

ISSN 1476-1580



North West Geography

Volume 23, Number 1, 2023

“Carrying with her a most influential and intelligent audience.”

Women Lecturers, the British Empire, and the Manchester Geographical Society, 1884-1920

Dr. James Watts

Dept. of History,

University of Bristol.

Email: james.watts@bristol.ac.uk

Abstract

This article explores the prominence of women in the Manchester Geographical Society and particularly in their lecture series on imperial education, travel and geography. Through the Society’s journal, lecture series, and newspaper accounts, it considers the prominence of women in presenting imperial travel and experience in Britain. The Society’s lectures are reflective of the increasing presence of women in imperial travel and their ability to present this travel and exploration in formal settings like the Manchester Geographical Society.

Introduction

On 27th October 1914, Hannah Louisa Lees gave a talk on her ‘Journey Round the World, with special reference to the Far East’ to the Manchester Geographical Society (MGS). Reporting on the talk, the journal for the Society notes the ‘hearty vote of thanks’ which was moved for Lees. This talk was not only sold out, but “some twenty members and a large number of “City News” readers and others were unable to gain admission.” As such, Lees agreed to repeat her lecture on November 27th, but it too sold out within two days and so Lees gave her talk for a third time on December 3rd, with the proceeds being donated to the relief fund for wounded soldiers fighting in the First World War (Anon, Proceedings of the Society, 1914, p.158).

Lees had been elected as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1913 and had also spoken at the MGS about New Zealand. Her trip around the world was followed by contributions to the “City News” for whom she had given a free lecture on her return to Britain in June 1914. The volume of interest in these lectures speaks to the popularity of imperial and global travel in the period, and that its communication in mass settings was not barred to women. Although not explicitly imperial in theme, Lees’ circumnavigation of the globe was underpinned by imperial influence. The underlying and unspoken influence of the British Empire was often so pervasive that it could be taken for granted (Driver, 2001). In these early days of the First



Figure 1: Hannah Louisa Lees photographed in the 1930s.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

World War, the response to this talk also indicates some of the hunger for knowledge of the wider world and the influence of the British Empire.

Women and the presentation of imperial travel

Women's lectures at the Manchester Geographical Society testify to a wide range of imperial travel. These lectures ranged across most continents and on numerous themes and had varied motivations. For Harriette Colenso it was as a morally activist cause to publicise or demand of the metropole on behalf of indigenous peoples. Agnes Dean Cameron was making an imperialist call to action and emigration. For others such as Hannah Louisa Lees, the motivation seems to largely be recording what they deemed to be interesting travel for a geographical audience. Some of the motivation for these talks was also evidently partially commercial in promoting an associated book as was the case with Mina Hubbard and Agnes Dean Cameron. This can be seen in where lecturers are coming from. Some of the lecturers at MGS lived locally, such as Hannah Lees or Katherine Melland, but MGS was also a part of national and international lecture tours for May French-Sheldon, Agnes Deans Cameron, and Mina Hubbard, as well as the famous male explorers HM Stanley, Fridthof Nansen, and Sven Hedin.

The prominence of moral activism in women's lectures was a notable feature, however. For instance, Harriette Colenso was an advocate for the AmaZulu in Southern Africa, Alicia Little was a campaigner against Chinese foot-binding, and Agnes Dean Cameron was calling for emigration to sustain the British Empire. All these talks and causes were linked to their own experiences and travel and gave them a purpose for their lectures and travel. The moral cause was not universal, as the lecture list in the appendix shows, but some of the most successful ones, particularly about the empire, had a specific cause to advocate. The importance of this cause can be linked to the prevailing gendered attitudes around what was appropriate in travel (Maddrell, 2009, pp.8-9). A moral cause, often one linked to women's supposedly more caring natures, could be crucial in legitimating women's travel and presentation of knowledge beyond the usual bounds. The moral theme was not rare in the lectures of men, but it was more prominent and partially gave women cause to share their geographical knowledge and travel. Although some societies such as the Royal Colonial Institute acted as propaganda and educational societies, geographical societies seem to have acted more as a forum for debate (Mackenzie, 1984, p.175). MGS and other geographical societies allowed space for

different views of travel and empire to be debated allowing the morality of different forms of empire and its practices to be scrutinised.

This article explores the position of women lecturers at the MGS between its foundation and 1920 and their relationship to empire. It charts their increasing prominence as well as the variety of purposes for their lectures. These purposes ranged from recording personal experience and travel, to encouraging emigration, to advocating for indigenous peoples or imperial development. For some, the empire was the purpose, for others simply the backdrop. Between 1887, when the first woman lectured to the MGS, and 1920, there were at least 46 talks by 27 different women at the MGS, of which around half were on imperial themes (See Appendix). Some of these were recorded in full in the Society's journal, which acts a useful measure of the importance attached to an individual lecture. Although women's appearances were dwarfed by the total number of lectures given at the MGS in this period (which averaged between 20 and 30 a year), that women feature in the growing numbers they do indicates the increasing respectability of women's travel and their ability to present it to formal bodies in Britain. Women lecturers were quite rare in the 1880s and 1890s, featuring only seven times during these decades. But these numbers increased from 1904 when women lectured every year. Between 1910 and 1920, women averaged 10 to 15% of the lecturers for the Society, reflecting the increasing acceptance of women lecturers.

