

‘We Fighters on the Outposts’: Suffragists and Lantern Slides, 1889-1913

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Abstract. The emergence of lantern slide performances as a dominant form of popular entertainment and education during the 1890s enabled feminist campaigners to participate within a shared global visual culture. In this article I examine the role of these modern public performances in defining a new vision of citizenship, through the Australian lectures given by American Jessie Ackermann and Adelaide-born Muriel Lilah Matters. While Ackermann and Matters represent different aspects of the women’s movement around the turn of the twentieth century, both drew upon the language of evolution in imagining an egalitarian future. However, this vision was premised upon the exclusion of Indigenous and non-white people. Ackermann argued for women’s place as an index of progress and civilisation within a visual taxonomy of human racial and cultural difference. Defining white women’s citizenship through lantern slide performances justified assimilation, and authorised the enfranchisement of white Australian women, as demonstrated by Matters’ work across both the British and Australian women’s movements, recruiting white feminists and consolidating an imperial racial hierarchy. These popular visual performances reveal how seemingly distinct racial and gender hierarchies were elaborated and naturalised within a shared evolutionist framework, both reinforcing the subordination of Aboriginal people, and at the same time supporting arguments for women’s suffrage.

Keywords: *lantern slide performances *suffragettes *Jessie Ackermann *Muriel Matters *feminist photography *visual culture *suffragist photography *missionary photography *Australian Aboriginal citizenship *women citizenship

Introduction: lantern slide performances and women activists

In the hands of social reformers, late nineteenth-century lantern slide performances were intended to persuade, move and inform. The emergence of lantern slide performances as a dominant form of popular entertainment and education during the 1890s connected women’s movements across the anglophone world, enabling campaigners to participate within a global visual culture, and defining a new vision of citizenship.¹ Historians have explored links between women campaigners around the world, showing their constitution through the movement of missionaries and activists, and anglophone print culture. In this article I

examine the role of these public visual performances through the work of two prominent campaigners in Australia around the turn of the nineteenth century: American reformer Jessie Ackermann (c.1857-1951) and Adelaide-born Muriel Lilah Matters (1877-1969).

A key international development was the formation of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1883 as a strategic alliance between the American WCTU and the British Women's Temperance Association.² As a missionary outreach of the American organisation the WCTU sent its first 'round-the-world' missionary, Mary Leavitt, to organise branches of the Union. Leavitt was soon followed by Jessie Ackermann (c.1857-1951), who visited Europe, Asia and the Pacific Islands before arriving in Australia, prior to women securing the franchise. By 1894 South Australian women secured the franchise, followed by Western Australia (1899) and then all white women – excluding Aboriginal women - with the federal *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*, becoming a beacon for British women who did not achieve this right until 1927. Ackermann visited Australia between 1889 and 1911 and spent around five years (including more than two years in Western Australia) working initially for The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australasia, but subsequently across a broad range of social and political reform activities. She was a popular and influential public figure, whose lantern slide performances, built upon photographs collected during her extensive travels, elaborated and naturalised two meshed systems of racial exclusion: first, her travelogues argued for a global racial taxonomy in which the status of women served as a marker of civilisation; second, in her celebration of settler progress, non-white people were denigrated and dismissed other than as objects of uplift. Ackermann exemplifies the contribution of lantern slide performances to the work of racial thinking in the making of colonial bourgeois identity and an emerging vision of imperial citizenship.³

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the transnational women's suffrage campaign made a powerful contribution to the complex cultural project of whiteness that was elaborated and expanded into a global apparatus of legislation, ideas and practices. Through increasingly spectacular methods, campaigners defined and recruited into an imperial category of female citizen. From 1908 in Britain the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) began to adopt tactics such as vandalism, spectacular public rallies and hunger strikes. As its leader Emmeline Pankhurst declared, 'You have to make more noise than anybody else, you have to make yourself more obtrusive than anybody else, you have to fill all the papers more than anybody else, in fact you have to be there all the time and see that they do not snow you under, if you are really going to get your reform realised.'⁴ However, the older suffrage

organisations also benefited greatly from the publicity generated by the radical WSPU, and began to engage in more public demonstrations, especially marches, pageants and vast public meetings. They too developed performative techniques such as standardised clothing, banners and music, which transformed political campaigning and produced a new kind of political spectacle.⁵ In 1909, the newspaper of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies commended the 'agitation by symbol' that profited by 'signs and emblems and pictures, by procession, and many other visible and audible displays' which could provide 'imaginative insight into the minds of others and the reconstruction of suffering which is not felt'.⁶

In her analysis of the relationship between these movements Barbara Caine explores the fascination the militant WSPU had for even conservative Australians such as Bessie Rischbieth, and suggests that they were mesmerized by their sheer emotional intensity.⁷ Caine concludes that 'the imperial wheel turned full circle as those who went to London to offer their British sisters the benefits of their status as citizens, found their feminist interests and commitment developed or revived there, in the course of the militant campaign—and came home to devise a new feminist program and platform that was not seen anywhere else.'⁸ Muriel Matters was a prominent example of these exchanges, travelling to London in 1905 and starring in a series of public 'stunts' before returning to Australia in 1910 to give a series of lantern slides lectures about the 'thrilling and humorous' episodes of the British women's movement. In Australia, these performances prompted support from Commonwealth women for the metropolitan cause, and constructed a new category of white female imperial citizenship.

