

‘Advertising the Work’: Women’s Suffrage Campaigns Leading the Way in Modern Media Publicity

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Abstract: Members of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union were keenly aware that many of the social concerns of the day flourished when they were out of the public gaze. They also realised that universal (white) suffrage was critical to engineer the progressive legislation and social change they believed necessary. They consciously sought to achieve both aims by attempting to catch public opinion by advertising their ideas and influencing the voting public, using modern media to expand their influence and public leadership.

Keywords: women, politics, WCTU, suffrage, public opinion, publicity

In 1906, Sara Nolan, the state president of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in New South Wales, reflected, with satisfaction, on the fact that (white) women had been granted the vote in South Australia, Western Australia, New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania.¹ ‘The WCTU,’ she declared, had ‘outlived the age of ridicule.’ She and some of their members, she said, ‘had figured in the pages of the *Bulletin* but she did not mind it – it advertised the work.’² Working for suffrage, indeed, demanded that women’s leadership be about advertising ideas, and influencing the voting public. The value of doing so was never far from the minds of Protestant Christian women’s groups, and the WCTU in particular, who welcomed and manipulated the glare of publicity particularly through the Christian press, seeing as they did so that women should take a central role in shaping policy on critical modern issues.

Sometimes dismissed as ‘feminists of fear’, reactionaries or wowsers, members of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in fact played a significant part in campaigns for women’s suffrage.³ The early granting of suffrage to white women in South Australia, New Zealand and Western Australia in the 1890s was a remarkable victory for suffrage campaigners among whom, in every state, the WCTU played a dynamic and significant part.⁴ In Adelaide, they were founding members in the Women’s Suffrage League that was first mooted in 1886 and formally established in 1888.⁵ In Western Australia, the WCTU single-handedly ran the suffrage campaign in

lieu of a dedicated women's suffrage organisation between 1892 and 1899 when they then formed and dominated a Woman's Franchise League.⁶ Their success in these states was outstanding. White women in South Australia were granted the vote in 1894, and white women in Western Australia obtained the vote in 1899.⁷ When the colonies voted for federation, which took place in 1901, the constitution (under section 41) protected the federal vote already granted to women in the two states of South Australia and Western Australia. In 1902 the new federal government voted to extend the vote to adult white women in the other states. State governments gradually followed suit in the following decade by giving white women the vote at state level as well: New South Wales in 1902, Tasmania in 1903, Queensland in 1905 and Victoria in 1908.⁸

In Victoria and New South Wales the WCTU also worked with dedicated suffrage organisations such as the Victorian Women's Suffrage Society, the Australian Women's Suffrage Society, the Women's Progressive Leagues and the Women's Social and Political Reform League, to fight for the vote.⁹ While Victorian women were the last to be awarded the vote, they were nevertheless vigorous in their campaigns to win it from the 1890s onwards. In 1891, Premier James Munro said he would introduce a bill for women's suffrage if it were demonstrated that ordinary women wanted this right and the Victorian branch of the WCTU and their counterparts in the Women's Suffrage League took only ten weeks to gather 30,000 signatures for a petition that demanded that 'women might vote on equal terms with men'.¹⁰ It came to be known as the 'monster petition'. The pages, glued together onto cotton backing, measured 260 metres. It took several people to carry it, and even now takes three people three hours to fully unroll it. It was designed to be a spectacular reply to the Premier's challenge. WCTU names feature prominently on it, but so too does the signature of the Premier's wife, Jane Munro, who presented the petition to parliament.¹¹

Despite often being represented as narrow-minded bigots by their opponents, members of the WCTU and the YWCA focused their attention on multiple issues, many of which were seen as uncomfortable, and even unsettling, to women of dignified upbringing. Such topics included venereal disease and the Contagious Diseases Acts; sexual abuse of children and the campaign to raise the age of consent; the dangers of 'white slavery' and of opium and other drugs, along with other topics current in progressive debate. They addressed these issues publicly in speaking tours using forms of media that the public was becoming increasingly familiar with and interested in: lantern slide shows, stereopticons, and other modern visual aids. Their efforts complemented those of other groups, such as the Salvation Army, who developed some of the earliest motion pictures – these toured at this time, mixing still and moving images to impress and educate their audience.¹² Like

the entertainment industry, these groups used 'spectacles' but also clearly understood the didactic potential that such media could provide. As Jill Julius Matthews has shown, Australian women were avid consumers of such media.¹³ Christian women's organisations proved themselves adept at using the media while simultaneously condemning other sectors of the media industry for undermining their efforts. Later, when motion pictures raised their own issues, they campaigned vigorously for the inclusion of women on censorship boards.

