

NOT THINGS, BUT MEN.

# The World's Congress Auxiliary

OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION  
OF 1893.

---

PRESIDENT, CHARLES C. BONNEY.  
VICE-PRESIDENT, THOMAS B. BRYAN.      TREASURER, LYMAN J. GAGE.  
SECRETARIES, BENJ. BUTTERWORTH, CLARENCE E. YOUNG.

---

## THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE AUXILIARY.

MRS. POTTER PALMER, *President.*      MRS. CHAS. HENROTIN, *Vice-President.*

---

NOT MATTER, BUT MIND.

PROGRAMME OF THE SUFFRAGE CONGRESS, COMMENCING AUGUST 7,  
1893, IN THE MEMORIAL ART PALACE, MICHIGAN AVENUE  
AND ADAMS STREET, CHICAGO.

THOMAS W. PALMER, *Chairman,*  
WM. D. FOULKE, *Vice-Chairman,*  
Dr. H. VON HOLST,      STOUGHTON COOLEY,  
WM. HENRY SMITH,      W. T. COOLING,  
Prof. E. W. HUFFCUT,      OLIVER T. MORTON,  
*Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary on a Suffrage Congress.*

Mrs. ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT, *Chairman,*  
Mrs. CHARLES HENROTIN,      Mrs. CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,  
Miss MARY E. HOLMES,      Mrs. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,  
*Women's Committee on a Suffrage Congress.*

---

## THE WORLD'S CONGRESS DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

GENERAL OPENING OF THE CONGRESSES OF THIS DEPARTMENT, INCLUDING JURISPRUDENCE  
AND LAW REFORM; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; SUFFRAGE IN REPUBLIC, KINGDOM  
AND EMPIRE; AND THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES.

---

Monday Morning, August 7, 1893—10.00 A. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

---

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME AND RESPONSES.

---

Upon the conclusion of these Opening Ceremonies the several Congresses  
will assemble in the halls assigned to them.

Monday, August 7—11.00 A. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

President, WM. DUDLEY FOULKE.

In its first two sessions (morning and afternoon), on August 7th, the Suffrage Congress proposes to present a brief outline of the History and Present Status of Suffrage in various foreign countries, both Monarchies and Republics, and a number of nations have been selected, illustrating phases of the representative system in different forms of government:

1. In Absolute Monarchies.
2. In Constitutional Monarchies.
3. In Republics.

I. The best illustration of the suffrage system, under an absolute monarchy, is afforded by the Russian Empire, where the peasants, in their village communities, as well as in the local parliaments, exercise, in a limited way, the right of self-government, subject to imperial authority. Accordingly, the first address in this Congress will be delivered by the Delegate of the Ministry of Public Instruction of the Russian Empire to the Chicago Exposition, Prof. L de Dimscha, of the University of St. Petersburg, upon the "History and Present Status of the Suffrage in Russia," with special reference to the "Mir" (village community) and "Zemstvo" (department parliament) in that empire.

II.—Illustrations of the Suffrage in Constitutional Monarchies are furnished by the Kingdoms of Italy and Belgium.

A paper upon "The Suffrage in Belgium" will be presented by H. E. Alfred Le Ghait, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from that kingdom to the United States. This paper will contain a brief review of the agitation in Belgium in regard to the referendum or submission of laws for ratification by popular vote.

A paper on "The Limitations of the Suffrage in Italy" will be delivered by Signor V. Zeggio, Royal Commissioner from the Italian Government.

"The History and Present Condition of the Suffrage in Iceland," now a Danish colony with popular institutions, and, in past times, a primitive republic, affords an interesting study, and a paper upon this subject will be read by Mme. Sigrída Magnusson, of Reikjavik.

Monday, August 7—2.00 P. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

This session will be devoted to a consideration of the suffrage in the republics of Europe and America, and illustrations are furnished by France, Switzerland, Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, Peru and the Argentine Republic.

"The French Electoral System" will be the title of the first paper, which will be given by Theodore Stanton, of Paris.

The history and present status of the suffrage in the ancient republic of Switzerland; the primitive democratic constitutions of some of the forest cantons; the evolution of republican institutions out of mediæval feudalism—the initiative and referendum—or legislation by direct popular vote—offer subjects of great interest and instruction to the student of political institutions. A paper will be read by Prof. John Martin Vincent, of Johns Hopkins University, upon "The History and Present Status of Suffrage in Switzerland."

