

[Jan. 14, 1911]

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, IDA HUSTED HARPER,
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 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

To the President and the Members of the Clubs
of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

Dear Co-Workers:

We have decided to set apart Miss Anthony's Birthday, February 15th, to usher in a week to be known as the "Anthony Memorial Week", during which we hope the richest and the poorest of American women will feel impelled to recognize their debt to Miss Anthony for benefits received,- the fund so collected to be consecrated to campaign purposes.

The National Association is under obligation to fulfill this form of Memorial, which was voted at the Chicago convention but never put into operation. I need not argue that the Association's most imperative need is money for this specific purpose. It is therefore earnestly urged that each club member constitute herself a committee of one to agitate in every way, among friends, thro the local press, the duty of women, whether suffragists or not, to contribute as generously as possible to this fund, the week of February 15th.

To this end it is suggested:

1. That the club vote \$5.00 in recognition of Miss Anthony's wonderful service to women.

2. That the club appoint a responsible committee with power to increase its members, till a sufficient number of women are secured,- not necessarily all suffragists,- to reach all classes of women in the community, and either by letter, telephone, or person, to acquaint them with the Memorial and collect from each person of a given class, the requisite amount as a tribute of gratitude to Miss Anthony, for privileges and opportunities enjoyed today. The classes of women to be reached by this plan are: teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, actresses, artists, nurses, college women, business women, college students, stenographers, department-store workers, factory workers and the great mass of women home-makers. For instance, the member delegates to reach the teachers, should in turn form a committee large enough to reach every school teacher in the community and secure from

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each one the contribution of fifty cents, reminding her that Miss Anthony's work paved the way for the present educational opportunities of women.

The scale of contributions agreed upon to be requested is as follows:

All professional women, with the exception of teachers,	\$1.00
Teachers	.50
College women	1.00
College students	.25
Business women	1.00
Stenographers	.50
Department store clerks	.10
Factory workers	.10

The rank and file of home-makers according to their ability to give.

The donations will be recorded under their proper classifications and reported by the treasurer of the central committee, to either the National Treasurer, Miss Jessie Ashley, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, or to me as National Chairman, at 1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

3. I enclose a plan of collection which I believe any one acting as a local chairman to such plan will find an admirable aid in collection. My personal experience has proved very encouraging. I shall be glad to furnish extra plans to any willing to circulate them, provided the necessary postage and two cents for plan be enclosed with the order. There is so little money on hand, that these economical precautions have to be taken. These plans would be a help in collecting from the teachers, the department stores and the factory employees, as well as from the college students.

4. I believe there ought to be at least a thousand women in the United States able to give or raise \$100. Little home entertainments, such as card, lotto or book parties following the church ideas of raising funds, could well be inaugurated for the fund.

The President and Secretary receiving this request are earnestly asked to call this letter to the attention of every member of the club. Do not read it mechanically to the club and then agitate it no further. Form a committee at once to call upon the different members and secure their co-operation in such a way as to make February 15th a red-letter one in the history of our movement and an honor to the "grand old woman" who made our lines in life fall in such pleasant places.

Cordially and fraternally

Kate M. Gordon.

Jan 14, 1911

National Woman Suffrage Association.

HONORARY CHAIRMEN:

CLARA BARTON,
ANTHONY BROWN BLACKWELL,
CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE.

ELIZABETH SMITH MILLER,
JUDITH WINSTON SMITH,
EMILY HOWLAND.

ELIZA WRIGHT OSBORN,
CHARLOTTE L. FERRIS,
FREDERICK A. HANAUER.

Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund.

"If I have lived to any purpose, carry on the work I have to lay down."—Susan B. Anthony.

This dying charge imposes on every believer in equal rights a solemn duty to help raise, as this great Leader's memorial, a fund through which to vindicate her life purpose.

Susan B. Anthony believed political liberty to be "the right protective of all other rights." However, while waging the battle for political rights for women, she waged equally as strenuous a fight to secure for women their social, industrial, educational and legal rights, so universally enjoyed to-day.

This makes, to Miss Anthony and her Cause, debtors of all women who recognize justice in the improved status of women to-day, even though they have not grasped the significance of the demand for political liberty.

It is therefore asked of any woman to whom any one of the following classifications applies, to recognize her debt of gratitude in as generous a contribution as her means will allow, in order to create a fund worthy of the memory of one of America's greatest patriots.

Recognition is due from:

1. Every wage-earning woman, for removing the stigma from Economic Independence for Women.
2. Every college woman, for blazing the path of higher education for women.
3. Every professional woman, for the Opportunity to enter the fields of medicine, law, the ministry, journalism, professional nursing, etc.
4. Every woman appreciating the meaning of social liberty—the liberty to follow her own inclination as a responsible human being. The right of women to organize, (the club movement), freedom to travel, freedom to speak and act.
5. Every woman enjoying property rights,—the legal right to administer her own affairs. Every woman recognizing the right of a wage-earning wife to her earnings.
6. Every mother knowing the joy of living under a parents' equal guardianship law—and vice versa, every woman who recognizes the tyranny of any other form of legal guardianship.
7. The women teachers of the nation, for specific championship—that the quality of service rendered and not sex, should determine the position to be occupied and the amount of salary received.
8. Every woman recognizing the justice and morality involved in "equal pay for equal work."
9. Every woman believing in a single standard of morals.
10. Every enfranchised woman in recognition of services rendered to secure her birthright of American Independence.
11. Every man and woman who resents the rating of American women's opinions, in all but four States with those of the criminal, idiot and minor classes.
12. Every American man, who recognizes that his right to self-government obligates him to gain for American women the protection and development which free government insures and which our National slogan implies in "equal rights for all and special privileges for none."

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NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

"WHO FOR TRUTH NO WORD UPLIFTETH
HE FOR ERROR STRIKES A BLOW."

DIRECTIONS FOR

Susan B. Anthony Fund Extension Plan.

RECEIVER'S LIST.

1. Name
Address
2. Name
Address
3. Name
Address
4. Name
Address
5. Name
Address
6. Name
Address
7. Name
Address
8. Name
Address
9. Name
Address
10. Name
Address
11. Name
Address
12. Name
Address
13. Name
Address
14. Name
Address

Upon receiving a Susan B. Anthony Extension Plan, and being willing to contribute, detach coupon bearing lowest number. Write your name and address and amount of contribution. Write name and address of person to whom you have forwarded Extension. (This precaution enables local chairman to locate missing plan.) Post coupon to Local Chairman.

Before forwarding Extension, write name and address of person to whom it is sent in receiver's list. (This safeguards to some extent the same person receiving duplicate requests.)

Any one not willing to extend plan, but willing to contribute, will return coupon and plan to Local Chairman. It is earnestly hoped, however, that each person will extend plan, if for no other purpose than for propaganda.

When not willing to contribute, it is urgently requested that plan be immediately returned to Local Chairman.

When duplicate requests are received by one, and willing to extend plan return coupon, following instructions, but mark "already contributed," and the good work will be continued without interruption.

Contributions may be made in postage stamps. We hope no one will feel any hesitancy in sending in any contribution, however small, dimes or dollars in proportion to your means and your sense of gratitude for privileges enjoyed.

It is earnestly requested that immediate attention be given to forwarding the Extension and returning the coupon. It is hoped to complete the collection by February 15th, Miss Anthony's birthday, and certainly not later than the next Annual Convention.

The person receiving the Extension containing the last coupon will not detach it, but return plan to Local Chairman.

It is also suggested that if each contributor will include a postage stamp in returning coupon, the whole cost of this collection can be made without expense to the National. Stamp on coupon will serve as reminder.