Both the YWCA and the WCTU had press or publicity departments. The women involved worked at a local level to publicise the content of their meetings and demonstrations in mainstream local newspapers. They became ardent letter writers, representing their views in local debates which could be both vitriolic and important because of the local nature of politics prior to federation and because the application of licensing laws and total abstinence polls (local option bills) were decided suburb by suburb and poll by poll. But they were also buoyed by a sense that they were part of an international campaign that provided validity for their own work.¹⁴ As the annual report from 1899 stated: 'Instead of a handful of discouraged toilers, at the beginning of the century, there are now of white Ribboners alone, in Great Britain, America, and Australia, four hundred and six thousand, not counting our members in Japan, India, China and other lands where Unions have been formed.'¹⁵ This larger significance they felt had made a difference, 'in the public sentiment of the times':

We have the acknowledgement of the press, not always as favourable as it might be, for it is not free from liquor power. But there is every year a growing freedom and expansion of opinion, and we believe a desire to be as impartial as possible under existing circumstances. The press is a mighty power, and should be watched and used well.¹⁶

Different sections of the organisation tackled issues ranging from the age of consent, venereal disease, opium use, conditions and treatment of young women workers, and women's civic and legal status. Their method was to identify issues (often from their overseas networks), publicise it, rally women around it and then espouse solution-oriented approaches. These often sought a change of legislation such as petitioning parliament to raise the age of consent, or to grant women suffrage. In Victoria, their presence in the Ladies' Gallery to pressure politicians was highly coordinated and they sought publicity beyond the walls of parliament (which they got, though often not as favourably as they might have hoped).¹⁷

They also became past masters at regrouping when their petitions were rejected. They seldom left the whole question to parliament and urged women to take what action they could, individually, to rectify the situation. Thus it was that after the push to raise the age of consent was under threat in the

1890s, WCTU women began to agitate for sex education, to warn young women of their unprotected status, and the need to protect themselves.¹⁸ Likewise, when the monster suffrage petition was unsuccessful the same women set about establishing networks and strategies to push the issue further. To their own members they urged a campaign of self-education to complement what they could learn at WCTU 'study groups'. 'Learn what are the electoral privileges of women and how many avail themselves of these privileges', wrote Mrs Margaret McLean to other members in 1892. 'Know the laws concerning assessment and registration of voters, the times, places and conditions therefore; the conduct of municipal affairs.'¹⁹

Quite apart from such technicalities, McLean also urged her readers to study the sorts of issues that, as female voters, they might wish to tackle, once they gained the vote:

Study carefully what is the legal status of married women, spinsters, widows, and what the protection [is] to person and property. To this end, form societies for the study of law and politics – the science of government – as it well behoves those who are under the law to have a thorough knowledge of its conditions and provisions. The discussion of the following subjects will be interesting and instructive – Courts, lawyers, the Beginning of a Lawsuit, Evidence, Both sides of the Jury Question, Marriage, Divorce, Parent and Child, Teacher and Pupil, Employer and Employé, Public Corporations, Insurance, Land, Wills, Offences against Person and Property, Rates, Public Institutions, Public Health, the Liquor Laws etc. These and kindred subjects are worthy of study.²⁰

After urging their members to interest themselves so broadly in such public issues McLean reminded her readers that, as mothers, they must follow issues at the 'state and local' level, for 'all legislation bears directly or indirectly upon each member of the human family, regardless of sex, and upon every home'.²¹

As the guiding force of home life, McLean argued it was imperative for mothers especially to be granted the status of formal citizenship. 'If a practical knowledge of politics, the science of government, be unwomanly and therefore something of which mothers may not know, what may we expect of sons reared by these mothers?' A boy studying subjects such as law, history and the principles of government, she argued, 'knowing that he is a component part of that government, and eligible to positions of power and influence', would come to 'disdain' or demonstrate a 'patronising irreverence' of his mother, whom the law 'ranked with idiots and criminals'. This tendency to mock the mother was dangerous in the long term, McLean argued for: 'If reverence for home and mother is destroyed, how long before confusion and anarchy in church and state will result?'²²

