

Swarthmore, Pa., Jan. 17, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I received a letter from Mrs. DeVoe in which she enclosed one received by her from Mrs. Ella Knowles Haskell, of Montana, from which I quote:

"Yes, in Montana, there is now a chance to obtain suffrage under the initiative and referendum, but some one with executive ability will have to give their time to it. This I cannot do at present. My hands are very full. If all goes well with the mine, and I hope to know by the fall of 1907, I may not have to practice law any longer, then I should have more time for other work."

I was not aware that Montana had an initiative and referendum law and I don't know now whether it really exists or whether they are only trying to get it. I have written to Mrs. Haskell asking her to send all the necessary data in connection with it to place before the Executive Committee at the Convention in Chicago, where we can decide whether it would be advisable to initiate a campaign in that state. I have asked Mrs. Haskell to tell us not only the conditions on which a campaign may be initiated but also what she thinks is the attitude of the people toward the question, and how much local help we could depend upon if an amendment should be submitted, for if they have an initiative and referendum in that state now, it might be a good thing for us to begin to work toward the submission of an amendment and get the state in shape for it.

In regard to communication received this morning from Mrs. Upton concerning the attitude of the women in Utah, who have decided not to join our Association, the whole thing is very clearly traceable to Mrs. Schoff of the Mothers' Congress. What she said to those women in Utah, she has been saying to the women throughout all the western states and in fact in all the states in which she has held meetings. To my mind she is a most dangerous woman and has very little regard for facts in making a statement.

Some time ago, I received a letter from a lady in Utah stating that in an address there, Mrs. DuBois, the wife of the Senator, had made a statement

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that the National Suffrage Association was the one organization of women in the country that stood in favor of Mormonism and polygamy. I asked Mrs. DuBois in regard to this when I met her some time afterward in Washington and she denied it, although she did say that we had not as an Association passed resolutions against Smoot.

I tried to explain to her our reasons for not entering into that line of agitation and she appeared to be satisfied with my explanation and this was just before the National Convention held in Portland. I told her that we would be very glad to have her attend our National Convention and if she had any facts which she wished to lay before us, we would be glad to give her an opportunity to do so. She said perhaps she would attend, that she was going to be in Portland just prior to sailing for Manila on the excursion with the President's daughter and the rest of them and that, if possible, she would be at our Convention. Just before the Convention, I wrote her again giving her the dates and renewing my invitation for her to appear before us. I did this in order to make her stop making these statements, which notwithstanding her denial, I knew she was making, but as you all know she did not come to the Convention.

Then last spring, Mr. DuBois sent his secretary to call on me at Mt. Airy, but it was after I had gone to Oregon and Lucy was there also and the house was closed and I only knew from a letter that the secretary had called and judged that the purpose of the call was to try to get me to go to Idaho to help in the election of Mr. DuBois. I judge this, because I received a letter in Oregon from Mrs. Ellis, asking me to go to Idaho on my way East from Oregon to do political work in the interest of Mr. DuBois primarily and incidentally against the Mormons.

I wrote her that it would be impossible for me to stop in Idaho as I was going to sail for Europe immediately on arriving East and that the time of my sailing could not be delayed. Then I also added that even were I not to leave for the East, it would be impossible for me as President of the National Association

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to do any partisan political work, for even if as an association we were opposed to Mormonism, any attempt to elect Mr. DuBois on that issue would be immediately attributed to the fact that we were working in the interest of the Democratic Party, and as our Association had taken no part in this controversy, which to some of us seemed like a purely political one, I could not take any part in any such campaign and that the objection which I had would probably hold good as far as any other of the officers of the Association was concerned. This is what I suppose is meant in this letter to Mrs. Upton as the fact that our leading suffragist refused to go to these states to work against Mormonism. In my reply I laid very little stress on the Mormon question one way or another, practically ignored it, simply gave as the reason the unquestionable wisdom of the officers of a non-partisan organization withholding themselves from political partisan alliances, especially when we could not obtain the purpose for which we were organized without making our appeal to all political parties. This ought to have been perfectly satisfactory to Mr. DuBois and to the women and would have been if their real desire in the matter had not been a partisan rather than a moral one.

I am perfectly willing to write to Mrs. Cohen and will do so as soon as I am authorized, stating that as far as I know I am the only officer of the Association who has been invited to go to these states to do political work and that my refusal had no connection whatever with Mormonism but wholly with the fact that as President of the National Association, I could not do partisan political work. I think if they could see the letter, which Miss Anthony wrote Mrs. Susie Young Gates in regard to putting her picture and mine in a book which she was preparing and in regard to certain statements she was making of our attitude toward the Mormons, a letter which both Miss Anthony and I signed, they would hardly think that either of us was very favorable to that sect or that they had any reason to feel that the Suffrage Association in any way approved of polygamy or of any organization which accepted such

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a degrading doctrine as a spiritual tenet.

