

FAILURE IS IMPOSSIBLE — Susan B. Anthony

PROGRESS

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT WARREN, OHIO, BY THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.
1st Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
2nd Vice Pres., Mrs. Florence Kelley, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City.
Cor. Sec'y, Miss Kate M. Gordon, 1800 Prytanla St., New Orleans, La.
Recording Sec'y, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.
1st Auditor, Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
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Legal Advisor, Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Evanston, Ill.
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.
PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR

OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

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Second Vice President, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, London, England.
Secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
First Ass't Secretary, Dr. Katha Schirmacher, Paris, France.
Second Ass't Secretary, Martina Kramers, Rotterdam, Holland.
Treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit, London, England.

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HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Editor.

No member can deny that as a body of professional women and as individuals we today enjoy privelleges and advantages which never would have been open to us had not Susan B. Anthony and other far-seeing women, imbued with a noble purpose, worked tenaciously and unceasingly to gain for women the right and privilege to use and develop their God-given faculties.—Nurses' Journal of the Pacific Coast.

"HEAVE, OH, HEAVE,"

When the New England settler came into the Middle West where the timber was heavy, he first selected a bit of dry ground from which he cleared the under-brush and planted corn. The timber was so thick that these spots were very small. His next act was to girdle the trees surrounding the cleared land. He then sought another brush covered spot and repeated the operation. In the fall he burned the brush and decayed stumps and wood, saving only the perfect ones. Single-handed, or with the help of his children, he did all this preliminary work. When the snow came, and the timber was ready, neighbors and friends for miles around who had been at exactly the same work, gathered at his homestead and, with bars, rolled these logs together at a proper place. The clearing had been a tedious, depressing work, but the rolling was really a recreation. Men sang and laughed and drank the native whiskey, while together they all sang, "Heave, Oh, Heave." Some one man usually directed this work, but joyously they all labored together under his direction, and when night came on they repaired to the house where the women had been working for their hostess all day, and where a hot supper awaited them, with dancing and frolics following.

For years suffragists have been clearing away the underbrush, have been girdling the trees, have been preparing for the glad day when the things which had troubled their progress should be rolled away; when the



Senator Burrows

Senator French

Senator Sutherland

Senator Borah

Senator Teller

Senator Warren

These pictures appeared in The Christian Herald of New York January 13th, heading an article, "The Battle for Woman Suffrage." They are reproduced here through the courtesy of the editor of the Herald.

The Christian Herald of January 13th, has an able article by Lyman Beecher Stowe on "The Battle for Woman Suffrage", which is really an interview with the Senators and Mem-

bers of States where women vote. Universally these men are in favor and give diverse and excellent reasons why woman suffrage is of advantage. Most of them say they were not in favor until they had closely ob-

served the results. Mr. Stowe apparently did not know that the tax-paying women of Michigan have lately been granted tax-paying suffrage. This right was granted them after a well planned campaign by the suffrage

women of Michigan, who secured the aid of sympathizing organizations. Suffragists who want live opinions of live Congressmen should send for this number, 2, Vol. 32, Christian Herald, New York.

fertile ground should be ready for their use; when they could do the thing directly as they wanted to do it. That time is nearly here. So let us all, with cheerful hearts and willing hands, raise the loud, last joyful cry of "Heave, Oh, Heave," and roll away the obstacles.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

Never in the history of our movement has there been such a general interest on the part of the public in suffrage for women as at present. New York is thoroughly aroused and scarcely a day passes without one or more articles appearing in each of the many daily papers, and in almost every gathering this is the one topic of conversation.

If we are wise we will not allow this psychological moment to pass without taking advantage of every opportunity which presents itself to bring our question before the people. This is a work at which all can assist.

Some State presidents say they are doing legislative work and the petitions must wait. On the contrary, this is an added reason for pushing the petition work. Very few of the members are busy with Legislative work—few leave their homes or take upon themselves extra work on account of it. It is not therefore necessary for those who are not actively engaged at the various Capitals to wait idly for the result. Would it not greatly aid the Legislative work for the women all over the State to be creating local enthusiasm and interest by the petition work? Circulating the petition gives each woman the opportunity to find out who are the friends and to urge upon them the necessity of co-operation in influencing the vote of their members of the Legislature.

Many letters thanking the National Association for furnishing this means of service are daily received at the Petition Headquarters, as more and more its value impresses itself upon the workers all over the country. Before you refuse to attempt this line of work, try it, and I am sure that you will find that it is the best and cheapest means of propaganda known to us. Do not fail to attempt it and do not fail to send in your quota of names. It will be more than returned to you in local interest.

Reports of successful work are coming to us from many States and I am encouraged to feel that 1909 will be an epoch making period in our National progress.

Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe, President of the State of Washington, and her splendid corps of assistants, are making preparations for a successful National Convention in July. Let us as many of our friends as can possibly do so arrange their summer plans to include this trip, a full account of

THE NEW WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

It was one of Miss Anthony's dreams that the N. A. W. S. A. should have a home in the city of Washington. Many times she spoke of it to those who stood near her in the work. Many times she thought she saw her vision about to be fulfilled, but it had to wait for 1909 to take an outward and material form.

By vote of the Official Board the large, old-fashioned house at 1823 H Street, North West, has been rented for the Association, and we entered upon possession the first day of the year, technically, but really occupied the house for the first time on January fourth, with Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley, formerly of Washington and well known to the suffragists there, as manager.

Care and economy are being exercised in the furnishing and only such things as are actual necessities are being purchased at present. It is hoped that many gifts of money and some more of furniture will be sent us for the Headquarters. Already two of the Washington workers, Mrs. Tindall and Miss Emma M. Gillett, have given many nice articles, the former helping largely to furnish the kitchen and laundry. Mrs. Avery has sent bedroom and office furnishings.

The house has rooms for receptions or meetings and also for much office work and this latter will receive on February first, the work of the National Committee on Petition to Congress. The chairman is Mrs. Catt, but her international work calls her abroad and Mrs. Foster Avery will then become Acting Chairman and will supervise the work at 1823 H Street.

It will seem like the days of the

which will be given when definite information can be secured from the railways.

I am at present attending a series of meetings in the cities along the Hudson River, under the direction of the New York State Association. The indefatigable State President, Mrs. Cressett, Miss Mills, Miss Drummond of England, and Mrs. Henry Villard are among the speakers. Miss Caroline Cressett is being initiated into the suffrage field work and is showing herself most successful in securing local co-operation. There is no greater joy in the present status of our work than in welcoming to the ranks of our active field workers so many well equipped college women.

Let us be encouraged by the aroused interests of the people and be thankful for the larger opportunities for service.

ANNA H. SHAW.

LETTER FROM THE RAILROAD SECRETARY.

It is none too early to begin to make arrangements for the trip to Seattle for the National Convention to be held there July next.

On account of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, a round trip rate has been authorized from Chicago and St. Louis, \$62.00 and \$58.25 respectively to Seattle, Washington. Tickets have a good return limit until October 31st. Although round trip rates have not as yet been authorized east of Chicago, it is promised it will be announced in a short time, and it is the supposition that this will be about one and one-third fare.

If a sufficient number of delegates and visitors will plan to start from Chicago at the same time, we will have a special train from that point and be joined by other friends all along the route until we reach the border of Washington, where we will be met by a second special train and escorted across the State, stopping at Spokane and other points enroute where meetings will be held.