Angela Woollacott's study of Australian women in London foregrounds the movement of people across these imperial networks, and the galvanizing experience of actually being in London.⁹ In addition, Ana Stephenson has recently explored the importance of global print culture in linking women across Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.¹⁰ However, the role of public lantern slide performances in connecting women campaigners, spreading their message and defining their shared identity has not been examined.¹¹ The emergence of lantern slide performances as a dominant form of popular entertainment and education during the 1890s coincided with suffragist campaigns across the Anglophone world, and activists made effective use of the form. Australian audiences were keen consumers of a global Anglophone popular culture including literature, stage performances and print media. The increasing popularity of lantern performances from the 1880s was an integral element of the

inter-relationship of colonial modernity, the cinema and new forms of mass entertainment, bringing widely dispersed people and contexts into contiguity. Dixon uses the concept of colonial modernity to refer to the early twentieth-century's rapidly internationalizing mass-media landscape, a space in which cosmopolitan and local were mutually constitutive.¹² Jill Matthews and others have demonstrated the exciting, entertaining, fearful experience of Australians' encounter with modernity via the 'everyday pleasure' of leisure, and especially the performance-centred, fluid dimensions of the multimedia shows orchestrated by the celebrity lecturer.¹³

Considering these lantern slide performances as part of a global visual economy highlights the circulation of images, the links these forged between the national suffrage campaigns, and the ways that these dispersed communities all participated within a shared visual culture. The graphic narratives generated by performers both created and were interpreted through cultural and discursive systems, and their emotional, realist, and accessible form had a tremendous impact on public audiences across all classes.¹⁴ Focusing on the local meanings given this global visual discourse, Elizabeth Hartrick argues that, while the lantern functioned to affirm a sense of imperial identity, it also created 'enthusiasm for colonial events and stories, a sense of place, and a celebration of local identity' thereby knitting together these diverse global communities.¹⁵ In the colonies, a thriving lantern slide culture saw the production and display of diverse and sophisticated performances such as the 1900 Salvation Army lecture *Soldiers of the Cross*. As Martyn Jolly has argued, the use of such intensely affective performances by evangelical reformers signaled a radical shift from the experience of listening to a sermon, to 'the eye and to the retina; from the phenomenological architecture of the church to the dominating address of the projection sheet; from the magical ritual of the service to the retinal power of the projected image'.¹⁶ At the turn of the twentieth century social reformers increasingly sought to persuade, move and inform mass audiences through lantern slide performances.¹⁷

Jessie A. Ackermann, suffrage, and race

Towards the end of her career American temperance campaigner and social reformer Jessie Ackermann estimated that she had written 420 newspaper articles and 5949 letters, distributed 60,000 leaflets and delivered more than 2500 speeches.¹⁸ Ackermann also gave many newspaper interviews, and wrote *The World Through a Woman's Eyes* (1896) and *What*

Women Have Done with the Vote (1913).¹⁹ Her book, *Australia From a Woman's Point of View* (1913), recorded her impressions of her Australian Women's Christian Temperance Union's campaigning, and was a significant commentary on the position of women in Australia in the early twentieth century. Ackermann was the American WCTU's world missionary, and encouraged the first intercolonial gathering of the scattered branches in Melbourne in 1891, from which the federal WCTU of Australasia emerged.²⁰ Ackermann and the Australian colonial WCTU branches shared an evangelical humanitarian ethos. In 1909 Ackermann became unwell and spent six months in Western Australia for her health. During this time, she 'journeyed 300 miles beyond the railroad, travelling in a missionary van, taking news from the world far out into the bush, lecturing with the aid of lantern slides, thrown on the side of a tent to a handful of people who had come forty and fifty miles to be present.'²¹

Ackerman's first tour began in South Australia in June 1889.²² As she noted, 'My personal expenses I usually pay out of the proceeds of a lecture entitled "San Francisco by Gaslight, or the Vices of a Great City." This lecture I usually deliver during my stay in the cities, and it always draws crowded houses.'²³ While her lectures were not illustrated by slides at this stage, Ackermann was clearly drawing on the taste for 'slummer' stories and sights that had become so popular over the second half of the nineteenth century around the globe. This popular genre of urban ethnography and reform was inaugurated by Henry Mayhew's 1851 *London Labour and the London Poor*.²⁴ Uniting anthropological knowledge (including emerging scientific visual conventions) and a reformist zeal, this genre cemented the mutual constitution of the social categories of class and race, defining the London poor in racial terms and the 'slums' as a foreign world. Here Ackermann's target was the Chinese, whose demonization resonated with Australians at this time. The reporter described how the Chinese question was touched upon, the lecturess referring to it from a San Francisco standpoint. The effects of the Chinese competition with their own people was described at length, and the statement that the United States Congress had passed a Bill to exclude all Celestials from landing on American shores for the next twenty years was loudly applauded. There were 60,000 Chinese in San Francisco, and their habitations, vices, habits and surroundings were pictured in a racy manner.²⁵

In the context of imperialism, Ann Stoler, for example, has explored the way that internal divisions within the European social order were defined in counterpoint to other cultures,

often relying upon outward appearance alongside ‘certain cultural competencies, sexual proclivities, psychological dispositions, and cultivated habits’ that defined the lines ‘along which gendered assessments of class and racial membership were drawn.’²⁶ However, by the late nineteenth century, their equivalence was increasingly challenged as notions of biological difference developed, gradually displacing sympathy for non-white people, and shaping imperial relations between ruler and ruled. Systems of racial segregation were expanded from within the borders of ‘white men’s countries’ to a global project of whiteness, as a concern with whiteness as a transnational form of racial identification emerged in response to non-white anti-imperialism around the turn of the twentieth century.²⁷ As Jeremy Martens has recently shown, the competing interests of the settler colonies and the metropole ultimately resulted in legislative compromise, with the enactment of forms of immigration restriction that did not explicitly mention race but were nevertheless directed at non-white migrants.²⁸

