

More Than Mannix: Irish-Australian Women Who Helped Defeat Conscription in WW1

Jeff Kildea

When we think of the conscription campaigns of 1916 and 1917, the characters that readily spring to mind are Prime Minister Billy Hughes in support of conscription and Archbishop Daniel Mannix and Queensland premier Tom Ryan in opposition. Given the masculine nature of politics at the time it is not surprising that the main participants in the campaigns were men. After all, none of the seven parliaments in Australia had a female member. It was not until 1921 that Edith Cowan became the first woman to enter an Australian parliament when she won the Western Australian Legislative Assembly seat of West Perth. It was 1943 before Dame Enid Lyons became the first woman elected to the House of Representatives, the same year that Dorothy Tangney became the first woman Senator.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conceive of the referendum campaigns as all-male affairs. Women featured strongly on both sides of the issue. The National Council of Women and the Australian Women's National League organised meetings and rallies and distributed leaflets for the pro-conscription cause. The Women's Peace Army and the Women's Political Association did the same for the anti-conscription cause. Furthermore, as women could vote in the referendums, they were often specifically targeted by the propaganda campaigns of each side, most famously in the

'Blood Vote' leaflet. Yet, despite the abundance of literature on the conscription referendums, little has been written specifically on the role of women in the campaigns.¹

Another common misconception is that the anti-conscription campaigns were dominated by Catholics of Irish descent, a misconception reinforced by the fact that Hughes' two most recognisable opponents were prominent Catholics, the Irish-born Mannix, and Ryan, the son of Irish immigrants. In reality, the anti-conscription movement was led by members of the labour movement, the majority of whom were Protestants of British descent. What is true, however, is that a high proportion of Catholics of Irish descent did oppose conscription. And among their number were women whose contributions to the cause have been crowded out of the historical narrative by the prominence of the two frontline Irish-Australian warriors, Mannix and Ryan.

The objective of this chapter is to bring to the fore just three of those Irish-Australian women: Agnes Macready, Agnes Murphy, and Bella Guerin. Someone researching the literature on the conscription campaigns might come across one or more of these names, but usually in a footnote or a passing reference. Yet each was a remarkable person, not only because of her contribution to the anti-conscription movement but also because of her talents and the extraordinary life she lived. While each of these women participated in the public debates over conscription, their contributions to the cause have been overshadowed by history's concentration on their male counterparts who led the campaigns.²

Agnes Macready

Agnes Macready was born in 1855 at Rathfriland, County Down, the eldest of five children of Presbyterian minister, Reverend Henry Macready, and his wife Jane. In 1867, when Agnes was 12 years old, the family emigrated to Australia, where Henry became the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales.

As an adult, Agnes converted to Catholicism, a move described by the *Methodist* newspaper in these terms: '[S]he wandered from green pastures of truth into the enchanted ground of Popery, and is ardent as perverts usually are.'³ A manifestation of Agnes's alleged perverted ardour for popery was her contribution of literary sketches and verse to Sydney's the *Catholic Press* beginning in 1898 (Figure 1), some of which were republished in journals in Ireland and America. She wrote under the *nom de plume* 'Arrah Luen'.

In a Minor Key.

I shiver and shrink from the waters,
The waters so chilly and deep,
I hear a lamb bleat in the distance,
A little child cries in its sleep.

Oh! rare in the garden the roses
Are blooming in beauty for me,
The lilies give forth of their fragrance,
The blossom hangs white on the tree.

A gay happy bird sings blithely,
High up on a green swaying bough.
Oh, bird! and sweet roses and lilies
Your love may bring nought to me now.

I shiver and shrink by the waters,
The waters so chilly and deep,
I hear a lamb bleat in the distance,
A little child cries in its sleep.

The Good Shepherd hears the lamb bleating,
The Good Mother lists to the cry,
Oh, bravely I'll pass through the waters,
For Shepherd and Mother are nigh.

ARRAH LUEN.

