

Covington. Ky.

June 2nd 1911

My dear Miss Clay:-

Your letter of May 22nd came in due time, also the Journal for April 22nd for which, as well as the Catalog of Suffrage literature I am very grateful, I sent right off for some of the leaflets, and expect to distribute them among the "enemies in the camp." I hope you will pardon my tardiness in answering, I have been very much indisposed for the past two weeks, not being able to attend to my simple household duties, but am glad to say that I am feeling better and hope to steadily improve. The Pastor of the Methodist Church at 5th & Greenup sts Covington will preach on the Suffrage question the third Sunday evening in

June. I put your bible references and the leaflets you sent into his hands, then the Womans Journals, then I got from the Library John Stuart Mill's "subjection of women" and gave him that, I think he must be a little wiser on the subject by this time. We want to get a great number of men to church the night of the sermon, especially the Official Board of the church, since they refused to let us use the lecture room for our banquet. I fear we will not be able to have the banquet till early Fall, as I think it is most too warm, to ask people to a hall at this time.

I note carefully what you say in regard to the Womans Journal, personally, I am not able to take up that part of the work, but will speak of it at our next club meeting, which takes place next Thursday. Thanking you for the catalogue and Journals I am, very sincerely yours, Jessie E. Firth.

Cor. Ky - June 6th 1911.

The Hon. Harry G. Myers.

Dear Sir:-

As chairman of a committee from the Equal Rights association of Covington, I am sending you leaflets, which I trust you will read thoughtfully, after which you may be able to change your attitude toward this question which is engaging the profound attention of thoughtful men and women all over the world. I believe if you will read and think more on this subject, you will work for instead of against Bills seeking to enfranchise women of Kentucky.

At the Federation of Womens clubs -
which met in Louisville in May -

when six hundred women were in session, the fact of your having been the chief factor in the defeat of the School Suffrage bill in the last Legislature was brought forcefully before the convention by Mrs. Desha Breckinridge. Each of the six hundred women present represented a club of not less than one hundred members. These club women were instructed to put ^{now} name and the facts before her home club. Besides this, the printed facts were also distributed broad cast. Thus you see that six thousand women are talking adversely about you to at least six thousand men, and, if it is true, "that women can indirectly influence votes" then it is just possible that you may be defeated next Fall.

The women are thoroughly aroused by your work against them last

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year, and have pledged themselves
to work this indirect influence
theory to a finish, and if
possible, turn the tide of success
against you.

Now I come to the question
which I was delegated to ask you
viz:- What do you expect to do
in regard to this bill when
it is again introduced before
the house?.

Soliciting an early reply
I am

Very sincerely yours.

Jessie E. Firth.

Committee

Mr. Price's letter was slightly different.

Copy.

N ^[June 6, 1911]
New York, June 2/1911

DEAR MEMBERS OF THE OFFICIAL BOARD:

For several months I have been trying to find time to write you something in regard to the work of the Press Bureau, but as it requires every minute to keep up with each day's necessary duties I fear I shall not write at all if I wait for the leisure moment.

As you already know, we subscribe for all the New York City papers and read them carefully, clipping and filing the suffrage items. During the month of April, which is a fair sample, we cut 602 notices from these papers, many of which were whole pages in length, others one or two columns, and so on down to brief despatches. The New York papers publish all the news items which we send them, notices of meetings, etc., and their reporters call at our office every day, as they have from the beginning. The Press Clipping Bureau to which we subscribe supplied us with 5,000 clippings from various papers throughout the United States. After reading these and selecting everything that should go to the Woman's Journal, we distributed them among the press chairmen of the different States, giving them an opportunity to keep in touch with the movement in other sections of the country. The exchanges were all looked over as usual, and a person who came in to help us one day remarked that it would be much easier to cut such items as did not pertain to suffrage and leave all that did. The correspondence also is an important part of the work, and 300 letters were written and mailed during the month.

Our records show that 48 newspaper editorials and letters were answered by us during in April, and that these replies were published was proved by the return of many of them in the clippings. When suffrage meetings are held in any part of the country, we are often called upon to furnish photographs and biographical sketches of the speakers, and fifteen of these were sent out by us during the month. We are in receipt of daily requests from people desiring information to be used in refuting

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statements published in their local papers, and in this connection (as well as many others), I have learned to appreciate the enormous value of the blessed Woman's Journal files, the History and the Life & Work. So many new people have joined the suffrage ranks in the past two years, all anxious to write something and few equipped with the necessary knowledge, that it puts the Press Bureau on the alert to keep up with this part of the work. Many of the colleges publish a little paper, and, judging from their demands for material, it would seem that "Votes for Women" had become popular in the average Temple of Learning. This month brought the usual number of inquiries from that source, and we replied to the best of our ability. ^{College} ~~Swings~~ and high school debates on woman suffrage have developed into a "continuous performance", and nearly every mail brings a request for help.

As a majority of the city newspapers run a Woman's Department, and these in some cases have undergone a change from the one-time recipe for acquiring dimples and "How to retain the love of your husband when old", we receive constant requests for suffrage material for such pages. One editor asked us for a list of suffrage notes, and volunteered the information that he would be compelled to head it with a recipe for cake or some other kind of feed! Sunday papers are particularly anxious for suffrage "stories"; and a great deal of time is absorbed in giving personal interviews. These Sunday articles are illustrated as a rule and often syndicated. Scarcely a day passes without our being called upon by magazine writers for help in working up their articles. A few days ago an elderly woman, who had been engaged in newspaper work in New York in the sixties and who was personally acquainted with the suffrage leaders of that time, came in to look over our reference files preparatory to writing an article for a prominent publisher who insisted that it must be on "suffrage in the early days." It did me good to see her eyes sparkle as she read

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about the women she knew and loved so long ago.

As our press workers felt the need of keeping in touch with their own papers and so much pressure was brought to bear for news items, we have revived the custom of sending out weekly lists, and it has proved most satisfactory. Newspapers have assured us that this is the best general press work that can be done, as there is always a demand for news, and that papers absolutely refusing space to any other kind of suffrage matter are quite willing to publish anything of this character. These we send into nearly every State in the Union. Arkansas, California, Nevada and South Dakota report that they fill the ~~most~~ exact need, and each month the press chairmen in those and other States ask for a larger supply. We also send them regularly to Alaska and Canada, and they are translated into French for a paper published in Lewiston, Me. Most of the chairmen are doing very active work in their States, and we endeavor to meet their ever-increasing demands for special material. Another time-absorber is the reading of manuscripts sent to the Press Bureau by writers throughout the country. We read this in the hope that we may find something helpful.

Whenever a prominent suffragist comes to New York, if possible we arrange for interviews with the newspaper people, and this of course helps to ~~spread~~ sow the seed. In the case of out-of-town people coming here to lecture, we endeavor to secure a synopsis of the address in advance, copies of which are sent to the Associated Press and the New York dailies. Papers from all parts of the United States write us for information, and they particularly desire news - facts. Formerly the demand was for personal sketches, something about the people connected with the work, and arguments for and against, but that seems to be changing, and the papers are now anxious to report the activities of the movement and are awfully afraid they will miss something.

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Several of the large city papers have offered us double column space weekly, which we are ~~fixing~~ trying to fill from here.

The work for the press syndicates is very important, and we have seven on our list, all pledging their co-operation. One association, representing 11,500 papers, has asked us to submit to them anything and everything we wish to have published, which they will circulate for us (without charge, of course). In April we had newspaper representatives from England, Sweden, Germany, Italy, Russia, South Americanx and Japan, all seeking suffrage material for their papers and all declaring that the subject had become a matter of general interest in their countries. The International News Service also sent out a great deal of stuff for us in April, principally in connection with the meeting at Stockholm. They required write-ups about as many as the delegates as possible, and I must admit that a little imagination went into some of those sketches, as they were needed in a hurry and the Press Bureau had never heard of some of the people.

Every day brings callers from a distance. During the month of April they came from California, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Texas, Missouri, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, as well as foreign countries. One young woman whô is visiting in New York and who "served time" in Holloway Jail comes in every week to read the English papers, for which we subscribe, and the eagerness with which she devours every word and comments upon the situation is really touching. We have many English visitors, and their consecration to the cause is an inspiration. Perhaps our most distinguished guest of the month was ex-Governor Brady, of Idaho, who was chief speak at a ~~meeting~~ most wonderful meeting conducted by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage in Cooper Union, and

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who journeyed to Albany to address the New York Legislature on the subject of Votes for Women.

Aside from the foregoing, we have the general office work to attend to, an important feature of which is answering the telephone which often rings all day long, and you will readily understand that the two people in the Press Bureau have very little time to shirk. However, we ^{have} ~~now~~ no cause for complaint on our side, as we enjoy the work and are only too glad to see it increasing. When it gets beyond us, we shall ~~gladly~~ be delighted to make way for those in a position to accomplish greater results.

Very sincerely yours,

Caroline L. Reilly
Chairman

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National Municipal League

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THOMAS N. STRONG, PORTLAND, OREGON

June 6, 1911.

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Kentucky.

Dear Madam:-

The National Municipal League will hold its next annual meeting in Richmond, Virginia, November 13 to 17, 1911.

This is the first time that the League has undertaken to meet in the Southland, although civic problems in that part of the country are pressing.

We are writing at this time to express the hope that we may have your active coöperation in making the meeting a truly great success. We want your interest through your own participation in the meeting and in securing a representative attendance. We want your help in spreading the influence of the League throughout the length and breadth of the South.

Bespeaking your suggestions and your sympathetic coöperation, I am

Faithfully yours,

Clinton Rogers Woodruff

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHERINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
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2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, KATE M. GORDON,
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LEXINGTON, KY
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
45 BOUTWELL AVENUE, DORCHESTER, MASS.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, MISS CAROLINE I. REILLY,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

June 6/1911

OFFICE OF PRESS COMMITTEE:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

CAROLINE I. REILLY, CHAIRMAN

My dear Miss Clay:-

Your letter and copy of address were received last evening, and I sent off the latter the first thing this morning, feeling that no time should be lost in trying to have it circulated. It seems to me the Episcopal Church is waking up very perceptibly to the woman suffrage question. You know of course about Mrs. Laidlaw addressing the conference in Washington and also the action of the Diocese of Chicago with regard to women voting on church matters.