The women who were giving papers at MGS were doing so at a time of fierce debate about the position of women in geography and travel. As noted above, between 1893 and 1913 women were not admitted as fellows to the Royal Geographical Society (RGS). Nevertheless, once this policy was reversed, in 1914, 211 women fellows were admitted in the first year (Bell and McEwan, 1996). The RGS was an outlier in its attitude to women members. All the other British geographical societies - the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (1884), Manchester (1884), Tyneside (1887), and Liverpool (1891) - admitted women as members from the outset. MGS was also the first to elect women to its governing body with Mrs. A.H. Wood and Fanny Rutherford being elected to its committee in 1885. Nevertheless, this was a large committee of 46 made up of 'two bishops, seven MPs, 11 JPs, two Lords and the Lord Mayor, as well as seven academics', which gives an indication of how male-dominated this space was (Maddrell, 2009, p.35). The increasing prominence of women's travel and the publications deriving from it was forging a space in these societies for women. In part, this is a story of chipping away



*Figure 2: May French Sheldon.
Photograph by Elliott & Fry.
Wellcome Collection.
Public Domain Mark.*



*Figure 3: Agnes Dean Cameron
(from Cameron, 1909).*



*Figure 4: Mina Benson Hubbard
(from Hubbard, 1908).*

at a glass ceiling, with women entering learned societies. But this process also defined the types of ‘acceptable’ women’s work in geography which this dispute at the RGS fed into. Some argued that women were more suited to the educational work rather than overseas discovery and adventure. Some women who lectured at MGS such as MK Sturgeon and Edith Wilkinson in the 1880s and 1890s were focused on this, but many of the prominent women lecturers were there precisely to tell stories of adventure, hardship, and heroism. This is partly a shift over time as women’s travel became a more acceptable topic for lectures after 1900, whereas education had been a more acceptable topic for longer (Maddrell, 2009, p.125).

The basis of authority on which women could speak at a learned and educational society needed constant reaffirmation, given the patronizing views of many male members of the geographical establishment (Butlin, 2009, p.240-2). Nevertheless, women were establishing themselves as explorers, geographers, and mountaineers, being accepted as being able to share their experiences with greater authority (Maddrell, 2009; Colley, 2010, pp.101-144). As Evans has put it, their ‘reception both was, and was not, gendered.’ Some women were received very well and supported, and women did speak in these spaces from the late nineteenth century onwards, although some were

certainly criticised in a gendered way (Evans, 2022, p.150). Women lecturing at the MGS rarely appealed to science for their authority, although Mina Hubbard did, being part of the first successful mapping expedition in upper Labrador. So, rather than discussing mapping and measuring, these women largely focused on imperial causes, tales of adventure, and lived experience. From the 1890s onwards women were becoming increasingly common speakers at centers of imperial knowledge like the Royal Colonial Institute where Flora Shaw was the first woman speaker in 1894, and the RGS which Isabella Bird addressed in 1897 (Bell and McEwan, 1996, p.297; Callaway & O’Helly, 1992; Watts, 2021, p.664). However, allowing women lecturers was not without resistance from established male figures in the RGS and Isabella Bird refused to lecture to the RGS until it allowed her to become a Fellow. This position led to the RGS creating 13 women fellows before reversing their policy and excluding women from 1893 until 1913.

Women’s position within imperial travel and knowledge has also been the subject of debate. Some female imperial enthusiasts were ‘married to empire’, assuming the male view of empire, allied to the official or settler view. Others may have offered a more sympathetic and discordant note to the imperial project given women’s own subordinate position in the imperial project (Procida, 2002; Anderson,

2006; Pratt, 1992, p.170). For instance, Flora Shaw and Violet Milner, two imperially enthusiastic upper-class women in the 1900s often wrote in the male tone of *The Times* when presenting their findings in Britain (Watts, 2021, p.665; Riedi, 2013, p.931). Conversely, Mary Kingsley is often cited as a women traveler who, although she was not outside the structures of imperialism, did approach her travel as a way of offering another viewpoint on imperial people, criticising fervent imperialists like Flora Shaw sharply (Mills, 1991, pp.153-174). As is well recognised, there was no one, 'female' perspective on empire that can be offered. Rather, there were a series of interlocking viewpoints on their imperial role, how they interacted with the land and people around them, and the conditions which women travelers, writers, and lecturers on empire maintained (Bush, 2000). James Buzard has argued that for some, travel was not a transformative experience; instead, they travelled with 'portable boundaries' taking their own viewpoints across the empire, refusing to engage with local cultures or adapt their ways of life (Buzard, 2010). Women travelers who were able to present their findings in Britain were often privileged in terms of class and race, but their gender did give them a particular set of obstacles to navigate (Maddrell, 2009, p.7-9; Mills, 1991). These common obstacles are revealing of the ways in which geographical knowledge was communicated, and the wider attitudes towards women's travel.