I hate to get mixed up in any sort of discussion with the Gentiles or the Mormons upon this Mormon question. I think we should keep ourselves absolutely aloof from it in every possible way, but if these women are really mistaken in their attitude toward us a simple statement of the truth is all that it is necessary for us to make. Personally, I am rather glad to have them keep out of our organization. They would only bring in a disturbing factor and when they came to our meetings, they wouldn't be half as interested in suffrage as they would in discussing the Mormon question, a question which I hope will never be brought up before our body. What is more, I believe that if all the other women's organizations in the country had simply ignored the whole Mormon issue as we have, Mormonism would be at least twenty-five years nearer to its death than it is to-day. As far as I have been able to gather from my association with the Mormons in the work in the West, this persecution of them has tended to solidify a body, which was ~~far~~ ten or fifteen years ago disintegrating, and I believe if they had been let alone, there would have been very little of the polygamous theory advocated by the younger Mormons. It would have died out with the old lot but this attack upon them and what they feel is a desire to uproot the saints of the Lord has been utilized by the old sinners at the head of the church to arouse the ignorant and superstitious among them to religious fervor, which they would never have otherwise felt.

Perhaps some of you don't know that Senator Brown, who was shot a few weeks since in Washington by his mistress by whom he had had two children, when he was Senator from Utah was asked to speak at our National Convention, but he was opposed to woman suffrage. His wife told us that it was his fear of Mormonism and polygamy and that he was opposed to Mormon and polygamous people voting because of their degradation and immorality. At that very time, he was planning to divorce this wife in order to marry the niece of one of the senators and who died before the mar-

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riage took place after he had secured the divorce. As far as we can learn there are three or four other women who were ready to sue him at the time of his murder by one of his many mistresses, and this is the type of man who was opposing Mormonism in the Senate. It is all perfectly disgusting and I am so thankful that our women have been wise enough to stand back in this partisan, hypocritical fight which has been going on between DuBois and the Mormons in Idaho.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
7443 Devon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

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1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

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Chairman Press Committee, ELENORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Swarthmore, Pa., Jan. 16, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:-

We had a most delightful visit with Miss Gordon, who started home on Monday evening full of good spirits and eager to get into the fray. If there is a campaign in Oklahoma and she is needed for the parlor work in Oklahoma City and Guthrie after the National Convention, I have no doubt she would be willing to go. Her one great anxiety at present is her sister Jean and I don't wonder that she is anxious about her for she does look dreadfully. It may be, however, that after she has been home a time from her trip, she will feel better and after the weariness of it all is over, there may really be no ground for anxiety, but she certainly does look in pretty bad shape at present. Of course, I didn't say anything to Miss Gordon about what I thought about Jean's appearance but she certainly looked far from well and if she doesn't improve, it may be that Miss Gordon could not get away, but if she can leave home, I am very sure that she would be willing to do anything she could and she is such a great success at parlor meeting work that I feel her services invaluable.

Mrs. Upton is exceedingly anxious because she doesn't hear anything in regard to the result of the Hearing in Oklahoma. I really suppose there is nothing to hear or you would have informed us.

Lucy is still with Miss Mary and will remain until the end. There is a probability now that she will not be able to attend the Chicago Convention and that, of course, will make things very much harder for me. I hope things will be definitely settled in Oklahoma before you have to leave to come East to the Convention.

Please remember me with kind regards to all.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., Jan. 14, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I don't think I have stated any definite time for the Business Committee to meet in Chicago and it may be that some of you will think that I am not giving time enough and others may think it is too much time and so perhaps the time I set will settle the difference between those who want more and those who want less, so I will call the Business Committee to meet me at half past nine o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, February twelfth, at the Palmer House. I don't know just what room we will hold our Business Committee meeting in but probably in either Mrs. Upton's or mine. We will hold our sessions the day of the twelfth and the morning and afternoon of the thirteenth. On the evening of the thirteenth, we have the Executive Committee meeting.

Letters received this morning from Miss Clay and Mrs. Boyer tell of the Hearing before the Constitutional Convention on Tuesday, the eighth. Ex-Governor Adams, of Colorado, made the principal address. I judge they gave our people about an hour and a half's time for Governor Adams spoke for an hour. This is a most unusual thing for they generally give us about ten minutes. Governor Adams' address was well received, many questions were asked and the impression seemed to be very favorable.

Miss Clay also made an address from the Southern Democratic standpoint and that always amuses me when I hear anybody say that, because Miss Clay is such a radical Republican. Nevertheless she is Southern and the report is that her address was very favorably received and made a good impression. On the whole the Hearing was a very encouraging one.

Miss Clay writes that she believes there is a very favorable chance for our clause being put directly in the Constitution and yet she says she doesn't want to express too much hope, because so far, as far as they know, the liquor

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people have made no move against us but she knows that they are wiley enough to hide their hand until the very last thing and then spring it. I have also been impressed with the fact that they have said very little about the Anti-Suffragists. Now it may be that there is some sort of plan between the liquor interests and the Anti-Suffragists to spring some surprise on us at the very last. I shall not be at all surprised if it is done. In that case, however, we'll have to take what comes and meet it as best we can.