One of the main forms of middle-class amusement around the turn of the twentieth century was the multi-media travelogue, and Ackermann deployed this genre to great effect by using images collected during her travels through the south-east Asian region to argue for women’s advancement in Australia, a ‘civilised country’. Shifting her focus from the ‘vices’ of foreign non-white people *within* white countries to produce a more explicit contrast *between* them, Ackermann provided an overview of the places she had visited, including China, Japan, Thailand and Burma. Through her selection, arrangement and narration of images Ackermann constructed a global racial taxonomy, making the treatment of women a key marker of ‘advancement’ and civilisation. In March 1892, for example, Ackerman, ‘becomingly attired in Chinese costume’, spoke at Perth’s Town Hall, which was ‘simply crowded with an immense gathering’ eager to hear her speak about ‘The Women of Asia’. She described the slave-like conditions of women in China, contrasting their low position with that in ‘civilised’ countries as a means of linking civilizational standards with the position of women. Women ‘were at work in the stone quarries, hammering away from morning till night’, and she saw ‘15 Chinamen and 12 women harnessed together, drawing stone to make the roads.’ The symbol of Chinese women’s oppression was the ‘dreadful habit of bandaging the feet’ (Figure 1).²⁹ Today Ackermann’s photograph collection is held in the Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, USA, in the form of prints assembled on large Masonite panels (Figure 2. China panel). Each panel is organised by country - such as China, and within Australia, by colony – illustrating aspects of these societies corresponding to specific arguments or descriptions that feature in reports of her

lantern slide performances, as well as her published books and articles. Their arrangement approximates her narration of her travels and arguments, expressing late nineteenth century views about human difference that by the late nineteenth century were deeply structured by ideas of modernist biological race.

<Insert Figure 1. Bandaged foot. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University.>

<Insert Figure 2. China panel. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University. >

By contrast with her critique of south-east Asian societies, Ackermann suggested that elsewhere ‘woman’s work was becoming daily more recognised, and her great power admitted in all civilised countries’.³⁰ Specifically, Ackermann noted that ‘the public spirit displayed by the Australian women encourages me. Women’s suffrage has made advances there as it has made nowhere else. ... The result of giving women the vote will be that they will vote against the liquor trade of the country, and they will put moral men into Parliament.’³¹ Her 1909 travels in a ‘Gospel van’ were prompted by curiosity about the ‘trail of the settler’, while the mission aimed to ‘establish direct touch with the remote settlers, where already the busy hand of progress has bent its energies to dethrone the forest and bush, and make wheat monarch of that vast region.’³² Her 1913 book, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View* offered a ‘systematic analysis of the place of women in Australian society’ and suggested its historical underpinnings.³³ Her preface began,

Australia is attracting the attention of the world at the present time. Not so much that it affords possibilities for the pioneer spirit, but because of the process of social evolution through which it is passing, and the fact that it has called women into the councils of men in the capacity of citizens, to aid in the establishment of “New World conditions for the people.”³⁴

Using the language of Darwinism, she stated that while the country was ‘in every respect, crude and in its merest infancy’ it was fascinating to try to ‘foresee what manner of social order will evolve in this experimental station of social enactments.’³⁵

Her surviving photographic collection - the basis for her 1913 book’s 76 photographic illustrations - expresses concern with white settler progress, featuring scenes of colonial labour, industry, and produce. Her description of the country and its white settlers included their ‘amusements and gambling’, ‘home life’, and ‘constitutional setting’, and a chapter exploring plans for the new capital of Canberra, seemingly overlooking its Indigenous

people. However, in a chapter titled ‘Romances of Christian Enterprises’, she told the story of New Norcia, a Spanish Benedictine mission established north-east of Perth in 1847.³⁶ As the title suggests, this was cast as a white missionary story, focusing upon the ‘hardships and privations which they [the monks] endured’ which constituted ‘as thrilling a romance as ever wove itself into human activity.’³⁷ Father Salvado, who established New Norcia, was ‘inspiring’ and the ‘savages came from far and near’ – however she was very disparaging regarding Aboriginal people whom she characterised as lazy, and lacking in initiative. She combined two photographs of Aboriginal men in a ‘before and after’ narrative of transformation typical of missionary photography since the mid-nineteenth century.³⁸ On the left, a man in traditional dress and body decoration stands holding weapons; on the right, two men in neat European suits and brushed hair regard the camera.

Bishop Salvado may have been startled to read of his Benedictine mission that ‘[t]he system under which the whole enterprise is conducted is largely patterned after methods in practice by Dr Booker Washington, of Tuskegee.’³⁹ Booker Taliaferro Washington (1856-1915) was an African-American born into slavery who became a leader, educator, author, orator, and advisor. From the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, he advocated self-help, education and entrepreneurship, and mobilised middle-class blacks, church leaders, and white philanthropists and politicians, with a long-term goal of building the community's economic strength and pride. While Ackermann may have been incorrect in suggesting that Tuskegee was the precedent for New Norcia, her comment expresses the shared evangelical approach to transforming Indigenous people that characterised the imperial ‘civilising mission’. Earlier, her 1896 book, *The World Through a Woman's Eyes* had been dedicated to the Superintendent of the Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which she termed ‘the greatest educational and individualizing enterprise in the world’. Carlisle Indian Industrial School was the first federally-funded off-reservation Indian boarding school, founded in 1879 under U. S. governmental authority by General Richard Henry Pratt. Pratt is known for his phrase ‘kill the Indian... and save the man’ in reference to the ethos of forcible assimilation. As in Australia, Carlisle implemented practices such as removing children from their families, changing the students’ physical appearance through uniforms and haircuts, replacing the students’ tribal names with Western names, a curriculum that focused on domestic and vocational training, and forbidding students from speaking their tribal languages, in pursuing the erasure of Native Americans’ identity.⁴⁰

By contrast, a key element of Ackermann's cultural mosaic was her constant and careful self-construction as white feminist citizen. Ackermann asserted her status as 'expert' and intrepid traveller and authorised her eyewitness accounts through photographic evidence. As well as dressing in local costume, Ackermann's visual narratives included numerous portraits showing her in various circumstances, many reproduced in her 1913 book, from the cultured, well-dressed lady of May Moore's studio portrait frontispiece (Figure 3), a portrait showing her as she was on first arrival in Sydney, a group portrait in which she was seated among six 'Types of Girls who "do things": Sydney members of the G.R.G. [Girl's Realm Guild of Service]', to scenes of adventure, showing her seated aboard the outback gospel van, or (held in her papers), on a camel (Figure 4).