'For the sake of all concerned': The 'causes' promoted in lectures

The imperial project, and its vaunted humanitarian impulses, could act as a 'cause' for women's lecturing. The cause for Agnes Deans Cameron was the development of Canada. When she lectured at the MGS in 1910, she argued that as the 'modernisation of Japan was the great world-fact of the close of the nineteenth century, so the first part of the twentieth would be marked by the appreciation of the significance of the extent and the potential wealth of Canadian territory' (Cameron, 1910, p.97; Manchester Guardian, 1910). Employed by the Western Canada Immigration Association in 1908, Cameron became the first white woman to travel up to the Arctic Ocean through the Northwest territories in Canada along the Mackenzie River. She published a book based on her travels and began a lecture tour, acting as a representative of the Dominion government. Cameron aimed to encourage emigration to Canada, which she described as a 'newer, better, and more hopeful Europe' (Cameron, 1909; Manchester Courier, 1911b). Cameron was very active in promoting women's travel, both as emigration and as travel, and she gave lectures at the Ladies Alpine Club in London on her expedition in 1910 (Ladies Field, 1911). In these years, Cameron was



Figure 5: "Lectured before Royalty." *Daily Mirror*, 25 Feb. 1911, p. 5.

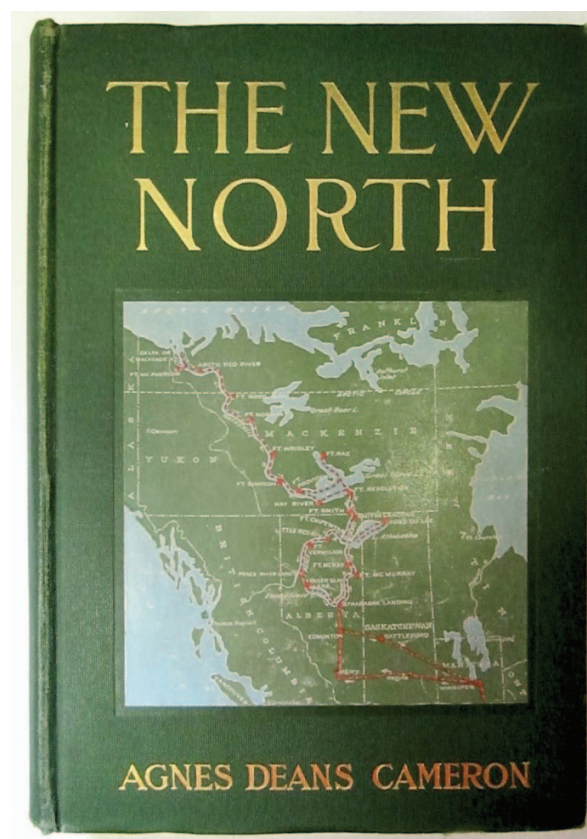


Figure 6: Agnes Dean Cameron's book based on her travels showing the route to the Arctic Ocean.

also involved in the creation of the Geographical Circle in the Lyceum Club in 1911-12, intended as a rebuke to the RGS for their exclusionary attitude. The Lyceum was a prominent women-only elite London club, founded in 1905 by Constance Smedley, which counted writers, explorers, and suffragists amongst its ranks (Keighren, 2017, p.665). Cameron was testament to the range of outlets for women lecturers and the different purposes of imperial travel.

Louise Hirsch, who lectured at MGS on "Life in Queensland" in 1906, "Australia's water supply" in 1908, and the potential of the Grand Trunk Canadian Railway in 1911, was also an imperial enthusiast. For Hirsch, Canada provided 'practically unlimited opportunities for the man with grit', and the new railway provided competition for previously unfair monopolies and great potential for agriculture and mining (Manchester Guardian, 1911, Manchester Courier 1911a). This imperial enthusiasm was also blithely optimistic in places. Hirsch declared that Australia was 'the only one of our great colonies acquired without the loss of a single life in warfare', ignoring aboriginal resistance from Cook's landing in 1788 onwards, events such as the Black War in Tasmania and Jandamarra's revolt in the 1890s (Broome, 2001, p.40-72). This denial of resistance was and is a key part of the assertion that Australia was an 'empty land' or terra nullius, waiting for European colonization (Broome, 2001, p.234-8). Hirsch had lived in Australia for a number of years and used her experiences there to recommend settling despite the difficulties of water supply which she discussed in 1908 (Manchester Courier, 1908). Both Hirsch and Cameron used their imperial travel to promote white emigration to the settler colonies, a key part of the wider ideology of imperial strength and cohesion. Their travel was bounded within the Empire, promoting a way of imagining Britain and the settler colonies as part of a single unit often termed 'Greater Britain.'