There are two classes of sleeping cars, standard and tourist. The rate in the former through to Seattle will be \$14.00, and in the tourist sleeper \$7.00. As we are promised a practically new tourist car, for summer traveling it will be quite as comfortable as the standard sleeper.

In order to make the best arrangements, I would like to hear as soon as possible from all contemplating the trip, as to which kind of sleeper is preferred.

The return ticket will be issued over a choice of several routes; the Canadian Pacific or via Portland and San Francisco, with an opportunity to stop off and visit Yellow Stone Park and Denver. A circular will be issued shortly giving full information regarding rates, side trips, including a visit to Yellowstone Park, etc., etc.

I will be very glad to receive the names of all those who contemplate going to Seattle that I may send them one of these circulars.

LUCY E. ANTHONY,
Chairman of Railroad Rates.
Moylan, Pa., Jan. 20, 1909.

HON. A. A. LAFERTY.
Mrs. A. A. Lafferty, the only woman member of the Colorado Legislature, is chairman of the Educational Committee and a member of the Committee on Criminal Jurisprudence, State Institutions, Enrollment, Denver City Affairs and County Lines.

Mrs. Lafferty has already introduced two bills, the eight-hour day bill and the bill for the physical examination of public school children and the care of defectives. The appointing of a master of discipline in towns where there is no juvenile court is another of Mrs. Lafferty's bills.

Mrs. Lafferty was assigned to desk 23, but says she is not superstitious.

GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON.

We are greatly distressed over the sentencing to prison of our friends and allies, Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison.

We can only hope that what they will have to suffer unjustly will work for good to the working man. Prison for standing for the right in 1909 A. D. Just think of it!

ON TO WASHINGTON!

The date for the National Convention has been fixed, July 1-7, inclusive, and a Woman's Day at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition will be had during that week.

Send 15c to National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio, for a copy of the Annual Report of the National Convention held at Buffalo.

GROWTH OF SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

(By C. Edward Merriam, Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago.)

[A considerable part of this article, indicated by quotation marks, is taken from Mr. Merriam's volume, "A History of American Political Theories," and is reprinted by the courtesy of the McMillan Company, the publisher.]

In the history of suffrage in the United States there are several distinct periods or epochs. These are: the Colonial period; the Revolutionary period; the Jacksonian period; the Reconstruction period; and the period since 1890, which has been characterized by Professor Dunning as the "undoing of reconstruction."

In the first or Colonial period, the suffrage rested upon a very narrow foundation. "In the New England states generally only those who were property owners and church members were allowed the right to vote; only those who were church members could become freemen in Massachusetts Bay and in New Haven, and it was not likely that any other than church members were actually received as freemen in Connecticut. As late as 1660 the general court of Massachusetts Bay resolved that no person could become a freeman who was not in full communion with some orthodox church. The exclusive character of the Massachusetts Bay system is shown by the fact that down to 1674 only 2,527 were admitted as freemen—only one-fifth of the total number of adult males. "Inhabitants" and "freemen" were sharply distinguished and were accorded different degrees of political privilege. In the other colonies, where religious requirements were not found, there were property qualifications and restrictions which effectually prevented the majority of mass persons from participating in the suffrage.

In the Revolutionary period, notwithstanding the radical nature of the theories of this time, the number of voters was still relatively limited. The actual practice the basis of the democracy of the fathers was very narrow, as compared with that of the present day. The principle was laid down in some of the state constitutions that those who were entitled to the suffrage were to be limited to the "freeholders" of the community." This evidence, however, generally consisted in the possession of a certain amount of property, preferably real estate. In discussing the subject of representation, Benjamin Franklin said that "as to those who have no landed property, the allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety." Alexander Hamilton considered that those who possessed no property could not properly be regarded as having a will of their own.

In drawing up the state constitution the property qualification was adopted as a guide for determining who should be entitled to participate in the choice of officers. The sole were the landholding class. The states either required the possession of a freehold, or accepted a property equivalent of some kind. All the states agreed in requiring some evidence that the voter had a financial interest in the community—either a freehold of a certain value, or other estate, or the payment of some public tax. The man who was not able to qualify in this way was not cast a vote unless the laws of any of the states. He was not regarded as sufficiently attached to the community to justify participation in its political life. In this way the voting constituency was limited to a fraction of the adult male population, much less than half. It appears, then, that despite the assertion that all men are equal, the Fathers, in framing their constitutions, felt no reluctance about conditioning political rights upon financial and religious qualifications. These restrictions operate to throw the control of political affairs into the hands of the freeholders, who were at the same time Christians and preferably Protestants.

This was the contemporary interpretation of the Declaration of Independence. Evidently the Fathers themselves did not regard property, religious or racial limitations as inconsistent with the rights of man or those persons of political philosophy to which such frequent reference was made by them.

In the Jacksonian period, however, important changes were made in the nature of the electorate. One of the most important measures of this period was the general extension of the suffrage from the "property" basis to a "manhood" basis. This change went down to the very roots of the political society, and for that reason deserves the most careful attention. At the time when the republic was founded there were very strict limitations on the electorate. Political power was kept tightly in the hands of the free-

holders, who were to all intents and purposes "the people." These qualifications began to disappear, however, soon after the establishment of the federal government. Few of the new states entering the Union adopted the property requirement, and the old states slowly abandoned the restrictions found in their constitutions. Stubborn resistance to the tendency was often encountered, notably in the case of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; yet the advance was sure, no backward step was taken, and by the middle of the century property qualifications for suffrage had been practically abolished in all the states. A few restrictions were still in existence, but these were not oppressive in character, and excluded no large section of the community. In the majority of the states, however, even these restrictions were abandoned, and the broad principle of manhood suffrage (white) received full recognition. The old property qualifications were outgrown and a new democracy sprang up, based, not on the freeholders, but on the whole body of adult male citizens. The electorate was enormously expanded, and there came into existence a type of democracy which made that of Revolutionary days seem like a limited aristocracy.

Recognition was won for this new idea only after a bitter and protracted struggle. The doctrine that suffrage should depend upon property was tenacious of life, and clung desperately to its fastenings on the state constitutions. The property requirement was supported by some of the ablest men in the nation, and it is from one point of view surprising that the opposite principle was able to make headway against such talented advocates. John Adams, Daniel Webster, and Joseph Story defended the property qualifications in Massachusetts. In New York Chancellor Kent bitterly opposed the adoption of universal suffrage; in Virginia there people were arrayed against the extension of the franchise, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Randolph, and Upshur. The opposition to the freehold principle could boast of no such formidable champions.

The earnestness displayed in the defense of property, and the ability with which the cause was conducted, are such as might have been expected from a class long accustomed to the possession of the right to govern. To this they did not see how it could result in anything but the subversion of democratic institutions. The results of the adoption of the principle of universal suffrage as predicted by the famous jurist, Kent, were the abuse of liberty of the press, the oppression of minorities, the degradation of justice, unequal taxation, crude and unstable legislation. "I hope, sir," said the venerable judge, "we shall not carry desolation through the departments of the fabric erected by our fathers. I hope we shall not put forward to the world a constitution such as will merit the scorn of the wise and the tears of the patriot."