Sydney, March 3, 1898.

Figure 1. Example of a poem written by Arrah Luen (Agnes Macready) and printed in *Catholic Press* (Sydney), 11 March 1899, p. 16.

The *Catholic Press* was one of the few newspapers in Australia, outside the labour press, that opposed conscription in both 1916 and 1917. During both campaigns Agnes was a regular contributor to its columns, for legal reasons writing under her real name. In 1916 she penned articles addressed to women in which she opposed what she called 'the vivid scarlet sin of conscription', with headlines such as:

'The Curse of Conscription that Overshadows Australia' and 'The Fate of Your Household: Will the Evil Day Dawn'.⁴ The latter was coupled with a poem requesting on behalf of her fellow Australians that the English take Billy Hughes off their hands. It included the verse:

Oh, Duchess grand, and noble Duke,
Pray, call him from our skies of blue,
And give him room in your castle fine -
To you he's true.

Agnes deployed both poetry and prose in her literary efforts for the cause, evoking a sense of an Australia that had cast off the chains of the old world to forge a new egalitarianism which the war, and conscription especially, now threatened:

Conscript! go home again, far o'er the sea;
Old lands that favour you reap as they sow.
'Fetters and gyres' have no place 'neath our skies.
Take back our answer then. - England! It's No.

During the 1917 campaign Agnes once again warned women of the dangers of conscription with articles that bore headlines such as 'Who Now Loves Australia?: True Loyalists' and 'Hunted Like a Wild Beast: The Conscript'.⁵ She also expanded on her theme of Australian nationalism:

The ties of Empire, ties binding one nation to another, are silken threads often fragile as gossamer, and require careful handling. But any attempt to replace these threads by iron chains would, if history repeats itself, lead to disaster! And the native-born Australian for some reason or other has an intense dislike to 'chains'. When you get down to bedrock you will find that numbers who talk of Empire really mean the little country, England. Canada, India, South Africa fail to come within their line of vision. In a tableau, 'pleasing to their eyes', Australia and the Dominions would kneel at the feet of

Britannia, instead of standing by her side. And the only flag seen in the group would be the Union Jack.⁶

One of the issues exercising the minds of Catholics during the 1917 campaign was the failure of the government to pass a regulation that would have exempted seminarians and teaching brothers from the call up. Macready wrote an article entitled, 'The Brothers and Their Lives: Will You Stab Them?'. In the same vein as the poem 'The Blood Vote', immortalised in a leaflet drawn by Claude Marquet (Figure 2), she asked her readers, 'Is any mother, then, prepared to sign away the life of a teaching Brother to whom she entrusts her son, when he may no longer be kept for his own sake at her knee?'⁷



Figure 2. The Blood Vote leaflet. Source: State Library of Victoria.

So, what else do we know about Agnes Macready (Figure 3)? In 1880 she commenced training as a nurse at Sydney's Prince Alfred Hospital, after which she worked at Melbourne Hospital before being appointed matron of Bowral Hospital in New South Wales.⁸ When war broke out in South Africa in 1899 Macready volunteered to serve as a nurse. But her request was denied. Undeterred, she paid her own passage to Durban and was the first nurse from Australia to arrive there. But not only was she the first of Australia's nurses to serve in the Boer War, she also became Australia's first-ever female war correspondent. Historian Patricia Clarke has claimed that Edith Dickenson deserves that accolade, but Dickenson arrived in Durban in March 1900, after Macready's articles had begun appearing in the Australian press.⁹



Figure 3. Agnes Macready.

Source: *Catholic Press* (Sydney), 27 September 1902, p. 13.