In contrast to Hirsch's willful ignorance towards the experiences of indigenous peoples, Harriette Emily Colenso was an advocate and supporter of the AmaZulu in the face of British imperialism in South Africa and gave talks in October 1890 and November 1891. She was not an imperial enthusiast but was instead keen for more responsible imperialism in southern Africa. Colenso was in Britain as part of a campaign which she was leading about the conditions in Zululand since the annexation of 1887. In her lectures, the first of which was published in the journal of the Society, Colenso described the maneuverings which the local British governor, who had since been promoted to Governor of Sri Lanka, had been involved in. These maneuverings involved encroaching on AmaZulu lands, an excessive hut

tax, and the burnings of Zulu crops, forced labour, and the misgovernment of the AmaZulu in South Africa through the 1880s, which had been directed at breaking any support for Zulu power (Guy, 2002, p.313). Colenso appealed to the Society for the 'help of all of you to obtain redress for chiefs and people for the sake of all concerned' (Colenso, 1890, p.176). The daughter of John Colenso, the first bishop of Natal who had died in 1883, Harriette Colenso continued his work interceding for the AmaZulu. In these talks she was advocating for Dinuzulu who had been exiled to St Helena, after his resistance to the British annexation of Zululand outside of the Native Reserve. The Imperial Government deemed this resistance to be rebellion and he was tried for treason (Guy, 2002, pp.217-8). Harriette Colenso worked with the legal team for his defense.

The injustices of British rule and the harshness of the retribution were also the focus of the notices of Colenso's talks in the local Manchester newspapers (Manchester Courier, 1890; Manchester Examiner and Times, 1890; Manchester Guardian, 1890; Manchester City News, 1891). These were favourable and the *Manchester Guardian* argued that 'there is too much ground to fear that the object has been not to govern but to exterminate the Zulus' (Manchester Guardian, 1891). Colenso's talks were testament to the respect in which women's lectures could be held and heralded the fixation with South Africa and its future which was to be such a focus of imperial interest in the 1890s. Nevertheless, Colenso had



MISS COLENSO
Daughter of the late Bishop of Natal,
and Zealous Advocate of the Claims of the Zulus

Figure 7: "MISS COLENSO." *Graphic*, 24 Aug. 1889.

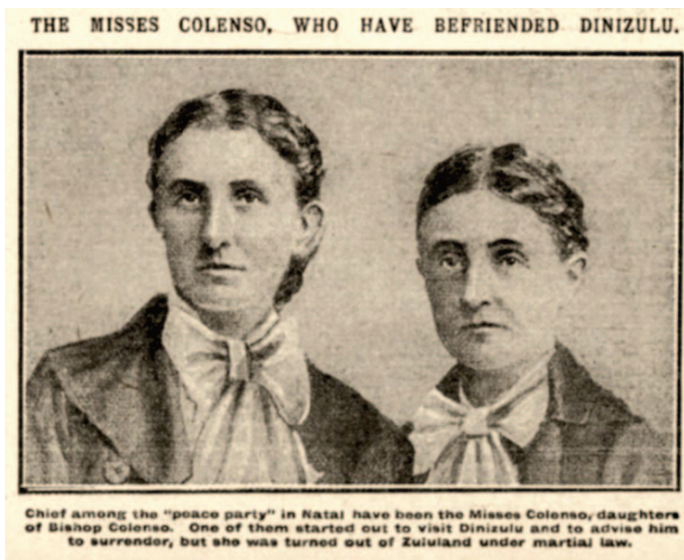


Figure 8: "The Misses Colenso, Who Have Befriended Dinizulu." *Daily Mirror*, 11 Dec. 1907, p. 3.

to adapt to campaigning in the metropole. Some expressed disapproval of her practical dress which she had developed whilst living in South Africa which included the wearing of men's hats. She also had to contend with reservations about her time as a political campaigner, as well as the financial expense of the campaign and legal case (Guy, 2002, pp.313-5). Colenso was an influential if increasingly isolated figure in her campaigns in collaboration with the AmaZulu; she had undeniable expertise, long acquaintance with the country and the chiefs she was trying to defend.

Mary Garnet Barboza was an African American woman who was working to further women's education in Liberia (Barnes, 2004, p.154). She was the second woman to address the Society, and in 1888 spoke to the MGS alongside Commander VL Cameron on the African Slave Trade. She was attempting to raise interest in her plan to build a girl's school in Liberia which the *Manchester Courier* hoped 'will not remain without response.' The paper noted that, 'Mrs. Barboza, who is herself a lady of color, succeeded in thoroughly carrying with her a most influential and intelligent audience' (Manchester Courier, 1888). Barboza's father, Henry Highland Garnet, had escaped from slavery in Maryland as a child and been a prominent campaigner for the abolition of slavery in the USA throughout his life. He was also a campaigner for African American emigration back to Africa and he was appointed the US ambassador to Liberia in December 1881, where his daughter was working in women's education. Barboza had herself been in Liberia, in Brewerville, since the spring of 1881, working with a presbyterian church (Seraile, 1985, p.73). This was a very

different imperial viewpoint and argument to many of the other speakers and it speaks to the imperial framework in which many people of colour had to work to gain support for their own projects. Barboza was speaking in Manchester to raise funds for her planned girl's school, appealing to the most influential empire in the region to support her project.