Though such writing from within the WCTU appeared confident of the ability of women to quickly win the vote, the tone of the debate in the broader

community vacillated between supporting the right of women to vote and condemning it – and the Christian community was no exception. Letters to the temperance press championed the (white) women's cause in the pages of the *Alliance Record* in a way that both acknowledged women were being cast as marginal political players and sought to give them a more central leadership role. Fred Ludbrook's letter in 1893 simultaneously argued that (white) women exhibited 'innate' racial and moral leadership in the community in a way that was both natural and necessary. At the same time, he challenged their marginal political status evoking racist sensibilities that positioned 'others' as more morally and culturally marginal. It was not sensible, he argued, that women should be expected to train young children to be good citizens and thoughtful voters and yet not be accorded the dignity of such civic status themselves:

Is it right that women should be entrusted with the training of our children and yet wrong that they should say 'yea' or 'nay' as to the existence of 'hot hells' and dens of vice? Are you, Sirs, in favour of drowsed and ignorant chinamen and semi-drunken larrikins voting at the polling-booth, whilst you declare women, cultured and refined, shall not (if you can help it) put mark to paper in protection of their own dear homes? ... Surely, Sirs, in the fact that the publican and prizefighter, and the bookmaker and other parasitic scum do affect the political life of our nation in an evil way, lies the reason above all others, (so long as politics must be) why our Christian womanhood shall counterbalance as far as possible such baneful influence.²³

These views were, however, contested by some members of the community bent on preventing women winning the vote. While the *Alliance Record* argued that Christian women would act as a leaven within a degenerative society, other prominent Christian commentators argued that women would not and could not fulfil such a role. For example, the editor of the *Australian Christian Standard*, M.A. Masterton, argued that women should not enter the public sphere because:

every thing in nature and revelation is against it ... If nature and revelation teaches one thing more clearly than another it is that womans [*sic*] place and dominion is in the home where she has the supreme privilege of motherhood, and not only of motherhood, but the training and moulding of the rising generation. And if nature and revelation teaches one lesson more plainly than another it is that man's place is out in the world earning a living for those depending on him.²⁴

In states and countries where women had already won the vote, Masterton averred, Christian people's hopes for a reformed society had been dashed: 'The "bright hope" referred to here I suppose,' he argued further, 'is that the woman franchise will blot out all or most of the political ills of life ... this is just exactly what it will not do, as has been proven in every country of the world where it has been tried.'²⁵ As soon as women left the pure sphere of the

home and entered the political sphere, Masterton believed, they would become as corrupt as male politicians:

Now what was, and is to-day at the bottom of the opium and liquor traffic? Simply money; and no class of the community is more easily influenced by its magical power than the ladies. Why is it that so many of our public houses are either owned or controlled by women, the very class to whom our friend is looking to shut up these terrible 'hot hells'? Simply the love of money. The point I wish to make therefore is that a woman in politics would be subject to the very same kind of temptation as men are, and that they are just as liable to be influenced by them. Mr Ludbrook is very anxious that 'our Christian womanhood shall counterbalance as far as ever possible such baneful influence' as the prize fighter etc. But how about our womanhood which is not Christian, because it must be remembered that the whole of the 'parasitic scum' of creation does not, unfortunately, consist of the male persuasion [*sic*]; so that it strikes me rather forcibly that in the days of universal franchise that 'our Christian womanhood' will have her hands full counter-balancing the 'parasitic scum' of her own sex.²⁶

Such criticisms, of course, were in one respect quite pertinent: the notion under which the WCTU laboured – that women were innately virtuous – was a myth, which ignored the vast variety of women's lived experiences.