I am enclosing copy of letter I am to-day mailing to the Official Board. It is really wonderful to note the changes in the past two years. I wish you could spend some time at National Headquarters, for I know you would enjoy it. I am going away Thursday for one week's vacation, which is all I feel I can possibly take at the present time, as there is so much to do. I sometimes think I will have to turn "anti" to get a rest.

Very sincerely yours,

Caroline I. Reilly

Richmond, Ky.

June 7th, 1911.

My dear Miss Robinson,

I did not answer your last letter; and now I have quite a budget to send you. I wrote to Mrs. James A. Mitchell, Bowling Green, the Federation Chairman of National Reservations Committee, at once about the proposed Mammoth Cave trip, and I enclose her answer. you see she thoroughly approves the idea.

I think you decided wisely to help Mrs. Lafferty rather than have the Louisville W.S.A. take the lead in the University Trustees bill. I am glad Miss Flexner is on your Legislative Committee; for there may be an important legal question on which we shall wish to have her get Mr. Flexner's opinion; but I do not wish to write about that just now.

I enclose some letters from Mrs. Townsend, our National Chairman of Committee on Railroad Rates. I was in Lexington a few days ago, and I went to see the passenger agent of the Southern Railway. He promised to look into the matter and let me know if he found any chance of our getting rates. But as I do not know any influential railroad man personally I have little hope of doing anything myself. I have concluded that the officials in the Louisville and Nashville are the persons for us to approach; and that I want your Association to do, if possible. It seems to be our only hope.

And now I have another kindness to ask, which is not as formidable as it appears at first. After consulting with some of the Executive Committee of the State W.S.A. we think that it would be advantageous to have the State Annual convention in Louisville the day after the National Convention; - that is, on October 25th. We think having the two conven-

2.tions together will secure a larger attendance of Ky.delegates to the National and also to the state convention. It will save expense, both by combining the two trips; and because after the National it will not be necessary to have evening speeches, which are al ways a considerable expense. We can dispense with day speeches and papers, also, which will enable us to transact all necessary business in one day, if we think it desirable, which we probably shall. Then, we will have on hand the same delegates who have heard the discussions and suggestions which may have been made at the National, so they can act intelligently upon them. Since we have in a manner disposed of the University Trustee bill we shall not have so much legislative work to discuss as we expected some time ago. All these considerations, and others of convenience, make us think Louisville is the logical place for this annual convention. We hope it may be made an occasion for gathering a large number of Louisville members just after the enthusiasm of the National Commvction. This is preliminary to saying we wish your Louisville Association would extend an invitation to Louisville for this convention for that date. I wish to explain that we do not desire any sort of expense from the Louisville Asso. We think it has quite its share now. Moreover, most of the expenses of the state are saved, as I have explained. We want the invitation to show that the Louisville Asso. approves of our coming again so soon; and then for any personal help your Asso. may give in making the few local arrangements necessary. For instance, in finding where we may hire a hall which is best suited to the occasion. I remember the little hall in the Seelbach where the Governors met. That would be the best place, if it is not the place the Seelbach management intends to provide for the National Executive Committee, which it is to do free. In the letter to Mrs. Gamble they say they will provide a parlor for the National Executive Committee. That would leave this little hall open to us, if the expense is not great. The only objection to having the convention the 25th is that it is the

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day of the last Executive Committee of the National. But as only two Kentucky women have seats in that Committee we will have to stand that drawback; and also that it will probably be the day for starting on the Cave trip. Taken altogether, the advantages outweigh the objections.

As an invitation this time will mean this promise of good will only, I hope you will be able to obtain it from your Asso., even if you have to take a vote by telephone, as I believe you have adjourned meetings for the summer. I must explain that there were some objections which prevented my advising this time earlier in the season, largely connected with our legislative work. So you must not think I was inconsiderate in not broaching the subject earlier.

Hoping to hear from you soon about the Railroad Rates and the invitation, I am

Very cordially yours,

Richmond, Ky.

June 7th, 1911.

Mr. Walter Scott,

Lexington, Ky.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of May 27th reached me on my return from an absence of a few days.

I thank you for your offer to attend to the repairs on the property, and I shall be very glad if you will attend to having the gutter repaired and the water turned so it will not run into the cellar.

The fence I can attend to myself when I come to Lexington.

Thanking you for your letter and attention to the repairs,

I am

Very respectfully yours,

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 7th, 1911.

My dear Mrs. Mitchell,

I thank you for your kind and willing acceptance of the job of getting up an excursion to the Mammoth Cave in conjunction with our National Suffrage convention in Louisville. For fear you may get confused from any published notice of the dates, I will mention that the Convention proper closes October 24th; and then the Executive Committee, consisting of two women from each represented state and some Chairmen, constitute the Executive Committee, which sits on the 25th. I think it probable that some of these will also like to go to the Cave; and as they will have to sit only one day, or even one part of a day, I wish you could arrange so they can go also. I suppose the main body of excursionists would start on the morning of the 25th, which is Wednesday. Then if the others could come on the rates that evening they could all spend most of the time together all right. I merely mention this; for I know you will understand how these little difficulties can be met better than I can suggest.

I thank you for asking me to be on your Committee; but I am already on the Legislative Committee, and the Club rules do not wish the same person on more than one Committee. I shall do whatever I can all the same, and when you think of anything you would like me to do, just let me know the same as if I were on the Committee.

In your Louisville correspondence with the suffragists the proper person to write to is the president of the Louisville W.S.A., Miss Virginia F. Robinson, 1710 Rosewood, Louisville. (Over)

2.

I have been away from Richmond for a few days, or I would have answered sooner.

Thanking you again for your kindness, I am

Very cordially yours,

Richmond, Ky.

June 7th, 1911.

My dear Mrs. McCulloch,

I am deeply interested in the letters you have recently sent me, and which I re-enclose. I should have answered sooner, thanking you for letting me see them, except I have been particularly busy, with making an address before the Diocesan Council of our church, and have been absent for some days in connection with that.

I am greatly concerned ~~with the~~ about the state of our finances, the evident determination of Miss Shaw to stay in New York and not even to cut down the expense of rent there; and over some of the amendments to the constitution. I do not see any money coming to pay that enormous rent, unless it is in Miss Shaw's mind to use that legacy which is coming to the National for such expenses. I was glad to see Miss Ashley's letter, but it throws little light on where she expects to get the money for paying those bills of which she speaks, for I do not see anything reported as coming in in the Journal.

The point I see in the proposed constitution which troubles me is the monthly meeting of at least five of the Official Board, and no provision at all for doing business by correspondence. You may know it has always been my conviction that National business required the point of view of all sections; and therefore it is essential that all sections should be represented on the Board. It has come under my observation that following this rule has caused greater equality of effort in all sections than evidently would have been thought of, if all the officers were from one section, as is now proposed. For if they meet once a month, they must be selected near to headquarters. Even if two of the

seven are chosen to represent the West and the South, as there is no provision for attending to business by correspondence, they will be mere figure heads, elected probably to quiet opposition, without any intention of their having any influence. As the evident intention is to keep headquarters in New York, the National will practically be another New York association. The literature will be sold for net value to those who want it. The Press work will bear the stamp of the Eastern states and England almost exclusively, no matter what may be designed about that. You say, and I see, that the fate of the Woman's Journal hangs in the balance, as our National organ. In fact, if all funds are consumed in paying for headquarters and the salaries of those in it, there will be nothing to sustain the Journal left.

to Headquarters in New York

My objections are more extensive than I thought proper to write to Miss Shaw in the letter I sent you. I might have expressed myself more strongly on the points I did speak of, if I had expressed all my feeling. I think we are now only another New York headquarters; and the chief impression we are making on the uninformed public is that we are a protégé of Mrs. Belmont, and the public are amused in calculating how long she will be pleased with her toy. This may suit some people; it does not suit me. I know we are mixing up far more than is to our advantage with local factions. This is also one of the amusing things to the public, - not to me. All these parades, etc., make good press matter, but they could be gotten up, as they were, by one of those strong local societies. Our National President and Treasurer were only one part of the show. This may be very interesting to those on the spot, but the enthusiasm is mixed with doubts by those who view the proceedings from a distance and a National ~~judgment~~ standpoint.

I may say that I think changing the name, and leaving out the American is a breach of faith. It was one of the conditions upon which the old American consented to fuse.

Now the question in my mind is " Shall those who think as I do endeavor-

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or to stem the tide, and save the former National features of the Association? Or shall we consider that New York is now one of those states where an amendment will shortly be before the people, and that we might as well let the whole strength of the National be concentrated there for a few years? This last view might be a strong one, if the issue were a clear-cut one. But there are the considerations that we are not really helping the state campaign; for we are mixing up with local factions. And we are not bringing to bear what is our legitimate influence, which is that of helping the cause in other states so they will re-act on New York. In the second place, would those who are now holding the Headquarters in New York, and propose to centralize the officers there, consent to give up these local advantages even after their state fight was won, if it should be won whilst there was still something to be done in other states? In Miss Shaw's last letter to state presidents she says: "I trust that the coming months will be helpful and that when we gather together in our National Convention we will feel that the time is not far distant when our Convention will cease to be one in which we plan to secure suffrage, and become one in which we may devise the best methods of using the power it has brought to enfranchised womanhood". In this I see a chance that when New York women are enfranchised they will think the National has no better object than to exploit their use of the ballot.

All these things trouble me. I wish I could have a heart to heart talk with some who are thinking of our cause as a National issue, and not as a part to be played in the great New York drama.

I have not yet studied the revised Book.

stitution. I may see other things I object to; or things which I think are an improvement on the present one. But I have the misgivings which I have written to you. If the Woman's Journal is deserted by the National, I think about the only National feature will have been dropped, if the new constitution carries. I shall certainly do what I can to avert what I should consider a calamity.

There are other things about which I would like to write you; but I postpone them to another letter. But this one thing I will say. Did you notice that the Ky. Federation of Clubs took up the work of getting the Mammoth Cave made a National Reservation? An automobile drive from Louisville now under way goes through the county where the little reservation of Lincoln's birth place is already established. I am in correspondence now with the chairman of the National Reservations Committee of the Federation, about getting up an excursion to the Cave in connection with our National Convention in October. She writes she will do it gladly; and that October is a delightful month to visit the Cave. What do you think of it?

