

# Contents

List of Maps, Tables and Figures	vi
Acknowledgments	viii

## Part I Rethinking Women, Welfare and Local Politics

ONE	The New Poor Law, Female Agency and Feminism	3
TWO	Poverty and Poor Relief in Lancashire and Bolton	29
THREE	Preparing the Ground? Philanthropy, Public Service and Activism	56
FOUR	Fighting an Election	88
FIVE	Negotiating Power	115
SIX	Making a Difference	142
SEVEN	Feminism, the Politics of Local Government and Suffrage	164

## Part II Born to Intellectual Freedom? The Records of Mary Haslam, Bolton Activist

EIGHT	Brief Autobiographical Notes Written by Mary Haslam	197
NINE	Diary Kept by Mary Haslam of her Work as a Poor Law Guardian	203
TEN	The Travel Diaries of Mary Haslam	251
ELEVEN	Women's Suffrage in Bolton	258
Notes		274
Bibliography of Secondary Sources		324
Index		343

# Maps, Tables and Figures

## Maps

2.1	Lancashire New Poor Law Unions	35
2.2	Bolton Poor Law Union	43
4.1	Bolton Union: Townships, Parish, and Wards for Election of Guardians	100

## Tables

3.1	The concentration of philanthropic effort in Bolton, 1873–1910	69
5.1	Attendance on the Bolton board of guardians	118
7.1	Overlapping interests of eight female activists, 1892–1906	177
7.2	Overlapping interests of eight female activists, 1906–1914	185
7.3	Overlapping interests of eight female activists, 1914–1920	189

## Figures

2.1	Bolton union spending, 1868–1912	47
2.2	Distribution of Bolton union poor law spending	48
2.3	Detailed distribution of Bolton poor law expenditure, 1868–1912	50
2.4	Number of paupers versus expenditure in Bolton union, 1868–1912	51
2.5	Relief expenditure per capita in Bolton union	52
3.1	The number of philanthropic initiatives in Bolton, 1849–1909	64

3.2	The value of philanthropic initiatives in Bolton, 1849–1909	65
3.3	The distribution and classification of philanthropic effort	65
5.1	Occupational composition of the board of guardians, 1890s and 1900s	116
5.2	Crude social structure of Bolton board of guardians, 1890s and 1900s	117
6.1	Composition of the Bolton workhouse admissions, 1890s and 1900s	150
6.2	Distribution of the causes of Bolton workhouse admissions, 1890s and 1900s	151