On the other hand, as Marilyn Lake has shown, some of the vitriol directed at members of the WCTU and other reforming women stemmed not so much from a sense of incredulity that women might vote but rather from a sense of anxiety that women might use the vote to enact legislation that would curtail their own masculine activities.²⁷ Popular male authors such as Banjo Patterson and Henry Lawson wrote prolifically on the matter in the 1890s, disseminating the idea that the ideal Australian was not the moral, virtuous woman the WCTU promoted as the foundation for Australian society but the free-wheeling, irresponsible unmarried man of the bush. Wildly successful, these writers worked in counterpoint to the growing women's movement, and pitted themselves publicly against them through the pages of the *Bulletin* in Sydney and the *Bull Ant* in Melbourne.²⁸ Derisive comments were likewise peppered in the parliamentary debates in Victoria on the topic of suffrage. In 1896 it was noted in the WCTU annual report that Councillor Lloyd, of Narracan, had 'the audacity to say that 98 per cent of women had nothing to be responsible for; as a rule they had nothing to tax' and Councillor Stutt of Doncaster stated that 'there were not 5000 respectable women in Victoria who wanted the suffrage; it was simply a few who were always whining about the sins of the world and who wanted the vote for special purposes'.²⁹

Prominent WCTU women found themselves the subject of satirical cartoons that sought to diminish the earnest appeal of their campaigns. In response, temperance women stepped up their campaign for the vote. Occasionally they themselves used humour to promote their own cause as in

this mock petition distributed by the Clifton Hill branch of the WCTU in 1894 and reprinted in the *Alliance Record* the same year.³⁰

MY DECLARATION

Having looked at this question from a LADY'S standpoint, I hereby declare that the suffrage becomes not woman.

I am what is called EDUCATED, yes, I have educated girls, who were educated by me—and yet I confess myself as

NOT FIT TO HAVE A VOTE.

The street rough, the larrikin—standing on his age prerogative of 21 years—is thus QUALIFIED to have and to use a vote.

BEING ONLY A WOMAN, I AM NOT

Signature.....

Witness.....

Will a wise woman sign herself

'DESERVEDLY—RIGHTEOUSLY—VOICELESS?'

OR WILL SHE SIGN

'FOR THE FRANCHISE?'

In the main, however, members of the WCTU met ridicule with even greater efforts to win the votes and speed their ability to vote equally alongside their critics. 'To hasten the accomplishment of these reforms, women need the ballot,' wrote Elizabeth Nicholls, who led the WCTU of South Australia through the suffrage campaigns. 'No resolutions will ever rid us of the wasteful, degrading traffic in intoxicants; but a vote is a very powerful weapon, and the only one the liquor trade fears.'³¹ It was only in 1906, after white women in South Australia, Western Australia, New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania had been granted the vote after vigorous campaigning that Sara Nolan made her claim that 'The WCTU had outlived the age of ridicule'.³²

In the period directly involving the suffrage campaigns, therefore, the dynamics of contest were not all that WCTU women would have preferred. As both pro- and anti-temperance reformers continued to debate the role that women should play in the formation of the 'national culture', the adulation of women's good sense and virtue on the one hand was offset by techniques of ridicule and satire on the other. As James Clyde Sellman has shown in his work on the American Women's Crusades of 1874, critics of temperance women in nineteenth-century America had already discovered 'there was no better match for evangelical appeals than well-honed parody'.³³ In the Australian context, as Lake has shown, such masculinist humour was edged with real anxiety about the changing nature of women's political and cultural

influence.³⁴ Members of the WCTU argued that Christian women had a duty to identify and fight important causes in the community, and they realised that in order to be effective they must consolidate their image in the public sphere. The difficulty in doing so was reflected upon by Mrs Jamieson Williams in 1927, who explained that:

Public opinion has for some time viewed the quarrel between the Temperance forces and the alcoholic forces as a schoolboy scuffle. It has been accepted as a humorous manoeuvring. Public opinion has enjoyed the jest, thrown sarcastic remarks at both parties, and left them to fight it out. The publican and the brewer are accepted as good sporting sorts of chaps, who love life and freedom. Public opinion has not yet examined those dark recesses of our common social life.