Always very cordially yours,

COPY.

ALKI SUFFRAGE CLUB
OF WASHINGTON

Seattle, June 8, 1911

Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett

My dear Mrs. Dennett

Your kind letter of June 2nd received. I am very sorry mine did not reach New York before Miss Shaw's departure, as I had hoped Miss Shaw might be able to persuade Mrs. Mackay to go to California, as it seems to me she would be able to bring certain elements into the campaign which are now rapidly being enlisted in the ranks of the Antis. You, of course, know that there are always hundreds of women who are influenced by the wealth or position of the leaders of any movement. The strength of the Anti organization in California is due to the position of the leaders. Unfortunate as it is that this is the truth, it is wise for us to recognize the facts and to use them to our own advantage. The situation is quite peculiar in California - we had no parallel in Washington. There is an intense class antagonism, caused by the labor union fight in Los Angeles. No doubt you know somewhat of the situation in a general way, but one must come into close touch with it to form an adequate idea of the feeling, both in Los Angeles and San Francisco, among the women as well as the men.

Miss Maud Younger has the labor union element very well in hand in S. F., but, while that would seem to presage victory for us in S. F., as a matter of fact there is as acute a situation there as in L. A. All of the Suffrage leaders (except Miss Younger, who is a strong partisan of his) and many outsiders, claimed that Mayor McCarthy is in reality controlled by the "interests". Naturally, he would use his influence and power against, rather than for Suffrage if this is true. So that it is very essential to have as large a "capitalistic" following as possible - and I believe Mrs. Mackay could win it.

In L. A. the administration is reform, and in fact, the and in fact the whole of Southern California went very strongly insurgent at the last election. This will help us wonderfully, if the liquor question is managed properly.

In Washington, we had no labor union trouble, the state went insurgent and we had no opposition from the liquor people; on the contrary, we had some considerable aid from them, owing to the work I did among the Catholics and the liquor element. Both the Votes for Women Club leaders and Mrs. Edison of the Political Equality League in L. A. are working along the lines I suggested there, but the situation in S. F. is not so well handled. Mrs. Coffin has the ability and the influence to handle it well. Miss Younger can do very much. But if the fears of all the others are well founded, Mrs. Coffin will not do her best.

[June 8, 1916]

2.

I evidently did not state my position clearly if I gave you the impression that I mistrusted Mrs. Coffin. I only wished to pay the situation - present and potential - before you, so that the Board would know what action to take in any emergency which might arise in California. Personally, I did not have an opportunity to become sufficiently well acquainted with her (as I did with the L. A. women by a long residence there) so that I would not pass my final judgment. She is a very capable, tactful woman, with much political sagacity - talents which could be used very effectively either for or against, according to her character. The L. A. women all spoke of her in the same terms as the S. F. women, so that the facts I laid before you were gathered from all angles, as no one residing in the state could gather them. Naturally, we must always make due allowances for jealousy, both personal and sectional, but I wished the Board to know all the facts. I am so much influenced by these facts myself, that I wish with all my heart that Mrs. Mackay could be induced to devote her time and money to the S. F. campaign.

The Washington situation looks somewhat more hopeful at present, as the former Seattle Chief of Police is now being tried under one of the numerous indictments found against him and will surely be convicted, as the evidence was very strong against him. But we are at the beginning, not near the end, of what is going to be a very hard, bitter fight. The owners and editors of two papers (who conducted the disgraceful proceedings during the recall) are resting under indictments, soon to be tried. The scheme to defeat Suffrage, of which I wrote, is not one that the women can control, as it is to be in the form of a test case, testing the constitutionality of the amendment, as was done in territorial days. The result will rest in the Court. I do not think anything is to be done immediately. Since I wrote Miss Shaw, the Interstate R. R. Com. has discovered the fact that \$170000 worth of the bonds of the Post-Intelligencer (the Seattle paper which "backed" Mrs. DeVoe) are owned by the Great Northern R. R., which is merged with the Northern Pacific. I am sure I told Miss Shaw that the railroad interests were the enemy who secretly tried to defeat us in Washington.

Do the members of the Board know that the Mormon Church, which holds the balance of power in four western states, is fighting Suffrage with all of its powerful might? The Mormons were strong enough in Idaho to elect Mr. Brady and to defeat Sen. DuBois, but the Anti-Mormon vote defeated Brady in the recent election. It is said that he has three wives. I learned a great deal about the Idaho situation from some prominent Idaho people whom I met in Los Angeles. The general Mormon situation, however, is pretty well understood out in the West - which is involved.

I believe the Board would be wise to gather all the information possible on the Mormon question, as it would be of great benefit to our cause in many states. The Catholic Church seems to be most keenly alive to the seriousness of the conditions, steadily growing more menacing. We can win strong Catholic support if we ally ourselves against the Mormon Church - a move which would, in my judgment, strengthen our position immensely all over the U. S.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially and fraternally yours

(Signed) Katherine M. Smith.

Mrs. George A. Smith

LISTEN, BROTHERS!

By Marguerite Ogden Bigelow

Superior, Wis.

[June 8, 1911]

LISTEN, brothers, for I claim your attention, in behalf of your sisters and mine!

In primitive forests we fought the wolves to protect your children, and when clans were born out of social chaos we founded industry in the open field and in the cave that was home.

In the days of despots we sweated and suffered with you, and not less than you. We bore the taskmaster's lash on flesh made tender in your service. Our wounds festered in the sun.

In ages of intolerance and superstition we were persecuted, as you were, for Truth's sake, sawn asunder, burned as witches, fed to ravenous beasts, martyred in vile ways innumerable.

Throughout all ages we have shared your poverty and your mischance, your doubt, and your sorrow, your oft thwarted passion for beauty, love, advancement, freedom and ideals.

We have borne you and suckled you, rocked you in cradles, carried you from place to place, on our backs and in our arms, nursed you in sickness, fostered you in health, inspired you in battle and comforted you in death. There has been no darkness through which we have not gone with you hand in hand.

But now you are coming into your own proud heritage, my brothers, and a new morning dawns, gladdened by freedom and opportunity. Have we no share in the morning?

By our blood and by our tears freely spent for you, by our labor and our births, by our love inexpressible, we claim fullest human rights in this your morning of freedom.

Listen, brothers, for I speak for all your sisters, for the weak as well as the strong, for those who understand and for those who do not understand, and I say,

Give us a share in your Democracy, that we may show you ours!

—Copied from *The Independent*.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
EVANSTON, ILLS.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 PRYTANIA STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MARY WARE DENNETT,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

RECORDING SECRETARY, ELLA S. STEWART,
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLS.

TREASURER, JESSIE ASHLEY,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,
LEXINGTON, KY.
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
45 BOUTWELL AVENUE, DORCHESTER, MASS

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, MISS CAROLINE I. REILLY,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

AFFILIATED SOCIETY

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

June 8th. 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

After mature deliberation and much investigation, we have made the agents of this building an offer for our present Headquarters for nine months, namely from August 1st. to May 1st, 1912. This is the shortest possible term upon which we can get any quarters in New York and now this may not go through.

In the meantime we plan to make a definite attempt to raise money by sending out a letter - a copy of which is enclosed. We find that so many people have no idea whatever what the needs of our Association are, either in money or scope. Also, later in the season, we hope to send someone out to explain the situation and to visit the right people, and to try to get money in hand before the Convention, she can, at the same time, push the Journal.

I sincerely hope you will approve of these plans, and if you have any others do please suggest them.

Faithfully yours,

Jessie Ashley

Treasurer.

JA/JC.

Evanston, June 8, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

Since receiving the letter, a copy of which is herein contained concerning Wisconsin, I have had a visit from Rev. Olympia Brown of Racine. She came down today and talked over particularly the details of an August Suffrage Automobile Tour, for which Illinois had offered her our Miss Grimm and Miss Harl.

She took copies of our various letters to Mayors, club friends, newspapers, posters, leaflets, etc. We went over the map together, making a tentative itinerary. She will add two Wisconsin women, the four women to devote the month of August to the lower part of the State, visiting only the principal cities.

She was full of enthusiasm and felt that the ^{movement} must be carried and that every one should work vigorously. She has called a meeting of the State Association and all its members for Milwaukee June 23rd and has asked me to speak at that time. Her plan is to have a business session in the morning and in the afternoon have a program meeting, the speakers consisting of Mrs. Devoe, Mrs. McCullough and others. That evening they hope to make money at one of the theaters in Milwaukee and they have begun to sell tickets already for this entertainment. I have accepted her invitation to speak in the afternoon and between the acts at the theater.

In the midst of our conversation, I told her that I thought it was very unwise to have Mrs. Devoe there, for she would alienate people from the cause. She considers Mrs. Devoe an excellent worker and never displeases her audience. I mentioned a few things about her work in Washington, but I judge she is determined to keep her helping part of the time.

She has been disturbed by the work of a ~~Mrs.~~ Winona FitzJones, a former Wisconsin woman who is now connected with the so-called "Race Betterment League", which Lady Frances Cook endowed in Chicago with about \$1000.00, lay workers of Brother Tennessee Claflin Cooke. *she is you remember.*

June 8, 1911

#2.

You can judge how distressed Mrs. Brown is to have Miss Jones come to Wisconsin to organize under Lady Cook's wing and money. She spoke about the Wagner visit also as very distressing. Miss Wagner had asked her (Mrs. Brown) to resign and had said many unkind things about the late Suffrage workers. I urged her to get hold of the workers in the new Political Equality League in Wisconsin and if they could not have unity, at least have a tacit understanding about spheres of action, as our Foreign Missionary Societies do in Heathen lands.

I urged her to invite Miss Ada L. James to the June 23rd Meeting and if Miss Wagner was in Milwaukee at the time, I would like to see her too.

I do not think that I can do anything to reconcile these warring factions, but they can at least cease from reviling each other and my best endeavors will be given to that desired result.

Mrs. Bennett Refers to Miss Wagner asking for National money to do Wisconsin work in Wisconsin. I think she was very right in refusing to encourage her until Wisconsin women urge Miss Wagner's employment. If there is any national money to be spent for Wisconsin work, it would much better be used in paying a probable deficit on the Automobile tour, which Mrs. Brown herself cordially welcomes and which Miss Ada James also approves and agrees to help. I am sure that our Miss Grimm and Miss Harl would never arouse disloyalty to our National Organization, as Mrs. Devoe would doubtless attempt to do and as Miss FitzJones could be relied on to attempt.