< Figure 3: May Moore, Frontispiece, Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View* (London, NY, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell and Co.1913)>

<Figure 4: Jessie Ackermann seated on camel. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University. >

As I have noted, Ackermann's performances drew upon the travelogue genre, which became an effective instrument of colonial expansion and rule.⁴¹ Closely linked to an older tradition of travel writing, stereotypes of Victorian women travellers as eccentric spinster or the pampered Memsahib reinforced bourgeois gender and class ideology and disguised their complicity with imperialism.⁴² Ackermann explicitly challenged these limited roles by asserting her status within the bourgeois social order. But more, she entered the public realm through her astute use of the spectacular lantern slide form. As Wendy Parkin has argued, suffragettes' use of spectacular tactics – including marches with costumes, banners, bands and other trappings of pageantry – 'ran the risk of confirming the legitimacy of women's exclusion from the realm of rational debate' and therefore from participation in the public sphere. However through their appropriation of the strategies of dominant political discourse, but at the same time their insistence on signifying their difference through their feminine appearance and deportment, they shifted the terms of political discourse.⁴³

by using photography to picture a global, gendered, racial hierarchy, and by placing herself within this schema as a white woman Ackermann actively produced a new form of gendered identity.⁴⁴ A distinctive aspect of Ackermann's self-representation was her identity as a metropolitan global woman of the world, free to travel and observe.⁴⁵ As Australian women became citizens within the new nation, experiencing these lantern slide performances enabled

them to imagine themselves as part of a larger, cohesive international community.

Ackermann's performances and writing reveal how arguments for white female suffrage were premised upon racial ideologies that subordinated and excluded Indigenous and non-white people – as well as the ways these ideologies were disseminated and naturalised within colonial society. Western Australia played a key role in excluding Indigenous people from the franchise, both as an example, and because of the specific arguments made by its political representatives. As the last colony to achieve responsible government in 1889, the political debates surrounding the provisions of its new constitution and primarily the franchise, were reprised to powerful effect less than a decade later. In addition, by 1900 so-called 'half-castes' were excluded from the category of Aboriginal people, so the example provided by Western Australia, with its relatively large 'full-blooded' population, loomed large.⁴⁶

Legislators participating in Western Australia in 1889 wanted to attract white workers to counter the substantial Aboriginal population. The property qualification, it was felt, would discourage this desirable class of immigrant. However Aboriginal and Chinese people were considered unworthy of this right. Women argued that female vote would counter the influence of an 'unsettled' population of gold-diggers. The WCTU and its campaigners such as Ackermann asserted the long-standing Western belief that the status of women was a yardstick of civilization, overlooking the status of Aboriginal women except, implicitly, as objects of uplift. This cultural schema had political effects, as Aboriginal people and non-white migrants were excluded by Western Australia's first Constitution, in the Constitution Amendment Act (1893)'s provisions for manhood suffrage. For men, the property qualification was maintained, and for this purpose, the definition of Aborigines was extended to 'persons of the half-blood'.⁴⁷

In its first year, the Commonwealth of Australia put in place the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which enshrined 'White Australia' as a guiding principle for the new nation.⁴⁸ Within its borders, the ideology of biological absorption aimed at the disappearance of the Aboriginal people, as those of mixed descent were excluded from the definition of Aboriginal. The following year, the Commonwealth passed female suffrage legislation that explicitly disenfranchised Aboriginal men and women, including those who had existing rights to vote under colonial legislation.⁴⁹ When Senator Richard O'Connor, government leader in the senate, introduced the first legislation to specify the rights of Australian citizens,

the franchise bill, it guaranteed uniform adult franchise with no racial or gender exclusions.⁵⁰ Senator Matheson from Western Australia argued that ‘Surely it is absolutely repugnant to the greater number of the people of the Commonwealth that an aboriginal man, or aboriginal lubra or gin – a horrible, degraded, dirty creature – should have the same rights, simply by virtue of being twenty-one years of age, that we have, after some debate today, decided to give to our wives and daughters.’ Opposing this stance, Senator Richard O’Connor, NSW barrister and constitutional committee member, stressed that Aboriginal people already had the right to vote in all the states, albeit with a high property qualification in Queensland and Western Australia, and deplored the exclusion of Aboriginal people as ‘a monstrous and a savage application of this principle of a white Australia’.⁵¹

However in the House of Representatives it was argued that Aboriginal voters in Western Australia would be controlled by their white bosses, the station owners. Hugh Mahon, Member for Coolgardie, argued that it would be ‘distinctly dangerous to allow the squatters of WA to muster up their niggers and drive them to the polling booth to vote’. When returned to the senate with the exclusionary clause reinstated, O’Connor gave way rather than ‘run the risk of losing the bill’. O’Connor explained that few voters would be affected by inclusion, and that these would disappear over time as Aboriginal people continued to die out. The *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902* was therefore passed explicitly excluding the category of the ‘aboriginal native of Australia, Asia, Africa or the Islands of the Pacific except New Zealand’.⁵² As Susan Magarey argues, ‘citizenship, at least as defined by the right to vote, could be defined as sexually *in*-clusive, because it had, with the same legislation, also been made racially and ethnically *ex*-clusive.’⁵³ All adult white women received full political rights.⁵⁴

Muriel Matters, evolution, and imperialism

The transnational women’s suffrage campaign also made a significant contribution to the global project of whiteness through its linking of feminist and evolutionary thought. Ultimately, Darwin’s theory of natural selection had been taken up by many concerned with improving society and humankind, and of particular concern to feminists was his account of women’s natural suffrage in *The Descent of Man* (1871), which detailed his theory of sexual selection: men performed for women, who chose the most attractive partner. This theory provided justification for some feminists, who argued that if nature had enfranchised women, then it risked the future of the species to deny them the vote.⁵⁵ By the 1880s, an eclectic