She sought to define 'this vague thing we call public opinion' by asking her listeners to imagine three persons: one free 'to do certain things, or not to do them', the second 'injured by the doings of these things, or helped' and the third, 'passing judgement on the action or inaction of the first person'. It was the last, she declared, that was public opinion.³⁵ For too long, she argued, women had worked behind the scenes in politics for too little result:

women must cease to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water for men who are political and moral cowards and who are in principle and action inferior to the women whose votes they command ... Women have the power to-day undreamed of in the past to effect the necessary change in public opinion and sentiment which shall bring a new day for exalting the best in every unit of our national life...³⁶

As citizen mothers who were prepared to defend their children from the physical and moral 'terrors' of the modern city they believed they had found their most effective means of defending themselves from ridicule. As Jamieson rather hopefully argued, 'it is not the critic who counts'.³⁷

In this way, the newly emerging women's organisations chose to engage with and were facilitated by the urban orientation of the modernist project which, as Angela Woollacott and Judith Smart have shown in their work on Australian women's maternal political identity, gave a persuasive basis for belief within Australian women's culture that 'the city, locus of modernity, was where the modern woman belonged'.³⁸ And the concerned, urban woman at the heart of every home was a safe, respectable, non-spectacular constituency as predictable in their suit of motherhood as the men were in real suits. Certainly, the women involved in suffrage campaigns from the temperance side of the spectrum realised that campaigning using lantern slide shows, stereopticons, poster campaigns, sit-ins, giant petitions, speaking tours, electoral campaigning, publicity materials and publications, bazaars and fairs could not end with the resolution of the suffrage question. Rather, their experience signalled the need to adopt more strongly a 'do everything'

approach, and a more consciously overt leadership role in what they saw as the crucial debates of their times.

¹ The WCTU is variously spelt out Women's or Woman's Christian Temperance Union in different states. In New South Wales and South Australia it is the former, in Victoria and Western Australia, the latter.

² *Report of the 24th Annual Convention of the WCTU of NSW* (Sydney: WCTU of NSW, 1906), 26.

³ For a discussion on the 'feminism of fear' see Suzanne M. Marilley, 'Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear', *Feminist Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring, 1993): 123–146; Chris McConville, 'Rough Women, Respectable Men and Social Reform: A Response to Lake's "Masculinism"', *Historical Studies* 22, no. 88 (1987): 434. For a counter-story that emphasises the active leadership of the WCTU in the campaigns for women's suffrage see Audrey Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia: Gift or Struggle* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1982); Judith Smart, 'Modernity and Motherheartedness: Spirituality and Religious Meaning in Australian Women's Suffrage and Citizenship Movements, 1890s–1920s' in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, ed. Ian Fletcher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall and Philippa Levine (New York: Routledge, 2000), 51–67.

⁴ Maori women in New Zealand also got the vote at the same time as white women. See Patricia Grimshaw, 'Women's Suffrage in New Zealand Revisited: Writing from the Margins' in *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994), 25–41.

⁵ See the *Report of the 1st Annual Convention of the WCTU of South Australia* (Adelaide: WCTU of SA, 1888); Oldfield, 27.

⁶ WCTU of Australasia, *Report of the Fourth Triennial Convention*, 1900; Oldfield, 53.

⁷ Patricia Grimshaw and Katherine Ellinghaus, 'White Women, Aboriginal Women and the Vote in Western Australia' in *Women and Citizenship: Suffrage Centenary*, ed. Patricia Crawford and Judy Skene, special issue of *Studies in WA History Journal* 19 (1999): 1–19; Jasmina Brankovitch, 'Votes for All Women: Racialised Silences in Western Australian Suffrage Historiography' in *Women and Citizenship*, 20–8; Gail Reekie, "'With Ready Hands and New Brooms": The Women who Campaigned for Female Suffrage in Western Australia, 1895–1899', *Hecate* 17 (1981): 24–35.

⁸ Oldfield.

⁹ See Oldfield, 68–102, 131–71.

¹⁰ 'WCTU Franchise Department', *5th Annual Convention of the WCTU of Victoria* (Melbourne: WCTU of Victoria, 1892), 36.

¹¹ The petition is now fully transcribed and may be searched online at the Public Record Office of Victoria's website, <http://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/WomensPetition/PetitionSearch.cfm>.

¹² Ellen Warne, 'The Mother's Anxious Future: Australian Christian Women's Associations Meet the Modern World, 1890–1939' (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2000), chapters 3–4.