When Mrs. Brown left me to day, her purpose was to begin immediately the raising of a \$500.00 fund for the Auto Tour, in case they had to pay for the machine during the entire time.

I will be glad to hear from you as to your ideas whether or not we shall help Wisconsin in this way, for I feel that Mrs. Brown's Society has very little money on hand except

C June 8, 1911

#3.

what she personally gathered or gave.

Please note that Mrs. Brown made no reference while here to my being a National Officer, and seems to have forgotten that fact. She only talked to me as a friendly Illinois sister.

Miss Gordon's letter of June 6th expresses well my opinion concerning many things. It was presumptuous in the Advisory Board to print in Woman's Journal a practically new Constitution without the approval of the Official Board; nor do I understand why there should be money enough for the Advisory Board to meet and none for the Official Board. The only vote against calling the Official Board together was mine and my reason only because of lack of funds. If the contemplated plan goes through the National Association will be practically nothing but a New York Association and the interest will be gradually limited to the East so that the whole Western situation will receive less attention than it needs. Some one of us should object to changing the name of our Organization. It would mean in many cases a law-suit to enforce bequests made payable to the present Association.

As to consulting the Louisville women as to program, that is desirable, but I presume Mrs. Bennett has already done so.

Yours very truly,

Catharine Vaughn McCulloch

Richmond, Ky.

June 9th, 1911.

My dear Mrs. Powers,

Upon receiving your letter of June 1st, which reached me after a short absence from Richmond, I mailed you 75 each of the series of five of Mrs. Breckinridge's leaflets. I think they are excellent; and I am glad to know you will put them into the hands of readers. Mrs. Breckinridge thinks we will certainly get School Suffrage from the General Assembly of 1912. If we do, the W.C.T.U. will deserve part of the credit, for it has circulated a great many of these leaflets. Quite a number of the Unions have sent for them.

I am sorry that you have been sick. It is a great drawback to work; and a great impediment to the enjoyment of life. I am glad to hear you are now better.

Yes, I received your two former letters. I thank you for your kind expressions about my address to the Governors. Recently I have made another address, in which I hope for your sympathy. Last Epiphany the Woman's Auxiliary in Lexington invited the Church women of surrounding counties to spend a social and devotional day in Lexington. On that occasion some of us who have felt that women ought to be eligible to be elected deputies to the Diocesan Council arranged to put the subject before the women on that occasion. The Bishop consented and I made a little address of fifteen minutes. The result was that it was determined to present the subject before the 16th annual Council, which met in

the 30th of May. On May 31st, I presented a memorial from some of the women of Lexington, and supported their petition to have women made eligible to the Council by an address. The question was considered and a vote carried that the Bishop should appoint a Commission of five members to consider the memorial and report at the next annual Council. I hope soon to have some printed copies of the memorial and my address, and I should like to send you one. Probably the women who desire the amendment of the Canon will have to make some effort to have a favorable report made by the Commission. In that case, I am hoping to have assistance from you. Of course, I do not know your opinions on the subject; but I hope, if you are not already favorable, you will wait to make up your mind finally till you see what the memorialists had to say for it.

This is not W.C.T.U. work; but as you are an Episcopalian, I know you must be interested to some degree.

And now to return to the business part of your letters. I thank you very much for consenting to act as Sup't of Franchise Department this year. A number of Unions have written that they do not care to appoint a superintendent, but will give a program for one day, and will circulate the School Suffrage literature. Only one Union has refused to take up the work in some form, - that is, of those which have replied at all. I wrote to over seventy. I am not preparing a program, because I think that can be as well done by each individual Union, which knows what its members need, than by myself. Of course, the School Suffrage is the work for this year. I expect to write pretty frequently for the "White Ribbon, ⁱⁿ under the column of the Woman's Ballot for the King's Business" and expect that to keep me in touch with the Unions rather than by writing circular letters. Of course, I hope to receive personal letters, and to reply to them individually.

Thanking you for your letters, and hoping to hear from you from time to time, I am Very sincerely yours,

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 9th, 1911.

C. H. Watkins

State Superintendent of Public Instruction,

Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Dear Sir,

I have recently seen it stated by the correspondent of a reputable newspaper that some of the Southern states, having first disfranchised their Negroes, then cut down school appropriations. On being asked for the data on which the statement underscored was based, a quotation was made from Ray Stannard's book, "Following the Color Line", of the statement; "The result of this feeling (agitation against the education of Negroes) has been an actual reduction of Negro schooling in many localities, especially in Louisiana."

As I know questions relating to Negroes are frequently misunderstood by Northern people, I am not satisfied with the authority given; and I am writing to ask if you will kindly give me information for publication.

(1) Have the State appropriations for the education of Negroes in Louisiana been cut down?

(2) If so, will you please give me the reasons therefor, the time when done, and the amount cut off?

Any other information throwing light on the subject will be gratefully received.

Very respectfully yours,

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 9th, 1911.

J. N. Powers

State Superintendent of Public Instruction,

Jackson, Mississippi.

Dear Sir,

I have recently seen it stated by the correspondent of a reputable newspaper that some of the Southern states, having first disfranchised their Negroes, then cut down school appropriations. On being asked for the data on which the statement underscored was based, a quotation was made from a statement by Professor Charles F. Americk, head of the Economics Department at Smith College, in which he pointed out the situation in Mississippi, which had first disfranchised its Negroes, and then cut down their (the Negroes') School appropriation as significant of the relation between Suffrage and popular education.

As I know questions relating to Negroes are frequently misunderstood by Northern people, I am not satisfied with the authority given; and I am writing to you to ask if you will kindly give me information for publication.

(1) Have the State appropriations for the education of Negroes in Mississippi been cut down?

(2) If so, will you please give me the reasons therefor, the time when done, and the amount cut off?

Any other information throwing light on the subject will be gratefully received.

Very respectfully yours,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 505 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
SWARTHMORE, PA

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

RECORDING SECRETARY, ELLA S. STEWART,
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE CHICAGO ILLS.

TREASURER, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
WARREN, OHIO.

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,
LEXINGTON, KY

{ ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, IDA HUSTED HARPER
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

HEADQUARTERS SECRETARY, MARY GRAY PECK.

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK



June 10, 1911,

My dear Miss Clay,

Your admirable letter just received has struck several of the same notes as Miss Gordon's of two days ago + the last page of my yesterday's letter, both by this time probably received. Mrs. Stewart has been saying some of the same things to me and I am sharing your letter with her.

Yes the new scheme will make the National a mere N.Y. affair if it carries. You ought to write your objections to Warren's Journal + you would begin educating the people for

our next convention.

Why are you and Miss Gordon not voting on the salary questions on which return is just made? Stewart, Blackwell & Mullock voted salaries only up to convention and the three officers receiving salaries made no such restriction in their votes.

Mrs. Stewart is scarcely ever asked as Sec. to O.K. any bill. Mrs. Boyce's letter intimates that our treasurer is remiss. I can not get a treasurers statement since Feb. - with the exception of the Ashley letter you have just returned. I think that we five, outside of N.Y. are "not in it" if you understand slang.

Yours truly,

Catharine Waugh Mullock

STATE OF LOUISIANA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
BATON ROUGE.

June 12th, 1911.

Miss Laura Clay,
Women's Christian Temperance Union,
Richmond, Kentucky.

Dear Madam:

I have yours of the 9th, calling my attention to a statement in "Following the Color Line" as follows: " The result of this feeling (agitation against the education of negroes) has been an actual reduction of negro schooling in many localities, especially in Louisiana."

Replying to this criticism, I beg to say that the most of the negroes in Louisiana were disfranchised on account of provisions in the Constitution of 1898 requiring either property or educational qualifications.

The salaries of negro teachers in 1897, the year before the disfranchisement of the negro, amounted to \$113,955; the salaries of negro teachers for the session of 1909-10 amounted to \$202,251. The appropriations to the negro schools are growing larger every year. Negro school houses are being built and equipped with modern furniture, and the State is providing facilities looking to the training of negro teachers. We are operating right now two summer schools for negro teachers which will run for six weeks, and we are having these schools taught by the very best talent that we could secure. The State appropriates to the colored schools more money than the colored people pay in taxes for all purposes whatsoever. There is no sentiment here against the education of the

STATE OF LOUISIANA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
BATON ROUGE.

[June 12, 1911]

#2.

negro, and this fact the negroes themselves understand fully. The white people are encouraging the negroes to send their children to school and are doing everything that they can to provide good schools for them.

Thanking you for calling my attention to this matter, and assuring you that it gives me pleasure to furnish this information,

Yours very truly,

I. H. Harris

supp

Lillian
Miss Towles.

Henderson

Phoenix Garage

Lexington Ky.

Ky.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF POSTS AND
MAILS

JOS. S. WOOLFOLK
REAL ESTATE AND INSURANCE BROKER

LEXINGTON, KY.,

June 12th 1911

Dear Miss Laura

Mr. & Mrs. Marshall want
your flat at your price & will sign
lease for one year provided you
will supply the following wants -
Paper small front room with cheap (say 10 cent)
paper - Paint kitchen one coat as she will
use that for her room for son -
She and Mrs. Lytle want ^{one} water faucet on
kitchen so that they can water their
flowers & wash off their hands -

Mr. & Mrs. Marshall have two Daughters
and one son - and are sick - people
Please let me hear from you at
your earliest convenience -

Yours very respectfully
Jos. S. Woolfolk

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 12th, 1911.

Dear Miss Ashley,

Your letter of June 8th is at hand.

You do not make clear whom you mean by "We". In Miss Shaw's last letter, dated May 24th, she says the three officers at Headquarters and Miss Blackwell vote that the best conditions possible shall be made by the Official Board in regard to Headquarters. But as this is not a majority of the Board, it cannot constitute an official authority to make any specific offer from the Board; for the other four officers, as far as I am informed, insist upon limitations upon the expense and time. For myself, I have cast but one vote about it. In that, I was in favor of moving out of New York. Miss Shaw thinks the Board has no right to leave New York, but must abide by what the Convention voted. I accept her decision, for I now see it upholds what I think are the rights of the Convention as the source of authority. Miss Shaw further says that it is useless to say "Move to cheaper headquarters till October", and mentions some advantages of remaining where we are. But I am unmoved in my opinion that we ought not to pay more for Headquarters than what we voted and expected to do in Washington. To my mind, no advantages of our present position will offset the objection that they are more expensive than we are able to pay for.