British working-class radical movement including feminists joined the evolution debates, a participation made possible by the development of mass communication technology, including the lantern slide performance. Rejecting the interpretation of natural selection that emphasised competition and inequality, this group saw evolution as the basis for a just future guaranteed as part of human progress. Prominent British militant suffragette Annie Kenney, for example, asserted that history was the story of freedom – expressing not merely the democratic fervour of her era, but the belief that evolution would make ‘an egalitarian England a scientific inevitability’.⁵⁶

A more sinister branch of these debates was eugenics, or the ‘science of good breeding’, a term coined in 1880 by Darwin’s cousin, Francis Galton, which found favour with many feminists who wanted to improve the quality of the human race.⁵⁷ Eugenics perpetuated the conservative gender and racial hierarchies of British science, also evident in Darwin’s work.⁵⁸ Women fiction writers, for example, were preoccupied with evolutionary progress and eugenic themes from the late 1880s.⁵⁹ From the 1890s a concern with racial degeneration became prominent, and Jane Carey notes the work of Western Australian feminist and doctor, Roberta Jull, whose pamphlet *Heredity and Environment* was based upon an address she had given in 1899 to the influential Perth women’s group, the Karrakatta Club. Jull argued for the salience of race in preventing ‘the marriage of the unfit’, joining a substantial body of work on this theme by white feminists.⁶⁰

Australian suffragist Muriel Matters joined these discussions after her arrival in London in 1905, influenced especially by Russian exile Prince Peter Kropotkin’s anarchist views.⁶¹ Twenty years younger than Ackermann, Matters enjoyed the rights and privileges of citizenship, the female franchise having been secured in South Australia by the time she was 17. Matters studied music and elocution and then travelled to London, where the women’s movement seized upon her ‘wonderful, magical voice’.⁶² She joined the Women’s Freedom League in 1907, lecturing in Hyde Park and in 1908 taking the first ‘Votes for Women’ caravan on a tour of villages in the south of England.⁶³ She became famous in Britain for high profile stunts such as chaining herself to the iron grille in the ladies’ gallery of the British House of Commons, requiring its removal through the house, with Matters calling out slogans meantime. In 1909 she flew over London in an airship inscribed ‘Votes for Women’, intending to drop hand-bills on Westminster on the day that parliament opened. Unfortunately she was blown off course and had to land on the southern outskirts of London,

but achieved her goal of gaining massive public attention. In her British lectures she illustrated her arguments through reference to the effects of the 'Women's Vote' in Australia.⁶⁴

She returned to Australia in 1910, where between May and June she gave a series of lectures illustrated by lantern slides about her exploits, actively creating an audience sympathetic to feminism through these popular collective experiences. In Australia, these performances prompted support from women for the metropolitan cause, and drew her listeners into a shared imperial category of imagined white citizenship. In May, Perth audiences were advised that 'the attractiveness of Miss Matters' first lecture, "The Suffrage Movement in England", 'would be enhanced by lantern slides 'supplied to Miss Matters by the *Daily Mirror*, London, depicting some of the most exciting scenes in the history of the women's struggle for the vote.'⁶⁵ Again, when she reached Adelaide in June, *The Advertiser* reported that

All the lectures will be brilliantly illustrated, the pictures, it is said, being eye-openers to all in Australia who have not an accurate idea of the exciting episodes connected with the movement in which Miss Matters has taken such a prominent part. Among them are views of Miss Matters starting on her astonishing airship voyage giving her farewell message, and rising to a height of 3000 ft. Mr Bernard Shaw is shown listening to suffragist speeches, and Mr Forbes Robertson, the famous actor, is depicted as a strong supporter of the suffragettes. Miss Ellen Terry's daughter on picket duty, pictures of demonstrations by the suffragists, and their conflicts with politicians and police, and many other thrilling and humorous episodes will also form part of the programme.⁶⁶

Her lantern slides included images of prominent suffragettes, 'scenes from the stirring times round the British House of Commons, and in Downing-street', Holloway Gaol, with its suffragette inmates in uniform, and the famous airship flight (Figures 5 and 6).⁶⁷ During her tour, Matters denounced sweating and advocated women's unions, equal divorce laws, equal pay for equal work, endowment of motherhood, support for unmarried mothers, prison reform, and universal suffrage in Great Britain.⁶⁸ With suffragist leader, Victorian Vida Goldstein, Matters secured a resolution from the Senate to the British prime minister detailing the good results from the enfranchisement of Australian women. Matters later described how 'British suffragists hailed this message with delight and gratitude.'⁶⁹

<Insert Figure 5: Votes for Women airship, Courtesy Muriel Matters Society, Adelaide.

Figure 6: Miss Muriel Matters Suffragette Pictured in basket of hot air balloon with megaphone as Suffragettes. Trinity Mirror / Mirrorpix / Alamy Stock Photo. >

These graphic and spectacular stunts effectively seized the attention of public audiences across the anglophone world. Part of Matters' self-conscious persona was her status as an 'enfranchised Australienne', 'that daring Australian girl' whose courage and audacity thrilled and impressed the public. Matters' lantern slide performances allowed her British and Australian women audiences to vicariously participate within these spectacular public events. Just as participating in a protest march or a mass meeting created an 'overwhelming sense of solidarity' with other women, crucially, the experience of these events helped construct a shared identity and a sense of solidarity with other women across the empire.⁷⁰