The National Association is on record to raise in honor of Miss Anthony a Memorial of \$100,000 consecrated to Campaign purposes. All the work this plan entails, besides the contribution, is the writing of three names and addresses, and addressing two envelopes, certainly a minimum of work to achieve such results.

If among those to whom the plan is extended there are any who would be willing to act as Local Chairmen to one or more Extension Plans, kindly notify State or National Chairman, and full directions will be forwarded.

The plans are not confined to State circulation. They may be sent anywhere in the world on their mission of propaganda and collection.

State Chairman

Always forward in sealed envelope, using 2-cent stamp.

KATE M. GORDON, National Chairman,
1800 Prytania Street,
New Orleans, La.

State or General Chairman,

Address,

General Chairman,

Address,

Local Chairman,

Address,

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 14

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 13

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 12

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 11

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 10

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 9

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 8

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 7

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 6

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 5

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 4

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 3

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 2

Name
Address
Amount subscribed
Plan sent to
Address
(Stamp) 1

Richmond, Kentucky.

March 1st, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Please find enclosed my check for two dollars, which is the collection taken from the Woman's Club of Central Kentucky, Lexington, for the E.B. Anthony fund. I think I would have gotten more except that the women had not their purses with them; and as I felt it a great concession to be allowed to present the matter at all I did not urge gifts except at the moment. I hope you are keeping a tabulated account of your success with the woman's clubs, for it strikes me that it would be a good idea for the National to make this a precedent and establish Memorial week between the 15th and 22nd of Febr. for a memorial every year. The W.C.T.U. have a Willard Memorial which brings them in ten thousand dollars a year.

Mrs. Bennett received your letter, corrected her check and sent it on to Headquarters. And I received your message.

Did I write that Miss Shaw wants the National Convention the latter part of October? She had thought of the last week; but as that has been selected and announced by the National W.C.T.U. for their convention in Milwaukee Miss Shaw writes me she will try to have our dates from the 19th to 24th inclusive. I merely mention this; but think you had better wait to know certainly till you learn officially.

I am now on the farm, trying to get done some of the work which has been accumulating for some years whilst I have been taking extensive flight

2.

from home. We have a light snow on the ground, and are generally reminded that the winter is not yet passed.

Please remember me to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially your friend,

c Apr 26, 1917

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105 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

I am ~~unalterable~~ ^{unalterable} as far as ~~any definite position on~~ ^{any definite position on} ~~Headquarters~~ ^{Headquarters} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ New York. It is entirely out-
of our province as a Bra
to say whether H. G. shall
or shall not be the H. G.
H. G's - I regret her letter
about the H. G's - Guess I'm
partly to blame for its
tenor, because I emphati-
cally condemned any in-
crease in salaries - sug-
gested decrease if anything
at all was done - I never
dreamed this it could
be construed to mean
a dissatisfaction with the
management of H. G's ~~or~~
Mrs. Bennett. This A -

However a few weeks ago
expressed their regret at
my dissatisfaction - and
you can imagine how
I feel about it - Why Oh!
Why cannot we get beyond
personalities - it has been
the most disappointing feature
of my whole experience as
a H^Q Officer - From the
brief outline of Mrs Bennett's
plan given by Miss Shaw,
Washington D. C. would ap-
pear to me as the place
to locate our H^Qs.

With kind regards
to all members of the
McCulloch family,
Very Cordially M. Gordon

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May 4th 1911

My dear Miss Clay:

I agree with you we are facing a crisis. My reply to Miss Shaw was that of the three propositions submitted the third was the most plausible, - but that I wd not be willing to determine the disposition of the 14th for the next year without submitting it to the Convention. Therefore I did not see how we cd legally or morally ~~make~~ ^{arrange} anything but temporary arrangements between August & Nov.

Since her letter was received Mrs. Bennett's plan has been received - it seems to me, to repudiate any relations between the N. A. W. S. A. & the States. If the 14th Amendment is to be our

our main work — then as
I wrote Miss Shaw, Washington
is unquestionably the logical
point for the H. & G. Gs.

Of course every point of view
I hold is subject to modifica-
tion, — but I have come to
the conclusion that with four
such powerful suffrage cen-
ters, as the Belvidere, Hackney
H. Suff. Party & the Working
Women's Union, H. G. is provided
for every emergency and
another center of interest could
be created at some other
point — and I lean to Chicago.
I fear however that H. G.
is wedded to H. G. and that
even if the Brad does not sus-
tain her she will make the
fight on the floor of the
Convention for the retention
of H. G. in H. G. — & taking the
stand of being responsible to
raise the rep. if ^{they are} allowed to

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remain - this has always been
been idea of setting things &
when the time comes ^{to make good} at-
ways becomes nervous & unreliable
& feels she is imposed on -
Furthermore these special col-
lections in the main are
made from our regular &
best contributors & cripples
the fit resources -

Another point - to be con-
sidered is that - this is the
last year of the Garrett -
Thomas Fund & we have
to cut - our cloth accordingly
I feel like a fish out
of water in my relation to
the Official Bfd - Coming

on as I did after the
mess, I have never quite
understood some of the
arrangements. I've written
Miss Ashley to give me a
detailed statement of expenses —
including ^{officers} salaries & apportionment
of Garrett — I — fund.
I wish Miss S. would resign
& allow us to create her an
Honorary President — & then have
a Presidential term not exceed-
ing two yrs. But you can't ex-
press an opinion without per-
sonality being injected — I see
the topic of the letter Miss S. wrote
about H's — Some of it — is for
me because I was emphatic
that there could be no increase
in expenses — Still the only
hopeful feature of the situa-
tion is the H's Journal — I
look upon the increase in
subscriptions as remarkable.
I've written Miss B. approving
the increased stock issue.
Very Cordially — Kate Gordon

May 4, 1911

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The thing I'd like to do
if it could be financed
w'd. be to have the Southern
States concentrate on Texas
& carry on a Legislative
Campaign — Texas can
give suffrage without
submitting it to the voters

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June 6, 1911.

My dear Mrs. Dennett:

A combination of circumstances has just made it utterly impossible for me to write any letters whatsoever, and I will therefore very briefly touch upon the points that I consider important and enclose the vote that should have been sent back some weeks ago.

I expressed to Miss Shaw my opinion of the renting of Headquarters. It appears to me that I have taken the same position in the matter as has Mrs. Stewart. I do not recognize the authority of the Official Board to commit the National Association to Headquarters. Miss Shaw's point that we never voted to continue Headquarters at Warren is not a like situation, because the whole financial basis has changed upon which we assumed the responsibility of Headquarters in New York, and that of course alters the case entirely. While I recognize that every member of the Board is responsible for not having the Convention called before Mrs. Belmont's contract expired, I do consider that the responsibility largely rests upon those officers who belonged to the old Board and who knew the situation for the coming year. You, Miss Ashley, Mrs. McCulloch and myself were naturally not familiar with the situation, and the question of Headquarters, involving as it does an entirely new situation, should have been a serious consideration in declaring the time for holding the Convention. Therefore, if nothing more than a form, I think an Executive Committee vote should be taken

June 6, 1917

to determine the situation.

I confess I was rather astenished at the amending of the constitution sent in by the Advisory Board, without any consultation of the Official Board. Here again I differ from Miss Shaw in the conclusion drawn, that as individuals have a perfect right to offer amendments so has the Advisory Board. Now the Advisory Board appears to the Association in an entirely different light from an individual and would seem to be quasi official. It strikes me that there has been on the part of the Advisory Board a little breach of etiquette in submitting these amendments without consulting the Official Board. I do not think it was intended, but nevertheless I cannot but feel that the Official Board has been ignored. I hope you will understand the spirit in which I criticize. As I understood the Advisory Board, and I seconded it heartily, it was formed at your request for the purpose of counselling you as a member of the Official Board, because of the sternness existing in the National Association when you assumed the corresponding secretaryship. I think that if any member of the Official Board had felt that there never would have been money enough to have us called together, and yet that there was money enough to have the Advisory Board meet regularly, that they would have questioned turning over virtually the conduct of the Association to the Advisory Board. As things have turned out, the members of the Association can very naturally feel that the conduct of affairs is in the hands of the Advisory Board, rather than in the hands of those members they chose to conduct the Association. I furthermore feel that it concentrates power entirely too much in one little corner of the United States.

