colquhoun’s Protection of Prostitutes Bill, discussed later in this chapter. Later, in the 1980s she was Labour’s Shadow Minister for Women.
120. Self, Prostitution, p. 88.
121. Ibid., p. 90.
122. Ibid., p. 91.
123. Laite, ‘Paying the Price Again’.
124. Self, Prostitution, p. 96, n. 38.
125. Ibid., pp. 223, 254.
126. Ibid., p. 259. In 1959 25 women were elected to the House of Commons, making up 4 per cent of MPs.
130. LMA/3613/01/079, PSMC minutes, passim.
131. This was achieved in the 1982 Criminal Justice Act. See Self, Prostitution, p. 271 for a full discussion.
135. Ibid., p. 43.
136. Self, Prostitution, p. 272.
137. Laite, ‘Paying the Price Again’.

4 Women in the Penal System


15. Ibid.


27. GCRO 06156/1, GWMS minutes 3 July and 16 October 1923, 1 January 1924.
28. Woman's Leader, 8 September 1922, p. 248.
30. H. Dowson, ‘The League of Honour in Nottingham’, The Magistrate I, VII (April 1925), p. 79. Mrs Dowson was a Liberal Unitarian and served on the NUWSS executive. She was a leading Nottingham philanthropist and later became a city councillor.
31. Freedman, Their Sisters’ Keepers, p. 130.
32. Dowson, ‘The League of Honour in Nottingham’.
33. For example, NCW News, January 1926.
34. TNA PCOM9/409, letter from M. Fry to A. Paterson, 18 July 1930.
36. The Times, 4 November 1947, p. 5.
38. The Times, 14 October 1959, p. 7.
39. For an account of women’s voluntary work in the Griffins Society during the last 40 years, see J. Rumgay, Ladies of Lost Causes: Rehabilitation, women offenders and the voluntary sector (Cullompton: Willan, 2007).
40. Daily Mail, 10 August 1976, p. 10, emphasis in the original.
42. For example in the Howard Journal, IV, 3 (1936), pp. 282–6.
43. Gordon, Penal Discipline.
44. Forsythe, ‘Gordon, Mary Louisa’.
46. Gordon, Penal Discipline, pp. 37–8. It may be that Gordon had campaigns led by the WFL and WSPU regarding individual cases such as Daisy Lord’s in mind (see section below on the death penalty). However she was a strong supporter of the Duchess of Bedford’s work.
48. McCall, They Always Come Back, p. xi. For details of the friendship of McCall and Delafield, see V. Powell, The Life of a Provincial Lady: A Study of E. M. Delafield and her Works (London: Heinemann, 1988), which also contains a photograph of McCall.


55. Holloway became a women-only prison in 1902. By 1937 the only other local prisons in England and Wales that continued to house women were Manchester, Durham, Birmingham, Cardiff and Exeter.


60. As a mother of young children she was exempt from having to undertake war work, which she was anyway prepared to do. She simply objected to the principle of registration.


64. LMA/3613/01/079, PSMC minutes, 11 April 1946.

65. WUMRC MSS16B/1/3/1, HLPR executive minutes, 9 December 1943 and 22 February 1944.


67. WUMRC MSS16B/1/4, HLPR executive minutes, 25 January 1945.


69. WUMRC MSS16B/1/4, HLPR executive minutes, 25 January 1945. Mrs Holman was a member of the PRMC as well as the HLPR and NCW.