Having been commissioned by the *Catholic Press* to send back reports on the war, her first article appeared in its issue of 20 January 1900. In it she wrote that she saw the war 'with a woman's eyes', in contrast to the heroic battlefield accounts of her male

counterparts.¹⁰ In *Australian Women War Reporters*, historian Jeannine Baker wrote:

Macready's newspaper articles focused on what she called 'the grey side of a campaign' – the aftermath of battle and the role of women and other civilians. Like many of the women who followed her, Macready felt herself to be on the periphery of the battlefield.¹¹

Baker notes that female war correspondents would later challenge the idea that they should cover war only from the so-called 'woman's angle'. Nevertheless, Agnes Macready's reports had a certain power that came from the unique perspective from which she wrote, even though she was not permitted to visit the front:

And being a woman I feel that I want to cry, for it does not fall to my lot to see any of the 'glory of war'; it is mine only to look upon the maimed limbs, the ghastly wounds, the suffering, the after results of an engagement be it a victory or a defeat. And being a woman I feel that I want to cry, too, for the Dutch woman on her lonely farm beyond the veldt, whose grey-haired husband and little son, scarce strong enough to hold the rifle, died together in the trenches yesterday morning. For Rachael is weeping for her children 'on both sides of the sea'.¹²

The *Catholic Press* was clearly pleased with Macready's reports, claiming they were 'beautiful and pathetic' and 'are acknowledged to be among the best war correspondence published here or in the old world'.¹³ In her articles, Agnes frequently referred to the Irish troops who came under her care, reflecting on whether their service would lead to a reconciliation in her native land: 'Has Ireland no wrongs to avenge? or has the time arrived for the lion and the lamb to lie down in peace together?'¹⁴

After almost two years in South Africa, Macready was invalided home to Australia in September 1901. Reporting on her repatriation, the *Catholic Press* observed:

[S]he left [Australia] with a heavy heart, believing there was nothing to justify the war, and she saw and heard nothing in South Africa to change that opinion. ... Of the heroism, the lofty motives, and the chivalry of the Boer her admiration is boundless. But it is an admiration blended with tears. 'Why are we destroying these people?' That was a question which occurred to her every day as she met the Boers – prisoners in towns, or in hospitals, or in refuge camps – old men, women, and children.¹⁵

After recovering her health Macready travelled to Ireland from where she sent literary sketches to the *Catholic Press*. On returning to Australia, she resumed her nursing career, taking positions as matron at hospitals in mining towns in New South Wales, such as Wyalong and Kurri Kurri. All the while, she continued her literary contributions to the *Catholic Press*.¹⁶

In 1904 Macready gave a paper at the Second Australasian Catholic Congress. In the paper she spoke in favour of education for girls, warning that 'in ignorance lies the danger of the vote in the hands of the woman'. She contended that education should promote both the domestic and public spheres of women's lives: 'upon the ideal of the woman depends the rise and fall of the home, and upon the character of that home follows the advance or retrogression of the State, for what is the State but a collection of homes?'¹⁷

After the First World War Macready continued to contribute articles and poems to the *Catholic Press* up until close to her death in 1935. She died in Sydney and is buried at Rookwood Cemetery.

Agnes Murphy

Born on 18 January 1865 at Tullamore, King's County (now County Offaly), Agnes Gillian Murphy (Figure 4) travelled to Australia at the age of 15 years to visit her sister, who was living in Melbourne. A reversal of the family's financial fortunes meant that Agnes could not return to Ireland.



Figure 4. Agnes Murphy. Source: *Punch* (Melbourne), 11 March 1909, p. 337.

Like Macready, Murphy took part in the conscription debates by means of literary contributions published in various newspapers, particularly during the 1917 campaign. Many of them were addressed specifically to women. One example is an article in the *Catholic Press* entitled, 'An Appeal to Women: Freedom or Slavery?' in which she argued that while thousands of volunteers had gone to the front, 'other thousands, as brave and as good, promised to remain behind to look after aged parents, delicate brothers or sisters, or other dependents'. She challenged her readers, 'Will you be treacherous to the fine boys who went and the fine boys who stayed from a high sense of duty, and who will volunteer when their obligations are less onerous?'¹⁸

In a letter headlined 'Conscription a Tragedy for Bush Women', which appeared in the *Catholic Press*, the *Australian Worker*, and Melbourne's *Tribune*, she wrote:

Conscription will be a hideous nightmare for the lonely women of the bush. ... The new chivalry is the chivalry of women for women.