A description of the electoral system of Mexico and of the other nations of Central and South America has now an additional interest to us in view of our close relations with these republics, which are, in many instances, now making more successful experiments in self government than during the periods immediately following their independence.

Papers are promised giving an account of the history and present status of the suffrage in the following countries:

In MEXICO, by Don Elias Amador, Zacatecas.

In COLOMBIA, by Don Justo Arosamena.

In PERU, by J. A. Miro Quesada, of *El Comercio*, Lima.

And also in Costa Rica and the Argentine Republic, the authors of which will be announced hereafter.

Monday, August 7—8.00 p. m.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

President, Hon. CHAS. C. BONNEY.

A preliminary address upon "The Evolution of Suffrage and the Questions now Awaiting Solution" will be delivered by Wm. Dudley Foulke, Acting Chairman of the Suffrage Committee.

A paper will follow upon "The History of the Woman's Suffrage Movement," by Lucy Stone, of Boston, Mass.

"The Relation of Woman to the Suffrage." Rev. Anna H. Shaw, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Tuesday, August 8—10.00 a. m.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

This Congress is in charge of "The National American Woman's Suffrage Association," an organization of which the two constituent members, the National Woman's Suffrage Association and the American Woman's Suffrage Association, (now consolidated) have been for many years the chief organized expression of the demand for equal rights for women.

Opening remarks by President Susan B. Anthony, of Rochester, N. Y.

"Financial Independence." Mrs. Chas. Henrotin, Vice-President Woman's Branch, World's Congress Auxiliary.

"Business Training for Women." Mrs. Harriet R. Williams Story, Los Angeles, Cal.

"Asking Their Share of Power." Helen Elkin Starrett, Oak Park, Ill.

"Woman a Factor in Politics." Laura De Face Gordon, President State W. S. A. of California.

"Equal Rights for All." Rebecca Henry Hayes, President State W. S. A. of Texas.

"Wage-Earning Women and the Ballot." Leonora M. Barry-Lake, Lecturer for Knights of Labor, St. Louis, Mo.

"Labor Legislation." Mrs. Alice Asbury Abbott and others.

Tuesday, August 8—10.00 A. M.

HALL III.

In the two sessions held this day papers will be presented showing the development and present condition of the suffrage in various states of the American Union, illustrating the growth of the electoral system, the differences in electoral qualifications and methods between the seaboard states and the West, the North and the South, setting forth the progress made and the evils still to be remedied. The first paper will be upon the "History and Present Status of Suffrage in Maine," by Barrett Potter, Brunswick, Me.

The history of the restricted suffrage in Rhode Island, its gradual extensions and its present character, is a subject of unusual interest. It will be presented in a paper by Hon. Wm. W. Blodgett, Pawtucket, R. I.

A paper upon the "History and Status of Suffrage in Maryland," will be presented by Dr. Bernhard C. Steiner, of Johns Hopkins University.

The development of popular government in South Carolina from the aristocratic institutions established by the charter of Charles II and the constitutions framed by Locke, affords an interesting theme for the student of history. This will be set forth in a paper upon the "History and Status of Suffrage in South Carolina," written by R. Means Davis, of South Carolina College. This paper contains a statement of the legislation adopted to overcome the effects of negro rule imposed upon that state by the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution.

The history of the suffrage in Mississippi, with an account of the educational qualification now required for the purpose of nullifying the political power of the illiterate voters, will be shown in a paper prepared by R. H. Thompson, Brookhaven, Miss.

A paper upon "Suffrage in Texas," written by R. S. Dabney, of the University of Texas, will be read.

Tuesday, August 8—2.00 P. M.

HALL III.

Papers upon the history and status of suffrage in the various states will be continued.

"The Electoral System of Kentucky" will be described in a paper by Hon. Arthur Wallace, Louisville, Ky.

That of Wisconsin, in a paper by Florence E. Baker, of Madison, Wis. This paper will describe, with appropriate maps, some of the gerrymanders in that state, and the action of the state judiciary in setting aside unconstitutional apportionments. A discussion of the propriety of judicial interposition is expected.

An address upon "The Suffrage in California" will be delivered by Prof. Bernhard Moses, of the University of California, a publicist of national reputation.

A paper on "The Suffrage in Minnesota," by W. W. Folwell, LL.D., of the University of Minnesota, will be given.

Also a paper on "The Suffrage in Idaho," by Silas W. Moody, Boise City.