Now, in regard to the recommendations. Why, in the name of common sense, does the Advisory Board touch upon the name of the Association. There always has been feeling about dropping the word "American", and as it was a combination of the two associations, it seems to

June 6, 1911

me that there is nothing to be gained, particularly at this time, in opening old sores.

Regarding the membership. Do I understand that any suffrage organization of fifty members, without any other condition than payment of dues, can belong to the National and have a voting representation?

I agree thoroughly with striking out the second vice-presidency. It was an office created to get Mrs. Avery back on the Board and is only a useless source of expense.

In regard to the Executive Board. Do I understand that a monthly meeting is recommended regardless of the expense attached thereto? I notice that a quorum of four is chosen which, if adopted, virtually puts the whole control of the Association under the officers at Headquarters.

These are the important points I would like to have information upon.

If we are going to have an authorized revision of the constitution, then I think it imperative to have a Business Committee meeting and seriously consider what will practically be of service to the Association.

I, personally, am opposed to the presidency being held indefinitely. As I suggested to Miss Shaw last fall, the change should be offered and the Association allowed to vote upon it. If they do not wish it, they can vote it down. I think two successive terms, of two years each, is long enough for any one woman to administer the affairs of the Association.

Furthermore, I think the Official Board should be made up of the chairman of the important committees, in order that the working forces of the organization shall be in touch with the official management.

June 6, 1911

In regard to speakers for the Convention, I agree with Mrs. McCulloch that both Prof. Henderson and Mr. Roe are unattractive. I admire the work of both of them, but as platform speakers they will not answer. Rabbi Wise is always fine, and of course Miss Addams is a drawing card for any program. The other speakers I do not know enough of to accept or reject.

I have some decided views as to Convention resolutions. I think as we conduct that work now it is a waste of time, effort and money.

May I ask whether in arranging the program there has been carried out the plan in vogue in the past of having some local women with whom to consult as to whether the speakers are persona grata to the people where the Convention is to be held? This is a courtesy that I think due the local management and if practiced takes all the responsibility off the shoulders of the National for anything that may happen which may not please the local public. This is especially the case when a Convention is to be held in a Southern city.

With cordial regards, and hoping that nothing I have said may be taken in the spirit of carping criticism, I am

Sincerely yours,

Kate H. Indow.

June 15, 1911.

Dear Members of the Official Board:

I am writing to you members who are not in favor of taking any permanent action in regard to continuing Headquarters in New York beyond the time of the Convention.

I must confess that I was perfectly amazed at Miss Ashley's letter, and it seems to me the request for action upon that letter should have come thru Mrs. McCulloch as vice-president. Miss Shaw is very strict about allowing no vote to go out thru any other channel than thru the president, and in the absence of the president, the vice-president is the one endowed with authority. Whether we are in favor of Miss Ashley's action or not, it seems to me that the proper channel for carrying on this work is thru the vice-president..

Now, I feel that if the offer made by Miss Ashley is accepted, that it ought to be distinctly understood that those officers opposing the action should be in a position to bring it before the Convention, and if the action is repudiated by the Convention as usurping authority, to have those members who voted for it held responsible for the rent. I notice this, when people are going to be held personally responsible, they are a little more careful of how they spend people's or an organization's money..

Do you think it advisable for the National officers who have been ignored by the Advisory Board to come out in the columns of the Woman's Journal and say we were not consulted, and would that give an idea that there was internal strife going on and please too much those disgruntled members who went out last year? I do not want in any way to give the public the idea that dissatisfaction exists, and no real dissatisfaction does exist, but I do think that Miss Shaw, Mrs. Demmett and Miss Ashley seem to think that they are the whole thing. Let me know your opinion upon what you think would be a concerted line of action -- whether we should first notify Miss Shaw,

Mrs. Dennett and Miss Ashley, and then just come right straight out in the columns of the Journal? Mrs. Hutcheson Page's article distinctly states that the purpose in amending the Constitution was to concentrate power on a few. This has actually staggered me. For the fun of it I would like to whack back and say that if that is the majority of opinion then we should centralize the City for Headquarters so as to make it possible for all sections of the country to participate in a measure in the control of the organization.

Very cordially yours,

Hate M. Gordon

June 13, 1911.

My dear Miss Clay and Miss Blackwell:

I am writing to you in regard to Mrs. Boyer and the money she advanced in the Oklahoma campaign. I have been hammering so at Miss Ashley about the publication of the Susan B. Anthony Fund that I do not want to seem to press again upon another financial matter.. I, personally, do not know whether Miss Ashley is incapable as a treasurer, or whether it has been the embarrassment of money that has made it particularly difficult for her. I do not think that I could be regarded as gossiping when I say to two officers that when I was in New York she seemed to have little or no time whatsoever for National work, and would come into the office only for an hour or so towards four o'clock. Now it seems to me that if the National Association is paying an officer, then that officer's time belongs to the Association; and while I am not even aware of what she may be paid, I think we ought to have an officer that can give sufficient time to run the financial matters of the Association. Untrained and unbusinesslike as I am, when last fall I talked about this Oklahoma situation and she brought to me the cancelled checks as a proof that Mrs. Boyer had received the money, I immediately saw that these checks were for money due Mrs. Boyer February, March and April. But she would not look at it from that viewpoint which has been proven to be the correct one.

Now I do not see, in looking over Mrs. Boyer's letter, that there are any points that I can make clearer. I do think that the whole conduct of the affair was unbusinesslike, and in regard to the Owen memorials, she certainly should have been advised that they came out of the \$2,000 appropriation. I feel very deeply the hardship that Mrs. Boyer has been made to sustain. I personally think the woman is pretty hard up, and really makes a better show on little than any of us have any idea of. That she should have been made to carry this debt of

[June 13, 1911]

the National Association is to me incredible. So I hope and pray that you two auditors will confer at once and if Miss Ashley does not respond that you will send out a complaint to the Board.

I have just written to Miss Ashley refusing to vote for the renting of permanent headquarters until next May. There has never even been submitted a vote for a definite expression of opinion, and now we get information that an offer has been made, and I would really like to know upon what authority. I have suggested that we offer to rent temporarily until November the present Headquarters, and not being able to do this, then certainly among four National organizations such as New York holds-- the Mackay, the Belmont, the Woman Suffrage Party and the Woman's Political Union, we ought to be able to get store room and office space to carry us thru this emergency. It strikes me that after reading Mrs. Hutchinson Page's letter in the Journal that there is not any more National spirit left in our National organization than is included in the Mackay League or any other of the local New York organizations.

Very cordially yours,

Nate M. Lindow.

Dictated but not read.

Richmond, Kentucky.

June 10th, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have not answered your letter of May 4th because it touched upon too many subjects of interest to answer briefly; and I have had a job on hand which occupied me pretty closely. That was an address before our Diocesan Council, asking enlarged rights for laywomen. I am presuming that you will be interested, as the occasion was one of importance to our Department of Work Among Church People; and I am sending the memorial and the address I gave in support of it. The memorial was signed by very few women because Bishop Lewis W. Burton (our Bishop) did not want the question agitated before the Council heard it; ^{ly a petition} ~~memorandum~~; and only enough names to make it technical were asked for. I was willing to accept any conditions, because I feel confident that when the action of the Council becomes public it will start the ball rolling in other Dioceses. A vote was carried that Bishop Burton should appoint a commission consisting of five members to consider the memorial and report at the next annual Council.

