**Ellen Wilkinson (1891 – 1947)**

**In her day “Red Ellen”, as she became known, was arguably the most famous and outspoken British woman politician. She was a strong unionist and fierce left wing socialist. She championed the poor and the vulnerable. She developed strong feminist principles and fought hard for equal rights for women. In October 1936, flouting Labour Party policy, she led 200 unemployed men on the Jarrow March to London. She fought the growth of Fascism in the 1930s. During WW2 Winston Churchill appointed her to a junior ministerial post where she took charge of air raid shelter provision. By 1945 she was the most important woman in the Labour Party. When Labour won the post war election, Clement Attlee, at her request, appointed Ellen as Minister of Education. She was the first woman to hold this post. “Red Ellen” may have once been famous but her name has largely faded from public consciousness[[1]](#footnote-1).**

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Ellen was born on 8 October 1891 in a two-up two-down terraced house with a back yard and an outside toilet on the outskirts of Manchester. She was the third of four children. Her father, Richard, was an insurance agent. The family lived in a grimy, overcrowded district of industrial Manchester where there were many slums. At school Ellen sat next to children who were hungry and badly clothed[[2]](#footnote-2). She inherited a head of red hair from her maternal grandmother which became her hallmark[[3]](#footnote-3).

Methodism was a key influence in her upbringing as her father was a local Minister. Christian principles of social justice and egalitarianism shaped Ellen’s later socialism[[4]](#footnote-4). Having been brought up by heavy drinking parents, Ellen’s father became a strict teetotaller and Ellen herself was against drink and loathed gambling[[5]](#footnote-5).

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In 1902 Ellen attended Ardwick High Elementary School. She was impatient with the “sausage factory” of education and the sadistic behaviour of the teachers. After Ardwick, Ellen went on to spend 2 years at Stretford Road Secondary School for girls which she described as “horrid unmanageable years”. Fortunately her father, who had no formal education himself, took her to lectures and gave her books to read by authors such as Aldous Huxley and Charles Darwin[[6]](#footnote-6).

Ellen was clever but there were few professional opportunities for women at that time. Teaching was one of the few options available, but for those with limited finance, the route was a combination of pupil teaching and training college rather than university. At the age of 16 Ellen enrolled in the Manchester Pupil Teacher’s Centre. Ellen loved the education offered at the college but hated her weekly two and a half days teaching experience largely because of the way the teachers treated the pupils[[7]](#footnote-7).

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In 1910 Ellen, aged 19 won a History Scholarship to Manchester University. Here she learned research skills and the clear, analytical writing that she was to use in later years. She also developed her political voice[[8]](#footnote-8). She helped found the University Socialist Federation and through this made links with other socialist-minded students across the country[[9]](#footnote-9). In 1912 she joined the Manchester Society for Women’s Suffrage (MSWS) and ran the local group of the Fabian Society[[10]](#footnote-10).

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During her time at University Ellen became engaged briefly to John Turner Walton Newbold who was a fellow ardent socialist. However friends and family thought him unsuitable. After Ellen called off the engagement, he married a year later and in 1922 became the first communist MP[[11]](#footnote-11).

Achieving her degree meant that she could now pursue a political career. In July 1913 Manchester Society of Women’s Suffrage appointed her as “assistant organiser in training” at a salary of 2 guineas a week[[12]](#footnote-12). She was remembered as a “first rate organiser who in addition to the necessary virtues of good organising and eloquent speaking, possessed deep convictions and enthusiasm. To her delightfully warm personality and great charm she added courage in facing hostile audiences and wit to deter hecklers”[[13]](#footnote-13). In 1912 the Labour Party promised to support votes for women and so Ellen was able to combine her emerging feminism with socialism when she was given the job of liaising between the Manchester Society of Women’s Suffrage and the Labour Party[[14]](#footnote-14).

Ellen spoke at countless meetings, organised the heckling of MPs opposed to votes for women and distributed bucket loads of leaflets. While working with the Labour Party she learned that getting elected is a long term process but she came to understand the craft of politics[[15]](#footnote-15).

**First World War and its aftermath 1914-1924**

On 4 August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany.

The Manchester Society of Women’s Suffrage agreed unanimously to stop activity. They found Ellen a job in Stockport organising voluntary help for the relief of distress caused by the war. The 2 staple trades of Stockport, cotton and knitting, collapsed when war broke out. Ellen commandeered a large room, borrowed machines and tables, appealed to the Press for materials and second hand clothing and opened a sewing room. Soon the workshop employed 150 women[[16]](#footnote-16).