I was surprised to see from the copy sent me of Miss Gordon's letter to Mrs. Bennett of June 6th that any one supposed that I knew of Mrs. Belmont's interlineation of the lease acted upon in Washington City. I never

2.

heard of it till Miss Shaw's letter of April 18th. I have felt and am feeling exceedingly the burden of considering such an important financial matter between conventions, and one upon which the convention had no opportunity of expressing an opinion. I am wholly unwilling to have the Board and the Association involved in such a difficulty again, as it seems to me likely they will be, if a part of the Board assumes to make a lease until May. My vote therefore has been and will be against any plan which forestalls the action of the October convention and trammels any part of its freedom. I call your attention to the point that I do not see that the officers at headquarters have authority on the basis of four votes only to make a bargain for headquarters such as you speak of, as to do so for a time beyond the Convention is, as far as I am informed, to act in violation of the expressed decision of the four other members of the Board.

Now I will say what I think you can do constitutionally and which I think may help in the difficulty.

In Mrs. Bennett's report of the Advisory Committee's meeting of May 6th, it seems that at that time the State and College Associations were considering getting headquarters jointly with the National. I may suppose that probably "we" includes one or both of the officers at Headquarters, with some representatives from those other Associations. My suggestions would be:

(1) That the National officers should make it clear to all parties that so long as they had only four votes of the Board to support them in engaging the present headquarters or any other headquarters for a longer time than the October Convention and four voting against such action, they could

[June 12, 1911]

not officially either make a ~~proposition~~ ^{proposition} or enter into a contract for the Official Board or for the N.A.W.S. Association.

(2) Miss Shaw says pledges for a considerable part of the support of headquarters in New York have been made. I suggest that the friends who have made these pledges might engage the present headquarters (if your proposition is accepted) in their own name till next May, let the National have the use of some of the rooms till the October convention on the same terms Mrs. Belmont did; and then make such a proposition to the Convention as may seem to them desirable. If the Convention declines, the whole space will then belong to the lessees; and the Convention will be free to instruct its officials to make such arrangements about its Headquarters as it thinks best.

As for your plans about raising money, I think it is within your province as treasurer to set on foot any such plans which are not unconstitutional. You did not enclose the specimen letter, but I have no doubt the plan is excellent.

Very truly yours,

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 12th, 1911.

Dear Mrs. Dennett,

I have received from Headquarters the report of the vote sent out about the salaries by Miss Shaw on May 12th. I see the result is a tie between a vote for a year and a vote to the time of the Convention, as neither Miss Gordon's vote nor mine had come in. I now send mine.

I was surprised to learn from the copy sent me of Miss Gordon's letter to you that any of the Board had supposed that I knew of Mrs. Belmont's interlineation of the lease which was acted upon by the Official Board in Washington. The first knowledge of the fact I had was from Miss Shaw's letter of April 18th.

I feel so keenly the burden of having an important financial matter come up for decision between conventions that I shall avoid as far as I can any vote which might involve a similar trouble next year. I vote that the salaries shall be continued pro rata till the close of the Convention in October.

I see the advertisement of the new Convention stamps. I think they are beautiful. Please send me one hundred of them. I enclose 16 cents for a copy of the National minutes of the Convention in Washington City in 1910. Please send to me at Richmond, Kentucky; and if you would address your letters to me here till further notice I should receive them more promptly and without danger from loss by forwarding.

2.

dress your letters to me here I should receive them more promptly and without danger of loss from forwarding.

Very cordially yours,

169 Crescent Ave.,
Louisville, Ky.
June 15-1911

Miss Laura Clay,
President, Kentucky Equal Rights Association,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay,

In view of the fact that the National Women Suffrage Association will hold its annual convention in Louisville October 19-23, inclusive, the Board of the Women Suffrage Association of Louisville, deems it most opportune that the Kentucky Association hold its annual meeting here, as near that time as possible.

The Board therefore wishes to extend a most cordial invitation to the Kentucky Equal Rights Association to hold its convention here in Louisville immediately after the national meeting.

Trusting that you present this matter to your Board and hoping for a favorable answer, I am
Very respectfully

Miss H. White,
Corresponding Secretary,
Women Suffrage Association of Louisville

UNIVERSITY LECTURERS ASSOCIATION

G. ARNOLD SHAW, SECRETARY,
12 CHARLES ST. — NEW YORK
TELEPHONE 5952 CHELSEA

P.O. Box 202,
Haines Falls, N.Y.
June 13th. 1911

Mrs & Miss Leach,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mesdames:-

MRS PHILIP SNOWDEN has just forwarded to me the enclosed card of introduction of MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN to you. With this card Mrs Snowden sent a letter which she suggested that I copy and send to you - the same follows:-

"This is to introduce to you my freind Miss Royden. She is undoubtedly one of the finest speakers in the English Constitutional Suffrage movement. Wherever she has been she has won great support for her cause and I have great pleasure in recommending her work.

Very sincerely yours,
ETHEL SNOWDEN".

The above endorsement considered in conjunction with the fact that Miss Royden is the only English lecturer on any subject who has come to America with the highest academic distinctions from Oxford University will, I trust, interest you in securing her services for a Suffrage address in Louisville next season.

Enclosed you will find a leaflet giving the list of Miss Royden's subjects. She will be in America from October 30th. to December 16th. 1911, beginning her season on October 30th with an address before the Philadelphia County Suffrage Association.

Awaiting the favor of your reply, I am,
Yours very truly,

G. Arnold Shaw

Secretary.

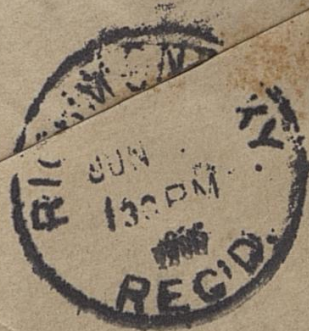
S/K.

FROM MAY 15th TO SEPTEMBER 15th, 1911
ADDRESS G. ARNOLD SHAW, SECRETARY OF
UNIVERSITY LECTURERS ASSOCIATION AND
MANAGER OF SHAW BUREAU AT
P. O. BOX HAINES CORNERS, N. Y.

If not Called for in 5
Days Return to A H Campbell
Water Pa R D # 2 / Box 18



Miss "Oma" Laura "Gray"
~~White~~ "Hall" Madison County
Kentucky Ky



LEXINGTON,
KY.
JUN 22 730 PM '07

Owensboro Woman's Club

June 14th 1911

My dear Miss Chy-

Will you be one to serve on the
Endowment Fund Committee for
the R. L. I. C. We do not care
to appeal to Clubs but to individual
men and women who
feel interested in our cause.

I think our President would rather ^{be} ask for money for Federalist work - so if we need it we can wait - and at the end of the year place what is left in the endowment fund. An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

Hope you are well. and that I
shall have the pleasure of seeing
you at the Board meeting.
Very sincerely yours,
737 Broadway. Samuel G. Thayer

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 14th, 1911.

My dear Mrs. McCulloch,

I thank you very much for your letter of June 10th, with the enclosure of Miss Blackwell's letter. I am distinctly glad to hear her views about the coalition with the National, for I fear some trouble may be precipitated upon us at any time about the Journal.

You ask me why I did not send in my vote on the salaries. To be candid, Miss Shaw's assumption that Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett had practically the right to dictate my vote roiled me to such an extent that I could not immediately vote; particularly as I am really not in favor of making some of those savings on some departments which have been benefitting by the fund, for the purpose of extending the salaries and bringing us into another financial tangle between conventions. I did not think of the dignified solution you, Mrs. Stewart and Miss Blackwell had upon, and I let the vote drift. However, after I saw the vote was a tie, yesterday I sent in my vote to Mrs. Dennett, repeating Mrs. Stewart's ~~xxxxxx~~ words almost exactly, and voting only ^{till through} ~~till~~ the convention.

I am intending to write an article for the Woman's Journal, opposing the change in the constitution making it necessary for the Official Board to meet monthly, and with no provision for conducting business by correspondence. I see in the defense of this part some member of the Advisory Committee plainly states it will have the effect of cutting off elections of any officers outside of a restricted circle. As I have always stood for equal representation of all sections as far as practicable from deep conviction I feel that I can consistently defend that position now that it is to come up in convention; and the main part of my comments will be on that provision. I agree with what you say about change of name; but your objections would come with much more force from a lawyer, and I hope you will take that under your charge.

I approve of some greater latitude in organizations becoming auxiliary to the National; for though I think that theoretically it is ~~more~~ better to have only one auxiliary in a state, yet practically it cuts off connection from the National of some who would like to join, and also prevents much organization. We see examples in Missouri, Maryland and now in Wisconsin, not to speak of Washington State. But I do not think the number limit of members should be as low as fifty. I may state here that after I have explained my objections to limiting the territory for choice of officers I shall point out that if the Convention does ~~en~~ wish all its officers to be selected from a restricted section it can elect them so now, without a change of Constitution, and as it is a radical departure from all its precedents, it had better not cut itself off from freedom to ~~change~~ to elect as it pleases, by a constitutional amendment which would require a two-thirds vote in another convention to rescind. There are some other points about which I have an opinion, but which I will not recite today.

On another sheet I am submitting certain matters to you as Vice-president.