Chivalrous women of the city, vote 'No,' and save your brave sisters in the country from conditions of hardship against which all your best nature protests.¹⁹

Murphy did not confine her letter-writing to the women's perspective: she criticised the open-endedness of the government's proposal compared to Canada's which limited conscription to 100,000 men; she defended the Irish from the 'monstrous insult' that they were pro-German; and she argued that conscription of Australian men meant years of exile from their homes, their country and their kin.²⁰ She also wrote letters in support of Archbishop Mannix, who came under attack from conservative Catholics.²¹

Although not publicly prominent in the 1916 campaign, Agnes Murphy did her bit by addressing personal letters to men of influence. In a letter to the Minister for External Affairs, Hugh Mahon, a native of her hometown, Tullamore, who had been imprisoned in Kilmainham Gaol in 1882 on account of his political activities during the Land War, she wrote:

I am sorry for many things in connection with the conscription issue, but most of all to find you among its supporters. I feel I have a right to express my disappointment, because like you I was bred and born in Tullamore. You must know, much better than I do, the terrible tragedies that are going on in Ireland. To my mind every vote for Conscription extends the licence of these tragedies. Surely you have not forgotten Kilmainham? At the same time let me say how very sorry I am to hear of your continued ill health - the sorrow of a town's woman, and one who gratefully remembers that you once suffered for Ireland.²²

Her letter might have had some effect, for three weeks later, after pressure from both sides, Mahon came out against conscription. She also wrote to Major General John Monash (as he then was), whom she had known in Melbourne before the war, setting out her arguments against conscription. Monash replied, 'I fully agree with

many of the sentiments you have expressed ... although it would be inconvenient of me to be quoted'.²³

So, who was Agnes Murphy? She is perhaps best known as the author of *Melba*, a biography of Helen Porter Mitchell, the world-famous opera singer, better known as Nellie Melba. Published in 1909 it was the first biography of Melba, for whom Agnes was both social secretary and a close friend. After being marooned in Melbourne as a young girl, Agnes had found work as a legal copyist before landing a job with a new magazine *Table Talk*, thus launching her career as a journalist which saw her become a contributor to the *Bulletin* and *Melbourne Punch* and then social editor of the latter. She was a foundation member of the Austral Salon, which she established in 1890 as an association for the intellectual advancement of the women of Australia with fortnightly meetings to discuss questions bearing on literary, musical, scientific and artistic matters. Murphy addressed its first meeting on the topic of 'Australian Federation'.²⁴

In 1895 she decided to try her luck in London, taking with her the manuscript of a novel in which she had written about late nineteenth-century Melbourne and its society. It was published by Routledge under the title *One Woman's Wisdom*. It provoked a libel suit and was withdrawn from sale. Nevertheless, she climbed the social ladder in London's literary and artistic world.²⁵ According to literary critic Lucy Sussex:

[Agnes Murphy] provides an object lesson in how a colonial journalist without existing family or literary connections could make the contacts to succeed in London. Indeed she became perhaps the supreme Australian networker in London. ... [S]he was the first Australian woman journalist to try and also succeed in London.²⁶

It was in London that Agnes met Melba. She returned to Australia on numerous visits often with Australian artistes, for whom she

acted as an agent/entrepreneur. She travelled extensively giving talks and lectures in the world's major capitals, often advocating for women and for Irish independence. She died in London in 1931 and is buried in Hampstead Cemetery.

Bella Guerin

Julia Margaret Guerin was born in 1858 at Williamstown, Victoria to Patrick Guerin of County Clare and Julia Margaret (née Thearney) of Dublin.²⁷ More party-political than either Macready or Murphy, she was active in the Women's Political Association and in the Labor and Socialist parties. During the war she led the Labor Women's Anti-Conscription Committee (Figure 5). Whereas Macready's and Murphy's contributions to the anti-conscription campaign were literary, Guerin (who was known by her husband's surname Lavender) mostly used oratory, speaking at meetings in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia.