In July 1915, aged 23, Ellen became national organiser of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees with responsibility for organising women shop assistants and factory workers. She threw herself into the union’s battles with unbounded energy[[17]](#footnote-17).

The First World War turned equal pay into a major issue. When women replaced men during WW1, employers wanted to pay them less. However Ellen insisted on the rate for the job, regardless of the sex of the worker and by late 1916 she had negotiated male rates of pay for women in 57 Co-operative Societies across the country[[18]](#footnote-18).

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Ellen’s Union role provided a fine political education. She encountered all kinds and conditions in the Labour Movement and began to acquire a mastery of public speaking which many described as electrifying. She could collect and hold an audience in the open air, in spite of loud background noise and no microphone[[19]](#footnote-19).

After the war Ellen helped form the Communist Party as well as campaigning for peace and the rights of women. In June 1919 she moved to Union Central Office and became part of a team of trained specialist advisers, negotiators and speakers. Initially the post war economy was buoyant and she was able to improve the wages and conditions in many trades. However when the economy collapsed in 1921, Ellen spent the next few years trying to prevent wage cuts and deteriorating working conditions[[20]](#footnote-20).

Ellen was slowly becoming aware that Parliament might be the institution through which to advance her socialist cause. At the 1923 National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers (NUDAW) conference it was decided to finance a further 4 MPs and Ellen was one of those chosen. With union backing her constituency organisation and election expenses were covered. Her election addresses were popular and halls were packed. Ellen did not disappoint. Bearing in mind Ellen was only 4 foot 9 inches tall.

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When it was impossible for those at the back of a hall to see her she stood on the table so they could. Fortunately Ellen did not have to wait long for an opportunity to be elected as Ramsey MacDonald resigned and announced a General Election on 29 October 1924. Ellen stood as Labour candidate for Middlesbrough East, an iron, steel and shipbuilding town on the River Tees in north east England. Although Labour was defeated, Ellen won her seat[[21]](#footnote-21). This was a remarkable coup as it meant reversing a sizeable Liberal majority of a long standing MP when the national tide was against Labour[[22]](#footnote-22).

On the Opposition benches 1924-29

Ellen was aged just 33 when she took her seat in Parliament as Labour MP for Middlesbrough East. She was the only woman on the opposition benches and one of only 4 women in the House of Commons. To start with she sat with some discomfort with her feet dangling 6 inches above the floor because of the height of the benches. She solved this by using her bulky dispatch case as a footstool[[23]](#footnote-23).

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She was delighted with her victory but her success drew a mixed response from the Press. On 10 December 1924, on the second day of the Parliamentary session, Ellen made her maiden speech. It was unusual for a new MP to do so at such an early stage. The novelty of a young female MP addressing the House for the first time meant that the House of Commons was packed. It was customary for maiden speeches to be inoffensive and devoid of political content. Ellen, however, put forward the need for votes for women, increased unemployment benefits and factory law reform in an assured speaking style. The largely male and Conservative House of Commons gave her a cheer at the end[[24]](#footnote-24).

Ellen’s suffrage days when she faced hostile crowds, was pelted with fruit and was heckled had prepared her well for the male dominated, rumbustious House of Commons. She also challenged its conventions. The other three women MPs dressed soberly in black suits and white blouses. After she had been in Parliament for only a few months, she wore a vivid green dress in the House. However Nancy Astor begged Ellen to revert to more sombre attire, arguing that stylish clothing would detract from what she had to say[[25]](#footnote-25).

The other three female MPs did not use the bars, smoking rooms or members’ cloakroom. Ellen confronted this exclusively masculine culture and openly criticised the lack of facilities for women. By 1928 Ellen had persuaded the Speaker to allow women to eat dinner (but not lunch) in the Strangers’ Dining Room.[[26]](#footnote-26).

Her first year in Parliament was hectic. As the only Opposition woman MP she had an unusually large correspondence as many women turned to her for advice. She spoke regularly in the Commons, sat on Select Committees and presented Bills. At times she was exhausted and she suffered from regular chest and throat infections, made worse by smoking[[27]](#footnote-27).