Tuesday, August 8—8.00 P. M.

HALL III.

"The Property Qualification for Suffrage." John Z. White, Chicago.

Prof. Thos. E. Will, of Appleton University, "Who Should Vote and Why."

"Who Should Not Vote and Why Not." Ralph E. Hoyt, Los Angeles, Cal.

Wednesday, August 9—10.00 A. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

Rev. Olympia Brown, of Racine, Wis., on "United States Citizenship."

Hon. Blanche K. Bruce, formerly U. S. Senator from Mississippi, will speak on "The Race Problem."

Stephen B. Weeks, Professor of Trinity College, N. C., will deliver an address on "Race Suffrage in the South."

Hon. Frederick Douglas, formerly U. S. Minister to Hayti, will deliver an address upon "Universal Suffrage."

Wednesday, August 9—10.00 A. M.

HALL OF WASHINGTON.

Under control of National American Woman's Suffrage Association.

OPENING ADDRESS.—Isabella Beecher Hooker, Member Board of Lady Managers for Connecticut.

"What the World's Fair has done for Woman's Suffrage." Helen M. Barker, Member Board of Lady Managers, South Dakota.

"Municipal Woman Suffrage in Kansas." Mrs. Mary T. Gray, Kansas City; Mrs. Jennie S. Mitchell, Mrs. Louis Hanback (Members Board Lady Managers) Mrs. Ann R. Massey, Mrs. John Van Fossen, Mrs. Henrietta Briggs Wall, and others.

"The New Law of Michigan." Mrs. Helen Philleo Jenkins, of Detroit; Mrs. M. A. Root, of Bay City; Miss Octavia Bates, and others.

Wednesday, August 9—2.00 P. M.

HALL III.

Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert will deliver an address on "The Philosophy of Suffrage."

Charles Noble Gregory, of Madison, Wis., "Some Recent Phases of Corrupt Practices in Legislation," detailing the newest laws for the prevention of the use of money in elections, and the suppression of other corrupt practices.

Alice Stone Blackwell, of Boston, Mass., "Strongholds of Opposition."

Wednesday, August 9—Afternoon Session, 2.00 o'clock.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

*President, Hon. M. B. CASTLE, of Sandwich, Ill.*

This session will be held under the management of the Federal Suffrage Association, an organization advocating the equal suffrage of qualified American citizens only, irrespective of sex, and demanding the direct vote of the people for Federal officers.

Introductory address by the President, Hon M. B. Castle.

Address by Hon. C. C. Bonney, President World's Congress Auxiliary.

Mrs. S. M. Perkins will read a paper on "All Women Citizens."

Mrs. Mary E. Holmes, President of the Illinois State Suffrage Association, on "The Danger of an Alien Vote and the Remedy."

Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, of Lafayette, on "The Qualification of Citizenship."

Wednesday, August 9—3.00 P. M.

HALL OF WASHINGTON.

Department Session National American Woman Suffrage Association.

This session will be devoted to the discussion of practical work, especially that in Colorado, where a Constitutional Amendment for Woman Suffrage is to be voted upon November 7, 1893; in Kansas, where an Amendment is to be voted upon at the election of November, 1894; and in New York, where a Constitutional Convention is to be held in May, and a Suffrage Amendment to be voted upon in November, 1894.

The speakers at this session will be Henry B. Blackwell, Rachel Foster Avery, Mary A. Holmes, Clara Bewick Colby, May Wright Sewall, Harriet Taylor Upton, Susan B. Anthony, Senator R. W. Coon, of Waukegan, and others.

Wednesday, August 9—8.00 P. M.

HALL III.

"The Race Limitation of Suffrage" will be considered in an address by Frances W. Harper, of Philadelphia; and by S. Laing Williams, of Chicago, Ill.

"The Educational Qualification a Plea for the Illiterate," by Helen M. Gougar, M.A., of Lafayette, Ind.

Wednesday, August 9—8.00 P. M.

HALL IV.

Under the management of the Federal Suffrage Association.

*President, Hon. M. B. CASTLE, of Sandwich, Ill.*

Addresses will be delivered by Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker on "United States Citizenship"; by Judge C. B. Waite, by Rev. Olympia Brown, of Racine, Wis., on "Federal Suffrage," by Abigail Scott Duniway, of Oregon; by Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, on "Statesmanship of Women and our Motherless Government."