The Labor Women's Anti-Conscription Committee



OFFICIALS.

Figure 6. Labor Women's Anti-Conscription Committee (President Bella Lavender seated centre). Source: *Labor Call* (Melbourne), 30 November 1916, p. 3

Bella did not confine herself to addressing meetings of women, often speaking at major meetings alongside leading anti-conscriptionists, such as future prime minister John Curtin. At some of the meetings she received top billing. Nor did she speak only at anti-conscription rallies. She sometimes addressed meetings convened to hear both sides. The *Daily Telegraph* reported on one such meeting in Adelaide:

Mrs Bella Lavender, of Melbourne, was the first speaker against conscription. She held the platform for an hour, and obtained a very fair hearing, but was subjected to a little heckling toward the close. As soon as she had resumed her seat the audience broke into vociferous cheers, which continued for some time.²⁸

At that meeting the audience comprised mostly anti-conscriptionists. But that was not always the case. At another meeting in Adelaide soon after, the *Register* reported:

Mrs Lavender ... was subjected to a great deal of interruption, and the Chairman had to appeal more than once for a hearing for the speaker. At one stage of the lady's address he threatened to put into operation the Order at Public Meetings Act passed by the Peake Government in 1913, and call upon the police to remove any disturber of the meeting.²⁹

Several women in the front rows started singing the patriotic song 'Australia will be there' and an egg was thrown at the stage.³⁰ Remarking on Bella's platform oratory, the *Australian Worker* observed that she

is not well-fitted physically for an out-door speaker. Her figure, tall and slight, would seem more at home in the schoolroom, but the big soul of her rises beyond the physical limitations of nature, defying despotism, defying anything that could come between her and her mission.³¹

So, who was Bella Guerin? She is not an easy person to trace because of numerous name changes. Firstly, Julia Margaret came to be known as Bella, and secondly, she married twice, on each occasion taking her husband's surname despite her feminist leanings. However, her marriages were unconventional in other ways. In 1891 at age 33 Bella Guerin became Bella Halloran when she married the 80-year-old civil servant and poet Henry Halloran. He died two years later, leaving her with an 8-month-old son, Henry, whom she had to raise without family assistance as by then her parents had died. In October 1909 Bella Halloran, aged 51, became Bella Lavender when she married George d'Arcie Lavender, thirty years her junior.³² That marriage was short-lived and they separated.

Bella Guerin is perhaps best known for the fact that she was the first woman to graduate from an Australian university, having

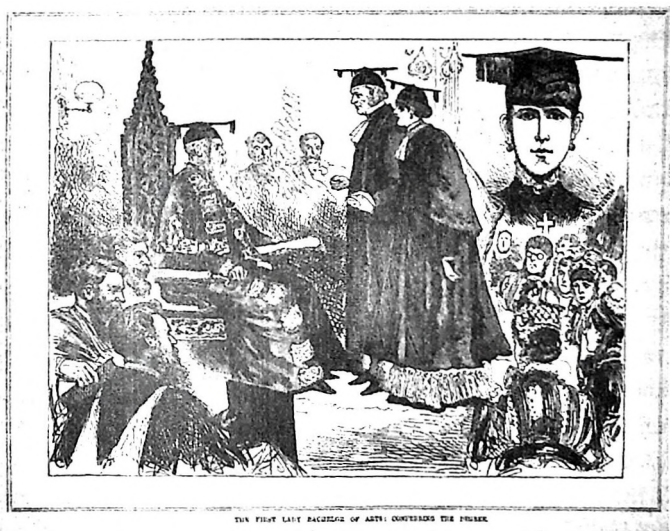


Figure 6. Bella Guerin was the first woman to graduate from an Australian university. Source: *Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil* (Melbourne), 19 December 1883, p. 224.

been awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree by Melbourne University in December 1883 (Figure 6). Two years later she received a Master of Arts degree. Upon graduation she began a career in teaching at Loreto Convent in Ballarat and then at the Ballarat School of Mines. In 1898 she founded her own school, University College, at Bendigo where she taught students for matriculation. As well as teaching she also contributed articles and poems to literary journals. She was an advocate for women's suffrage, which was not finally realised across Australia until 1908, when Victoria became the last state to give women the vote.