Ellen and Nancy Astor became friends and worked closely with feminist groups outside Parliament for women’s rights and particularly the extension of the franchise on equal terms to men. As a double act they regularly exasperated the male MPs on both sides of the House. Ellen kept up pressure by regularly asking the Prime Minister in Question Time when he was going to introduce a Suffrage Bill. Even when he announced his intention to do so in April 1927, Ellen kept up the pressure until eventually it was presented to Parliament in March 1928[[28]](#footnote-28).

In November 1925 Ellen introduced her first Bill which was to permit women to join the Police force. In June 1926 Ellen and Nancy Astor sponsored a Bill which advocated equal treatment of the sexes in prostitution laws and the elimination of the term ”common” prostitute from the legal code. They also put forward a Bill which legitimated children born out of wedlock whose parents subsequently married. Women police officers were appointed and children legitimated but legislation about equal treatment of the sexes in prostitution had to wait until 2009[[29]](#footnote-29).

After the First World War the pound weakened against the dollar, Industrial output declined and unemployment rose. Unusually for a woman, Ellen often spoke in economic debates. On 3 May 1926 the TUC called a General Strike. Ellen was one of many speakers who drove around the country holding meetings in each town. After nine days the TUC called off the strike and all but the miners went back to work[[30]](#footnote-30).

**In and Out of Power 1929-1935**

In May 1929 Ellen fought her second General Election. The result was a Labour majority government under Ramsay MacDonald. Fourteen women were elected and 9 of these were Labour. Ellen increased her majority. Ramsay MacDonald promoted women to key posts. Ellen was appointed as Parliamentary Private Secretary in the Ministry of Health. This was very hard work in addition to dealing with constituency issues but was a sort of ministerial apprenticeship.

**Economic Turmoil**

The War Street crash occurred on 29 October 1929 which precipitated a worldwide economic crisis. In August 1931 the Labour government collapsed[[31]](#footnote-31).

A General Election was called in October[[32]](#footnote-32).

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Ellen was anxious about her own prospects and that of the Labour Party’s. Election meetings were rougher than normal. In one meeting her eye was injured by a firework that was thrown and after a chemist attended to her, she concluded her talk with a handkerchief wrapped around her affected eye.

The National government led by Ramsay MacDonald won a landslide victory and Labour only held a humiliating 52 seats. Ellen was out of office.[[33]](#footnote-33)

**Out of Parliament 1931-35**

Ellen was devastated by her defeat. She felt that Labour had lost because they were not Socialist enough. In order to earn a living she resumed full-time work for the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, she lectured and she developed her reputation as a writer both of fiction and of articles for newspapers and journals

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Blessed with a ceaselessly energetic disposition, Ellen used her time out of office to campaign for the causes close to her

**Towards Parliament again**

In 1932 Ellen was selected as Labour Candidate for Jarrow, a north east ship building town. She was pleased to have a constituency to focus on. In 1935 she threw herself into campaigning for the Election. Ellen won convincingly and joined the new Parliament. This would sit for a further 10 years until the end of WW2. It was dominated by the Conservatives (386 seats) and although Labour had improved its position and gained 154 seats it was still too small to make much difference. Nine women were returned to Parliament but Ellen was the only Labour female MP, once again[[34]](#footnote-34).

**In Parliament Again 1935 -1939**

Jarrow was a town with one of the worst unemployment records in England, only 100 of the 8000 skilled manual workers had jobs. Stirred by the hardship in her constituency, Ellen fought hard by speaking, writing, organising, fund raising and lots of meetings. Her health, never robust, deteriorated further[[35]](#footnote-35).

In July 1936, aware that all the previous attempts to publicise the plight of Jarrow had failed, the Chair of the local Council suggested a new strategy- a march of the unemployed to London.

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The march was organised by the Town Hall, was blessed by the local church and was supported by the mayor. The lettering on the banners was chosen so no political party could claim them. Ellen encouraged the marchers to appear as respectable as possible. The march was led by the chair of the Council in a suit and bowler hat and the men were shaved, broken boots repaired and polished, shabby clothes brushed and mended and waterproof capes rolled neatly over their shoulders. Ellen helped raised money for the march to pay for a bus, waterproofs, pocket money for everyman, two postage stamps a week, medical attention, haircutting and shoe repair. Ellen helped find accommodation in drill halls, schools, churches and workhouses and used her union connections to make sure the marchers got a cheery welcome on the way. Two hundred men, half of whom were ex-servicemen, were selected and then vetted by a doctor to make sure that they were fit enough to undertake the journey. The marchers, many wearing British Legion badges, set off on 5 October 1936 to walk the 282 miles to London. They planned to arrive in London just as the new session of Parliament was opening and to present a petition of nearly 12,000 Jarrow citizens to the House.[[36]](#footnote-36).