Like Ackerman, Matters wrote an account of her work that employed metaphors of a feminist evolution, also published in 1913. The book *Australasians who count in London and who counts in Western Australia* was edited by her sister-in-law Mrs Leonard Matters (using the pen-name Egeria, signifying a female consort and adviser), and included Muriel's chapter, 'My impressions as an agitator for social reform'. *Australasians who count* was an interesting imperial project, as signaled by Egeria's foreword, which urged 'Anglo-Australasians [to] take pride in following Henry Lawson's advice to his countrymen: "Hold up your heads in London/ Tread firm in London streets!"' She claimed that Australians in London had 'the consciousness that they are accomplishing what they left their native country to do in London', and that 'in every section of society, art, or industry, Australasians are taking the lead.'⁷¹ As Angela Woollacott has argued of Australian women in London at this time, despite their enfranchisement, the metropolis represented opportunities unavailable in their own 'stridently masculinist' culture. The global mobility enabled by modernity opened up new possibilities for white Australian women who thereby participated in and shaped a hierarchical, racist, and gendered imperial culture.⁷² Muriel's chapter began by looking back over seven years in England, where

the outstanding feature to my mind has been the evolutionary struggle witnessed by us, of strong fearless souls, in the world of letters, politics and industry, against an antagonistic social environment that threatening, at times, to overpower, has crushed them into utterance. It is a hackneyed phrase "England is Conservative" – yet coming from a

younger country, where the tides of life run high and pulses beat more strenuously, one can testify to the profundity of such a statement.⁷³

Matters's self-consciously Australian perspective defined itself as 'younger' and more vital than Britain's 'insular' conservative society, where 'every fresh idea [was] met with a resistance worthy of their best naval traditions.' She relished the struggle, and considered the women's movement 'but a phase of a greater movement, evolutionary and spiritual, stirring civilized people throughout the world today.'⁷⁴ Optimistically, she concluded that

Meanwhile a mighty leverage is at work, a new spirit which will ultimately transform the face of this country. Old landmarks are passing. It means the break-up of a social and economic order based on the privileges of the few. A new order is being evolved, a new aristocracy will be raised; not one founded on birth, nor on money, nor even on intellect, but on character. We fighters on the outposts are helping to create a freer mental atmosphere in which there will be opportunity for souls to win their way up, and through, to spiritual distinction.'⁷⁵

Conclusion

While Ackermann and Matters represent different aspects of the women's movement, their shared use of lantern slides within the suffragette campaigns of the turn of the century map the role of public visual performances in defining a new vision of citizenship. However these visions of a brighter future were premised upon the exclusion and subordination of Indigenous and non-white people. As popular public performances their lantern slide lectures demonstrate the nexus between race and gender in defining citizenship at the crucial moment of federation and nationhood. Through the impact of visual imagery, with its effect of naturalising ideology, a longstanding racial taxonomy was elaborated within a modernist biological racial apparatus, both reinforcing the subordination of Aboriginal people as a living stage of early humankind, and at the same time supporting arguments for women's natural suffrage.

Ackermann used images to argue for women's place as an index of progress and civilisation: her imperialist world view drew on an older global visual taxonomy of human racial and cultural difference to assert white superiority and justify conquest and assimilation. For her, the ill-treatment of women was a hallmark of primitivism. Her arguments for women's improved social place required the subordination of non-whites, ensuring the progress of

white countries such as Australia, and their evolution into greater civilization. Matters's politics were shaped by her encounter with radical socialist metropolitan ideas and figures such as Kropotkin. Where Ackermann tried to uplift Australian women, for Matters it was British women who were an object of reform, and she asserted her own vision of 'a new order' that would be more readily realized in a 'younger' and more progressive Australia.

Through these two prominent women's arguments we see how specific aspects of evolutionism were applied to human society in mutually reinforcing ways. Both women believed that Australia provided a social evolutionist experiment, and saw themselves building a new world. In Matters' words '[w]e fighters on the outposts' provided opportunities 'for souls to win their way up, and through, to spiritual distinction.'⁷⁶ In a sense, Matters' location on 'the outposts' assumed an ambivalent status: while Australia was so geographically distant from Britain and its metropolitan inhabitants, the limited sphere of British female citizenship appeared less evolved to her more privileged Australian audience. The very mobility and fluidity of these campaigners' illustrated performances enabled white women to feel solidarity with others across the empire, vicariously experiencing and identifying with a new, expanding category of female citizen.

Figures

Figure 1. Bandaged foot. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University.

Figure 2. China panel. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University.

Figure 3: May Moore, Frontispiece, Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View* (London, NY, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell and Co.1913).

Figure 4: Jessie Ackermann seated on camel. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University.

Figure 5: 'Votes for Women' airship, Courtesy Muriel Matters Society, Adelaide.

Figure 6: 'Miss Muriel Matters Suffragette Pictured in basket of hot air balloon with megaphone as Suffragettes.' Trinity Mirror / Mirrorpix / Alamy Stock Photo.

¹ I am referring to citizenship as something operating and experienced beyond legal properties or juridical frames: Jennifer E. Telesca, 'What Is Visual Citizenship?', *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 4: 3 (2013),

339-343. Rather than a property distributed by the state, this conceptualization of citizenship takes into account the entire population, forged as a relation of governance among various protagonists: Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone, 2008).

² Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

³ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 8-11; Gabrielle Moser, 'Photographing Imperial Citizenship: The Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee's Lanternslide Lectures, 1900-1945', *Journal of Visual Culture* 16(2), 190-224.

⁴ Emmeline Pankhurst, 'Great speeches of the 20th century: Emmeline Pankhurst's Freedom or death'. <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/27/greatspeeches>

⁵ Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1987); Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre & Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁶ Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 10. See also Barbara Green, *Spectacular Confessions: Autobiography, Performative Activism, and Sites of Suffrage, 1905-1938* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Wendy Parkin, 'What to wear to a protest march: Identity politics and fashion in the suffragette movement', *Southern Review* 28:1 (1995): 69-82.