Thursday, August 10—10.00 A. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

*President, Hon. M. B. CASTLE, of Sandwich, Ill.*

Catherine H. Spence, of Adelaide, South Australia, on "The Educational Qualification for Suffrage."

"Proportional Representation," by John R. Commons, Professor of Social Science in Indiana University, and by John Z. White, of Chicago.

Thursday, August 10—8.00 P. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

This session is under the charge of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association.

"The Education of the Ballot." Mrs. Marion Foster Washburn, Chicago Woman's Club.

"The Degradation of Disfranchisement." Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago.

"Federal Suffrage." Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, President State Woman's Suffrage Association, of Nebraska.

"The Duty of Public Assertion." Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary of National American Woman's Suffrage Association and of National Council of Women.

"Woman Suffrage as a Matter of Expediency." Oliver T. Morton.

"Domestic Legislation." Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President National Council of Women.

---

Friday, August 11—10.00 A. M.

HALL III.

Congress of the Chicago Proportional Representation League, an association devoted to the advocacy of a plan to remove the evils of the present system of local elections, which denies representation to large bodies of our citizens, and sometimes by unjust apportionments even to actual majorities.

A paper on "The Cumulative Vote." Prof. John R. Commons, of Indiana University.

"Ticino as an Object Lesson," a paper by W. D. McCracken, of Boston, author of a history of Switzerland, and long a resident of that republic, and familiar with proportional representation as adopted in the canton of Ticino.

"Effective Voting," by Catherine H. Spence, of Adelaide, South Australia, one of the earliest and most efficient advocates of this reform.

"The Proxy System as a Means of Real Representation," Dr. Montague R. Levenson, of Baltimore, a well known writer on public questions.

Friday, August 11—2.00 P. M.

HALL III.

Second session of the Congress of the Chicago Proportional Representation League.

A paper on "Majority Myths," by Alfred Cridge, of San Francisco, well known on the Pacific Slope as an earnest advocate of Minority Representation.

"The Gove System," by Hon. Wm. H. Gove, of Salem, Mass., the author of this system of Proportional Representation.

"Proportional Voting in Caucus and Convention," by Dr. L. B. Tuckerman, of Cleveland, whose efforts led to the introduction of a Bill for Proportional Representation, by Hon. Tom L. Johnson, into the Congress of the United States.

It is proposed to organize a National Proportional Representation League after this meeting.

---

Friday, August 11—8.00 P. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

President, ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.

Susan B. Anthony will deliver an address upon "The Protective Power of the Ballot."

Henry B. Blackwell, on "Political Progress and Women."

Julia Ward Howe, on "The Ethics of Suffrage."

Rev. Ida C. Hultin, "Woman Suffrage a Means to An End."

---

Saturday, August 12—10.00 A. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

Subjects: "Referendum and Minority Representation."

"Direct Legislation by the People," by W. D. McCracken, of Boston, whose long residence in Switzerland and study of Swiss institutions has afforded special opportunities for the presentation of this question from a practical standpoint.

"Direct Legislation." An argument against the Referendum, by Stoughton Cooley, of Chicago.

A discussion on the merits of the Referendum is expected.

Saturday, August 12—2.00 P. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

Subjects, "Dangers to the Suffrage."

A paper will be delivered by Dr. Montague R. Leversen, of Baltimore, on "The Relations of Popular Government to Social Reform."

An address on "The Limitations of the Natural Right of Suffrage," by Walter T. Cooling, Chicago.

A paper will be read, written by Prof. Jeremiah Jenks, Cornell University, "Corruption in Politics," describing the various methods of vote buying and other corrupt practices and the appropriate remedies.

A paper on the "Australian Voting System and its American Modifications," by C. C. Binney, of Philadelphia.

"Recent Phases of Corrupt Practices Legislation," Prof. W. B. Shaw.

---

Saturday, August 12—8.00 P. M.

HALL OF COLUMBUS.

Under management of National American Woman's Suffrage Association.

"Patriotic Women of Italy," Mme. Fanny Zampini Salazar, of Naples, Italy.

"The Women of Burmah," Col. Fred Grant, late Minister to Austria.

"Citizenship and Suffrage," Hon. Albion Tourgee, author of "Fool's Errand."

"Partisan Politics," Mary H. Krout, *The Inter Ocean*.

"Suffrage a Natural Right," Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Honorary President of the N. A. W. S. A.

"Wyoming: The One True Republic," U. S. S. Joseph M. Carey; Ex-Gov. John W. Hoyt; Bishop Samuel Fallows.