On every hand, it was urged that the freeholders are the safest and most conservative depository of political power. They were considered as the only class capable of actively entering into political affairs. Frequent and always unfavorable contrasts were drawn between the solid class of landed gentry, and the commercial and laboring classes found in the cities, with the uniform conclusion that political power might be most safely entrusted to those who held the land. This idea was of course connected with the theory, sanctioned by Jefferson himself, that a democracy thrives best where it has an agricultural population as its basis. Profound distrust of the capacity of the urban population for the exercise of political power helped materially to stiffen the resistance made by the ruling class to sharing its authority with others. From the strength displayed by the old aristocracy at this time, one may judge of the position and the influence of the new democratic movement.

In behalf of an increase in the electorate, the argument was less brilliantly conducted, but was none the less convincing and effective. Some of the reasons advanced were the interests of the commercial class, or the laboring men, or of those who had done military duty for the state, but were nevertheless excluded from participation in the suffrage. Sometimes it was asserted that the franchise is a natural right, and that therefore man cannot be justly deprived of it; but this was not always contended. The greatest difficulty seemed to be that of uprooting the idea that only the holders of property have an interest in government strong enough to justify giving them a voice in its direction. The proposition that men who own no land in the community should have a share in the political power

was contrary to long-established English custom, and to the practice in America since the early days of settlement here. The introduction of any other idea was necessarily a shock.

The case of the liberals was most clearly stated in the argument that "our community is an association of persons—of human beings—not a partnership founded on property." This result was made to turn on the question whether property or human personality is the more fundamental element in civil society, or what their relative importance is. One party denounced the rule of mere property, the other according to wealth. The suffrage extensionists, in reply to the property argument, laid great stress on the elements of virtue and intelligence in society, and declared these were as worthy of consideration as the mere ownership of a tract of land. As one disputant said, there is nothing in property that "by enchantment or magic converts frail, erring man into an infallible and impeccable being."

It was shown that the non-freeholders who owned no real estate were so prosperous and wealthy that they could not well be looked upon as untrustworthy individuals who would use the ballot to the perversion of the state. Slowly the old idea that the holders of real estate are the political people was discredited and abandoned, and the way opened to practically all citizens of mature years. The land-holding class abdicated and the mass of the people was entrusted with the power of political control. This was by far the most important change made during the Jacksonian epoch, for it radically altered the foundation of the republic.

At the same time, the property qualifications for office-holding became unpopular and were cast aside. When the new states came in, these requirements generally found no place, and the old states, one by one, abolished the severe requirements of colonial and revolutionary days. A few states clung persistently to these early provisions or remnants of them almost down to the end of the nineteenth century, but their efforts to maintain the property qualifications for office in the United States were a thing of the past. Office was no longer the monopoly of the few, but was thrown open to all so far as wealth was concerned.

With these restrictions on suffrage and office went those of a religious character. A majority of the original thirteen states disqualified Roman Catholics, and all but New York and Rhode Island imposed a religious test of some kind. These restrictions endured for only a short time, however, and very early began to drop out of the state constitutions. The Protestant clause was first abandoned, and finally the religious tests were eliminated altogether. Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jew, Unitarian, and those of no religious profession were placed on the same footing in the political world. The tendency of the time was to discard all religious considerations, and although the case was ably argued by those who defended such restrictions, they were unable to make effectual resistance to the demand that religious belief and political opinion should not be joined together by the law of the land."

The next period in the development of American suffrage is marked by the emancipation of the negro under the auspices of the federal government. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude. The Fourteenth Amendment provided that denial of the right to vote to any of the male inhabitants of each state, being twenty-one years of age and citizen of the United States, except for rebellion or other crime, should be punished by a proportionate reduction of the state's representation in Congress. The Fifteenth Amendment went a step beyond this and provided that the right of the citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The reconstructed states were required to ratify these amendments as a condition precedent to their admission into the Union, and thus, the electorate in the southern states was practically doubled. In a number of states the effect of this action was to place the control of the state governments in the hands of the blacks. This remarkable extension of the suffrage rested upon several grounds. It was contended by some that suffrage is a natural right and that the negro was entitled, upon this ground, to his pos-

session and exercise. The black man, it was said, possesses an inherent right to active participation in the affairs of his state, as he could not be denied the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Others said that the right to vote was necessary in order to protect the negroes in the exercise of the civil rights that had been conferred upon them. Without the ballot, the negro would be helpless and the attempt to protect him would be wholly futile. The franchise, therefore, must be conferred upon the negro population in order to protect and preserve the civil rights of this population. A third group of persons held that the grant of suffrage to the negroes was necessary in order to maintain the supremacy of the Republican party and thereby to preserve and protect the fruits of the Civil War. Men like James G. Blaine were of the opinion that unless such measures as these were taken, the results of the war would be entirely lost. Whichever of these motives may have been strongest, the result was practically the granting of the right to vote to all adult negroes throughout the South.

The next period in the history of American suffrage begins with 1890 and is marked by a gradual disfranchisement of the negro voters in the southern states. Since the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South in 1877 the negroes have been practically driven from the ballot box by one device and another. Sometimes the negroes were prevented from voting by the grant of the right to vote to all adult negroes throughout the South. The next period in the history of American suffrage begins with 1890 and is marked by a gradual disfranchisement of the negro voters in the southern states. Since the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South in 1877 the negroes have been practically driven from the ballot box by one device and another. Sometimes the negroes were prevented from voting by the grant of the right to vote to all adult negroes throughout the South.

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adopted an educational qualification, requiring that the intending voter be able to read the constitution in English or write his name. In 1896 a similar requirement was made in the state of Washington which was not however, carried out by the legislature. In 1897 Delaware also provided an educational test. The Pacific states of Wyoming and California contained the same requirement in their constitutions, while Colorado and North Dakota have moved in the same direction. In neither of these latter cases, however, has the requirement been carried out by the Legislature and it has therefore proven ineffective. In the constitutions of the southern states, to which reference has just been made, namely in Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Virginia, Alabama and Georgia, educational requirements have been provided in alternative form. In 1903, New Hampshire required every voter to demonstrate ability to read and write the constitution in English. It appears, then, that in about one-third of the states of the Union, an educational test of some sort is embodied in the constitution, but that in only about one-half of these is this test either absolutely indispensable to suffrage or actually enforced.

In the last generation an effort has also been made in the various states to restrict the suffrage to citizens of the United States. Prior to this time and especially in the western and southwestern states, it was customary to permit aliens to vote even in national elections. It was generally stipulated that the voter must have made a declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States, but the full completion of citizenship was not essential. In the constitutions recently adopted, a requirement that the voter shall be a citizen of the United States has almost invariably been inserted. There is still, however, about one-fourth of the states in which aliens are allowed to vote on all questions of local, state and national politics. These states are in the South and West of the country.