And now to return to your letter. The decision about the Headquarters seems still in the air. I am not sure but your position was better taken than mine, - that is, that nothing should be decided except temporarily till the Convention voted on it. Also, the Chicago women have said they would not desire it to come to Chicago. Perhaps that is because they do not wish to appear to have a personal interest in the settlement. That practically leaves it either to remain in New York or go to Washington. Miss Shaw evidently is working to keep it in New York, but except the \$1000 from Mrs. Belmont her plans for the money are

2. vague.

vague. I think the main idea of the proposed new constitution is to hand over the management of the National to a selected few around New York; or at least in the East. I shall oppose such a change in the constitution when my time comes to write of it in the Woman's Journal. Like you, I feel that the Woman's Journal is the most hopeful feature. At the same time, I think its friends must be on the alert, or its financial support will also be swallowed up in Headquarters. Miss Ashley writes Mrs. McCulloch that Miss Blackwell's stenographer's salary for \$60 a month is in arrears a year. As Miss Blackwell gives her splendid editorial services for nothing, it seems to me an extra exertion should be made to pay her clerk. Frankly, I feel there is danger of all National features of the Association being lost in the assumption that the East is more competent than the rest of the country put together to run affairs.

At the convention it was said that Miss Lucy Anthony was saying (though never in my hearing) that Miss Shaw would not ask for election another year. She wanted it last time to vindicate herself in the affair about Mrs. Potter. If this report is true, it seems to me very timely that your suggestion about making Miss Shaw an Honorary President should be considered. Her eloquence makes her important to the Association; and it needs official position to make that most available for the service of the Association. Then, too, her admirers can logically plan to secure her a salary, which is necessary to her. I have looked at the By-laws and it seems to me that if Miss Shaw's views cannot be learned before the Convention in time to offer an amendment to the Constitution, she could be made Honorary President by an amendment to the Bylaws, which require only one day's notice at the Convention. This could not, however, give her a vote in the Official Board; but the other advantages could be secured, and an amendment to the Constitution could be made allowing that next year. In the meantime, the public would not know the difference, and it is her position before the public which is of importance, to make

June 16, 1911

3.

her
services most valuable to the Association. If it is true that Miss Anthony did say Miss Shaw would not be a candidate again, it might be very acceptable to Miss Shaw if some such plan as this should be proposed. I would approve of it; but as I have never been on confidential terms with her or with Miss Anthony I shall not take any step to bringing the matter to a discussion.

I have never learned what you were able to collect for the Susan B. Anthony Fund. Miss Shaw has said it was not much; but whatever it is I think it very wise that you have decided to have it subject to such expenses only as you specified. Do you observe that Miss Ashley's notices of receipts has about discontinued in the Journal? I do not know whether it is because there are none to report, or because she has adopted a new method. As we have had no treasurer's report since the last of February I have no means of knowing what is coming into the treasury and whence. I have not yet heard Miss Shaw's report of the vote on saving the Thomas Garrett fund for paying the officers' salaries. Altogether I feel very ignorant of the state of our finances. The biggest plans for expenditure seem to be in the air; but no mention of where money is to come from to pay.

I want to speak about that Texas constitution. I suppose you received the speech of Hon. J. L. Doherty, of Paris, Texas. His point that a legislature can grant suffrage to women where the Constitution does not expressly forbid is a new point in the legal aspects of our cause. I hardly see how it could be overlooked in all our long search for a nearer way. But I suppose you know that many other, if not all the other, states besides Texas have practically the same election clause, - that is,

that males are empowered to vote, but women are not forbidden, as is the case with deficient classes on men. The Ky. Constitution, for instance, has practically the same provisions. In Ky. the F.R.A. is just now ready to make the fight for a Constitutional Amendment our chief legislative work; but if there is any thing in Mr. Dohoney's claim it would be much easier to try for legislative grant of suffrage. I have little hope that there is no flaw in his reasoning; nevertheless, I have thought it worth while to make such inquiries as I can, and have asked my niece-in-law, the daughter of Judge Burnham who drew up our Co-guardianship bill, to ask her father to contribute an opinion upon Mr. Dohoney's legal points. I have not yet heard whether she induced him to do so. If he will, he is very competent ~~xxxxxx~~, as he was Judge in our Court of Appeals. If we receive any encouragement, that is the policy we shall pursue, and I should advise Louisiana and all other states where it will apply, to do so.

I received a letter from Mrs. Townsend, telling me that Railroad Rates had been refused to the Louisville convention because the Southern Railway Association, in whose territory Louisville is, had refused to grant any reduction. I am not sure that is the name of the Association, for I sent the letter to the Louisville suffragists to see if they could bring any influence to bear to change the attitude of the Louisville and Nashville. I hope Mrs. Townsend has written to you herself; but if she has not, I want to bespeak your good offices to help to get the Southern systems to change their decision. Mrs. Townsend says this is the first time in our history that rates have been refused, which is certainly very mortifying to us in Ky. Please let me know if you think you can do anything.

Did you notice that the Ky. Fed. of Woman's Clubs took action to work to get the U.S. to make the Mammoth Cave a National Reservation? We are planning to have an excursion in conjunction with the Convention. October is a lovely month to visit the Cave. What do you think of it? I have written a long, long letter, so will close with my regards to your sisters.

Very cordially yours,

Richmond, Kentucky?

June 10th, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I had scarcely mailed a letter to you with enclosure of an address before the Diocesan Council when I received in the mail the copy of your admirable letter of June 6th to Mrs. Dennett. Before I say a word more I wish to exonerate myself from any part in bringing on this Headquarters trouble. I am one of the old officers who had no idea that Mrs. Belmont's promise did not last to the October convention. Miss Shaw assured us in Washington that Mrs. Belmont would pay till the next convention. Did not you receive a copy of the letter of Mrs. Stewart, in which she says the copy of the agreement seen in Washington stated this, and that after it had been signed by the officers and sent to Mrs. Belmont ^{Mrs. Belmont} she interlined that it would expire Aug. 1st? Mrs. Stewart sent the copy as it was in Washington, as she did all papers, to Headquarters, and her copy was printed in the minutes, and Mrs. Belmont's interlineation came like a bomb to me, ^{after it was decided to have the Convention in 1912} and I suppose to all officers except those in Headquarters. If you did not receive a copy of this letter, please let me know and I will look up my copy for you. The fact that (as I thought) the rent was paid till October influenced me in voting to take that date for the Convention, for I thought it was the will of the Asso. to have it in the fall, and we had been put out of our time by the Petition which took us to Washington in April.

My memory of that Advisory Board, its creation and its province, is exactly the same as yours. I have not answered some of those points you speak of. I intend to oppose making it obligatory ^{by the Constitution} to have the Board

meet monthly. I suppose your letter was written before the last Journal, in which some member of that Advisory Board says plainly that provision was put in expressly for the purpose of cutting off the election of officers from all sections of the country. In case it is provided, that none but those in favor of that proposed revision are to have sufficient space to express opposing views I may say now that I shall take the ground that if the Convention wishes to have all the officers elected in a small circle around any point it can do so under the existing constitution, and it need not bind the will of future conventions by amending the Constitution without trial of the new policy, so that it could not have the freedom of electing where it will without a long notice and a two-thirds vote. I do not agree with you about the uselessness of the second vice-president. In the person of the present incumbent I think we have a saving grace! Long may she wave!

If the Headquarters matter is put to a vote of the Executive Committee I think it ought to be distinctly stated what officers knew that Mrs. Belmont had made the interlineation and what ones did not. I do not wish personally to appear before the Association as having given a vote for October when such vital questions as Headquarters and its expense would come upon us with a treasury so low that not even a Board meeting can be called; and with a treasurer who sees no obligation to keep the Board informed of the state of the treasury. I have never had such an unsatisfactory year since I have been on the Board.