'Daring explorer' or 'anticipated by previous explorers': Lecturing without moral causes to promote

Newspapers and commentary could be hostile to women's lectures if they thought that there was not due cause for it. The *Manchester Examiner and Times*, after the American May French-Sheldon's talk on Lake Chala and Mount Kilimanjaro, remarked that 'neither rich nor rare were the gems which Mrs. French-Sheldon' shared, and they had all been 'anticipated by previous explorers of the ruder sex.' The paper then accused her of self-advertisement as her 'exploration' had been within the protected bounds of the British Empire (Manchester Examiner and Times, 1891). So soon after the 1890 talks by Henry Morton Stanley and his more extensive explorations of Africa many in the geographical world were unimpressed, although French-Sheldon's position as a 'Lady Stanley' did give her popular appeal (Boisseau, 2004, 2 & 10). Stanley had provided introductions for French-Sheldon and his explorations were an inspiration for her (Boisseau, 2004, p.31). Indeed, French-Sheldon's travels were partially stage-managed by the entrepreneur Henry Wellcome. Her claims to have 'discovered' Lake Chala were overstated, compared to other white 'discoveries' in already inhabited areas. There may also have been less respect for Sheldon's mode of transport as she was often transported by palanquin, carried by indigenous porters (see Fig. 9). The missionary Joseph New had seen the lake years before so her claim to the 'discovery' was based on her circumnavigation and measurement of the lake (Boisseau, 2004, p.25 & pp.52-3). The *Manchester Examiner* included a more favourable notice recording her warm reception and the interest of her talk, but still felt the need to describe French-Sheldon as 'a good-looking, fastidiously-dressed lady', perhaps to assuage concerns that African travel meant that she was a 'wild woman' (Manchester Examiner and Times, 1891). The lack of a moral cause, alongside suspicion of exaggeration, perhaps compounded by her American background, meant that French-Sheldon's reception within the scientific world was less rapturous than for other female explorers and geographers like Agnes Dean Cameron, Mina Hubbard, or Hannah Lees.

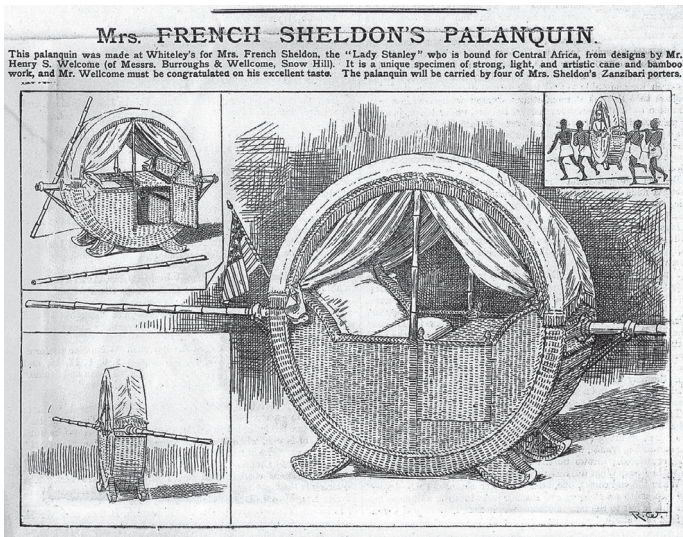


Figure 9: Mrs. French Sheldon's Palanquin.
 Wellcome Images. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works?query=May+french+Sheldon>

Some lecturers were simply recording their explorations without an expressly imperial impulse. Nevertheless, many of these still spoke to the development of imperial knowledge and were underpinned by imperial ideas of settling and mapping the land. For instance, Mina Hubbard completed a 576-mile trek across 'Unknown Labrador' in 1905, making the first accurate maps of the Nascaupée and George rivers two years after her own husband, Leonidas, had died attempting the same journey (Hubbard, 1908). This success led her to a lecture tour where she lectured to MGS and the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in 1907 (The Times, 1907). Despite - or perhaps because of - her impressive feats in trekking, mapping, and exploring rough terrain, Hubbard was patronized for her gender. One newspaper recorded that it was 'her longing to be a man' so that she could explore which led her to her expedition across the Canadian province of Labrador (Daily Dispatch, 1907). Nevertheless, her exploration, and particularly her talk to the RGS was widely commented on in the national newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror* which called Hubbard 'one of the most daring explorers the world has ever seen' (Fig. 10). *The Daily Mirror* noted that she travelled with 'three native guides and an eskimo boy' and recorded her chase of a 'huge black bear' which she gave 'a hot fifteen minutes run for its life. The bear won, however' (Daily Mirror, 1907; Daily Telegraph, 1908). These dramatic set pieces in which she detailed the wild experiences were part of the commercial promotion of her travels as these talks were meant to promote her book.