Summing up the growth of suffrage in the United States, we may say that, in the first period, the franchise was limited to property holders who were preferably Protestants. In the second or Revolutionary period, the suffrage was limited largely to male, white owners of real property. In the third or Jacksonian period, the property qualification was swept away and the principle of adult white male suffrage was adopted. At the close of the war, the electorate was still further expanded by the inclusion of the blacks so that suffrage was placed on an adult male basis. In the period covered by the last generation, the tendency is somewhat uncertain. On the one hand there is a pronounced tendency to restrict the suffrage as indicated by the requirement of citizenship, by the educational test, and by the educational, property and grandfather clauses in the South. On the other hand, there is a strong tendency to advance from adult male suffrage to adult suffrage. Four states have adopted the principle of equal suffrage and about one-half of the states have adopted equal suffrage in one form or another. We may say that the grant of suffrage to unnaturalized residents is wholly anomalous, and cannot continue as a permanent condition. In regard to the educational test, it appears wholly unlikely that any such requirement will be devised. The process of compulsory education is raising the level of general intelligence so rapidly that no ordinary requirement will be necessary. Apparently the next generation will be able to pass any ordinary educational test, such as the requirement of ability to read or write. If ability to understand and interpret any constitutional provision were to be requisite, it is probable that the number of electors would be exceedingly limited. For a time, at any rate, the race disqualification in the South is likely to continue. In the northern states where there is no question as to the supremacy of the white race, no such restrictions will be made. The sentiment in favor of extending suffrage to women continues to grow and has already been crystallized in numerous constitutional and statutory enactments. Apparently, this process will continue and constitutions and statutes will progressively measure the level of woman's interests in elections and politics.

Mr. John Finnigan's Note: Several paragraphs dealing with the origin, development and present status of the movement for woman suffrage in this country, because of space limitations, are entirely familiar with this phase of the question.

MR. JOHN FINNIGAN.

Mr. John Finnigan of Houston, Tex., passed away at his home early in January. Mr. Finnigan was born in Ireland and attained his success alone. He was an optimist, and devoted to his family. His daughter, Miss Annette, is at the head of the Hotel Brazos Co, and practically has had charge of his business affairs for the last six or seven years.

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Secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
First Ass't Secretary, Dr. Kathie Schirmacher, Paris, France.
Second Ass't Secretary, Martina Kramers, Rotterdam, Holland.
Treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit, London, England.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 1, 1896, at the Post Office, Warren, Ohio.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Editor.

Form of Bequest.

I hereby give and bequeath to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, said Association being incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, the sum of \$..... principal and interest, to be applied by such association for the support and promotion of the cause of woman suffrage.

Signed

CONVENTION DATES.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, London, England, April 26 to May 1.
National Convention, Seattle, Washington, July 1 to 7.

Westward Ho!

On to Washington.
All aboard for Washington.

For the first time in our history our delegates are to have a special train, with speaking from the rear platform.

Only sixty years ago gold was discovered in California. For several years thereafter the prairie schooner crept across the plains at a snail's pace. In July hundreds of women in a special train with "Votes for Women" on the sides will cross the continent to add their voice to those already singing, "Make Washington the 5th free state."

The Alaska-Yukon Exposition advertises that it will be ready on time and so will the Washington women. Mrs. DeVoe secured the promise of the special train from Spokane to Washington soon after the Buffalo convention and the local committee now has part of its arrangements completed and the rest are under weigh.

The Woman's Invasion, by William Hard, Rheta Childs Dorr, Collaborator, now running in Everybody's, is a wonderfully interesting story of women in industry in the United States. Every student of the woman question, as well as every student of the economic question, should read it.

SEATTLE CONVENTION

It is arranged that the friends and delegates attending the Convention in Seattle, Washington, July 1 to 7 inclusive, shall start from Chicago Friday, June 25 at 9:20 A. M., via the Burlington Route.

Seattle—The Convention City.

The Convention will be held in Seattle, that marvelous city of the Pacific coast which in twenty years has multiplied its population twenty times, increasing from 15,000 to 300,000, a growth unparalleled in the history of cities. To those who have had the opportunity of visiting the city, however, this growth is not wonderful considering its advantages in relation to ocean transportation, its commercial possibilities, affording openings every line of business both local and foreign, and over and beyond everything else its unrivaled scenic beauty.

As a place of residence it is without a peer. Our International President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and others of world-wide travel pronounce from the hills of Seattle over the water of Puget Sound the most beautiful mountain view in the world. Seattle is practically surrounded by the water of Lake Washington and Puget Sound and the connecting Canal and rivers, while the city itself is built around other lakes within its borders. The outline of the horizon of Seattle is an almost continuous mountain range, the Cascade Mountains on the East, and the Olympic Mountains on the West. The North is guarded by the Great White Watcher, "Kulshan," Mt. Baker, while to the South stands the highest peak in the United States, that mighty monarch Mount Rainier, 14,526 feet elevation clad in his glistening armor of snow and his standing on Queen Anne Hill, in Seattle, one may watch these towering sentinels, one upon the northern boundary of the state and the other upon the southern, flashing their heliographs over four hundred mountainous miles that stretch between them.

The Convention Hall

The convention will hold its sessions in Plymouth Congregational church, an imposing edifice over-grown with English ivy, the one church that has thus far withstood the march of commercial invasion and still stands in the heart of the city. The pastor, Rev. F. T. Valiant, D. D., and the Board of Trustees are all in sympathy with the woman suffrage movement, and have given substantial evidence of their interest by making exception to their rule in extending to us the hospitality of this commodious and convenient structure.

National Headquarters.

National Headquarters will be at the Lincoln Hotel (rooms \$1.50 and up to \$5.00 per day, meals a la carte or \$2.00 per day American plan) only four short blocks from the Convention Hall. The Lincoln Hotel is famous for its exquisite parlors, its tea room, its court, with window gardens and hanging baskets of ferns and vines, and especially for its roof garden. This hanging garden is a bower of bloom and greenery, from which the visitor looks out upon the matchless panorama of city, Sound and mountains.

Suffrage Special Train.

A special train will meet the delegates at Spokane, the eastern boundary of the state, and under the escort of the Washington State President, Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, will be brought to Seattle, stopping enroute for speeches by the Rev. Anna H. Shaw, the National President, and others from the rear platform at Pasco, North Yakima, Ellensburg and Tacoma. At these places reception committees will meet our "Suffrage Special" and extend various courtesies and entertainments. At Pasco, other delegations will join the company. As North Yakima, the heart of the fruit district of Washington, will be reached in the cherry season, the suffragists will be given substantial evidence of the size and flavor of Washington cherries. Tacoma will vie with Spokane in welcoming the guests.

The Suffrage Special will arrive in Spokane at 10 A. M., June 28; arrive at Pasco, 7 A. M., June 29; arrive at North Yakima, 9:20 A. M.; arrive at Ellensburg, 11:40 A. M.; arrive at



ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL

Tacoma, 5:15 P. M. and reach Seattle, 11:30 P. M., June 29.

Spokane Evening.

Upon arrival at Spokane and before embarking on the "Suffrage Special," the delegates will be welcomed to the Evergreen State by the suffragists of Eastern Washington. Spokane will try to make the delegates and visitors think there is "ne plus ultra." An elaborate program of entertainment, occupying the entire day is planned by the local committee composed of the leading citizens of Spokane. Automobiles will be provided for a trip about the picturesque city, to its terraced, parks and far-famed falls, and out for a spin into the irrigated district to see the miracles wrought by water in the desert.

Side Trips.