Please let me hear from you when you can write.

Very cordially yours,

Richmond, Kentucky,

June 26th, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have been much annoyed by the carelessness of the Post-master in sending some of my letters by the R.F.D. to the farm whilst I was in Richmond. Consequently, late June 24th I received a handful of letters which should have reached me days sooner, and among them your two, dated June 13th, and June 15th. The letters which I have sent out to several of the members since have been only partially appropriate as answers to you.

It is a great comfort to me to find that a clear-headed woman like you agrees with me about the un-National character the proposed amendments are taking on. Mrs. Dennett asks with amazement if the Woman's Journal is sectional work? Certainly it is, if its policy is to be guided by a Board which is strictly sectional, without any check from any other section, and running strictly on "business principles". As long as there is such great difference in sectional views I can readily imagine that it might be a shrewd business success to run the Journal and the literature department in a way to make most money, and yet fail greatly in the purpose of propaganda of Suffrage sentiment.

By this time I hope you will have received the vote I asked Mrs. McCulloch to put out, adopting a rule that in official letters the writer shall send a copy to each member of the Board, and that funds shall be appropriated from the National Treasury to cover the expense of type-writing and postage. You will recognize at once that I got the idea from you. Some years ago you sent such a letter to all the members of the Board, the first

time I had ever seen it done. I immediately felt the value of it, in giving us the advantage of knowing your reasons for the vote you were giving; and ever since I have used your method in letters which I considered particularly important. Now I feel that the rule I propose will greatly relieve the disadvantage at which the officers outside of headquarters find themselves. If the rule is not adopted I shall use it in my own correspondence, anyway, till the Convention.

Mrs. Stewart had evidently received your letter of the 15th in her letter to you and me. As I had not then gotten yours, I did not quite understand hers. In a letter to Mrs. McCulloch lately I said I thought it unadvisable for us to keep silent till the Convention, as the opinions of those who might become delegates were already being formed; and our silence might be taken for consent, which would weaken the force of our opposition when we came to the convention. I have been preparing to write an article on the amendment to have the officers elected in a circle around headquarters; and I shall prepare it as soon as I can. But before I send it to the Journal, I promised to let Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. McCulloch criticize and amend it; and now I will also send a copy to you for the same.

I note what you say about Miss Ashley and Mrs. Boyer. I shall not think of casting an official vote except through Mrs. McCulloch. In all I have said in my letters to Miss Ashley I have spoken as giving suggestions, and said what my vote would be when it was cast. I have not my Roberts' Rules of Order at hand; but until I see Miss Blackwell's ^{confirmed} opinion that Miss Shaw's vote is to count as two, I shall maintain that a tie is a negative vote.

I hope to hear from you again soon. Remember me to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially yours,

June 20, 1911

My dear Miss Clay and Miss Gordon:-

I am writing the same letter to both of you because I want to say the same thing to both, and it will save time. In the first place, I want to explain that I did not know of the interlineation of Mrs. Belmont in the lease until Miss Shaw spoke of it in the letter in which she took a vote on changing headquarters.

At the Washington convention in the Board meetings after the convention Miss Clay insisted on a proper lease being drawn up between the Association and Mrs. Belmont, and that the officers of the National and Mrs. Belmont sign it. Mrs. McCulloch drew up the lease stating that ithe lease extended to the next National Convention (as that was the offer which Miss Shaw presented for Mrs. Belmont) Miss Shaw and I both signed this lease in Washington and I then mailed it to Mrs. Belmont. Some time afterward the document was returned to me in Chicago and I simply turned to the page of signatures to see that Mrs. Belmont's signature was there. I found that it was and so put the document away. It did not occur to me to read it through again. I had never referred to it again until Miss Shaw's letter came; then I got it out and noticed that this clause was written in by hand "or until August 1, 1910". So Miss Shaw evidently was the only one who knew of that prôvision although I

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[June 20, 1914]

might have known. I fought against deferring the convention until October, but on the ground that it was extending our terms of office six months, which seemed to me a nervy thing to do. I wrote to Miss Shaw that if it were extended to fall I felt that she should refer it to the states, then the officers would not be to blame. Some of those who receive a salary, by their vote extended their salary a few months. I certainly should never have voted for it if I had been receiving a salary. The thing which reconciled me to the delay in the convention was the fact that the Kentucky women who entertain the convention seemed better pleased to have it so. But I think that it has turned out to be one of the greatest mistakes we have made. It has given (together with the vote not to hold the ~~Board~~ ^{Board} Committee meeting) the officers in New York the power to do a good many things which the Board will probably have to suffer for. I wrote to Miss Shaw and asked her for the vote against holding the Board meeting; she did not report either of you as voting at all upon that question. Miss Ashley, Mrs. Dennett and I voted in favor and Mrs. McCulloch rather evaded the vote by saying that she didn't know how much money was in the treasury. I do not see how Miss Shaw could construe this as a negative vote. I think the whole plan of the year has been to ignore the officers living in "furren" parts. The letters of Mrs. Page and Mrs. ^{Is it Laidlaw?} in the last Woman's

Journals show the discussion which has evidently been going on in those circles about the uselessness of the members of the Board who

June 20, 1917

are not at headquarters. I agree with both Miss Clay and Miss Gordon in the positions you have taken and think your letters are splendid. I agree with Mrs. McCulloch, however, that we had better save our ammunition for the convention instead of writing in the Woman's Journal; but I believe that we had better get somebody else from the South, middle West and the West to write in the Woman's Journal on these points from the standpoint of broader national work.

I agree with Miss Clay's position on the headquarters. I wrote immediately that I was opposed to any lease beyond the National Convention and I think Miss Clay's last letter to Miss Ashley is exactly right. I do not believe they can produce large sums of money to pay the rent outside the National treasury. When they have a list of subscribers to that fund I ~~will~~^{might} be willing to change my decision. There is no doubt that Miss Shaw has meant a little snub at Mrs. McCulloch in her notification to her that Mrs. Dennett could attend to all the business during her absence.. I believe we should stand pat on the headquarters proposition and take the advice of the advisory committee when it is good and not be overawed by it when it doesn't agree with our judgment. I had a very clear vision of what this all meant at the time it was proposed but would have been accused of harboring suspicions if I had spoken of it under all circumstances at that time. I think that the south and western states will have to come to the convention with their war

June 20, 1917

paint on if we are to retain a semblance of a national instead of a sectional organization.

With best wishes for both of you, I am

Yours most cordially,

Ella S. Stewart

I might agree with Miss
Ashley in her statement
- "we are facing a crisis"
but the one I see is
not the one she sees.

1800 Prytania St. July 28, 1911

My dear Mrs. McCulloch:-

Read my copy of a joint letter to Miss Shaw.

Of course if they knowingly sent out the promise of Mrs. Belmont as an asset, to get our votes, the whole proceeding is so dishonest that I cannot contemplate it calmly. It would justify our insisting upon throwing up the lease. However as we have reached the first of August and we could not escape without a public scandal, I am going to instruct you to sign it, but in ^{doing so} ~~signing~~ do not feel that it is not with considerable protest on my part and that I will express my opinion in due time.

I feel that Miss Clay is in no wise obligated to pay the twentyfive dollars promised ~~her~~ as the offer was made under false pretenses unless Miss Ashley can prove herself innocent, in which case the responsibility is upon Miss Shaw and she ought to be made to pay the \$500.