Figure 10: *Daily Mirror*, 'Mrs Leonidas Hubbard', 4th June 1907.

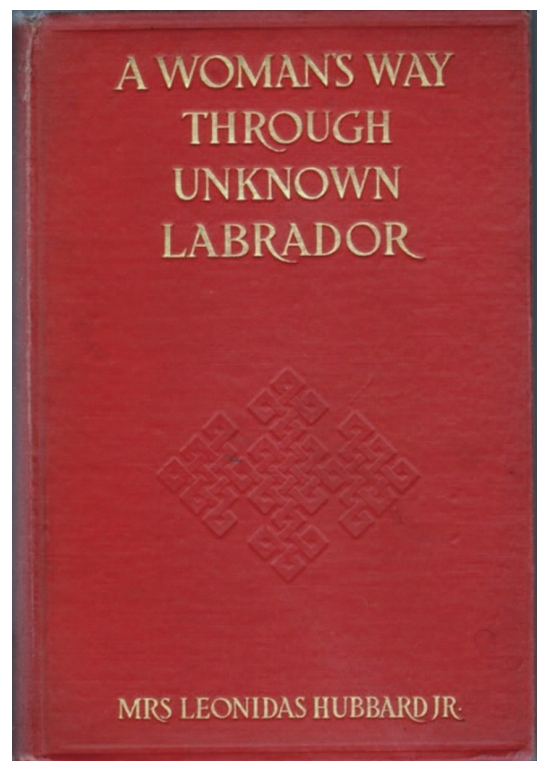


Figure 10: The cover of Mina Hubbard's book.

Katherine Alice Melland and her husband Edward lived in New Zealand for twenty years from the 1890s until just before the First World War, largely on a sheep farm of 80,000 acres which they had rent free from the government (Melland, 1914, pp.31-5). They had recently moved back to northwest England, settling in Hale in Cheshire at the time of her talk. Melland's talk and article in the MGS journal recorded her time living in New Zealand, her settler life on a sheep station, and natural features like the Waimangu Geyser. This geyser was the result of recent geothermal activity on the North Island which had created the strongest geyser in the world. For three or four years this shot plumes of water

up to 1500 feet into the air (Melland, 1914, p.27). Melland's talk was entitled 'Personal experiences among Māori's and Mountains' and the focus of her talk was ethnographical, giving descriptions of Māori face tattooing, their adaptation to a colonized life, and how they lived. These practices were exoticized and patronizing in tone, and seemed to be from an outside gaze, despite her long residence in the country. Her modest title of 'personal experiences' is indicative of the modest approach which she took for her talk. These personal experiences included seeing cooking done on hot springs on the North Island of New Zealand, and a canoe hurdle race for men and women. This personalised style of lecture belies the evident time, research, and preparation for the talk and the paper in the journal which is accompanied by numerous photographs and drawings. This method of speaking from personalized experience could be argued to be a tactic for modestly presenting her work whilst being closer to a travelogue.

These lectures recorded very different experiences. Hubbard's Canadian expedition was an exploration beyond the area of white settlement and the interest to a geographical society was in this exploration into new territory. Melland's travels in New Zealand were much closer to tourism, describing trips on a tourist's itinerary and then moving on to describing the settler's life, homemaking, and Māori traditions. Both took white settlement in these areas for granted, although they approached women's roles within it - exploration and settling - from rather different angles (Mills, 1991, pp.3-4).



Fig. 3. The White Terraces, Rotomahana, Hot Lakes District.

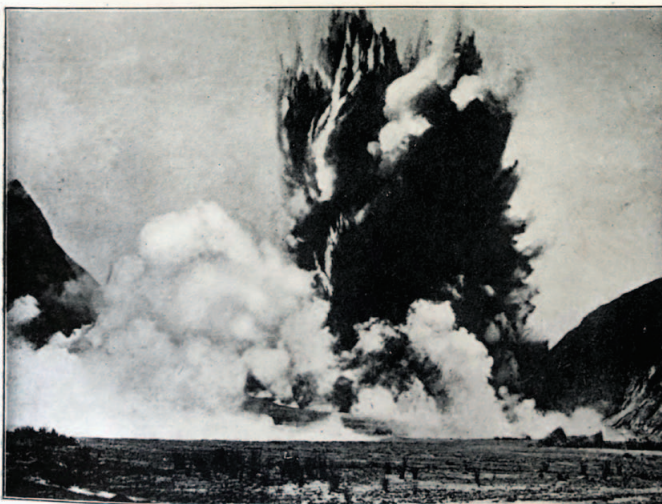


Fig. 4. Waimangu Geyser and Frying Pan Flat.

Figure 12: Images from Katherine Alice Melland's article, *Personal experiences Among Māori's and Mountains in New Zealand*, *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*.