The advance copies of the program will be out on Wednesday and they will, of course, be mailed as soon as they are received.

I am very sorry to say that Miss Mary Anthony is still failing. Lucy is with her and the probabilities are will remain until the end. Of course, that leaves us in an unsettled attitude of mind as to whether Lucy will be able to attend the Chicago Convention, but that is one of the bridges we need not cross just yet. If she is unable to go, she is preparing the data so that somebody else can attend to her work there.

Miss Gordon leaves this afternoon for her home. She is full of interest and desire to get hold of the work again. Her sister Jean is here with us also and she is full of interest in the new line of work which she is to take up as factory inspector when she gets back to New Orleans. It's astonishing how three or four consecrated women in a state can build it up and how there may be a thousand, who believe and really wish for success to our cause and yet who fail utterly to do anything for the lack of a leader. A good leader in every state in the Union is the crying need of the hour. I wish we could send someone out, not to find the North Pole or anything else but a leader for our movement in every state.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

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Among the subjects, which will be discussed at the ante-Executive meetings of the National Convention in Chicago on the evening of the 13th and morning of the 14th, are

- (1) The advisability of united effort to urge each state legislature, which holds its sessions in the fall of 1907 and the winter of 1908, to pass resolutions asking Congress for a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution enfranchising women.
- (2) The advisability of overlapping county conventions in certain groups of states for the purpose of aiding the building up and extension of the state work.
- (3) Desirability of pledging the states to a vigorous effort to raise the membership of the National Association to 48,000 by the close of the year 1908 in memory of the first suffrage convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York, in the year 1848.
- (4) The form of memorial, which the National Association shall adopt in memory of Miss Susan B. Anthony.
- (5) Enlargement of "Progress" to meet the needs of our National Association.

These subjects will be among those which will first be discussed at the Executive meeting but any other topic, which the members of the Executive Committee desire to bring before the body, I trust will be brought in writing, so that as little time as possible will be consumed in their presentation.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Swarthmore, Pa., Jan. 14, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I cannot tell you the joy which I felt when I saw your letter this morning, also one from Mrs. Boyer. Miss Kate and Miss Jean Gordon are here and Kate read the letters aloud and we all took great comfort in them.

In regard to Miss Kearney, I would be perfectly willing to offer Miss Kearney a hundred dollars a month and expenses to lecture throughout the South in a series of meetings with someone else to organize and control them, and while I believe she would be an excellent worker as a lecturer, I honestly feel that I cannot vote to pay her money as an organizer, because I don't feel that it would be money well spent in the interest of our Association. Of course, if a majority of the members of the Business Committee vote to do so, I shall very gladly write her. I haven't heard from all the members yet. I have heard from four, two of whom are favorable and two of whom are opposed, and I will wait to hear from the others. Miss Gordon feels that she would like before giving her vote to make some inquiry among some of the Mississippi women whom she knows and her whole attitude will depend entirely on the attitude of the Mississippi women, and I think that is a very wise position for her to take. She will immediately write these Mississippi women on reaching home and be able to report to us as soon as she receives a reply. I also hold my vote on the matter until Miss Gordon makes a little investigation.

I don't know whether you know anything about the fact that two or three years ago in one of the Methodist Churches, Miss Kearney attacked the Methodist bishop and laid all the evils of the anti-Prohibition movement there to the door of

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this Methodist bishop. She had the unwisdom to do this in a Methodist Church. The preacher immediately arose and ordered her to desist. She attempted to make some explanation and he ordered her again to desist. She still insisted on speaking, when he gave out a hymn and sang her down, and it created quite an excitement throughout the entire state in that particular Church. Now it may by this time have been smoothed over but I remember I was in the state at the time and there was a great deal of unpleasantness in connection with it among the Methodists, in fact they for a time shut their churches to all the W.C.T.U. women, and it may be that Miss Kearney could do more in some other state than she could in Mississippi. I am not making these statements in order to influence your action, because I should vote in favor of employing Miss Kearney as quickly as you would wherever I thought her work would be helpful to the cause.

We have been having a most interesting time with Miss Gordon and her sister Jean. She has been going over the letters to the Business Committee, which have been written by Mrs. Upton and from all sources during her absence and is getting in touch with the work again. She will be all ready to take hold, splendidly as usual, by the time we get to the Chicago Convention. They leave to-night for their home and she will have no more time than is necessary to get herself in shape to go to Chicago by the time we meet.

I don't know whether I have said to you in any letter or not that the Business Committee meeting must be in session on the morning of the twelfth at least, for that will give us but one day and the morning and afternoon of a second day for our work, which is certainly little enough time, and I hope that whatever questions have to be brought before us, we will have written out carefully so as to be able to group them together and save as much time as possible in their discussion.

In regard to the payment of the expenses of Mrs. Laskey and Miss

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Cunningham, you are the National member to decide those questions there. Of course, it is absolutely impossible to consult the Business Committee in a thing of that sort and as you and Mrs. Upton and I are the Sub-Committee, it is for us to decide in regard to these matters. Of course, I would not think we had a right to decide any great question like a campaign or anything of that kind, but little money questions of this sort that are necessary in a campaign should be decided by us and I think there will be no question but we will be unanimous in voting any expenses which you think are essential to the carrying on of the work.