This letter has been interrupted so often I can hardly frame my ideas but there is much I have to say on many points. I will try and get off a letter to the Board to-morrow in reference to the S. B. A. Fund paying back indebtedness. It is contrary to the intention of the collection. I inclose my votes I have been guided by your point of view in the Wisconsin business ---a situation I know nothing about.

Very cordially,

Kate M. Gordon.

1800 Prytania St. July 27th. 1911

My dear Miss Clay:-

It has been impossible to write sooner in reply to several inquiries in your letter of July 12th. I do not agree with you in your conclusion in regard to Mrs. Belmont. Her pledge was until the next convention which is supposed to be an annual convention and which she no doubt concluded would be held within the twelve months, her interlineation was really a generous extension of the time, and really assuming three months extra financial responsibility. I do not think Mrs. Belmont has any idea whatsoever of the conduct of the National, and I have recently come to the conclusion that Miss Shaw would only give her the version she wanted her to have. I see no reason why however you should not question Miss Shaw closely upon the situation. I confess that I realize how little grasp I have had. All I knew of the situation was the offer read to the convention -----I did not come on the Board until June, and heard none of the discussion relative to the contract. In my mind we were fixed until the convention----- but I still can see where Mrs. Belmont might think it was for a year and she did protect herself by that interlineation. Miss Shaw's position is one of either criminal carelessness or intentional duplicity in order to force a New York H'qrs on the Convention.

Since receiving Miss Ashleighs letter giving the basis of the \$500.00 security upon which she secured the vote of the Board for the six months lease, I confess I feel helpless. I have sent the inclosed inquiries to Miss Shaw and Miss Ashley, and if they answer that they knowingly acted as they did, they should be impeached. What staggers me is the effrontery with which in article four she claims Mrs. Stewarts vote as a straight majority vote on the question and yet in her report of the vote Mrs. Stewart is reported as telegraphing "with the understanding that the Ntl. pays only six hundred dollars to Feb. you may count my vote yes etc".

July 27, 1915

I am therefore writing Mrs. McCulloch that my vote on the lease will hinge on the replies I receive to the joint letter to Miss Shaw and Miss Ashley. I have grown pretty sick of the whole business.

You will note by the letter written me a copy of which is sent the Board that the money that paid Mrs. Boyer is from the S. B. A. Fund. That represents money taken to pay past bills entirely contrary to the spirit of the fund. I hope you will agree with my point of view. I think ^{it is} "a cheek" as the English poster expresses it to spend the money before even acknowledging the amounts received to the collector of it.

I cannot find the Journal referred to by you ~~xxxxxx~~ but read with pleasure your letter of inquiry to the State Superintendents of Education in La. and Miss. and their replies. The educational and property qualifications in the right to vote, do not apply to negroes only. The property right gained in La. is one granted to illiterate voters on property assessed at \$300. The grandfather clause of the 1898 Constitution lasted for two years only and enabled all illiterate to qualify whose fathers voted before 1868. The discrimination against the negro in his right to vote is that he is forced to show that he can read and write to an examining Board under what they call an understanding clause, who possess the power to disqualify him. And they do disqualify negroes far better qualified than whites, to vote under an educational qualification. Of course we have a poll tax requirement, two successive poll tax receipts being essential in the right to vote. This is the real impediment in the average negro's right to vote. The law does not discriminate in the letter, it of course leaves a ple room for fraud, which the politicians have fully made use of to their advantage and the peoples loss.

Pray, tell me. Has Mrs. Dennett ever consulted with you on the program and the choice of speakers? I bet you there will be m money forthcoming to pay speakers, nothing for work, but the wonderful business lady will I bet have several hundred dollars a t her disposal. When I think how for months before hand I would be working schemes to get passes and make routes for speakers in order to get fine speakers for nothing at our conventions, I fairly get sick at the extravagant notions that seem to be the order of the day to-day.

If I promise to tell you something about the Press Work I found on landing in New York, will you keep it a secret unless I authorize you to speak of it. Three officers on the spot and any way you look at it appears as criminal either in carelessness or complicity. Oh, how I wish I could have seen you at Mont Eagle.

Affectionately,
Kate M. Gordon.

I changed my mind on this
a public scandal.

Copy of letter sent Miss Shaw and Miss Ashley.

July 27, 1911

1800 Prytania St. July 23, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw,
My dear Miss Ashley:-

Since receiving the copy of Miss Ashley's Letter to Mrs. McCulloch I confess I find myself loath to accept the conclusion which seems inevitable, unless you can both throw some needed light on the situation. I am therefore sending this joint letter and as an Officer with distinct duties towards the Association I must ask the following questions and hope for a prompt reply.

1st. Will Miss Shaw tell me whether when she offered to the Officers as an inducement for continuing the Headquarters in New York, the \$1000 dollars promised by Mrs. Belmont on the sole condition that headquarter be located in New York, she had repudiated to Mrs. Belmont as impossible the other condition upon which the donation hinges?

2nd. Will Miss Ashley tell me whether when she offered this promised donation as an asset towards the rent, in both of the offers made the National Officers, she was aware of the second condition which depends upon Miss Shaw's reelection to the Presidency?

Awaiting with keen anxiety this very much desired information I am,

Cordially,

*If they misrepresented knowing
by the situation, I won't
stand for it -*

[July 27, 1911]

COPY.

1800 Prytania St.,
July 23, 1911

My dear Miss Shaw
My dear Miss Ashley

Since receiving the copy of Miss Ashley's letter
I
to Mrs. McCulloch, confess I find myself loathe to accept the conclusion which seems inevitable, unless you can both throw some needed light upon the situation. I am therefore sending this joint letter and as an officer with distinct duties toward the Association, I must ask the following questions and hope for a prompt reply:

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2nd. Will Miss Ashley tell me whether, when she offered this promised donation, as an asset towards the rent, in both of the offers made the National officers, she was aware of the second condition which depends upon Miss Shaw's re-election to the Presidency?

Awaiting with keen anxiety this very much desired information, I am

Cordially yours

(Signed) Kate M. Gordon.

copy

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,
1900 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.

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CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, MISS CAROLINE I. REILLY,
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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

July 24, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon:

I have your letter of July 17 with enclosures as follows: checks L. S. Brown \$15.57; J. M. Gordon \$5.00; H. B. Klapmeyer \$30.00; K. S. Allood \$1.00. All for S. B. A. fund. Also letter from Mrs. Morgan. I find that I sent a receipt to this lady early in June from the country and a letter and duplicate receipt from New York on July 12, so I hope her troubled heart is now at rest.

The report of the S.B.A. fund has gone to the Woman's Journal and Miss Ryan will publish it as soon as possible. The total makes me sick and I wish we did not have to publish it, but since we agreed to do so I suppose there is no help for it. The total so far as \$4,534.61.

I do not see that there is anything to audit, we have taken nothing out so far unless it be the \$504. sent to Mrs. Boyer. Miss Shaw is satisfied to have your expenses paid from the general fund, so I do not see that there is a great deal to pass upon. Your bill for expenses can be audited by Miss Clay if the Board wishes, but that would not be connected with this account if it isn't to be paid from this fund.

Our headquarters expenses were shown in the reports sent out some time ago. However, they are per month about as follows: (telephone and stamps vary from month to month.)

Rent,	\$75.
Stenographers & literature clerk,	277.53
Stamps,	10.
Telephone,	10.
Sundries,	5.
	<u>\$377.53</u>

Naturally these are regular expenses. From time to time little extras come up, but most of our expenses not included here, are for our various departments, Woman's Journal, Press, Literature, Campaigns, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Ashley

July 3, 1911.

My dear Insurgents:

I have voted to accept the Ashley offer if the conditions outlined, committing the National Suffrage Association Headquarters to only two months' extra rent, are guaranteed. I have done this in order to strengthen what I think will be our position to make a fight for National integrity.