Among the many attractive side trips which may be taken, one of the most alluring is the ascent of Mount Rainier. The Mountaineers' Club will take its annual outing on this peak July 17 to August 7. The damage will go by a pack train of horses, the Mountaineers on foot, through the flowery meadows, and in and out of the rugged canyons, the trip reaching its climax in an ascent to the summit by the way of the White Glacier. Expense, \$40. For particulars address Chas. M. Farver, 322 Pioneer Block, Seattle. For costume and outfit suggestions, read Mountaineers' Chapter, "Washington Women's Cook Book," price \$1.00, Washington E. S. A. Headquarters, 323 Arcade Building, Seattle.

Bellingham, through her loyal members of the legislature, that in February passed the Woman Suffrage Bill, submitting an amendment in 1910, has assured us of an invitation to a boat trip to that city at the close of the Convention to partake of Bellingham hospitality.

Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

On June 1 next Seattle will open to the world, not the largest, but the most beautiful world's fair ever given, anywhere at any time. The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition has its setting in the midst of the most inspiring scenery that the world has to offer. It has been built in a forest of fir on the bank of two gem-like lakes, and ten miles of dollars have been expended upon grounds and in palaces which will house exhibits from every quarter of the world, aggregating in value more than \$60,000,000.

It will be different from every other exposition in that it will display the peoples, products, life and amusements of lands that are little known. It will bring the Occident, the Orient, the Southern seas and Alaska together where the rest of the world, surfeited

of Europe and the everyday things, may feast its vision upon the sights as strange as new, which they have to offer.

It is in fact, the "Exposition that will be made." June 1 was the day first fixed for the opening of the gates and on June 1 they will open upon a finished product, for on March 1 the Exposition was ninety per cent complete and the flowers were already blooming in the hundred acres of magnificent gardens.

Woman Suffrage Day at the Exposition, July 7th.

The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition has set aside a day on its official program, Wednesday, July 7, as "Woman Suffrage Day" when we will have full charge of the program in the exposition auditorium and our delegates will be admitted to the grounds without charge.

On account of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition a round trip rate of \$62 has been authorized from Chicago. Tickets good to return until October 31. By a payment of \$15 extra, a return via San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego may be had. The return ticket may be issued over a choice of several routes, with opportunities for stop overs at Yellowstone Park, Denver, or any point west of the Mississippi River.

The rates east of Chicago will be one and one-half fare for the round trip.

A circular will soon be issued giving full information as to route, rates at hotels, berths, etc. For one of these circulars giving full information, please address Lucy E. Anthony, Chairman of Transportation for N. A. W. S. A., Mowhan, Pa.

WOMEN VOTE IN CEDAR RAPIDS

Three thousand, three hundred and sixty-two women voted at the election in Cedar Rapids (Iowa) on the question of bonding the city for the purpose of building new school houses and repairing old ones.

The Cedar Rapids Republican says of this election:

A feature of the day was the voting by the women on the building proposition. They entered into the spirit of the election with a zeal which was as admirable as it was commendable. No woman felt humiliated by going to the polls and the contact with the politicians, of which much is always written, did not seem to be either offensive or harmful to them. The men everywhere showed the women the most courteous treatment.

THE GREAT BOSTON MEETING

The Boston meeting of March 15th was the largest woman suffrage meeting ever held in Massachusetts.

Mr. Guy C. Ham, former assistant United States district attorney, presided, while Reverend Charles F. Aked, Representative Wm. H. O'Brien, Reverend Anna H. Shaw and Franklin H. Wentworth were the speakers.

Mr. Aked said, "Politics is a trade one of the dirtiest trades in the whole world. The misgovernment of American cities is a by-word and scandal throughout the earth. Something is needed, a regeneration in conscience, a breath of new life that will redeem politics from the ooze and slime, of logrolling and graft. This the enfranchisement of woman will accomplish." The Boston Globe said, "It scintillated with wit. * * * The great audience spent half its time applauding and the other half laughing."

Franklin H. Wentworth of Salem said he might blush for England's treatment of the suffragettes but for his secret conviction that he might need all his blushes for his own countrymen.

Mr. O'Brien said he believed that the settlement of the suffrage question will mean the settlement of many of the vexing labor questions, especially those effecting the women and children operatives in mills.

Our National President out did herself; sometimes earnest, sometimes humorous, she carried her audience with her. She said the suffragist had never asked for anything which had not been granted to men and then she spoke tenderly (?) of the antis, Mrs. Ward, and indifferent women generally.

Julia Ward Howe was not able to be present but sent a stirring letter which was read by Mrs. Edith Hodgdon.

Mary Hutchison Page in a business letter says: "When I saw that great Tremont temple filled with an audience that went back to the war" in the top gallery and heard the newsboys shouting in the streets "all about woman suffrage" and when I saw the great audience rise to show its belief in woman suffrage when the motion was put from the platform, I realized solemnly that we had embarked upon a new phase of our movement and that we must make ourselves ready to lead the hosts."

Notice is hereby given that at the National Convention in Seattle, the following amendments will be offered to the constitution:

To amend Art. IV, Sec. 1 by striking out the word "two" before "Vice Presidents," and substituting "three."

To amend the same Article and Section by striking out the words "two auditors" and substituting "an auditor."

To amend Art. V, Sec. 1 by substituting the words "an auditor" for "two auditors."

To amend Art. V, Sec. 7 by substituting the word "auditor" for "two auditors."

JENNY S. MERRICH.
76 White St., East Boston, Massachusetts.

To amend the Constitution as follows:

Art. III, Sec. 5. After the word "Officers" in the second line, insert "and ex-Presidents."

Art. IV, Sec. 1. Change the word "two" to "three" in the second line.

Art. V, Sec. 1. Change the word "two" to "three" in the first line. Omit the word "Business" in the third line.

Art. VI, Sec. 1. Change the words "Business Committee" to "General Officers" in the first line.

Art. VII, Sec. 3. Change the words "Business Committee" to "General Officers" in the first line.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

To amend Art. VIII by striking out the words "and by them," and inserting "which said Officers shall."

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

Miss Gordon is working diligently on the program for the Seattle's convention. Mrs. DeVoe writes that on the evening of June 30 a reception will be given the delegates.

FAILURE IS IMPOSSIBLE — Susan B. Anthony

PROGRESS

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.

1st Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.

2nd Vice Pres., Mrs. Florence Kelley, 106 E. 22nd St., New York City.

Cor. Sec'y, Miss Kate M. Gordon, 1300 Prytania St., New Orleans, La.

Recording Sec'y, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, 564 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Treasurer, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

1st Auditor, Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.

2nd Auditor, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Legal Advisor, Catharine Waugh McCulloch, Evanston, Ill.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR

OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, No. 2 W. 86th St., New York City.

First Vice President, Millicent Fawcett, L. L. D., 2 Gower St., London, England.

Second Vice President, Annie Furuhjelm, Helsinki, Finland.

Secretaries, Martina Kramers, 52 Kruislaade, Rotterdam, Holland.

Anna Lindemann, Degerloch, Stuttgart, Germany.

Signe Bergman, 10a Arsenalsgatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

Treasurer, Adele Stanton Coit, London, England.

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HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Editor.

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This number of Progress is edited by Elizabeth J. Hauser.

"The fight must not cease; you must see that it does not stop."—Last words addressed by SUSAN B. ANTHONY to a Woman Suffrage Convention.