Miss Gordon wishes to be remembered to all the friends at the headquarters.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw.

Swarthmore, Pa., Jan. 8, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter, which I have just received, from Miss Belle Kearney in regard to work in Mississippi.

I have a very high regard for Miss Kearney's ability as a speaker but from what I have heard she is not at all an organizer, and yet I have no personal knowledge of her work other than what I have heard about it in the W. C. T. U. Now, Miss Kearney goes home every winter to spend the cold months in Mississippi and then comes back to the North again in the spring and remains all summer. I judge from her letter that she proposes to use a month of her time, which she usually spends at home, in organizing the State.

Her request for three hundred dollars for a month's organizing is rather steep for us as an Association, as we have no organizer in the field to-day and no speaker, not even Mrs. Bradford, who receives over a hundred dollars a month and her expenses. Personally, I don't think Miss Kearney as an organizer is worth three hundred dollars to the Society or that it would be three hundred dollars' worth of value to the Association. She doesn't evidently wish the National to pay the whole sum, but she wishes us to pay a proportionate part.

I would much prefer to have Miss Gordon or Miss Clay spend a month in the State of Mississippi in the organization work than to have Miss Kearney. I am not saying this in order to influence the vote of the members in the matter but simply because I feel I ought to say what I have had an opportunity to learn and what others of the Committee may not have had the same chance to know. If we could have a good organizer in Mississippi and Miss Kearney could go as a lecturer, I should think it would be well worth while, but personally I should be very much opposed to the National paying more than a hundred dollars a month to Miss Kearney.

I will include this vote with the other.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., Jan. 8, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

You know last year Mrs. Isabel Barrows, of New York, attended the National Convention at Baltimore and reported it for The Woman's Journal and we had some of the best reports that we have ever had at a National Convention. The Woman's Journal paid Mrs. Barrow's expenses; I believe that was all she asked for going. A short time ago I wrote her on another subject and incidentally asked her if it would be possible for her to attend the National Convention in Chicago. She stated that she was sorry that she could not afford to pay her expenses to attend the Convention although she would enjoy very much being there.

It has seemed to me that it would be well worth our while to pay Mrs. Barrows' expenses to Chicago and have her report our Business and Executive Committee meetings and get the business part of the Convention in such shape that it would be easy to arrange it for the minutes. We could get the Minutes out very much earlier if this were done and with very much less trouble to both Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Upton. Mrs. Barrows is a very careful reporter and I am quite sure that it would be a very great advantage if we could have her report the business of our Convention. Are you willing to pay her expenses if she will go on those conditions?

OKLAHOMA - The news from Oklahoma is rather encouraging in certain respects. Mrs. Boyer writes that there is no doubt that we will have some form of suffrage in the Constitution, a majority of the men favoring school suffrage and perhaps municipal suffrage, while a large minority favor putting full suffrage in the Constitution. So that she thinks if we don't get full suffrage, we will get something.

Now personally I must confess I hope we will not get anything if we don't get full suffrage. I know some of you will not agree with me in this, but

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wherever we have had partial suffrage, we generally stayed there. Our women either offend men by not voting as they want them to or else men feel that they have given women a sort of sop to keep them quiet and that they should not ask for anything more, but for some reason or other I feel that school suffrage and particularly municipal suffrage is a bar to further progress in suffrage. Still, if they ^{include} Municipal Suffrage in the Constitution, of course, we will have to make the same campaign that we would if they included full suffrage, though I would not advise any such campaign for merely School Suffrage.

Dr. Woods just as she was leaving Arizona was taken ill and was obliged to go to a hospital, where she was when she last wrote me, although she said in her letter that she didn't expect to be there very long and that in a few days she would be able to go to Oklahoma. She did not seem to be very much concerned about herself, so that perhaps by this time she is safe in Guthrie.

If any member of the Business Committee has any particular Resolution she wants to introduce into the Resolutions of the National Convention, I wish she would bring them in writing to the Convention, prepared just exactly as she would like to have them passed. This will help the Resolutions Committee and insure a better framing of the Resolutions when brought before the House.

Now that Mrs. Avery is in the city to-day with the advance sheets of the first issue of the program, I almost feel as if the Convention was here and yet there is a great deal for us to do before that time. I am sorry to say that Miss Mary Anthony's condition is such that Lucy felt it necessary to go to her on Saturday, but I am hoping that there may be a change soon for the better and that Lucy will be back again at least in time to go to Chicago to do the advance work there, which she has promised to do for the local people.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

E Jan 8, 1907

(C O P Y)

Flora, Miss., Jan. 5, 1906.