70. Ibid., executive minutes 1945–9, passim.


74. University College London Special Collections (UCLSC), Lonsdale papers, G116.

75. For her views on the position of women, see Lonsdale, ‘Women in Science’.

76. UCLSC, Lonsdale papers, G118–145.

77. WUMRC MSS16B/1/5, HLPR minutes, 17 October 1952.

80. Ibid., pp. 179, 187.
81. Ibid., p. 160.
82. *Woman’s Leader*, 2 March 1923.
83. Gore, *The Better Fight*, pp. 92–3. The Central Committee for Women’s Training and Employment included Lady Crewe, Violet Markham, Gertrude Tuckwell, Marion Phillips, May Tennant, Margaret Bondfield and Lady Cynthia Colville, who were all JPs. Barker also later became a magistrate.
85. Ibid., p. 96.
91. HRO 23M57/1, HWMA minutes, 13 April 1942.
93. HRO 23M57/1, HWMA minutes, 13 April 1942.
94. For a discussion of the medicalisation of women’s deviancy within criminology in the 1950s and 60s, see Rock, *Reconstructing a Women’s Prison*, pp. 71–5.
95. Gordon, *Penal Discipline*.
96. WUMRC MSS16B/1/5 HLPR minutes, 17 February 1950.
97. Ibid., 16 March 1951.
98. A member of the HLPR executive and of ACTO, Mrs Creech Jones was a JP and the wife of a Labour MP, a former conscientious objector.
99. WUMRC MSS16B/1/5 HLPR minutes, 21 May and 18 June 1954.
101. WUMRC MSS16B/1/5 HLPR minutes, 31 January 1955.
104. See, for example, letter from Madeleine Robinson to Lord Templewood, 9 February 1950, Cambridge University Library (CUL) Templewood Papers, Chapter XVI, file 6.
105. They also had strong objections to the regimes of the new detention centres for young offenders set up following the 1948 Criminal Justice Act.
108. Ibid., p. 173.
110. Ibid., p. 114.
113. Ibid., p. 147.
114. Ibid., p. 205.
120. WMRC MSS16B/1/4 HLPR minutes, 16 June 1945.
121. Margery Fry Papers (MFP), paper on the habitual criminal, n.d., c. 1950, emphasis in the original. Fry made similar points, in more measured tones, in the *Sunday Times*, 13 April 1952, p. 4.
131. Ibid., pp. 50–2.
134. Ibid., p. 91.
140. This seems to have been the assumption of Cicely Hamilton. See Daily Sketch, 13 December 1922, p. 2.
143. Ibid., pp. 233–40.
144. Ibid., p. 240.
147. Delafield, Messalina, p. v.
148. Ballinger, Dead Women Walking, p. 223; Delafield, Messalina, p. 234. Edith and Elsie both say, ‘I must tell the truth.’
149. Delafield, Messalina, p. 248.
152. The Vote, 19 January 1923, p. 20.
153. WUMRC MSS16B/5/1/7, C. Dane, ‘Women Voters and the Death Penalty’, pamphlet reprinted from Good Housekeeping by the NCADP, n. d. (c.1923–4).
155. MFP, undated speech notes.
156. Huws Jones, Margery Fry, p. 124.
158. Ibid., I, 3 (1924), p. 112.
159. Huws Jones, Margery Fry, p. 123; letter from Theodora Calvert to Barrow Cadbury, 5 February 1941 (private collection).
162. Block and Hostettler, Hanging in the Balance, p. 106.
163. It is worth comparing the attention given to Ruth Ellis compared with that for the 53 year-old Styllou Christophi who was executed only six months before Ellis’ trial. See Ballinger, Dead Women Walking, p. 160. Styllou’s case seems to have interested women on the HLPR executive more than Ellis’.
165. The Vote, 19 January 1923, p. 20.