I am going to write Miss Ashley a letter and I hope may be able to riddle her position. At any rate, we have forced them to recognize that their high-handed methods of acting without a majority vote of the Committee was illegal and that they are to reckon with us. I will send a duplicate letter that I will write to the Board, outlining why I voted in favor. I personally did it, because I think it is going to give us a stronger position before the National Association, and because I really do think we ought not to hamper the work if it is at all possible not to do so.

I do not understand Miss Ashley and Mrs. Dennett. They both pleased me and struck me as women of refinement, but such total disregard of other people's rights makes me question their good breeding. I say this to you, but something I would not say to some of the members of our Board, past and present.

I do not wish to figure as a prophet, but I think you will find that the reason for all this independence upon the financial situation is that Miss Thomas is going to do something financially, but in order to do it she is going to tie up the National Association to whatever Miss Shaw may want. As a matter of fact, I am very fond of Miss Shaw in many ways, but I have not one part of respect for her judgment, and I have had less ever since the school-girl crush on Prof. Potter

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Carefully guided, with women about her who will tell her when she is right and when she is wrong, she is a valuable president, because of her wonderful ability as a speaker; but without that and without women who will not handle her with gloves, she is not fit for the presidency. I have therefore about determined to offer some amendments to the constitution myself, and one of them will be to limit the term of office of the president, making it a two years' term, certainly not longer than four years, as is the custom in the Federation of Women's Clubs.

I will also offer an amendment to the constitution making our fiscal year close one month previous to the Convention. This thing of having the fiscal year close the first of January, and then holding a convention in October, giving reports upon a financial situation nine months' old, is to me ridiculous.

Very cordially yours,

Kate M. Lindou.

July 3, 1911.

My dear Miss Clay:

I have two engagements for suffrage lectures in Saint Louis and Kansas City to follow the Louisville Convention. You mentioned in one of your letters that there would be an excursion to Mammoth Cave. Have you any idea whether the dates are arranged? because I want to arrange my dates accordingly..

I am going to fill an engagement to talk upon the civic work of Southern women, (otherwise suffrage talk) at the Monteagle Assembly on July 11th. I do not know whether Lexington is anywhere near Monteagle, or near Chattanooga, but if it was not too much of an expense I would very much like to ask you if you could meet me there and let us have a little talk upon the suffrage situation. I could leave New Orleans on a special rate ticket Saturday night, spend Sunday and Monday on the mountain and then leave for Monteagle. If you care to incur this expense, I certainly would be glad to meet you.

Affectionately yours,

Dictated but not read.

Kate M. Gordon

Richmond, Ky.

July 12th, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I was glad to get your letter of the 6th, with all the enclosures. I am pleased that you like my article on "Centralization". I got that word and the view of the way things were trending from Belle Bennett, who says she has the same thing to contend against in her work. It adds a certain efficiency in some lines; but she does not think the work is as good. Such centralization, moreover, is much more dangerous in our Asso., than it can be in a church society, because we have not the safeguards against abuse which the church organization has over any of its subsidiary societies.

I hope by all means you will publish your objections to the revision in the Journal. I did not agree with Mrs. Stewart's view as expressed in the joint letter to us; for as I wrote back, if we keep silent our silence may be interpreted as consent, and our protest at the convention would be much weakened. I wish, also, you would say something in advocacy of the amendments you are going to propose. I hope you got them in in time; but if you did not, bear in mind that you can introduce them as amendments to the main question when the proper sections of the Revision are under discussion. I have rather objected to your proposal about the president, because I remember years ago Miss Anthony spoke of it; and gave the opinion that when a devoted and successful leader in a reform movement was found the society had better hold on to her, for the work was not like the work of Woman's Clubs. This was much sounder judgment then than it is now; for the work has changed, the methods of the Woman's Clubs has improved, there is a much larger choice of suitable women. All these things combined have made me open to conviction, though I am not yet decided about it.

I read your letter to Miss Thomas with much pleasure and approval, and sent both on to Mrs. Stewart, who will send it to Mrs. McCulloch. Now here is a point which is causing me much cogitation. As I see it, the main point about Mrs. Belmont's action is not interlining that lease. I am not surprised at her declining to renew a lease when she had made other arrangements about her own headquarters. But have you read the pledge which appears on the 79th page of the minutes? She distinctly asks that \$600 a month be pledged in her name till the next convention. She does not say she will continue the lease till that time, but does say she will continue the money. What do you understand by this? You had some opportunity of understanding the situation when you were in New York. Did you think Mrs. Belmont was the woman to expose herself to the comment which is certain to come from the fact of as rich a woman as she repudiating a pledge which she had asked to be made publicly and which has been published in our official records? The fact that we did not know of the interlineation is a small matter to the fact that we did not know of the retraction of this pledge. I am even wondering if Mrs. Belmont really knows that she expressed herself as she did in her letter; or whether she had in mind what she said before we went to Seattle, when she did make it clear that she would limit her donations to the space of two years. If she were a friend of mine I would consider it only a kindness to point out to her that this pledge had different limitations, and that it was misleading to the whole convention. If she is deliberately and understandingly receding from her pledge, why are the officers at headquarters talking so confidently of her second pledge of \$1000? If you understand these things at all, I shall be greatly obliged to you to throw some light upon them for me. I never thought it all out whilst Miss Shaw was in the country, and I have not been willing to ask of the two at headquarters, who are perfect strangers to me. If you do not know any

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thing about it I have it in mind to ask Miss Shaw when she returns. But I do not wish to go blundering, so if there is any reason why I should not ask, please suggest it to me.

I am very sorry that Chattanooga is not near enough for me to have met you there. I hope you got my letter explaining this before you left home. I am still in too great hopes that we can defeat at least the worst features of that proposed revision to begin to consider what we ought to do in case the National is centralized. I think the activity of the states in any thing connected with the National is bound to fall off; but as the whole aspect of the suffrage question is changing with wonderful rapidity it may never be worth while to think any thing about what the National might be able ^{to do} to help. The great point overlooked by the revisionaists is that the states which still need help cannot get it from this new scheme of centralization; and the states which are now on the verge of success will care nothing about the National as soon as they do succeed. The stronger states now, like New York, are not looking to the National either for methods or leadership. California and Kansas are saying in no uncertain terms that all they ask is that the National shall let alone. Yet is only such states as these which could patiently endure centralization in New York; for they want nothing but cheap literature from it, and that centralization would afford for its own sake, as it is expected to make money by the sale of it.

When I think of such work as you did in Oklahoma, and are doing all along to hold the suffrage banner high in the South, and when I think of the unselfish labor of Miss Blackwell and the other officers outside of headquarters, it makes my blood boil to read such a letter as that of Mrs. Page, in which she calls on the whole Association to pity the hard labors of the three at headquarters who are getting no adequate help from the other members of the Board!

I see from the outline of your proposed speech at Mont Eagle that you

are prepared for another splendid effort such as you made at the Biennial, where with all due consideration for your modesty, you did make a splendid speech and an equally delightful personal impression. I am not surprised, though I am gratified, to find that it has brought you into demand all over the country.

No; Miss Blackwell and I have not taken up the question of Mrs. Boyer's claim yet with Miss Ashley. She asked us to wait till she wrote to us about it, as I thought she said in the official letter she wrote to all of us, and she has never written us that letter. I am quite subdued by Miss Ashley; it is an ordeal for me to think of asking her to write an answer to anything about which I would like information. I am going to await her pleasure on this point as I have been obliged to do on some others. She understands "masterly inactivity" as well as any one with whom I have come in contact.