After this number of Progress was in type a characteristic account of the Convention and incidental events was received from Mrs. Upton. If you read nothing else in this number do not fail to read her letter on this page.

Often in these days we are told that the highest duty is obedience to the law, and yet no one is so ignorant of history as not to know that the greatest and best and noblest of the race,—those men who stand forth along the pathway of the ages as the beacon lights that mark the progress of humanity, those men who have made the world wiser and better and holier, were ever battling with the laws and customs and institutions of the world; ever beckoning the race from the mists and chains and darkness of the past to the freedom and justice and sunlight of a better day. And these men have ever been condemned today and worshipped tomorrow. Criminals in one generation, saints in the next. Crowned in one age with thorns, in another with laurel wreaths. For the world always loves security and peace—even the calm of death is better than the storm of life and thought.—CLARENCE S. DARROW.

THE SEATTLE CONVENTION

By HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON

After leaving St. Paul, we continued our way undisturbed, and a merry crowd we were. As we progressed delegates joined us, and at Livingstone, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, who had been in the Yellowstone, got aboard. The officers held meetings all the way across, and transacted much business. As there was no one in our car but women of our own party, we had the men's smoking room for our business office.

Our first place of entertainment after St. Paul was Spokane, where Mrs. DeVoe had come to meet us, and Mrs. Hutton and Mrs. Baker had automobiles ready, and delegates were driven first to the Chamber of Commerce, then taken for an auto ride. Some of the delegates called upon friends, some went to the swimming pool, and some were guests of Mrs. Hutton in her home.

The Board of Trade tendered the delegates a banquet, at which Mrs. Hutton presided, and speeches were made by business men and women of Spokane and our delegates, Miss Shaw of course being the chief speaker. This was a very beautiful occasion, and suffrage sentiment was kindly expressed by all. An evening meeting was had, at which Mrs. Baker presided, and at which Mr. Blackwell, Professor Potter, Mrs. Gilman, Miss Shaw and others spoke. The church was well filled, and the delegates, many laden with flowers, went to the Suffrage Special, which Mrs. DeVoe had secured. The Spokane delegates were in a car by themselves, and had a large and enthusiastic crowd. The Spokane club had offered to pay the expenses to the convention of any one who would secure fifty members and two persons were successful in doing this, Mrs. Wilson of the Laundry Workers being one, and she was afterwards made a delegate. The train pulled out of Spokane at 2:30 Tuesday morning.

All along the line that day, we stopped at towns and hamlets, and our train was loaded with flowers, cherries and strawberries. Many of the eastern delegates had never seen such fruits and flowers. Roses the size of our peonies, heavy with fragrance and ranging from a dark crimson in color through the pinks and yellows to white. The editor of Progress had five roses on one stem given her, the largest being the size of her fist. Sweet peas were held by the armful, and poppies and pinks as well. At some stations cherries were brought on in pails, at others in baskets, while strawberries were in boxes, and at one place in confectioners' paper cups.

The arrangements for this trip were made by Mrs. DeVoe and her officers. The Misses Kangley, who attended the meeting of the International Alliance recently held in London, joined the party, and, filled with enthusiasm, would scramble out at stations, and join with the people who had gathered to hear the speaking, leading in the English cheers. It was very inspiring. Too much cannot be said in praise of these young women. From the time they joined the party until they bade us good-bye, they were ready to respond to everything they were asked to do, or whatever they saw to do. They were not expecting favors, and got none, but were enlisted for service; and if every town in Washington had their duplicates, surely Washington would soon become our fifth star. They were the first Washingtonians we saw, and as we stepped on to the platform they shot into their camera, and were the last in our eyes

The most important stop we made was at Tacoma. Here a committee from both Tacoma and Seattle suffrage clubs met us. A representative of the Chamber of Commerce conducted us by trolley to the park on the Sound, where a supper of clam chowder, meat, vegetables, salad and ices were served. The roses at Spo-

"MAKE THE WORLD BETTER."



LUCY STONE,
Born August 13, 1813; Died October 18, 1893.

kane were gorgeous, but the great variety, the largest collection and the most beautiful we saw on our whole trip were at Tacoma. After our sunset meal, we were shown through the public gardens where the animals were kept, and although the gentleman conducting us insisted upon pointing out birds and beasts and reptiles, although he made the kangaroo hop and the birds screech, and the antelopes lope, we looked but once, for there were roses everywhere,—poppies, bachelor-buttons and pansies in great sheets. No menagerie could seduce us when the flowers were there. Beautiful colors everywhere, and perfume all around, climbing roses and vines. The Garden of Eden never excelled it,—no, it was not equal to it, for in that garden we are told woman thirsted for knowledge, while in this garden were self-respecting women demanding liberty, not only for themselves, but for mankind as well.

As the sun grew lower we were dragged from the flowers and the water, and taken to the Chamber of Commerce, where we were welcomed by public officials, and where Miss Shaw, Mrs. Villard and others spoke in response. We then went back to our train, and made ready for the last stop, arriving in Seattle about midnight, where we were met by friends, the first of whom we recognized as Dr. Cora Smith Eaton. Having had charge of the details of the convention, she was unable to go to Tacoma with the others. We were soon in our beds at Hotel Lincoln, and, although we were called at 6:30 the next morning, that was the most sleep we had any one night.

Wednesday morning was spent by the general officers in consultation with the Washington executive committee, and the afternoon in executive committee meeting, accounts of which are given elsewhere.

The Washington Association held its Convention in the body of the church, and the National Executive Committee in the Sunday School below.

A reception was tendered the delegates at the Lincoln, and the parlors were thronged. When guests had

been presented Mrs. DeVoe spoke and introduced Mrs. Homer Hill, who welcomed us, and Miss Shaw, Prof. Potter and Miss Gordon responded.

Mrs. Rachel Foter Avery presided at the opening evening session. Mayor John F. Miller welcomed the delegates, and Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard responded for the National. Mrs. Lord spoke on Woman Suffrage and the Grange, and Miss Shaw gave her annual address as President.

The morning of July 2 was given to the reports of Auditor and Treasurer and Chairmen of Committees. Four states where campaigns of some kind are pending—Oregon, Washington, Oklahoma and South Dakota—were expected to report, but Mrs. Duniway alone was there. The delegates from South Dakota declared they were ready for the fight, while men, women and children in Washington are shouting for victory.

The President presided at the college meeting. Caroline Lexow, Eva Emory Dye and Prof. Frances Squire Potter being the speakers, and so delighted the audience that they were recalled.

Saturday morning was devoted to reports of committees, with round-table conferences on Legislation and Church Work.

Mrs. DeVoe presided at the Saturday evening meeting, which was to have been Legislative Evening, but as the Legislature had been called in special session, none of the law-makers were present. Mr. Wardell, who was formerly interested in the Farmers' Alliance, and later with the Federation of Labor, spoke; Mrs. Lord for the State Grange in place of C. B. Kegley, while Miss Shaw had charge of the Question Box. Miss Adella Parker told the story of the loss of the former Washington Amendment.