Dear Dr. Shaw,

The desire to secure the ballot for the women of this State has taken hold upon me with a tremendous power. It is necessary, first of all, to create sentiment by the organization of local clubs; and this cannot be done unless a speaker and organizer goes out among the people to effect it. This person must be one who is conversant with conditions. I can arrange to stay in Miss. until the last week in March; then, I am compelled to go the East, and can not return to my state before the first week in Dec. I know every inch of Miss. territory, because, for years, I organized here for the W.C.T.U. I think, without conceit, that it can be said that I could do more for my state than any other living woman. Regardless of the sacrifice that it will mean to me, I write to say that if three hundred dollars can be raised, that I will give a month's solid work in organizing suffrage clubs in Miss., beginning the last week in Feb. and continuing until the last week in March. This work will have to be done largely by personal invitation and by holding parlor meetings. The \$300.00 I ask for is to meet the expense of the undertaking. I will ask the state treasurer to send out calls for financial aid, but I am sure the returns will be small, as the Suffrage Organization in this state is so weak and the sentiment, though widely spread among men, is at anything but a fever heat just now, on account of nothing having been done for years. I am ready now to help. I feel sure of splendid returns, if I can go out into the field. This is my appeal to you - not only for Miss., but for other Southern states - for, the enthusiasm generated must spread beyond our borders. Please let me hear very soon. How much will the national give?

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Belle Kearney.

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Swarthmore, Pa., January 4, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I was very glad to get your letter and your view of the situation so far as you have been able to look the ground over in your short trip in Oklahoma. I was particularly glad to hear in regard to the conference in Memphis. A letter of yours must have gone astray as I had heard nothing from you in regard to the ~~protest~~, *English letter* but I kept it just as long as I felt I ought and then as it had been changed according to your suggestions, I took the liberty of sending it. I am very glad that you had sent the letter even though I didn't get it.

I have just received a long letter from Miss Kearney in regard to the work in Mississippi. She says she has organized a society in Flora, her own home, since she went there and one in Jackson, Miss. Miss Kearney has been, as you know, in National W. C. T. U. work for many years and it is the uniform statement of all who have employed her that she makes a most excellent address and influences people quite a good deal by her addresses but that she is one of the poorest organizers ever employed by an association, in fact they no longer use her in that capacity anywhere as far as I know. A person may be a very good lecturer and very interested in a cause and yet not much of an organizer and a person may be a good organizer and not a good lecturer. The two things do not necessarily go together any more than that a good preacher is also a good pastor.

I rather think Miss Kearney herself doesn't think she is a good organizer, although of course she doesn't say so. I judge it from the fact that she is very anxious to have somebody come to Mississippi. She would like to have Miss

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Gordon come there and help organize the state and she says, and I will quote this exactly as she has written it, "You could not do a greater kindness to this state than to send Miss Laura Clay here for one month if no longer. The women in Memphis were delighted with her. The Clay name means power in the whole South". She evidently thinks you are in the employ of the National Association and that you go wherever you are sent. However, I have no doubt that if you had the time to go to Mississippi the month she asks sometime during the year, it would be of incalculable value to the work and would do much toward building up the state and I hope that sometime during the year you may find it within the possibilities to spare the time to go. I am going to do all I can to have either Kate or some other Southern woman turn in and help the Southern states wherever they are willing to do any work. I hope that this New Year will be one of remarkable growth to our Association as it certainly ought to be. We ought to add ten thousand members between now and the close of 1908, which is the sixtieth anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention. And now for Oklahoma.

You say "as soon as all the delegates are interviewed, what do you propose for Dr. Woods and Miss Gregg to do? I suppose Mrs. Bradford's engagement will then close, etc." If there is any chance of the amendment being submitted either in the Constitution or out of it, just as soon as the interviewing of the delegates is over, then Dr. Woods and Miss Gregg should go right into the field. First, so long as there is any question as to whether the amendment may or may not be submitted, it would be better for them to go to the towns where clubs already exist and stir them up and get their organizations on good footing, so that if the amendment should be submitted, the organized towns would be in a good condition to go to work at once to arrange for public meetings and work which would need to be done locally. Then after the decision has been made, if the amendment is submitted either in the Constitution or separately, arrangements should be at once made for speakers to go into every town so far as we are able to furnish them even where organizations do not exist. The

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reason I think it is better to go first to the organized towns is because then, if the amendment was not submitted, they would be building up the clubs and getting them on their feet for future work, so that there would really be no loss to the cause. Then they could plan for the routes in the state.

As to Mrs. Bradford's engagement closing at the end of her interviewing, it seems to me it would be better for her too to remain and do the same kind of work which Dr. Woods and Miss Gregg should do with the organized clubs, because it would cost more to send her to Colorado and bring her back into the State to speak again than it would to have her remain and be busy working while the delegates were getting round to our amendment. So that my judgment is that all three of them should go out into the field just as soon as the interviewing is over and that Mrs. Boyer should remain in Guthrie and carry on her press work from there.

It might be better, however, since there is no local person who understands making routes for Miss Gregg to make the routes for the others. That would have to be done from the headquarters rather than from the field. Such matters as these would have to be settled among yourselves as to which is the wisest way of working but my view of the case is that all three of these should be kept at work until the final decision of the Convention in regard to the suffrage clause.