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Ellen wrote a moving account of the March in her book “The Town that was Murdered. She did not march the whole way. Although she never raised it, her respiratory health problems would have been sufficient reason not to march. Many in the Labour Party criticised Ellen for sending hungry and ill-clad men on the march to London. She was saddened, as whereas the marchers received tea and understanding from ordinary people in the towns they visited, the Labour Party disapproved.[[37]](#footnote-37).

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The march received almost universal positive coverage in the Press and on 31 October, 30 days and 290 miles they reached London. On 4 November they tried to present their petition but the Prime Minister refused to meet with them. The men were angry but were persuaded to leave the matter with Ellen who presented it at a meeting of politicians from all parties. However the March failed to gain help for the town. In the short term matters became worse as the Government stopped the marchers’ benefits because of their unavailability for work. Soon however, because of Ellen’s passionate oratory, organisational skills and bestselling book, Jarrow began to be noticed. The publicity that followed the march did contribute to the town’s renewal eventually but its historical impact was in shaping post-war perceptions of the 1930s[[38]](#footnote-38). Eventually, in 1937 a new steel works was opened in Jarrow[[39]](#footnote-39).

Throughout the 1930s Ellen continued to be committed to equal opportunities for women and worked for this across Parties.

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By now Ellen became closer to Herbert Morrison and probably embarked on an affair. Ellen was as secretive as she could be but speculation was rife as Morrison was known to be unhappy in his marriage. The 2 had much in common in terms of politics and both were vegetarian and teetotallers.

The Second World War 1939-1945

Britain was now at war with Germany. Ellen was in step with the Labour Party and war brought her a new crusade. Ellen loathed Chamberlain’s politics of appeasement and she thought he should resign. In May 1940 Winston Churchill became PM and Labour leaders entered a coalition pledged to place the needs of the nation above sectional interests.

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He invited Attlee to select Labour MPs for government posts. In 1940 Ellen was appointed to become Parliamentary Private Secretary to Herbert Morrison who had just been promoted to Home Secretary. She was given responsibility for air raid shelters and the care of the homeless, a job that fitted her compassionate personality and her practical approach to problems[[40]](#footnote-40).

Ellen and Herbert Morrison faced colossal challenges as the British Civilian population came under attack during the Blitz, ot just in London but 15 other major cities also. These raids had a dreadful impact on morale as thousands lost family members and possessions. Many others were affected by the lack of gas, electricity, water and transport. On the first evening of her new appointment Ellen visited the East End, talked to people about their experiences and listened. In the early months she spent most of her time visiting shelters making notes on how things could be improved[[41]](#footnote-41).

Shelter provision was woefully inadequate when she took over. Corrugated steel Anderson shelters had been erected in some gardens and a number of civic shelters built in some towns but these were not sufficient.

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Before she had been in office a week Ellen put forward a scheme to improve shelter provision. She organised the delivery of new ones, soon to be called Morrison shelters, which would withstand bombs better. This was ok initially but once heavier bombing began people wanted somewhere safer and quieter to sleep at night. On their own initiative many piled into the underground stations and by September 1940 nearly 200,000 people were sleeping there. Initially Ellen and the government discouraged this and London Transport was told to ban people. However they were forced to reverse this decision when the ban proved unenforceable.[[42]](#footnote-42).

By spring 1941 Londoners were sheltering underground in much better conditions. Ticket systems of entry were established, over 200,000 bunks installed, canteens set up, chemical lavatories made available, lighting and running water provided*[[43]](#footnote-43).*

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If a shelter was bombed Ellen went to inspect immediately after. She was dubbed the “Shelter Queen” and one newspaper commented that “Miss Ellen Wilkinson’s personal visits to the East End….have done more to put heart and courage into East End families than anything that has gone before”. Her sympathy was real. Her own home was bombed in November 1940 and when she was given alternative accommodation, that too was bombed[[44]](#footnote-44). She also visited major cities following raids such as Liverpool, Plymouth and Coventry to inspect damage and see shelter provision[[45]](#footnote-45).

As part of the government Ellen was tied by ministerial discipline to defend current policy and keep quiet about matters of national security. This was a difficult task for someone so outspoken.[[46]](#footnote-46).