⁷ Barbara Caine, 'Australian Feminism and the British Militant Suffragettes'. *Papers on Parliament 41, Centenary Issue: One Hundred Years of Women's Suffrage*, Department of the Senate, 2003 [Paper presented as a lecture in the Department of the Senate Occasional Lecture Series at Parliament House on 31 October 2003], 11-27. Available from <http://www2.sl.nsw.gov.au/eresources/?HomeLink=eresources>

⁸ Caine, 'Australian Feminism and the British Militant Suffragettes'; see also Angela Woollacott, 'Australian women's metropolitan activism', in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, eds. Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall, and Philippa Levine (London: Routledge, 2000), 207-223; Eliza Riedi, 'Women, Gender, and the Promotion of the Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914', *The Historical Journal* 45(3) 2002: 569-599; Clare Wright, "'A Splendid Object Lesson": A Transnational Perspective on the Birth of the Australian Nation', *Journal of Women's History* 26:4 (2014), 12-36.

⁹ Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London': Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁰ Ana Stevenson, 'Imagining Women's Suffrage: Frontier Landscapes and the Transnational Print Culture Networks of Australia, New Zealand, and the United States'. *Pacific Historical Review* 87:3 (in press 2018).

¹¹ But see for the United States Catherine H. Palczewski, 'The 1919 Prison Special: Constituting white women's Citizenship'. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 102: 2 (2016), 107–132.

¹² Robert Dixon, *Photography, Early Cinema and Colonial Modernity: Frank Hurley's Synchronized Lecture Entertainments* (London: Anthem Press, 2013).

¹³ Jill Julius Matthews, *Dance Hall & Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity* (Sydney: Currency Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Elizabeth Hartrick, *The Magic Lantern in Colonial Australia and New Zealand* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2017).

¹⁶ Martyn Jolly, 'Soldiers of the Cross: Time Narrative and Affect' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 11:4 (2013), 293-311. Quotation, 307.

¹⁷ Ludwig Vogl-Bienek and Richard Crangle, eds. *Screen Culture and the Social Question 1880-1914* (London: KINtop Studies in Early Cinema, John Libbey Publishing, 2014).

¹⁸ Ian Tyrrell, 'Ackermann, Jessie A. (1857–1951)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2005)

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ackermann-jessie-a-12764/text23023>, accessed online 16 September 2018.

¹⁹ Patricia Grimshaw, 'Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women's Suffrage in the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i, 1888 to 1902', *Pacific Historical Review* 69: 4 (2000), 553-72. See also Pat Stretton and Christine Finnimore, 'Black Fellow Citizens: Aborigines and the Commonwealth Franchise', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25 (1993), 521-535.

²⁰ Patricia Grimshaw, 'Gender, citizenship and race in the woman's Christian temperance union of Australia, 1890 to the 1930s', *Australian Feminist Studies* 13:28 (1998), 199-214.

²¹ *Daily Telegraph*, Wednesday 9 March 1910, 16.

²² *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, Friday 2 August 1889, 3.

²³ *Express and Telegraph*, Monday 10 June 1889, 2.

²⁴ A vast literature has explored the mixed sensations evoked by this genre, as well as its domestic functions: see for example Lynda Nead *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and*

Images in Nineteenth-Century London (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Deborah Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation and the City* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995); Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Night: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

²⁵ *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, Friday 2 August 1889, page 3

²⁶ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 8-11.

²⁷ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 4.

²⁸ Jeremy C. Martens, *Empire and Asian Migration: Sovereignty, Immigration Restriction and Protest in the British Settler Colonies, 1888–1907* (Perth:UWA Press, 2018).

²⁹ *Western Mail*, Saturday 6 August 1892, 14.

³⁰ *Western Mail*, Saturday 6 August 1892, page 14. In 1909 she was still using this format, for example in speaking to an audience of 350 at Perth's Claremont Old Men's Home, where she kept 'up a constant and vivid interest in all the interesting slides she had to show them ... about those places that she had visited', including Japan, Korea, China, Siam, Burmah, India, Alaska, and Iceland, Jerusalem, Rome, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand, and America, 'both North and South'. Not only were 'picked views of the various countries given, but photographs of the different peoples were presented, and amusing and interesting anecdotes were told about them, and the old men laughed and applauded repeatedly. In conclusion Miss Ackermann spoke of Western Australia, of the kind hospitality she had received, and of the splendid opportunities and possibilities that the country held.' *West Australian*, Monday 6 September 1909, 2

³¹ *Inquirer and Commercial News*, Friday 21 September 1894, 17. By contrast, her view of Australian women in 1894 was that they were too idle, and not sufficiently 'home-trained' to be able to 'help themselves'.

³² Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View* (London, NY, Toronto and Melbourne: Cassell and Co.1913), 135-06. She described the compact organisation of the missionary's caravan, noting that 'He must give as much of the outside world as possible, so he stores away a lantern and trappings, [and] a phonograph'. p. 138.

³³ Patricia Grimshaw, 'Ackermann, Jessie (1857-1951)', *The Encyclopedia of Women and Leadership in Twentieth-Century Australia*.

<http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/biogs/WLE0598b.htm>

³⁴ Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View*, vii.

³⁵ Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View*, vii.

³⁶ Patricia Grimshaw's otherwise excellent and comprehensive analysis erroneously states that Ackermann's sole reference to Aborigines was made 'obliquely' in referring to the supposed liking of Chinese Australians for opium, and their bad influence upon 'the sons and daughters of this land': Patricia Grimshaw, 'Gender, Citizenship and Race in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia, 1890 to the 1930s', *Australian Feminist Studies* 13: 28 (1998), 199–214; Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View* titled 'Romances of Christian Enterprises' pp. 115-12.

³⁷ Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View*, 115-6.

³⁸ Jane Lydon, *Photography, Humanitarianism, Empire, London*: (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

³⁹ Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View*, 120.

⁴⁰ Jessie Ackermann, *The World Through a Woman's Eyes* (Chicago, 1896 [self-published]). For analysis of Carlisle Indian Industrial School's assimilationist tactics see Molly Campbell, 'Kill the Indian, and Save the Man': Examining the Assimilation Tactics Used Against Native Americans by the United States Government Through the Implementation of Boarding Schools, (2018). Senior Independent Study Theses. Paper 8157. <https://openworks.wooster.edu/independentstudy/8157>; Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2016).