If the amendment is submitted, I expect to go to Oklahoma as soon as possible after the National Convention and remain until I have made a swing of the state and I should want Miss Gregg to make a route for me for I should want to be in the field all the time. The two territories are so large that it would take a long time to go over them and the probabilities are that it will have to be done in a very short time, because I have no doubt they will try to rush the vote on the Constitution as fast as they can. I think it would be well for Miss Gordon to go there also after the National Convention if she would, for if we get the question submitted, we have got to make just the best fight we can to carry it.

Jan. 4, 1907,

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In a recent letter, which Mrs. Boyer and Mrs. Bradford wrote Mrs. Avery, they said that if the amendment is not submitted either in the Constitution or outside of it, still we must make an initiative campaign. Now it seems to me that it would be very unwise for us to remain in the state and carry on a campaign at such a time when we had been turned down by the Convention and the people certainly would be so interested in the Constitution and the campaign to carry it that they would not pay any attention to us or our cause. We would have no chance whatever and such a campaign would be a long one and to my mind a useless one just at that time and one for which we certainly would not have the money. However, I hope you will look the field carefully over and have as nearly a thorough plan to submit to us at the National Convention as it is possible for you to arrange, for we want to do whatever it is deemed wise and best in order to carry the amendment in Oklahoma.

Faithfully yours,

Anna B. Shaw

P. S. - I have just received a letter from Dr. Woods stating that she is in a hospital ill but that she knows what is the matter and she will be all right in a few days and will go on to Guthrie. She was at the Mercy Hospital, Prescott, Arizona. Perhaps by the time you receive this, she will be with you, at least I hope so.

Swarthmore, Pa., March 20, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

On my way home from Chicago I passed through New York and had an interview with Mrs. Catt. I am glad to say that she is looking very much better and I think her trip abroad has greatly improved her condition physically, and when the physical condition is better, we all know that the mental will improve as well and then she will begin to get heart again and take hold of the work with her old interest and enthusiasm.

We had only a short time in which to discuss work and among other things Mrs. Catt asked me my opinion of holding a large public meeting in the City of New York this spring and whether or not I thought the National would co-operate in such a meeting. I told her I thought it would be an excellent plan to hold a large public meeting in the City of New York but whether it was wise to hold it in the spring or not was another question. It seemed to me that it was now too late in the year to think of anything, I thought a better time would be in the winter or later in the fall. I asked her to draw up a plan of what she would like to have us do and that I would submit it to the Business Committee, and I enclose what she has written me.

There were some personal questions on which she asked my own opinion aside from that of the Business Committee and I replied to them. Among other things I said that the first objection I saw to holding a Business Committee meeting in November was the fact that we voted at Chicago to hold the Business Committee meeting in January in Washington in connection with our Congressional Hearing, that as next year was the regular time to go to Congress with our measure and as we were not to have a convention in Washington, it was voted that the Business Committee meeting should be held there in connection with this, the states to appoint one

[Mw 20, 1907]

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representative each, and we should hold our regular Hearing before Congress. I stated that I did not think we could afford to pay the expenses of the National officers to two Business Committee meetings so near together as November and January and that as we would have to be in Washington next winter, I feared that we could not meet with the New York people in the fall, but if they would have their meeting in the winter, it might be possible for us to arrange some plan by which, if not all, at least a majority of the members of the Business Committee would be present.

Then my second objection to holding a meeting in November was that there is now some friction between the Inter-Urban Suffrage Council, of which Mrs. Catt is President, and the State Association. If a large meeting of this sort was held in November in New York, that would be very near the time of the State Convention, which meets in Geneva on the 22nd of October. Naturally as the New York meeting would be the greater, it would keep all the people from that part of the State from going to the State Convention and would seem like a large counter-attraction and would interfere largely with the success of the state meeting and I thought that it was hardly wise to do anything which might add to the already divided feeling in the state. I tried to put this point before Mrs. Catt as carefully as I could so that she would not think we were taking sides either for or against the State or the Inter-Urban.

Then my personal third objection, which however might not interfere with the meeting except that she personally asked me if I personally would be present, was that I am hoping in the fall in November, at least in the latter part of November and the first of December, to hold a series of state conventions in the South, if they can be arranged for, and this would take me away from anything which might take place in New York at that time. Of course, that would not at all prevent any of the rest of you being there and I would not have mentioned it in connection with it had it not been that she wanted me to particularly promise that I would be at the meeting.

Now these are my objections to holding such a meeting in the fall. They may not appeal to the rest of the members of the Business Committee and you may be able to see a way out by which all of these things can be done and yet the plan for the New York meeting be carried out. I am, therefore, going to submit a vote.

In regard to Mrs. Catt's question about Mrs. Fawcett's coming, I think she has made a very good point when she says that while we might like Mrs. Fawcett for our anniversary Convention, still the emergency might be passed by that time and that she could do better service next fall. I think this is very true and that it might be a good thing to have Mrs. Fawcett in this country next fall, or if the great meeting in New York is postponed until the winter, at whatever time that meeting is held. I am quite sure we would be able to arrange enough meetings for Mrs. Fawcett to make her expenses.