5 Feminism and the Care of Victims

1. The Vote, 27 June 1913 (front page).
4. See Introduction.
5. WL NVA minutes, 29 December 1897.
13. For example, Mrs Fawcett: see D. Rubinstein, *A Different World for Women* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), pp. 91–2.
18. Ibid., p. 111.
20. Ibid.
21. All these suggestions were supported in the *Report* of the Departmental Committee on Sexual Offences against Young Persons, paragraphs 31–2, 53, 630. One of the women on the Committee, Mrs Rackham, opposed the extension of powers of courts of summary jurisdiction.
29. For example, Geraldine Cadbury: see TNA HO45/13777.
31. For nineteenth-century court discussions concerning provocation in cases of violence against women, see Wiener, Men of Blood, pp. 175–200.
35. Departmental Committee on Sexual Offences against Young Persons, Report, paragraph 38.
37. General welfare measures were seen as relevant to achieving reductions in violent crime, including better housing and higher living standards.
39. Howard Journal, IV, 1 (1934) p. 35; GCRO 06156/1 GWMS minutes, 14 April, 1931.
40. This was seen as more effective than short prison sentences. See D. Garland, Punishment and Welfare (Aldershot: Gower, 1985), p. 149.
43. CCRO 789/Q68, W.A. Potts, Pioneering Days of the NCW in Birmingham (1950).
50. Rock, Helping Victims, p. 54.
51. Huws Jones, Margery Fry, p. 147.
52. See, for example, Margery Fry Papers (MFP), scripts for ‘The Single Woman’ (6 December 1952); ‘Reflections on an Indian Summer’ (3 April 1957).
54. Ibid., pp. 124–6.
55. Ibid., p. 126.
56. WUMRC MSS16B/1/4, HLPR Executive minutes, 7 February 1945.
57. Fry, Arms of the Law, pp. 21–2.
60. A prison earnings scheme, strongly supported by the HLPR, had been introduced from 1929 (see Chapter 4) but the amounts paid were low.
61. CUL, Templewood Papers, Chapter XVI, File 1, letter from SMF, 26 March 1954, emphasis in the original.
64. CUL, Templewood Papers, Chapter XVI, File 1, letter from Hugh Klare 26th September 1956; File 7, letter from Klare, 8 June 1956.
65. WUMRC MSS16B/1/5, HLPR Executive minutes, 15 May 1953.
68. TNA HO291/135/AC181. Parts of this file remain closed under an exemption to the Freedom of Information Act until 2049. The author was able to see a redacted version with summary details of victims’ occupations, injury, cause, any disability, number of days absent from work and occupation of assailant.
69. SMF papers, radio script, European Service, 22 November 1950.
70. MFP, Radio script, 20 November 1956.
73. Ibid., pp. 57–9.
74. TNA HO291/19, ACTO minutes, 27th May 1954. Despite its scepticism, the Home Office did commission some research on the issue, which suggests that the octogenarian Fry was still able to influence officials.
75. TNA HO291/20, notes for Home Secretary’s speech to ACTO, 26 June 1958. Butler had also addressed the previous meeting, but attended the second one specifically because of the deaths of Fry and ACTO chairman, Lord Drogheda.
76. TNA HO291/135, memorandum by the Home Secretary to Cabinet Home Affairs Committee.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
84. Ibid., p. 68.
86. TNA HO291/20, letter from Butler to Heathcoat-Amory, 16th November 1958.
87. Ibid., letter from Heathcoat-Amory to Butler, 24 November 1958.
91. LMA/3613/01/079, PSMC minutes, 16 October 1952; 19 February 1953.

93. *The Times*, 19 October 1961, p. 6. However, the NCW does not appear to have made the compensation scheme a focus of its campaigning at that time.


95. TNA HO291/135, memorandum by the Home Secretary to Cabinet Home Affairs Committee.

96. HO291/135; Hull University, ‘Justice’ archive, cutting from the *Star*, 22 July 1960.


100. Ibid. The supporters of ‘Justice’ named in the article were Dr Brian Abel-Smith, Louis Blom-Cooper, Emlyn Hooson QC, Dr Nigel Walker, Patrick O’Connor QC and Lord Longford.

101. Ibid.


107. LMA /3613/01/079, PSMC minutes, 15 November 1962.

### Conclusion


9. Ibid., p. 51.

15. Ibid., pp. 157–8.
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HWMA: Hampshire Record Office (HRO)
'Justice' archive: Hull University.
NCW national archives: London Metropolitan Archives (LMA).
NCW Cambridge Branch: Cambridge County Record Office (CCRO)
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