⁴¹ Moser, 'Photographing Imperial Citizenship'.

⁴² See for example Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁴³ Parkin, 'What to wear to a protest march', 69–82.

⁴⁴ Marion Arnold and Marsha Meskimmon, eds., *Home/Land: Women, citizenship, photographs*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

⁴⁵ As Woollacott notes, white feminists' enjoyment of their new-found mobility at this time contrasted with Indigenous women's inability to do so. Woollacott,

⁴⁶ Ann Curthoys and Jessie Mitchell have recently argued that Western Australia provides a distinctive example in Australian history because the British government retained direct control there until 1890, whereas the other colonies had gained self-governing constitutions

in the 1850s. Ann Curthoys and Jessie Mitchell, *Taking Liberty*: (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁴⁷ Patricia Grimshaw and Katherine Ellinghaus, 'White Women, Aboriginal Women and the Vote in Western Australia', *Studies in Western Australian History*, (1999), 5.

⁴⁸ Katherine Ellinghaus, "'Absorbing the 'Aboriginal problem': controlling interracial marriage in Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries', *Aboriginal History* 27 (2003), 183-207; Andrew Markus *Australian Race Relations 1788 – 1993* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 110–54.

⁴⁹ Pat Stretton and Christine Finnimore, 'Black Fellow Citizens: Aborigines and the Commonwealth Franchise', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25 (1993), 521-535; Grimshaw, 'Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women's Suffrage', 553-72.

⁵⁰ John Chesterman and Brian Galligan, *Citizens Without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 90-91.

⁵¹ Brian Galligan and John Chesterman, eds., *Defining Australian Citizenship: Selected Documents* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995).

⁵² Russell McGregor, *Indifferent Inclusion: Aboriginal People and the Australian Nation* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011), xxiii; see also Clare Wright, *You Daughters of Freedom: The Australians Who Won the Vote and Inspired the World* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2018).

⁵³ Susan Magarey, *Passions of the First Wave Feminists* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001), 8. See also Stretton and Finnimore, 'Black Fellow Citizens', 521-535; Grimshaw, 'Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women's Suffrage'.

⁵⁴ Helen Irving, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁵⁵ Angus Fletcher, 'Willa Cather and the upside-down politics of feminist Darwinism', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 34: 2 (2013), 114-133; Angélique Richardson, *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Kimberly A. Hamlin, *From Eve to evolution: Darwin, Science, and Women's Rights in Gilded Age America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

⁵⁶ Erin Mclaughlin-Jenkins, 'Annie Kenney on Evolution, Freedom, and Fellowship', *Victorian Review*, 41: 2, (2015), 39-44.

⁵⁷ Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (London: Macmillan, 1883), 24-5.

⁵⁸ Diane B. Paul, 'Eugenics and the Left', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 45 (1984), 567-89.

⁵⁹ Jane Carey, 'Utopian Visions of Evolution and Race in Feminist Fiction and Activism: Some Preliminary Reflections on Catherine Spence, Henrietta Dugdale and Other Late Nineteenth-Century Australian Writers', *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal*, 17/18 (2012), 68-88. See also Magarey, *Passions*, 79-80; Susan Magarey, 'Dreams and Desires: Four 1970s Feminist Visions of Utopia', *Australian Feminist Studies* 22: 53 (2007), 325-6; Susan Sheridan, *Along the Faultlines: Sex, Race and Nation in Australian Women's Writing 1880s-1930s* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 113.

⁶⁰ Roberta Jull, *Heredity and Environment*, Paper read at the Karrakatta Women's Club by a Medical Practitioner. Printed by Request of the Club. (Perth: Upham & Edwards, City Printing: 1899), 3, 5. Cited in Carey, 'Utopian Visions'. See also Jane Carey, 'Women's Objective—A Perfect Race: Whiteness, Eugenics and the Articulation of Race', in *Re-Orienting Whiteness: Transnational Perspectives on the History of an Identity*, Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey and Katherine Ellinghaus, eds., (New York: Palgrave, 2009), 183- 198; Richardson, *Love and Eugenics*; Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and for following decades see also Ann Curthoys, 'Eugenics, Feminism and Birth Control: The Case of Marion Piddington', *Hecate* 15, no. 1 (1989): 73–8.

⁶¹ Caroline Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism 1872–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Brian Morris, *Kropotkin: The Politics of Community* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2004).

⁶² Marion Holmes 'Concerning Muriel Matters', *The Vote*, 19 February 1910.

⁶³ Fayette Gosse, 'Matters, Muriel Lilah (1877–1969)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1986) <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/matters-muriel-lilah-7522/text13121>, accessed online 19 September 2018. For a recent biography see Robert Wainwright, *Miss Muriel Matters* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2017). The Adelaide-based *Muriel Matters Society* actively researches, commemorates and promotes the memory of Matters and her work: <https://murielmatterssociety.com.au>

⁶⁴ *Women's Franchise*, March 19, 1908.

⁶⁵ *The Daily News*, 18 May 1910.

⁶⁶ *The Advertiser*, 6 June 1910.

⁶⁷ *The Advertiser*, 13 June 1910.

⁶⁸ *The Advertiser*, 1 August 1910, p. 9.

⁶⁹ Matters, 'My Impressions as an Agitator', 164.

⁷⁰ Parkin, 'What to wear to a protest march.

⁷¹ Mrs Leonard Matters ('Egeria'), *Australasians who count in London and who counts in Western Australia* (London: Jas. Truscott & Son, 1913).

⁷² Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, 17.

⁷³ Muriel Matters 'My Impressions as an Agitator for Social Reform', in *Australasians who count in London and who counts in Western Australia*, Mrs Leonard Matters ('Egeria'), ed., (London: Jas. Truscott & Son, 1913), 161-2.

⁷⁴ Matters, 'My Impressions as an Agitator', 162

⁷⁵ Matters, 'My Impressions as an Agitator', 164.

⁷⁶ 'My Impressions as an Agitator', 164.