I don't know whether you are familiar with the fact that President Thomas of Bryn Mawr is trying to arrange with various colleges a course of woman suffrage lectures each winter and she has gone so far in her work as to get six colleges pledged to take at least one lecture of this sort, even the man president of Smith College agreed to do it and the first speaker suggested was Miss Addams. I was at Bryn Mawr last Sunday and told Miss Thomas that it was possible that Mrs. Fawcett might come over to this country this fall or winter. I asked her if she did come, if it would be possible to place Mrs. Fawcett at these different colleges so as to help to get the money to pay her expenses and she said she thought that would be an excellent plan and she would be glad to co-operate in doing it. There are several other clubs, which I am sure would be glad to take Mrs. Fawcett, so that I think we would run no risk in trying to get her to this country.

Now if she came to the New York meeting, it might be at a time when she could be with us in our Hearing in Washington. Of course, I do not know the wisdom of having a foreigner speak at that time, yet a woman occupying the

[March 20, 1907]

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position, which Mrs. Fawcett did, her husband having been Postmaster General of England and she herself being a Conservative, it might be that such a person as the only foreigner would be helpful to us, but that we can discuss later. I should be heartily in favor of co-operating with Mrs. Catt in securing Mrs. Fawcett or some such conservative person here next fall to speak on the English situation. I think a number of clubs would be helped by it.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY ESTATE - Lucy Anthony and I waited upon Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett on Sunday last primarily to turn over the estate of Susan B. Anthony to the Thomas-Garrett fund according to Miss Anthony's last wish. The year of our duties as executors had expired on the 13th of March and we desired to close up our account with Miss Thomas at the earliest possible moment and as Miss Thomas was out of the city at that time, we could not do it before last Sunday.

We paid in cash \$2308.48 and two \$500 three per cent U. S. Government bonds, market value \$1040, five shares of stock in the Ft. Wayne Bank, par value at \$100, but for which the estate is offered \$165 a share, making it worth in the market \$825, amounting in all to \$4273.48. We had hoped to turn over five thousand dollars and would have done more than that had we been able to collect Mrs. Sewall's note of two thousand and Mr. Mosher's (the nephew of Miss Anthony) note of \$744.00. There are still some unfinished accounts to be adjusted and a valuable picture and one or two other things belonging to Miss Anthony, which we hope we may sell and we are not yet doubtful but that we shall be able to make the sum up to five thousand dollars, but we turned over the entire estate, good and bad, to Misses Thomas and Garrett and gave up our account as executors, but they have requested us to act as their agents in disposing of the things we have and in trying to collect as much as possible on the bad accounts which we have, but whatever we do now in regard to it will be done entirely as the agents of Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett rather than as the executors of the estate of Miss Anthony.

May 20, 1907

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While, of course, this account is entirely separate from the money of the National Association and does not come legitimately within our jurisdiction, still I thought you would be interested in knowing how much we had been able to secure from the estate to turn over to the Thomas-Garrett Fund.

I shall be in New York during the time of the Peace Meeting and hope we may have some sort of representation on their program.

Mrs. Catt is very anxious to have the replies to her questions in regard to the fall meeting, so she can present them at the Business Committee meeting on the third of April, so I will ask you to be prompt in returning your votes.

Faithfully yours,

Annie H. Shaw

New Orleans March 11th., 1907.

My Dear Mrs. Avery:-

The inclosed copy of Mrs. Steinem's letter replying to my invitation for her to serve as Chairman of the Educational Committee, created under her initiative, is so full of splendid suggestion, I am sending copies to Mrs. Upton and Miss Clay and you are to share your copy with Miss Shaw.

What she says in regard to Chairman in the States making the work of incalculable benefit is true, but the National Chairman must do a lot of prodding to get these State Chairmen to work. This requires an awful amount of letter writing and where the Chairman of such a Committee has not the facilities for duplicating letters etc. etc the work goes by and we have an annual report that is little else than a lot of words.

I think you are a splendid one to act as this Chairman and use the Presidents Office to carry out the work. I would take the chairmanship did I not feel that in developing the work of the Congressional Committee added to the ordinary correspondence, I have all that I can do. If the suggestion made by Mrs. Steinem and seconded by me will you not write Mrs. Steinem and H'qurs. and notify them of your willingness to act as Chairman.

Through our Public School Alliance we have launched a pretty general Mother's Club movement. I have intended and have already done some work turning the organization to suffrage account. Miss Clay will like this letter of Mrs. Steinem's, for it contains visions of an increase in membership.

Very cordially

Harry H. Gordon

Just received the most amiable letter from Mrs. Cunningham - will call her as long as I can. I will see you what I propose. I don't know if you are going to get it.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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President, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
7443 Devon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,
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DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.