Very cordially yours,

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
MRS. ELLA S. STEWART, 5404 JEFFERSON AVE., CHICAGO

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
DR. ANNA E. BLOUNT, OAK PARK

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. MINNIE A. WATKINS, CHICAGO BEACH HOTEL, CHICAGO

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MISS S. GRACE NICHOLS, 6710 MAY ST., CHICAGO

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
MRS. FRANC P. ALLORE, 4116 CLARENDON AVE., CHICAGO

TREASURER
MISS JENNIE F. W. JOHNSON, 4937 MICHIGAN AVE., CHICAGO

AUDITOR
DR. CLARA TODSON, ELGIN

LECTURER AND ORGANIZER
MISS HARRIETT E. GRIM, 934 FINE ARTS BLDG., CHICAGO



Illinois Equal Suffrage Association

Headquarters
934 Fine Arts Building
203 Michigan Avenue
Chicago

SUPERINTENDENTS OF DEPARTMENTS

LEGISLATIVE
MRS. CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH
EVANSTON

PRESS
MRS. VANDALIA V. THOMAS
CHICAGO LAWN

ENROLLMENT
MRS. HARRIET S. THOMPSON
5320 INDIANA AVE., CHICAGO

LECTURE BUREAU AND CHAUTAUQUAN
MISS ANNA E. NICHOLS
6710 MAY ST., CHICAGO

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS
MRS. MARGARET NOBLE LEE
5615 MONROE AVE., CHICAGO

CHAIRMAN ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
MRS. MARY R. PLUMMER
OAK PARK

MRS. GRACE WILBUR TROUT, OAK PARK
MRS. ALICE JAMES, CANTON
MRS. FANNIE SHAW FISHER, GALESBURG

June 14, 1911.

My dear Miss Clay,

I was glad to see a copy of your letter to Miss Oakley and think your idea^{good} that they should take the lease if at all, on their personal responsibility. I as acting Pres. & Mrs. Stewart as Rec. Sec. would hesitate to sign any paper which would bring us more deeply into debt.

I am afraid that you & Miss Gordon and Mrs. Stewart and I are somewhat of insurgents, that is to say with minds of our own

and my great desire to get off
the Board will doubtless be ac-
crated by the said officers.

They all of course intend
to do what is right but they
have the narrow Eastern vision

Yours truly,

Catharine Waugh McCulloch

I.

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 14th, 1911.

Mrs. C. W. McCulloch,

Evanston, Illinois.

Dear Vice-president,

In the absence of Miss Shaw, I beg your attention to the proposed amendment to the Constitution of which I gave notice at the convention in Washington. I have calculated that the latest date at which this amendment can be printed for purposes of putting it before the convention for voting upon it is in the issue of the Journal which goes to print on July 27th. I shall be much obliged, therefore, if you will have the Official Board take such action as is necessary immediately.

I also wish to call your attention to a memorial which has been presented to Congress from my sister, Mrs. Bennett, a copy of which I enclose. It seems to me that the proposed Amendment to the U.S. Constitution for the Direct Election by the People of U.S. Senators affords a most useful field for propaganda, with a hope of success, for Woman's Suffrage. I have not made a careful study of the Resolution; but as I understand it, Congress is discussing altering the method of electing Senators by altering the qualifications of those who may vote for them. Now only those who are members of a state legislature may vote. If Congress takes it out of their power, why should we not demand that it shall not now transfer this power only to those who are at present qualified to vote for the most numerous branch of the state legislatures, but that all citizens of the United States, irrespective of sex, shall be empowered to vote for these United States officers or Senators? It seems to me the ground is logical, and does not interfere in any way with states' rights. By writing thus to you as vice-president I do not wish to im-

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
EVANSTON, ILLS.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 PRYTANIA STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MARY WARE DENNETT,
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LEXINGTON, KY.
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
45 BOUTWELL AVENUE, DORCHESTER, MASS

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, MISS CAROLINE I. REILLY,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

AFFILIATED SOCIETY

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

June 15th. 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

Since my last letter to the Board circumstances have caused me to withdraw our offer to lease our present Headquarters.

Mrs. Dennett is now in Boston and I am acting wholly on my whole responsibility in this matter. I wish this clearly understood. Indeed I may as well say now that if the offer I made had been accepted and we had secured these rooms the blame and responsibility for such an arrangement would have been wholly mine.

Miss Clay and Mrs. McCulloch ask for more definite information as to what the "offer" was, so I will do my best to make the situation clear.

When Miss Shaw left for Stockholm she, Mrs. Dennett, Miss Blackwell and I approved of keeping Headquarters in New York for the next year if possible. With this in view and fully convinced that the directors of a corporation not only could but should make all business arrangements (that being their duty and their reason for existence) we - Mrs. Dennett and I - enquired what arrangements could be made to retain our present rooms. We found that we could have them only if we took the whole floor at an annual rental of \$5,000 (to anyone else the rent would be \$6,000). But we could have the floor to May 1st, 1912, a term of nine months. We then asked the New York State Association if they would co-operate with us and take two rooms, paying for the nine months \$750. We offered the New York College League a room for \$500 and I offered to move my office from downtown and to pay \$1200. This with the donation from Mrs. Belmont and Mrs. Mackay of \$850 would leave the rent still to be raised by the National for nine months approximately \$450.

Next we looked about at other buildings and found that in most of them we would have to take a lease of from three to five years and the rental for rooms in which we would stow ourselves away was anywhere from \$2500 to \$3,000, which would have to be met wholly by the National as there would be no room for anyone else. Added to this there would be the expense of moving and the great injury to our present work, our reputation and our prospects.

June 15, 1911

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Official Board.

In the meantime the New York State Association contemplated taking a house in a side street and offered us two rooms on different floors and the basement for a shop for \$1,000. The location of the house would be rather remote and, therefore, the shop would not be very useful. There would not be rooms enough - three beside the literature is the very least we could manage with - and being on separate floors our work would be greatly impeded. Mrs. Dennett and the stenographers would be obliged to run up and down stairs all day, besides the State would want us for at least a year and would prefer lease for three years as they would count upon us to help with the rent.

At this point we decided - again Mrs. Dennett and I - that the best thing we could do would be to take this floor for nine months. That is what I meant by "our offer".

Naturally, the Board by majority vote must have power to enter into any necessary contract and to bind the Association to such extent as may be reasonably necessary in order to carry on the work. It seemed to us that the step we contemplated was not only reasonably necessary, but almost imperative to the life and usefulness of the Association. But we also recognized that a minority of the Board had not the moral power, even if it had the legal power to do this. I confess that we kept this in mind when we made our offer - more correctly speaking when I made the offer - and I further confess that I held myself responsible for any deficit that there might be in the rent and stood ready to make it good.

So much for the past. Now the situation has changed. The State is very doubtful about staying with us, Mrs. Ivins, the State Treasurer, is very much opposed to it and Miss Mills is not favorably inclined. Furthermore Miss Clay has expressed a very strong opposition to taking any quarters for a term later than the October Convention and suggests that those who are willing to help with the rent be asked to take the lease in their own names, so that, if the Convention votes not to stay in New York, these people will be responsible and not the National Association.

You will see, I think, from the facts given in this letter that this proposition would be impossible, and it would surely be most unfair to ask people to contribute toward our rent and then throw the whole place back on their hands.

Then, in face of the opposition of the Board to the proposition I have not felt like taking any further steps in the matter of my office, so the whole thing is as uncertain as in the beginning.

To repeat myself somewhat, ~~few~~ offices can be had for nine months, nothing can be had, as far as we know, for ~~three~~ months and nothing that we can squeeze into for less than \$2500. Under these circumstances I ask what do you wish us to do?

[June 15, 1911]

-3-

Official Board.

Certainly we want to follow the wishes of the Board and we want most sincerely to do what is for the true and ultimate good of our Association. I believe we are facing a crisis in the history of our organization. If we do not go forward we will go back and soon vanish from sight.

All corporations, all organizations, all individuals must sometimes risk something in order to attain its greatest possibilities. But it is the privilege and the duty of our Board to decide this question. Therefore what is your pleasure? We will do anything you suggest that is possible, but we ~~can't~~ ^{can't} do the impossible.

I will write you in a day or two about Mrs. Boyer's surprising letter to the Board. Please suspend your vote upon the matter until I have done so.

Cordially yours,

Jessie Ashley
Treasurer.

Public Education
MISSISSIPPI
J. N. POWERS, SUPT.
JACKSON

June 16, 1911.

Miss Laura Clay,

Richmond, Ky.

Dear Mr. Clay:-

I am very much surprised to receive your letter in which you advise me that some professor in Smith College states that Mississippi has cut down the school appropriation for the negro race. I beg to say that this is untrue. The public school term in this State is the same for both races. In the towns and cities if the white schools are in session for nine months, the negroes have the same term. In the rural districts the

[June 16, 1911]

Public Education
MISSISSIPPI
J. N. POWERS, SUPT.
JACKSON

length of both white and negro school terms is the same.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of our School
Laws which may be of service to you.

Very truly yours,

J. N. Powers

P.S.

The last Legislature increased the public
School appropriation \$174,088.⁰⁰, Both races
get the benefit of this
J. N. P.

420 West 119th Street,
New York, June 17, 1911.

Miss Laura Clay,
189 Mill Street,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

Good Housekeeping wants
an article showing that the leading suffrag-
ists are adepts in the domestic arts. May I
trouble you for a photograph and will you
please tell me what is your favorite line of
home activity?

Of course, this is not
the sort of suffrage article that I prefer
to write, but I am sure that I can make an
attractive and dignified contribution to the
magazine. I am a former citizen of Colorado,
a suffrage worker and a long time writer, and
it was my privilege to meet you for a moment
at the convention in Washington in 1910.

Please let me hear from you at your
earliest convenience. With thanks in
advance for your courtesy

Yours most sincerely,

Mary Holland Kirkland

Mrs. Kirkland

June 17, 1917

#2.

Another matter about which there is less haste is the payment of Miss Grim's salary in Wisconsin. Rev. Olympia Brown thinks they need her in August and Miss Ada L. James says if her organization cannot share August with Mrs. Brown, they would be glad to have Miss Grim for September. Miss Grimm is receiving \$75.00 a month and expenses and two months' donation from the National to Wisconsin of someone they like might help smooth things over and keep both organizations loyal to the National. As I shall meet both factions June 23rd, I should be glad of all your wisdom for that emergency and glad if we could offer from the National at least this much help.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Catharine Waugh McCullough.

Evanston, Ill., June 17, 1911.

Dear Member of Official Board:

Miss Laura Clay has asked me to submit to you the question of our taking action on the Memorial of Mrs. James Bennett to Congress.

Mrs. Bennett's memorial asked that women might be protected by the proposed amendment to the United States Constitution for the popular election of United States Senators. *, right to vote*

Her Memorial was presented in the House by Hon. Harvey Helm of Kentucky on June 10th and in the Senate by Senator Bradley.