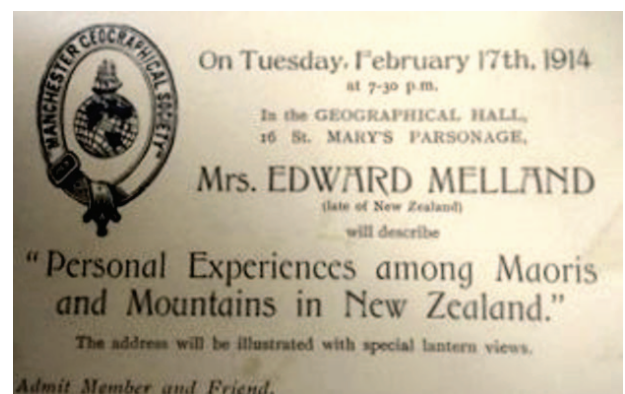


Figure 13: Ticket for Katherine Alice Melland's lecture, MGS/5.

Conclusion

Women's expertise in the traditionally male domain of exploration and travel were held up to more scrutiny than that of men. Moral activism could provide a good cause to speak at formal societies, as it did for Mary Garnet Barboza and Harriette Colenso. Nevertheless, as the twentieth century wore on there was increasing involvement of women as explorers and lecturers, some of whom were greeted enthusiastically as the popular talks of Hannah Lees and Katherine Melland attest. The empire could represent many things to different lecturers. For some it was of vital importance and needed upholding and developing like Louise Hirsch or Agnes Dean Cameron. For others it was

the backdrop to travel, necessary but not of prime interest in and of itself. More broadly, these lectures reveal the increasing frequency of women lecturing in these years and its respectability. Provincial geographical societies were key in providing this platform and outlet for female geographers, travelers, and explorers, whilst the RGS opposed female membership. The range of talks at MGS defies any easy categorization, some were intensely concerned with an imperial cause, whilst others were more gentle ethnographic accounts which were comparable to more straight-forward travel narratives. But what these talks do testify to is the breadth of interest in the empire, and the breadth of narratives which could be put forward about it.

References

Primary Sources

- Anon, 1914. Proceedings of the Society. July 1st to December 31st, 1914. *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 30, 158.
- Cameron, A, 1909, *The New North: Being Some Account of a Woman's Journey Through Canada to the Arctic*. New York and London.
- Cameron, A.D., 1910. From Winnipeg to the Arctic Ocean. *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 26, 97-101.
- Colenso, H.E., 1890. Zululand: past and present. *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 6, 157-177.
- Hubbard, M, 1908, *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador*. New York.
- Melland, Mrs. E. (K.), 1914. Personal experiences amongst Māoris and mountains in New Zealand. *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 30, 27-45.
- Daily Dispatch*, 'A Lady Explorer', 9th October 1907.
- Daily Mirror*, 'Lady Explorer's Discoveries', 20th May 1907.
- Daily Telegraph*, 'Lonely Labrador: A Lady's Plucky Journey', 7th January 1908.
- Manchester City News* 'Geographical', 19th November 1891.
- Manchester Courier*, August 21, 1888.
- Manchester Courier*, 'Australia Waterworks', February 5, 1908.
- Manchester Courier*, 25th January 1911a.
- Manchester Courier*, 'Canadian Travel Talks: A New Page for History', 12th April, 1911b.
- Manchester Courier*, 'Miss Colenso in Manchester' 2nd October 1890.
- Manchester Examiner and Times*, 'Miss Colenso on Zululand' 19th November 1890.
- Manchester Examiner and Times*, 'The Lady African Explorer in Manchester', 1891.
- Manchester Guardian*, 'Miss Colenso on Zululand', 2nd October 1890.
- Manchester Guardian*, 19th November 1891.
- Manchester Guardian*, 6th April 1910.
- Manchester Guardian*, 25th January 1911.
- Ladies Field*, 'The Ladies' Alpine Club' 18th February 1911.
- The Times*, 'The Royal Geographical Society', 18th October 1907.