Please give me some information: In the last Journal a foot-note to the column "For Beginners" states that in a few Southern states the qualifications for voters include some property and educational requirements which apply only to the negro voters. Is this true in Louisiana? I do not exactly understand the "grandfather" clause; I know the statement is not true in some of the states where they have managed to disfranchise many negroes by educational and poll tax requirements which debar more of them than of whites, but are legally equally applicable to both races. If you can, please give me definite information on this point, for I want to be prepared on it.

I am returning Miss Shaw's letter. She is a good special pleader; but she does not easily convince those who have had experience of the outcome of these enthusiastic views she takes of everything which pleases her.

Please remember me to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially yours,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison

[July 6, 1914]

NEW ORLEANS DISPENSARY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND DISTRICT NURSING

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DR. BLANCHE FASSY
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MRS. RICHARD CHARLES, AUDITOR

MISS MARY RAWLINGS
CHAIRMAN OF DISTRICT NURSING
MRS. JOHN PHILIPS
CHAIRMAN OF HOUSE COMMITTEE
MRS. CHAS. MAGINNIS
CHAIRMAN OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

My dear Miss Clay:-

Your splendid defence of the present methods of handling our Ass'n received. I have carefully gone over it and heartily indorse every line of it. Your point of view has called to my attention features to the desired amendments that I had not observed. If you think well of it I will also come out in print against the proposed amendments.

I inclose the Thomas letter and my reply. As I think it important that we all keep informed on the various situations as they arise I will ask you to forward the letter and my reply to Mrs. McC and Mrs. Stewart.

I personally wish to thank you for your splendid letter to Miss Ashley. I wonder if she realizes how very impudent her letter is. I dictated a reply but it was so caustic I thought it the better part of caution not to send it.

I note in the Journal that a part of the program is to be a vaudeville night. I think when we get thro with them their convention will have had ~~such~~ a vaudeville matinee as well.

Now Miss Clay if it is not too far a jaunt from Lexington could you not meet me at the Lookout Inn which is up on the Mountain. I will leave here Sat. ~~morning~~ evening reaching Chattanooga at ten Sunday morning and will proceed at once up the Mt. I could stay there until Monday evening or even Tuesday morning. There is much I know we could talk about which might be of benefit to the work.

I feel very deeply that if "Centralization" carries then the time has come for another organization. I will not feel like working for nor identifying any State Ass'n with a Ntl. Ass'n whose name is a misnomer. Anyrate I feel we ought to do more aggressive Ntl. work. And to tell the truth Miss Shaw has no more conception of what a Ntl. point of view consists in than the veriest child.

I wish Mrs. Bennett had suggested earlier her idea of asking for suffrage earlier in the session. It would have been splendid Ntl. work.

Now I want to say a little about the contemplated trip abroad. There is going to be a very bitter fight politically in the State. Of course we are all in sympathy and will identify ourselves with the reform movement. Jeannie has however been treated in her child labor work with her headquarters at the City Hall with every courtesy by the Mayor and City Administration, and she feels they will ask for her to support or express indorsement of the Ring. So she thinks the best way is to be away at the time the campaign is on. Personally I feel the need of a rest. I have never felt quite myself since the Oklahoma campaign. I spoke you know every night for five weeks, and nearly always twice and a few times four times in a day. I feel a quiet

winter in Paris perfecting myself in French in which language I am a pretty fair speaker, would be a change and with some little travelling in the summer and fall I would return with some of my old enthusiasm and plunge into work that might advance the Cause you and I believe the most righteous before the world.

As I said in my note, ordinarily I would think I was obliged to notify the convention of my intention to be abroad, but I wont make it easy to get rid of me, and if I am levted I will take a leave of absence and give you my vote.

As far as I can make out Miss Shaw's real motive in being so desirous to stay in New York is her desire to irritate and annoy ~~by the presence in New York of the National.~~ Mrs. Catt by the presence in New York of the National. Of course added to that is she seems carried away by attentions from the very rich, in a way I thought her above and beyond. I am going to inclose you a letter I received from her in which she tried to influence me to vote for the N. Y. Hqrs. She claims every gain attributable to the English Movement, the past work of the Ass'n the individual work of women in the States and places the to the credit of present H'qrs management. I did not even answer it for I am boiling ove to think she used my letter deprecating any increase in H'qrs as a reflection on Mrs. Dennett.

Another thing that has roused my ire, is where the authority was secured to publish in the Journal a Ntl. recommendation ~~taxdax~~ ~~within~~ for suffragists to contribute to no work except suffrage even child labor. You recall Alice B. wrote a very strong editorial against it. Well why should I sit here and work myself into indignation and perspiration. If I expect to make a good address at Montegale I had better be shaping my thoughts. As you know it is a great Methodist place and so I am going to speak from three texts.

My subject is the Civic work of Southern Women, so I will crystalliz my ideas around

1. Lowell's lines "New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient truth uncouth.

2. Kingsleys reason which assigns "as one of the principal causes of the failure of so many ~~good~~ magnificent schemes, social political and religious has been that in almost every case they have ignored the the rights and powers of one half the human rave".

3. From Heber Newton: "Whatever a woman can do, by divine ordination ~~she should be privileged to do;~~ she ought to do; by human allowance she should be privileged to do; and by the force of destiny in due time she will do.

I hope from this bombasment to leave some good sentiment with these conservative people. Could I but make as good an impressio on this church body of women as I did on the club wom en for the Cause I would be very happy indeed. Do you know that address of mine in Cincinatti which I never did feel a very creditable one has led to my receiving invitations from Maine to California And as I feel that the most important field in which we can now work is to rouse the churches to militancy, I hope for grat things in getting into this hot bed of religious conservatism.

Have you ever taken up the question of Mrs. Boyer with the Treasurer.

Affectionately

Kate Gordon.

I am trying to catch the mail so wont read this over, fit in the words needed to make sense.

Richmond, Ky.

July 5th, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have just received your letters of July 3rd, and am greatly cheered to find that your vote in answer to Miss Ashlay's letter was to the same effect as mine, as you will have seen by this time, as I sent a copy to all the Board.

I notice what you say about offering amendments yourself; and I want to remind you that you ought not to delay a moment in seeing that they are put into the Journal at once. The issue of July 22nd is the last one ~~xx~~ which will come within the legal three months' notice; and it is preferable to have them in sooner.

I am sorry that I cannot meet you at Chattanooga; but it is quite a long trip from here. I tried to call up the agent to find out exactly how long, but could not get him. If anything between now and the time you start for Chattanooga should seem to make a conference among the "insurgents" more necessary than appears now, remember that I am in Richmond, Kentucky, and a telegram to me in care of Mrs. James Bennett will reach me promptly. It would be more convenient for me to come to Chattanooga than to Mont Eagle.

I was interrupted just here; and when I ~~went~~ ^{went} down stairs ~~again~~, I telephoned again to find how long a trip it is from here to Chattanooga, and find it is twelve hours; which puts meeting you out of the question.

I am sorry I cannot tell you just when our excursion to the Mammoth Cave is to come off. I wrote to Mrs. Mitchell, the Chairman of the Federation of Woman's Clubs Department of National Reservations, and told her that the Executive Committee sat a day longer than the Convention and I hoped she would arrange so that more than one part could get the rates. It will not be far out of your way in going to St. Louis; and if

you want to see the Cave and do not care particularly for going with the company of the suffragists, you can allow yourself two days extra for the trip, after you have finished with the Business Committee sittings. I do not intend to concede the victory to those Centralizationists till they have won it. I am more than a little distressed that Mrs. McCulloch wrote to Mrs. Dennett that she wished to leave the Board. I fear that is exactly what they wish, - to drive off the women whom the Convention values, and whom they could not outvote otherwise.

I want you to criticize the article I sent you which I am to put in the Journal. I see it is too long; and I expect to cut off at least one page, mainly the last page; but I am glad for you to see the whole argument as it appears in my mind.

Please remember me to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially yours,