After the end of her marriage to George Lavender she increasingly concentrated on politics and the women's movement. She gave lectures on women's issues with many of her talks reported in publications such as *Labor Call* and *The Socialist*, becoming in 1912 vice-president of the Women's Political Association, of which leading suffragist and social reformer Vida Goldstein was president. In 1913 Bella co-authored an election manifesto and biographical portrait in support of Goldstein's unsuccessful bid for election to parliament. On the outbreak of war, she became more outspoken and more radical. In 1916 Bella was appointed vice-president of the Woman's Central Organizing Committee of the Labor Party, formed for the purpose of organising and educating the women of Victoria politically and industrially. However, she soon fell out of favour with party elders after giving a lecture critical of the party's treatment of its women members entitled, 'Women in the Labor Party: Poodle or Packhorse?'³³ After the war she continued to move further to the left, lecturing at socialist meetings and on the Yarra Bank, where she was arrested for flying the red flag.

In the early 1920s Bella moved to Adelaide to live with her son Dr Henry Halloran, who was a medical practitioner. She died in 1923 and is buried in the West Terrace Cemetery.

Conclusion

The conscription referendums provided an opportunity for politically minded women to participate in the political process in ways that were novel and, in the opinion of many male contemporaries, a challenge to prevailing views of women's roles in society. It was not easy for them. As L.C. Jauncey remarked of the women activists who 'braved the ruffles of open-air meetings', 'It took courage to break the ice in those days. Yet these women bravely proclaimed their opposition to the war'.³⁴ Nevertheless, those who hoped that the conscription campaigns heralded a new dawn in women's participation in political life in Australia would soon be disappointed. Decades would pass before women would once again find a place in the foreground of political debate in Australia.

In line with the theme of this book, this chapter has focused on three women of Irish background. But they were not alone. A canvass of the newspapers of the time soon reveals that women from a variety of backgrounds – ethnic, religious and class – took part on one side or the other. Accordingly, the women discussed here should be considered as case studies of a wider phenomenon which has to a large extent been airbrushed out of the history of the conscription debates and is deserving of further research.

More Than Mannix: Irish-Australian Women Who Helped Defeat Conscription in WWI

- 1 Frank Bongiorno, 'Anti-Conscriptionism in Australia: Individuals, organisations and arguments', in Robin Archer, Joy Damousi, Murray Goot and Sean Scalmer (eds), *The Conscription Conflict and the Great War*, Monash University Publishing, Melbourne, pp. 68–91, 83. The classic account of the campaigns, L.C. Jauncey's *The Story of Conscription in Australia*, (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1935) briefly mentions women. Notable exceptions are Joy Damousi, 'Socialist Women and Gendered Space: The Anti-Conscription and Anti-War Campaigns of 1914–1918', *Labour History*, no. 60, May, 1991, pp. 1–15 and Joan Beaumont, 'Whatever Happened to Patriotic Women, 1914–1918?', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 31 no. 115, 2000, pp. 273–286.
- 2 Other Irish-Australian women could be included, such as Annie Golding and her sister Kate Dwyer and Gertrude Phillips, each of whom also participated in the public debates over conscription. For examples of the contributions of these six women to the public debate, see *Catholic Press*