Ellen was now part of the political establishment and she reaped the rewards. In 1943 she was made a Privy Councillor in the New Year’s Honours List and was formally titled the Right Honourable Ellen Wilkinson. Ellen had mellowed but had not changed her views fundamentally. In her position she had to exercise restraint but at times was unable to resist the temptation to shock [[47]](#footnote-47).

However underlying this success were persistent health problems that dogged Ellen which included several hospital admissions in 1944/45.

Post War 1945-47

Once war was over a general election was called and Ellen co-authored the Labour manifesto which claimed that the country needed a major overhaul. The transformation of society that Ellen had worked for all her life now seemed possible and would be achieved the parliamentary way rather than by revolution. In May 1945 at the Labour Party Conference Ellen sat centre stage on the conference platform. In her concluding speech she urged delegates leaving to canvas for the election to “Fight, fight clean, fight hard and come back with a majority for a Labour Government”. It was a rousing socialist speech and a strong rebuttal to those that accused her of sliding to the right[[48]](#footnote-48).

At the social evening at the end of the Labour Party Conference Ellen & Herbert Morrison danced the last waltz together and were described as “canoodling in a rather obvious manner”. It was the first time that the 2 of them had shown amorous feelings for each other in public[[49]](#footnote-49).

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The election resulted in a sweeping victory for Labour. Twenty one women Labour MPs were elected and Ellen increased her majority.

The new Labour government held to its electoral promise of reform, despite economic austerity for example by creating the NHS. On 3 August 1945 Ellen became the first female Minister of Education, the second woman to become a Cabinet minister and the only woman in a Cabinet of 20. She certainly faced challenges, not only as the first female Minister of Education but also as a feminist and socialist within a centre-left[[50]](#footnote-50).

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As Minister for Education her main task was to implement the Conservative MPs Rab Butler’s 1944 Education Act which set out the controversial tripartite system with grammar schools for the most intellectually gifted, modern schools for the majority and technical schools for those with a technical or scientific aptitude. Selection was by the 11 plus exam. Regrettably she was required to implement an Act which she had not written. It was a very difficult time to introduce educational reform in post war austere Britain. Ellen had to persuade the Cabinet to find money for the reform, chivvy the building industry and train increased numbers of teachers. The Left of the Party hoped that Ellen would eradicate some of the inequalities of the Act but she did not and was criticised for it.[[51]](#footnote-51).

Ellen did get support from the Left of the Party when she raised the school leaving age from 14 to 15 and persuaded the government to pass the 1946 School Milk Act which provided free milk for school children.

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At this point Ellen’s health was deteriorating fast. All her life she had suffered from asthma, bronchitis, influenza and lung infections and had been admitted to hospital 7 times during the war. Add to this the demands of her new post, smoking and an exceptionally hard winter. Ellen caught pneumonia and a few weeks later on 6 February she died at St Mary’s Hospital, Paddington aged 55[[52]](#footnote-52). Most of the great and good attended her funeral except for Herbert Morrison who was seriously ill in hospital himself at the time. The BBC agreed to delay announcing the news of Ellen’s death until Herbert Morrison was told because colleagues feared that the news would kill him.

Conclusion

One of her obituaries described her as “ a strong-willed, empathetic, warm-hearted, generous woman who brought to public affairs an acute mind, an ebullient spirit and a passion for social justice and an intuitive and devoted partisanship for the poor and weak” but she could also be “an uncomfortable colleague as well as a ruthless opponent”. If she mellowed towards the end it only needed some cynical after dinner gibe from one of the Tory diehards to rouse the old devil in her and show that behind that correct, austere façade of the Cabinet minister there still pulsed the hot angry heart of the poor but dauntless Lancashire girl who had had to fight her way up from the slums of Manchester[[53]](#footnote-53).

1. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Vernon, Betty D (1982), Ellen Wilkinson, Croom Helm London [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Vernon, Betty D (1982), Ellen Wilkinson, Croom Helm London [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Wikipedia, Ellen Wilkinson <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ellen_Wilkinson> accessed 21 December 2017 [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Vernon, Betty D (1982), Ellen Wilkinson, Croom Helm London [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Vernon, Betty D (1982), Ellen Wilkinson, Croom Helm [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Vernon, Betty D (1982), Ellen Wilkinson, Croom Helm [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Vernon, Betty D (1982), Ellen Wilkinson, Croom Helm [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
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31. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
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34. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government Minister, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
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41. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
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45. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Bartley, Paula (2014), Ellen Wilkinson-from red suffragist to Government, Pluto Press [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
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