¹³ For women's avid consumption of media and entertainment see Jill Julius Matthews, *Dance Hall and Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity*, (Sydney: Currency Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Ian Tyrrell, 'International Aspects of the Woman's Temperance Movement in Australia: The Influence of the American WCTU, 1882-1914', *Journal of Religious History* 12, no. 3 (June 1983): 284–304. See also Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Prudence Flowers, 'White Ribboners and the Ideology of Separate Spheres, 1860s–1890s', *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 25, no. 1 (July 2006): 14–31.

¹⁵ 'President's Address', *Annual Report of the 17th Convention of the WCTU of NSW, 26–29 September, 1899* (Sydney: Christian World Printers), 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 33–4.

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion of these strategies see Warne, 'The Mother's Anxious Future'.

¹⁸ See Ellen Warne, 'Sex Education Debates and the Modest Mother in Australia, 1890s to the 1930s', *Women's History Review* 8, no. 2 (1999); Ellen Warne, 'Tell Them!' Anglican Mothers and Sex Education 1890–1930' in *People of the Past? The Culture of Melbourne Anglicanism and Anglicanism in Melbourne's Culture*, ed. Colin Holden (Melbourne: Dept. of History, University of Melbourne, 2000).

¹⁹ 'WCTU Franchise Department', *5th Annual Convention of the WCTU of Victoria*, 37. On Margaret McLean, see Anthea Hyslop, McLean, Margaret (1845–1923), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, online, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mclean-margaret-7414>.

²⁰ 'WCTU Franchise Department', *5th Annual Convention of the WCTU of Victoria*, 37.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 38–9.

²³ Fred M. Ludbrook, 'It is Coming!', letter to the *Alliance Record* regarding an editorial opinion against women's suffrage in the *Australian Christian Standard*, 14 November 1893, 129.

²⁴ A.B. Masterton (editor of the *Australian Christian Standard*) to the *Alliance Record*, 15 December 1893, 142.

²⁵ *Alliance Record*, 15 December 1893, 142.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ See the debate generated on this topic by Marilyn Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context', *Historical Studies* 22, no. 86 (1987): 116–31; Chris McConville, 'Rough Women, Respectable Men and Social Reform: A Response to Lake's Masculinism', *Historical Studies* 22, no. 88 (1987): 432–40; Judith Allen, "'Mundane" Men: Historians, Masculinity and Masculinism', *Historical Studies* 22, no. 89 (1987): 617–28.

²⁸ Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability', 128; Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1999), 31–6. The view that temperance advocates worked narrowly to reduce the pleasures of the working class was later unquestioningly reproduced by Keith Dunstan in *Wowsers: Being an Account of the Prudery Exhibited by Certain Outstanding Men and Women in Such Matters as Drinking, Smoking, Prostitution, Censorship and Gambling* (Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1968); and by Anne Summers in *Damned Whores and God's Police* (Melbourne: Penguin Australia, 1975).

²⁹ *Report of the 9th Annual Report of the WCTU of Victoria* (Melbourne: WCTU of Victoria, 1896), 34.

³⁰ *Alliance Record*, 15 June 1894, 68.

³¹ Elizabeth Nicholls, 'President's Address', *Report of the 5th Annual Convention of the WCTU of South Australia* (Adelaide: WCTU of SA, 1893), 31.

³² *Report of the 24th Annual Convention of the WCTU of NSW* (Sydney: WCTU of NSW, 1906), 26.

³³ James Clyde Sellman, 'Social Movements and the Symbolism of Public Demonstrations: The 1874 Women's Crusade and German Resistance in Richmond, Indiana', *Journal of Social History* (Spring 1999): 572.

³⁴ Lake, 'Identifying the Masculinist Context', 128. For a discussion on how gender can define politics and politics construct gender see Marilyn Lake, 'Women, Gender and History', *Australian Feminist Studies* no. 7–8 (1988): 5.

³⁵ Mrs Jamieson Williams, 'State President's Address', *Annual Report of the 45th Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of NSW, 5–9 September, 1927* (Sydney: D.S. Ford), 14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Angela Woollacott, 'White Colonialism and Sexual Modernity: Australian Women in the Early Twentieth Century Metropolis' in *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, ed. Antoinette Burton (London: Routledge, 1999), 56–7. Smart, 'Modernity and Motherheartedness', 51–67.