- (Sydney) (CPS) 12 October 1916, p. 21; 19 October 1916, p. 19; 26 October 1916, p. 21; 22 November 1917, p. 17; 29 November 1917, p. 23; 6 December 1917, pp. 11, 25; 13 December 1917, pp. 8, 12, 18, 19; 20 December 1917, p. 17.
- 3 *Methodist*, 17 February 1900, p. 3.
 - 4 CPS, 19 October 1916, p. 19; 26 October 1916, p. 21.
 - 5 CPS, 22 November 1917, p. 17; 13 December 1917, p. 18.
 - 6 CPS, 22 November 1917, p. 17.
 - 7 CPS, 20 December 1917, p. 17. 'The Blood Vote' begins, 'Why is your face so white, mother? Why do you choke for breath? O I have dreamt in the night, my son That I doomed a man to death.'
 - 8 Jeannine Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters: Boer War to Vietnam*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2015.
 - 9 Patricia Clarke, 'Australia's first female war correspondent: Edith Dickenson at the Boer War', in Barry Turner, Daniel Barredo Ibáñez and Steven James Grattan (eds), *Reporting from the Wars 1850 - 2015: The Origins and Evolution of the War Correspondent*, Vernon Press, Wilmington, 2018, pp. 39-62.
 - 10 CPS, 20 January 1900, p. 3.
 - 11 Baker, *Australian Women War Reporters*.
 - 12 CPS, 24 February 1900, p. 3.
 - 13 CPS, 21 July 1900, p. 10; 26 May 1900, p. 16.
 - 14 CPS, 3 February 1900, p. 3.
 - 15 CPS, 21 September 1901, p. 19.
 - 16 CPS, 6 September 1902, p. 8; 18 August 1904, p. 17; *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 8 September 1904, p. 6.
 - 17 *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress held in the Cathedral Hall, Melbourne*, The Congress, Melbourne, Victoria, 24-31 October 1904, pp. 565-566.
 - 18 CPS, 6 December 1917, p. 25.
 - 19 CPS, 13 December 1917, p. 19; *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 13 December 1917, p. 19; *Tribune* (Melbourne), 13 December 1917, p. 2.
 - 20 *Tribune* (Melbourne), 13 December 1917, p. 2; CPS, 13 December 1917, p. 12; *Advocate* (Melbourne), 15 December 1917, p. 12; *Evening Echo* (Ballarat), 18 December 1917, p. 4.
 - 21 CPS, 22 November 1917, p. 21; 29 November 1917, p. 23.
 - 22 Letter 1 October 1916 Murphy to Mahon, Mahon Papers NLA MS 937/196.
 - 23 Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1998, p. 266.
 - 24 *Melbourne Punch*, 27 February 1890, p. 141.

- 25 Lucy Sussex, 'A "Close-Cropped Scribess": Agnes Murphy as Gossip Columnist, New Woman (Lesbian?) Novelist, Opera Entrepreneur and Militant Suffragette', *Southerly*, vol. 71 no. 1, 2011, pp. 136-137.
- 26 Sussex, 'Close-Cropped Scribess', pp. 127, 138.
- 27 Biographical details in this paper are taken from Farley Kelly, 'Guerin, Julia Margaret (Bella) (1858-1923)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*; Victoria Worstead, 'A Profile of Bella Guerin, Australia's first woman graduate', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 53, 1982, pp. 118-129; and Debra Hutchison, 'Bella Guerin: first female university graduate in Australia', State Library Victoria Blog. Some sources give her mother's maiden name as Kearney.
- 28 *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 3 October 1916, p. 6.
- 29 *Register* (Adelaide), 7 October 1916, p. 11.
- 30 Joy Damousi has argued that women speakers were often subjected to physical violence because they were seen to undermine 'the ideals and values associated with masculinity' (Damousi, 'Socialist Women', p. 15).
- 31 *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 14 September 1916, p. 17.
- 32 *Argus*, 9 October 1909, p. 13.
- 33 *Socialist*, 14 June 1918, p. 3.
- 34 Jauncey, *The Story of Conscription*, p. 106.