Miss Clay suggested that I as the acting President go to Washington and arrange a Hearing on the question and she and Mrs. Bennett offered to pay \$75.00 for travelling expenses. This is a generous offer and if there should be opportunity to get this Hearing, some of us should do the work. I am sorry no one of us was as alert as was Mrs. Bennett. Every opportunity of presenting our cause before Congress should be improved. But have we time? The matter has really passed out of the hands of the Committees. Amendments providing for popular election of United States Senators have already passed both Houses of Congress. They differ somewhat and a conference Committee from both Houses will soon act. Possibly the conference Committee might hear us even now and I will write to find whether we would be received. I, however, believe we are too late.

If you should not approve our doing this, will you not approve our sending a letter to each congressman, presenting the argument in fashion somewhat as indicated in accompanying letter? Some of these sentences are Miss Clay's, some, Mrs. Bennett's, and some mine.

Miss Clay also asks our approval of an amendment to the constitution of the N. A. W. S. A., the object being to secure to those who may wish a certain person on the Official Board, the right to vote for her for another position if she should not be elected to the former position.

Her amendment would add after the last line of Art. VII the following: "The results of the formal ballot for the preceding officer nominated shall be announced before taking the ⁱⁿformal ballot for the next."

Richmond, Ky.

June 18th, 1911.

Dear Member of the Executive Committee of Ky.W.R.A.,

I have no doubt all of us have been considering where our next State Convention should be held. It occurred to me that as so many of our women would certainly like to attend the National Convention in Louisville, and that we ought to encourage as many of them to do so as possible, that it would be desirable to hold our State convention in Louisville immediately after the National. This would make one trip serve instead of two for many of us; it would relieve us of the expense of an evening speaker, as every one would have had an opportunity to hear the best at the National; and it would leave us with a clear idea of what was advisable for us to adopt of the National suggestions. In short, it had many advantages. On the other hand, the only serious disadvantage would be that holding it the very day after the National Convention, or October 25th, it would be on the day when the final Executive Committee of the National sits, and in that two Ky.women have a seat, - your president and your member of the National Ex. Committee. This did not seem to me, however, to offset the advantages. Therefore I spoke to some of the members of our Ex/Com., and found they agreed with me as to the advisability. I then wrote to the Louisville Association, saying very much what I have just said, told them I would like an invitation to express their good-will at our coming again so soon; and stated that we would not expect them to go to any expense whatever, as we know they had enough to do to pay their share of the National Convention expenses.

I have received a prompt reply, through their Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Alice H. White, cordially inviting us to come immediately after the Nat-

ional Convention, the time I specified. I am therefore now submitting to your vote:

1. Shall we accept the Louisville invitation to meet in Louisville immediately after the National Convention? That is, on Wednesday, Oct. 25th? If we should put it off a day, many of the delegates might not remain.
2. Shall we hold the convention one day or two days? As we shall have no evening speeches, and need have none in the daytime, I believe we could transact all necessary business in one long morning and one long afternoon session, and let the delegates be free to go home on the evening trains. Tell whether you prefer one or two days.
3. Shall we omit Oct. 25th, on account of the National Executive Committee ^{begin our} meeting, and ~~begin our~~ convention on Thursday? While I am putting this to your vote, I hope you will not vote to do so; for I think there would be danger of our losing the presence of many delegates. All that could be gained by doing so would be to have your president preside the whole day, and have the uninterrupted presence of Mrs. Giltner, your member of the Natl Ex. Committee. To lessen these absences as much as possible, it has occurred to me that we might rent a small hall in the Hotel Seelbach, where the National Ex. Committee meets, so that both Mrs. Giltner and I could be present at the State convention at times; at least long enough to express our opinions on any particularly important point. I know there is such a hall in the hotel, and as now is the time to decide this point, please vote on this;
4. Shall we try to secure a convenient hall in Hotel Seelbach for our State Convention?

Please send in your votes promptly.

Very cordially yours,

P.S. Please notice the National Convention advertising seal on this letter. The National is supplying them free to those who write for them to the National Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 18th, 1911.

My dear Mrs. White,

Last night I received your letter written as Secretary of the Woman Suffrage Association of Louisville, extending an invitation to the Ky.E.R.A. to hold its annual convention in Louisville immediately after the National convention. I wish to thank your Board very heartily for this cordial invitation. I shall at once write to the distant members of the Ex. Committee of the State E.R.A., notifying them of the invitation. As some of them may now be away on a summer trip it may be that I shall not receive an immediate reply. But I have already spoken of the advisability of meeting in Louisville to those members who are close by; and I am practically certain that your cordial invitation will be appreciatively accepted.

Please express my thanks to your Board, and believe me

Very cordially yours,

P.S. I enclose a copy of the new edition of our Ky.E.R.A. leaflet. Notice also the advertising sticker which the National has prepared for ante-convention correspondence. Any desired number of them will be supplied by asking for them from the National Headquarters at 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

1249 First St - Louisville,

June 18th 1911

My dear Miss Laura,

The enclosed letter has just come to me, with a note of introduction from Mrs Brewster. Of course there will be no chance for the Suffrage Club to want a speaker immediately following the National, but I have thought perhaps Lexington & Richmond might care for such a speaker, perhaps the Suffrage & Woman's Club writing.

During Mrs Brewster's illness I do not know to whom to send a letter in her place.

Miss Lick called the other evening

to ask if I could serve as "platform"
chairman for the Oct. Suffrage
meeting. Which I will gladly do.
I will be very glad to help also
about the picnic work. As far I have
been collecting items for Mr. Lunt
I hope to use in the Herald dis-
cussing the summer.

When you have the special
speakers are let us know for a
write up. Do you think there is
any chance of having the Dr.
Chas. J. Webb brought in? The
would be a fascinating card -
Can you give me the list of States
now 16 I think where fathers are ex-
posed to their children?
I leave the 2d to you for Christmas year.
Affectionately
Caroline A. Leech.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 505 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
SWARTHMORE, PA.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

RECORDING SECRETARY, ELLA S. STEWART,
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE CHICAGO ILLS.

TREASURER, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
WARREN, OHIO.

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,
LEXINGTON, KY

{ ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, IDA HUSTED HARPER
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

HEADQUARTERS SECRETARY, MARY GRAY PECK.

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK



June 18, 1911.

My dear Miss Clay,

Although I think
Miss Gordon is right in most of
her contentions ^{in last letter}, I am asking her
not to publish Board differences
in Woman's Journal.

Yes V. P. is only one who
should submit votes as you
evidently believe.

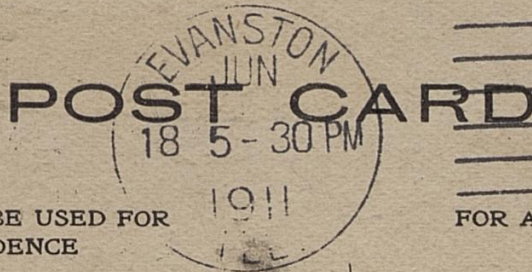
Hastily yours

Catharine Waugh McClatchy



EVANSTON
VOTES FOR WOMEN
18 5 - 30 PM
JUN 11
ILL.

My dear Miss Clay, I
am submitting all
the questions to Official
Board. I fear the replies
will come late + so
am mailing to Woman's
Journal your copy of
amendment. Catherine W. McCall



THIS SPACE MAY BE USED FOR
CORRESPONDENCE



Miss Laura Clay,
Richmond
Kentucky.

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 18th, 1911.

Dear Miss Ashley,

Your letter of June 15th is at hand.

I am glad that you have withdrawn your offer to lease our present headquarters; for though the proposition of which you tell us the details contains several reasonable, and indeed, generous provisions, yet it has the insuperable objections that it involves the Convention in a bargain exceeding its appointed time limits and, except temporarily, entirely beyond its means, in a manner which was not contemplated by any Convention.

My objections to encouraging such expenses for headquarters will be better understood by you if you recollect that you came on the Board when we were at the very crest of our financial prosperity, with the Thomas-Garrett fund meeting certain expenses, and Mrs. Belmont's gifts lifting the weight of the rent from us. But I have vividly in mind the times when the modest headquarters at Warren, for which we paid \$300, were thought to be fully commensurate with our financial ability; and taking a good house in Washington City for \$100 a month (was it not?) caused uneasiness. Though we have been in New York nearly two years our resources have increased little or not at all; and now that the two funds named are nearly exhausted I clearly foresee that we must return to the scale of expenses we had before these were bestowed upon us.

You ask for suggestions to meet the present emergency, which is this: Miss Shaw has ruled that the vote of the Convention to have headquarters in New York cannot be rescinded except by another vote of the Convention. I am sure we can all concur in the conclusion that the even more important question of financial liability cannot be rescinded without such a vote.

June 18, 1911

Therefore the question resolves itself into How can we stay in New York on \$75 a month till the Convention in October? I wish to state that I intend to stand squarely on that ground and will not vote to pay more or for a longer time unless it is what some one may donate for this emergency, for I think nothing threatens the true and ultimate good of our Association so much as a disregard for its financial limitations.

I suggest, therefore, that you look at once for quarters of some sort which we can rent for three months, and pay for with the \$75 which the Convention expected to pay. When the Board met in New York in December of 1909, and Mrs. Belmont made known to it that she desired us to remove from 505 Fifth Avenue unless certain conditions which she specified were complied with, which seemed at the time impossible, Mrs. Kelley said to us (this is from memory, as no minutes were made publicly and I have no notes at hand) that she knew adequate quarters could be procured for something like the \$75 we were paying. I cannot recall the exact figures. She mentioned the price which the Asso. paid of which she was secretary. Of course, she did not intend to convey the idea that they would compare in comfort and convenience with those we occupy. Now my suggestion is that our attention should be turned to finding rooms, however modest, which come within our present limit and within the sum we are likely in the future to have at the command of the Association.

If such rooms are really unattainable, I see nothing for it except to give up united offices. I trust such a move would not put you to serious inconvenience, as I understand you have preferred to keep your books at home. Miss Shaw could remove her office to her home, where it has always been till the last two years. I trust Mrs. Dennett could rent a room for three months in her boarding house, or near by, where one or more stenographers could work. Miss Reilly would have to make some similar arrangement.