The Sunday services were in charge of the National Committee of Church Work, but the chairman, Mrs. Craigie, could not preside, owing to loss of voice from cold. Mrs. Miller, local Chairman of Committee on Church Work, together with Dr. Kendall and Dr. Eaton, had arranged this meeting. Dr. Kendall also had charge of the meetings held in the different churches in the city. Her first intention was to have a meeting on the Fair Grounds, but the authorities did not seem to care for it. Later the Fair officials changed their minds, and rather insisted upon a meeting being held in the auditorium, and so it was. This meeting was opened by Mrs. Buckley, Director of Ceremonies. Miss Shaw was introduced and presided. Several ministers spoke, although some who had accepted for the meeting when it was decided to hold it in town could not keep the engagement. Miss Janet Richards of Washington talked on the English situation, and Prof. Potter was among the speakers. The audience was large, and, unlike most exposition audiences, quiet and attentive.

Sunday evening the delegates gathered informally in the parlors of the Lincoln to visit, and the speakers at the various churches joined them later. Many Seattle women were present, and the evening was very enjoyable.

On Monday morning several minor amendments to the Constitution were passed and officers elected. Miss Gordon having declined to stand for Corresponding Secretary, consented to allow her name to remain until certain time could be given Prof. Potter to decide some business matters. This was done the next day, so that Prof. Frances Squire Potter is the National Corresponding Secretary. Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, who held the office of second auditor, took Miss Blackwell's place as Recording Secretary, and Miss Blackwell became second auditor.

The list of officers will be found in first column, first page.

Monday afternoon the Press Committee report was read, as was that of enrollment. Miss Penfield, the only National organizer present, gave an account of her work, and a round-table conference on organization and political methods was held.

Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard presided at the evening meeting and Henry B. Blackwell, Mary E. Craigie and Charlotte Perkins Gilman were the speakers.

Tuesday morning there was a round-table conference on increase of members, and left-over business was transacted.

In the afternoon the Committee on Education reported through the chairman, and Mrs. Darley of Toledo read Mrs. Kline's paper on Self-Government Plan in Public Schools.

The Treasurer then asked for pledges for the year, and more than three thousand dollars was secured.

Janet Richards and Professor Potter spoke the last evening, and the President made a few closing remarks, when the convention adjourned.

Woman's Day at the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition, or the A. Y. & P., as it is called, was a great success.

It seemed strange as the speakers entered the gates to hear the megaphone man shouting, "Suffrage Day," "Woman's Day," "Hear the Rev. Anna H. Shaw at the Auditorium."

The Exposition band was playing on the steps and the people were crowding in. Over the entrance gates was a great sign, "Votes for Women," and flying high in the air between two kites was a huge streamer with the same words. When the National officers, State presidents and speakers were on the stage, the band then inside played "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," and one of the National officers thanked the band for the music, but added, "It may be in the sweet bye and bye for us back East, but not for Washington."

J. E. Chilberg, President of the Exposition, welcomed us, as did Louis W. Buckley, Mr. Raymond, Assistant Director of Exploitation, spoke on Militant Publicity, and said the Seattle women having charge of that meeting had done the best advertising that had been done by any Association. He referred to the badges, the kites, streamers and said that they had furnished the toy balloon with a "Votes for Women" plate so that all of the balloons had that motto thereon. Many delegates brought their balloons, so that above the heads in the auditorium occasionally one would become loose, and float to the great ceiling. The junior editor of the Woman's Journal had five attached to her, and for that reason could be easily found throughout the day, and when the midnight hour arrived she was seen climbing the hill to her hotel apparently being led by five floating bags of gas, which could easily be read, "Votes for Women." But we are ahead of our story. The speakers for Woman's Day were Alice Stone Blackwell, Florence Kelley, Kate M. Gordon, Ella S. Stewart, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, and others. Upon adjournment we were photographed on the auditorium steps, and separated for luncheon.

At 2:30 we assembled in the Washington building, where a reception was held, which was followed by speaking. Miss Gordon presided. Some of the A. Y. & P. officials spoke, and most of the National officers. Despite the bands outside, the crowd sat patiently and anxiously listening to all that was said. Men who dropped into the rear of the room out of courtesy remained to learn. It was a long program, and the editor of Progress, who watched the meeting from the

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETS

The National Council of Women of the United States met in Seattle July 14-16. It was the Sixth Triennial. On the first day (July 14) the meeting was held on the Exposition grounds. The Seattle Federation of Women's Clubs entertained at luncheon for the officers and delegates and for the international delegates, who came from Toronto on a special train in charge of Mrs. Willoughby Cummings, Secretary of the National Council of Women of Canada. Almost all the foreign delegates attending the Quinquennial in Toronto came on this trip. After spending the day at the Exposition grounds in Seattle, they were taken to New York via Denver, Salt Lake City, and Chicago. On the afternoon of July 14 a number of these foreign delegates addressed the meeting, namely, Frk. Gina Krog of Norway, Frau Marie Stritt of Germany, Madame Popelin of the Netherlands, Marquise de Bourbon of Italy.

In the evening the foreign delegates and the National officers were entertained at dinner by the management of the Exposition grounds.

The election of officers was held July 15, with the following result: President—Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, Supreme Commander L. O. T. M., Vice President—Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Supt. Florence Crittenden Mission.

Corresponding Secretary—Flo Jamison Miller, Woman's Relief Corps, Recording Secretary—Dr. Bowers, Med. Examiner L. O. T. M., Treasurer—Mrs. Josie Nelson, Sec. Pythian Sisters.

Short addresses were given in the evening by Mrs. Flo Jamison Miller, Illinois; Mrs. Pauline Steinem, Toledo, Ohio, and Mrs. Van Thorne of Salt Lake City, a former member of the Legislature; Mrs. Emma Stark Hampton, Detroit, Mich.; Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Pennsylvania.

On July 16 the morning was given up to an executive session, and the afternoon to reports from organizations and committees. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery reported for the Committee on Political Equality; Mrs. Pauline Steinem for Committee on Education. In the evening an enthusiastic meeting was held by the Labor Council, when the delegates of the National Council were invited as guests. Rev. Anna H. Shaw and Mrs. Florence Kelley were the principal speakers for the evening. Among the social affairs worthy of the Seattleites given by Mrs. Leary and Mrs. William Pitt Trimble, the latter being Local Chairman of Arrangements.

Luncheon was served for the delegates on Thursday by the Ladies of the Macabees of the World, and on Friday by the Ladies of Woodcraft in Plymouth Church, where the meetings on both days were held, with the exception of the meeting of the Labor Council, which was held at the Armory, Friday evening. A great deal of interest in the Council was aroused by this meeting, and the prospects are good for the organization of local councils in Seattle and neighboring cities. As many of the delegates who could stay over were asked to do so, for the purpose of assisting in the work of organization.

The retiring president, Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, becomes Honorary President of the N. C. W. of the West. PAULINE STEINEM.