Secondary Sources

- Anderson, M., 2006. *Women and the Politics of Travel- 1870–1914*. Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing.
- Barnes, K., 2004. *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s* Durham, UNC Press.
- Bell, M. and McEwan, C., 1996. 'The Admission of Women Fellows to the Royal Geographical Society, 1892-1914; the Controversy and the Outcome', *The Geographical Journal*, 162(3), 295-312.
- Broome, R., 2001. *Aboriginal Australians: Black responses to White Dominance* Sydney, Allen & Unwin.
- Boisseau, T., 2004. *White Queen: May French-Sheldon and the Imperial Origins of American Feminist Identity* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bush, J., 2000. *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Butlin, R., 2009. *Geographies of Empire: European Empires and Colonies c. 1880-1960* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buzard, J., 2010, 'Portable Boundaries: Trollope, Race, and Travel', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 32(1), 5-18.
- Callaway, H. & O'Helly D., 1992. Crusader for Empire: Flora Shaw/Lady Lugard, in N. Chaudhuri & M. Strobel (Eds) *Western Women and Imperialism: complicity and resistance* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp.79-97.
- Colley A., 2010. *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* Oxford: Ashgate.
- Driver, E., 2001. *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Evans, S.L., 2022. 'A Very Worthy Lady': Women Lecturing at the Royal Geographical Society, 1913–C.1940. In: Jones, C.G., Martin, A.E., Wolf, A. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Science since 1660*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp.149-169.
- Guy, J., 2002. *The View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle against Imperialism*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Keighren, I.M., 2017. "A Royal Geographical Society for Ladies": The Lyceum Club and Women's Geographical Frontiers in Edwardian London, *The Professional Geographer*, 69(4), 661-669.
- Mackenzie, J.M., 1984. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Maddrell, A., 2009. *Complex Locations: Women's Geographical Work in the UK 1850-1970* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Mills, S., 1991. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* London: Routledge.
- Pratt, M., 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* Abingdon: Routledge.
- Procida, M., 2002. *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Riedi, E., 2013. 'Imperialist Women and Conservative Activism in Early-Twentieth-Century Britain: the political world of Violet Milner', *Women's History Review*, 22(6), 930-953.
- Seraile, W., 1985. 'The Brief Diplomatic Career of Henry Highland Garnet' *Phylon*, 46(1), 71-81.
- Watts, J., 2021. 'Terrifying and Powerful, Fertile and Homely: Flora Shaw and 'England' in Representations of the Imperial Landscape, 1890–1904', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 49(4), 658-687.

Appendix of women lecturers at the Manchester Geographical Society, 1887–1920

1887	• MK Sturgeon, 'The Teaching of Elementary Geography'
1888	• Mary Garnett Barboza and Cmdr VL Cameron, 'The African Slave Trade'
1890	• Harriette Emily Colenso, 'Zululand, Past and Present'
1891	• Harriette Emily Colenso, 'Scenes in Zululand' • May French Sheldon 'Lake Chala and Kilimanjaro'
1896	• Edith Wilkinson 'Sand Modelling' Children's lecture
1899	• Alicia Little, 'The Yangtsekiang'
1904	• Ethel Heywood, 'A journey in Sicily'
1905	• Alicia Little, 'Through Yunnan to Tonquin'
1906	• Louise Hirsch, 'Life in Queensland'
1907	• Mina Benson Hubbard, 'A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador' • Margaret Dowson, 'Snapshots in India'
1908	• Louise Hirsch, 'Australian water supply and resources',
1909	• A. M. Philips, 'Sicily' • Lavinia Edna Walter, 'Alpine Glaciers and their work' • Gabriela De Bolivar, "Venezuela" • Gabrielle M Vassal, 'Life in Annam'
1910	• Agnes Deans Cameron - 'From Winnipeg to the Arctic Ocean' • Kate Qualtrough, 'The Fascination of Geography' • Gabrielle M Vassal, 'The Philippine islands', • Caroline Schuster, 'Sixty days marching through Ladak and Lahoul'
1911	• Louise Hirsch, 'A new Highway through Canada: Grand Trunk Pacific Railway' • Lavinia Edna Walter, 'The fascination of Brittany' • Agnes Deans Cameron, 'Unknown British Columbia' • May Constance Geldart, "The Dolomites"
1912	• Kate Qualtrough, 'Pathways of the past', • Mrs S. Simon, 'Farthest West',
1913	• Hannah Louisa Lees, FRGS, 'A Visit to New Zealand'
1914	• Katherine Alice Melland - 'Experiences among Maoris and Mountains in New Zealand' • Kate Qualtrough, FRGS, 'The Genesis of Geography' • Hannah Louisa Lees, FRGS ARCI, 'Journey Round the World' (Repeated 27.11.14 and 03/12/14)
1915	• Lavinia Edna Walter, 'The fascination of Holland',
1916	• Maria Czaplicka FRAI, 'Siberia and some Siberians' • Gabrielle M Vassal, "In and Round Yunnan Fou"
1917	• Sophie Nicholls MA FRGS, 'The Holy Land Yesterday and Today' • MG Hindshaw, 'Life in Alaska and the Yukon' • Mrs Brodsky, 'Russian Revolution and Kerensky' • EL Broadbent MA, 'Travels on the Russo-Rumanian Front',
1918	• Kate Qualtrough, FRGS, 'Mythology and Mankind' • Lavinia Edna Walter, 'Alpine Glaciers and their work'
1919	• Sophie Nicholls MA FRGS, 'In the track of Allenby's army' and 'Palestine in peace and war with special reference to Geography' • Lavinia Edna Walter, 'The fascination of Belgium' • Mrs Keith Adams, 'Mauritius'
1920	• Lavinia Edna Walter 'The Fascination of Ireland' • Bertha Glazier, 'Life in China as I saw it' • Cecilia Marsh, 'Glimpses of S. Norway'