I do not like such a change at all; but it is one I should make without flinching if it were a concern of my own personal business, and therefore one I must advise for the Board. I think a firm acceptance of financial

[June 18, 1911]

facts will inspire more respect for our business soundness than a reckless policy of taking rooms we are not able to pay for. I believe there is no policy more sure to bring a swift decline of public confidence in the Association than that of incurring expenses where there are no evidences in sight of being able to pay them. In fact, I had not supposed that the managers of such a property as we are occupying would rent even for nine months without some certitude of our means for paying the rent beyond that of our collecting funds from a constituency which has never yet shown any ability to support such heavy expenses; and while your expectation of paying the deficit yourself was a generous one, I do not think the Board ought to accept such liberality when so much undue pressure was upon you to make such an offer. I do not share your apprehensions that moving into less convenient headquarters will interfere with the future usefulness of the Association. The Association has not been a unit in feeling that going into them, when they are so far beyond our normal means, was an advantageous move; or that the result has justified it. If the whole Association was a unit in desiring to keep up this lavish system of expense I do not believe it could sustain it, or really compete with the headquarters of other suffrage societies in New York which have strong local interests and friendships to sustain them. Our means are not sufficient to keep up such brilliant headquarters; though they have been in the past and no doubt will be in the future, sufficient to do a vast amount of work for the cause of suffrage nationally which no other society is fitted for or is attempting to do.

Very truly yours,

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 19th, 1911.

My dear Mrs. McCulloch,

I am sending at last the answers to those legal questions; and for your possible convenience, I am sending two copies.

Pleased to me the honor ^{of reading} to read my long speech, which appears in the Woman's Journal of June 17th. It does not concern Presbyterians so much as Episcopalians; but there may be some useful hints for them, too. Preparing for the hearing ^{before} for the Council is part of the cause of the delay in answering your legal questions.

My next job is to be to present my objections to that proposed new constitution; at least, to that part of it which deals with having the officers meet once ~~ex~~ a month;- in other words, all to be elected from one section close around one center. As I have a long and consistent record on sectional representation I feel I can now handle that topic without any personal delicacy because I should be one of the women excluded from eligibility; unless they should take it into account that I am foot-loose, and can change my domicile at will.

When I sent my proposed amendment to you as vice-president I made a mistake as to the last date in which it could appear in the Journal. It should not be later than July 20th, and I would like to have it appear earlier.

Very cordially yours,

P.S. I send our last edition of the Ky.E.R.A. leaflet, which gives more detailed account of some of our laws., and may be useful to you if you care to revise the answers I send.

Richmond, Kentucky.

Editor of Woman's Journal,
In Miss Gruening's article appearing in the Journal of May 20th, she says; "That the converse of this principle is also true, has been painfully illustrated in the Southern States, which first disfranchised their Negroes and then cut down school appropriations"

The underscored words caused me such surprise that I asked for and received data on which the statement was founded. The quotations given referred directly to two states, - Louisiana and Mississippi. Thereupon I wrote to the Superintendents of Public Instruction of those states, calling attention to what had been said respectively of each state and added:

"As I know questions relating to Negroes are frequently misunderstood by Northern people, I am not satisfied with the authority given; and I am writing to you to ask if you will kindly give me information for publication. The white people are encouraging themselves in the belief that the Negroes are themselves responsible for their condition."

(1) Have the State appropriations for the education of Negroes in Louisiana (Mississippi) been cut down?

(2) If so, will you please give me the reasons therefor, the time when done, and the amount cut off?

Any other information throwing light on the subject will be gratefully received"

In due time I have received the following replies:

State of Louisiana

Department of Education

Baton Rouge, La.

June 12th, 1911.

Dear Madam,

I have yours of the 9th, calling my attention to a statement in "Following the Color Line" as follows: "The result of this feeling (agitation against the education of negroes) has been an actual reduction of negro schooling in many localities, especially in Louisiana".

Replying to this criticism, I beg to say that the most of the negroes in Louisiana were disfranchised on account of provisions in the Constitution of 1898 requiring either property or educational qualifications. The salaries of negro teachers in 1897, the year before the disfranchisement of the negro, amounted to \$113,955; the salaries of negro teachers for the session of 1909-10 amounted to \$202,251. The appropriations to the negro schools are growing larger every year. Negro school houses are being built and equipped with modern furniture, and the State is providing facilities looking to the training of negro teachers. We are operating right now two summer schools for negro teachers which will run for six weeks, and we are having these schools taught by the very best talent that we could secure. The State appropriates to the colored schools more money than the colored people pay in taxes for all purposes whatsoever. There is no sentiment here against the education of the negro, and this fact the negroes themselves understand fully. The white people are encouraging the negroes to send their children to school and are doing everything that they can to provide good schools for them.

Thanking you for calling my attention to this matter, and assuring you that it gives me pleasure to furnish this information,

Yours very truly,

T.H. Harris.

Sup't.

Public Education

Mississippi.

J.N. Powers, Sup't,
Jackson.

June 16, 1911.

Dear Miss Clay, :-

I am very much surprised to receive your letter in which you advise me that some professor in Smith College states that Mississippi has cut down the school appropriation for the negro race. I beg to say this

June 19, 1911

that this is untrue. The public school term in this State is the same for both races. In the towns and cities if the white schools are in session for nine months, the negroes have the same term. In the rural districts the length of both white and negro schools terms is the same. Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of our School Laws which may be of service to you.

Very truly yours,

T.N.Powers.

P.S. The last Legislature increased the Public School appropriations

\$174,000. Both races get the benefit of this.

J.N.P.

As the references given made the charge against these two states only, the refutation given covers the ground. If any doubt remains about any of the other Southern states, I have no doubt a letter sent to its Department of Public Instruction will ^{be repaid by} ~~give~~ a similarly accurate and more cheerful ^{report} ~~view~~ of the situation.

Laura Clay.

Richmond, Ky.

June 19th, 1911.

My dear Miss Blackwell,

Of course you have been expecting to hear something further of Miss Gruening's article; and here it is, enclosed.

As Miss Gruening was so courteous as to furnish the data upon which she made her statement, I am willing that you should, if you choose, send her the enclosed, and let her make the withdrawal of her statement if she prefers to do so. But as I have tried to make a courteous counterstatement you may think, as I do, that there is no occasion for such caution. All I ask is that the statement does not pass without refutation. Things seem so troubled in our suffrage camp just now that I am unwilling to do the least thing which would add to the friction; but even for the sake of peace I am not willing that such a piece of misinformation should go unchallenged. What will the South and the West do when one section in the East (more properly, New York) establishes in the name of the N.A.W.S.A. a "clearing house for ideas"! I tremble to think of it.

Always affectionately yours, even if a little wildly

P.S. I am sending the original letters, as well as my arrangement of them. I shall be glad if you will return them, if it is convenient for you to do so. Otherwise, you need not trouble to do it.

New York City, June 20, 1911.

Hon _____

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The officers of the National American Women's Suffrage Association have noted with approval your effort in Congress to secure purity in elections by the direct election of United States Senators.

All citizens of the United States, irrespective of sex should be empowered to vote for Senators.

Women constitute about one-half of the adult people of the United States who are governed by our laws. And the women of this country have a moral right to vote at all of our public elections upon equal terms with men. Our government is founded upon the doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and our laws require that this consent shall be given by votes.

The moral need of woman's vote is no more clearly shown than in many of the elections of United States Senators.

You gentlemen have the legal right to recognize this moral right of women to the elective franchise because of your power to select those who are to act as Senatorial electors.

Will you not assist us to secure this much of the right of suffrage?

In behalf of the Official Board

Names of all those who approve.

McComb, Miss. June 21-1911

Miss Laura Clay,

Lexington, Ky.

Dear Miss Clay,

For some time I have been working on a Family Tree of that branch of the Clay family of which I am a connection, but so far have made but little headway as to the history of those of my Grandmother's children who settled in Tennessee. I have often noticed your name in the papers and thought possibly you might belong to the same branch as I, and could give me some information along that line.

My Great, great Grandmother was Margaret Muse of Virginia who married James Clay. They lived in Virginia until the death of Grandfather, who is buried in the Clay burying ground near the James River. After his death, Grandmother moved to where Lea Springs) near Knoxville)

now stands. It was here that Grandmother's two daughters, Nancy Clay and Sabrina Clay married the two Lea brothers, David and Zachariah Lea.

Zachariah Lea and his wife Sabrina Clay had a son named James Everett Lea who married Frances Powell; my Mother is their eldest child, and you will note that I bear my Grandmother's full name.

Besides these two daughters, my Grandmother Clay had the following children: Eleazer Clay settled at Farmington, Missouri. James Clay settled in Tennessee. Jeremiah Walker Clay settled in Tennessee. A daughter married Mr. Johnson and settled in North Carolina. As to the record of these four children, we know but little.

I should be very glad to hear from you, and any information you may know that would be of interest, I would like so much to have.

If there is anything I can tell you that you desire to know, shall be only too glad to comply with your request.

[June 11, 1911]

My Grandmother Clay with her two daughters
and her two Lea Sons-in-law came to Miss. and
Grandmother's body now rests in the Lea Family
Cemetery which is about twenty miles from
here.

Thanking you for the courtesy of a reply.

Yours very truly,

(Miss) Frances Prall Otkin

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 21st, 1911.

Dear Miss Ryan,

I have received the 100 copies of the W. Journal of June 17th. I wish to express my thanks to Miss Blackwell for giving the hearing before the Sixteenth Diocesan Council such an excellent place. I could not have chosen so well myself; and the whole make-up of the issue is favorable for the purpose I wish to use it. The lovely faces and fine articles from Mrs. Raymond Robins and Jane Addams add their own value to the paper as a plea for enlarged Church liberty for women.

I have already used more than half the hundred copies and our campaign to have the memorial favorably reported has not yet begun. Therefore, I wish you to send me another 100 copies of the issue of June 17th. You did not send the bill; but I suppose they are five cents apiece. I enclose a N.Y. draft for twenty dollars. Please pay my bill for the 200 copies; and use the surplus for subscriptions to the Journal to be sent to editors in campaign states. I prefer Wisconsin, as it has adopted the Journal as its organ. But as I do not know the relative needs of the campaign states, I leave it to your judgment.

Please send my 100 copies to my address at Richmond, Kentucky.

Very cordially yours,