JUST TO MAKE YOU THINK

"The reason I like *Progress*," said a clever newspaper woman on a recent visit to the Warren Headquarters, is because there is always something in it that makes me think." The editor of this number believes the following by Wm. Marion Reedy, editor of *The Mirror*, ought to compel thinking on the part of every *Progress* reader even in August:

The Gould Scandal.
"Mrs. Katherine Clemmons Gould is getting an awful showing up. How those New York lawyers love to flay a woman! For my part I don't see how Mr. Howard Gould could tolerate such an exposure of the woman, who, what ever she was, is or has done, bears his name and is his wife. It seems to me abominable in him to permit the attempt to discredit her before her marriage to him. Who ever she was then, he knew it. What was international gossip he could not have failed to hear, especially as every effort was made by his family to prevent the marriage. Mr. Gould should take his medicine. This marriage condemned all. As to what happened after marriage—well, it's not so clear that Mr. Gould is guiltless. What is a woman to do who has unlimited money, a dubious social status, no particular resources within herself to keep up her interest in life, no desire to do any work and a husband who isn't big enough to fill her life with the things it craves? In God's name, what? Katherine Clem-

mons couldn't take up church work. She'd been bred up to the life of the show. Excitement was the breath of her nostrils. And there's no excitement in having millions and no one to spend them on that is really congenial. Put a woman in such a position, feed her on choice foods, give her access to rich wines, cozen her with the sensualities of the yacht and the automobile, make her feel that she has done the things that go with position, without position, then send her husband abroad in the land mingling with women who wouldn't mingle with her. What could she do but eat her heart out. Then have the husband tell her that he has placed his affections elsewhere. Drinks, jags, wild whoopees were her only resource, for, mind you, she had not been trained in the school of self-restraint and docility. She did what any woman of her original environment and her cultivated temperament would have done. I don't blame her in the least. She might have committed suicide. But that despair or from ennui, but why do that when there is an income of \$750,000 a year to spend and handsome actors to be sought out and charmed? With \$750,000 a year to spend that she never earned and her husband never earned and her husband's father got earned and her husband never earned by methods beside highway robbery was honorable, what to do, but blow it. All of \$750,000 a year to spend and still unhappy, unloved, unplaced. And all the women to think of who had not the one thousandth part of such a sum per year to live on, yet who were loved and placed and happy, who possibly would draw their skirts closer if she passed them in one of her gowns costing as much as the other's income. Yes, indeed, I sympathize with Katherine Clemmons Gould. She got what the woman gets, even when she gets the best of it—the worst of it. Howard Gould did her a disservice, worse if, as is possible, she married him. He did wrong; not in marrying the woman, though. He did wrong in essaying to assert his liberty to marry where he would, without being ready to pay the price. Liberty is all right, but with liberty goes responsibility, and the man who won't take the responsibilities of his liberty deserves everything that happens to him. The woman has to pay, too, but the trouble is that she has to pay for the man as well as for herself. Katherine Clemmons Gould pays harder today than does her husband for what after all was, as we all know, his mistake more than hers. She is crucified by the attorneys and made to appear all in the wrong. It was her husband who was in the wrong. He would have marriage and nothing else. He promised what marriage would bring, but couldn't and didn't, because neither he nor she was strong enough to compel it—social recognition. It is Mr. Howard Gould, I say, who is indicted by the frightful exposure of his wife in a New York court room by lawyers paid by himself. I'm sorry for Mrs. Gould as I was for Mrs. Harry Thaw. They represent to me only the result of the theory that the woman is fair game for any man's bringing down. The woman doesn't get a square deal. At her worst she is what some man made her. At her best she is often only his dupe. Women haven't a voice anywhere, but in Europe at least men do not spit in the cup they have been drinking from. In Europe at least men pay big prices for their maltreatment of women and pay for it gracefully. Even Jezebel should not be starved, and it was not her enraged husband who threw her to the dogs or the attorneys. The men who marry women that other people think they shouldn't marry have no license to punish the woman because the friends were right. It is rarely or never the woman who forces the marriage in those cases, but the man who wants to take the woman as property in order to keep her from others, especially if he has the revenues of a Gould. Then when the settlement day comes he kicks at the price. All I say is that he isn't a game sport; he isn't a thoroughbred. He is a welcher. The woman generally takes what's dealt out to her, what she felt she'd get from the start, but allowed herself to be bludgeoned out of the knowledge. I believe a man should treat a woman at least as squarely as he'd treat a man, but few men are big enough to do this. No man would dare treat a man he'd had a partnership with as men treat their partners of the Katherine Clemmons type, and in the greater number of such so-called mesalliances it is the man and not the woman who is responsible for the disaster, solely because he hasn't the courage to take all the consequences of his contract. And every man who reads this and knows anything of men and women, knows in his heart I am right, but won't say so in the presence of ladies of both sexes who have never been tempted out of pallid propriety into any of the rosy sincerities of sin.

**PETITION
To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States**

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, over 21 years of age, hereby petition your Honorable Body to submit to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification an amendment to the National Constitution which will enable women to vote.

| NAMES | OCCUPATIONS | ADDRESSES. |
|-------|-------------|------------|
| | | |
| | | |

Progress readers who have not already signed the petition are requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to sign the above petition, cut out the coupon and mail it to Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, 1823 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., or to N. A. W. S. A. Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

STRAWS

In a plea for the equality of the sexes, Elbert Hubbard says in the July *Philistine*: "The first move toward this equality is to give women the right of suffrage. This is a necessary move for the full, free and complete development of both the man and the woman."

Commenting on a story which misrepresented Mrs. Chapman Catt's attitude towards men, *The Public* says editorially, "The worst part of it is the implication that she regards the suffrage question as a question of woman's rights against man's despotism. There is no conflict between men and women over this question; and every attempt to make the woman suffrage movement seem like such a conflict tends to put the movement in a false light. The conflict is between despotism and democratic tendencies regardless of sex. Women are seeking the ballot not as enemies but as help-meets."

William Marion Reedy, editor of *The Mirror*, says in a private letter: "The woman's side is the man's side. Man cannot afford to be unjust, to perpetuate or to attempt to perpetuate the enslavement of the other half of the race. Free women will make men more free."

THE ENGLISH SITUATION

The most significant items reported from London recently relate to the imprisonment and prison conduct of 15 of the suffragettes—members of the W. S. P. U. And in the meantime the members of the Freedom League have scored a victory. They sent a petition to the King, even though they knew His Majesty could not receive it; but he referred them to the Home Secretary and Mrs. Despard and her aides were well satisfied with their interview with Mr. Gladstone. And that isn't all! They succeeded in presenting their petition to Mr. Asquith in person. At this writing no reports of any reply from the Premier have been sent out by the press.

THE CHURCH AND THE GREAT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Comparing the church to the medical profession, Ray Stannard Baker in the July installment of his "The Spiritual Unrest" series in *The American*, says:
"But the church learns more slowly! It is so cumbered with traditions, so worldly, so divided within itself, so fearful that by means of some new truth which God gives to men He will somehow abolish Himself! The priest often lacks the faith of the doctor! He may see that the spreading disease of unbrotherliness has its origin, in large measure, in the injustice of modern industrial and business conditions, which grind down the poor and the weak, the children, the women, the foreigner—but how falteringly he strikes at these causes, how he palliates with excuses, how he avoids the direct issue! Often he not only fails to demand changed conditions, but he becomes the chief apologist for the maintenance of the present evil environment!"

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Glen Mills, Pa.; Second Vice President, Ansley Wilcox, Buffalo, N. Y.; Third Vice President, Judge William H. de Lacey, Washington, D. C., and General Secretary, Alexander Johnson, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Prof. Mary Gray Peck, Associate Professor of English at the Minnesota State University, and friend of Prof. Frances Squire Potter, the new National Corresponding Secretary, has been chosen to fill the position of Headquarters' Secretary when the office becomes established in New York City.

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