Chairman Press Committee, ELENORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Rochester, N.Y. 17 Madison St.,

March 6, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee-

I have received a letter from Mrs. Capwell of Buffalo, the President of the Erie County Woman Suffrage Association, in which she says: "I am glad to say that at our executive meeting we decided to invite the National Convention to Buffalo in 1908 and I am pleased to add we are pledged the help of the Common Council and some other strong friends. In the words of Miss Clay, "The campaign is on" and we have already begun in a small way to surround ourselves with good friends who all seem to be alive to the desire of the convention quite as much as I am myself." She also adds that she is going to try to get the endorsement of the Western Federation of Women's Clubs before the National Convention and Mrs. Crossett is arranging to see if she can't get me invited to speak at their federation meeting this spring. She says further on in her letter, "The Buffalo News had a fine editorial on suffrage during the convention, which gladdened the hearts of us all, as they have been on the other side so long and now to have them come out on our side is a great help".

Tomorrow I have arranged to have an hour's interview with Mrs. Crossett, as I thought so much more could be accomplished by a personal interview than by even a great deal of writing. I am planning to spend a month at least in New York in helping them this spring in county conventions and I am arranging to give two weeks

[Mar. 6, 1907]

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



V.

to Ohio. I do not know what other work I will do directly in the field building up states but I have the time pretty well planned for until the hot weather, as I have several engagements in different directions in March in and near Philadelphia. During the business committee meeting we discussed a ten-cent membership in connection with our National work. I think on further consideration you will all feel that there was no plan presented to the committee which was feasible in the shape in which it was presented. In fact I cannot recall that a single plan was suggested which would not materially interfere with the states and their present method of affiliation with the National. I am thoroughly confident that it is impossible for us to take the time to discuss this matter carefully and weigh it in all of its relations both to the National and State work, at a business committee meeting.

We are too hurried and too tired to be patient in the discussion, so I am going to ask each member of the business committee to think over a plan as soon as possible and each one send her plan to me at Swarthmore. I will group them together and send them all out to the different members of the business committee and see if we cannot out of this evolve a plan which will be satisfactory to both the National and State associations and at the same time be a working plan upon which to increase our membership. I wish this could be done this spring because I should want to have it in good shape so as to present at the state conventions next fall, so that the states could vote on it first before it was presented at the National

[Mar 6, 1907]

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Convention. Then after the states had discussed it to their own satisfaction we could bring it up at our National Convention in 1908. All the states could immediately proceed to act upon it at the close of their own state conventions this fall. If any of you have a better plan than this to suggest I would be glad to have you send it to me and I will submit it to the other members of the official board.

Mrs. Upton has doubtless written you of my stay at headquarters last week and of our arrangement of work for the coming summer. From Warren I went to Cincinnati to speak on Sunday for the Rev. Herbert Bigelow to pay him for coming to Chicago to speak at our convention. We exchanged pulpits, so to speak. On Monday I arrived here at the Anthony home in Rochester. Since that time we have consulted with a lawyer in regard to the probating of Miss Anthony's will and have been taking an inventory of the different things which belonged to Miss Susan's and Miss Mary's estates. On Thursday night Mrs. Avery and I will go to New York, where I will interview Mrs. Harper with regard to the biography and its publication. The result of the interview I will forward to you at once. From New York I will go directly to Swarthmore, where I expect to remain until the 4th of April, at which time I will probably have to return to Rochester, as Miss Mary's will is to be probated on that day. In the meantime I shall on March 13th go to Bryn Mawr and turn over to Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett the proceeds of the Susan B. Anthony estate. That will be the anniversary of Miss Anthony's death.

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I will inform you all in regard to the result of the interview with Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett, so that you may know just what we can depend on in regard to the Thomas-Garrett fund. In the meantime I hope all is going well with you and that you are rested up after your hard pull at the convention.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

1907. April 30th, 1907.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have just returned from Richmond, and find here some letters which were not forwarded, by some accident; and I had your letter about Mrs. Boyer, and the voting slip.

I find it difficult to vote just Yes or No in regard to the Press work in Oklahoma. I certainly think our expenses are going too high; but I do not know just how they can be cut to the best advantage. You say you would prefer to have Mrs. Boyer at Headquarters, if Mrs. Upton would like to have her do so. I also like that; and if that is not done, then I approve the first suggestion you made. I think perhaps you may have to put out another vote, after we have heard how all the Board thinks about the matter. At least, I do not feel competent to vote finally just now. If Mrs. Boyer is removed from the state, who is to make the routes for the speakers? Will it not take the time of Miss Gregg, and cost as much as it is doing now, or else lose her services in the field? I am very much in favor of having local women do as much as they can; and my vote will always be to employ as many of them as possible, and not to send in any more outsiders at this point of the campaign. But it also seems necessary to have some well-trained workers to guide the others. Therefore I am in a quandary how to arrange these conflicting demands. However, I am certainly of the opinion that expenses are running too high; and I cannot think we are justified in spending money which we do not possess. Please let me hear again. In the meantime I must abstain from voting, though I have given my opinion.

on No. 2.

Faithfully yours,

[Apr. 29, 1907]

(COPY)

Portland, Ore., April 2, 1907.

To The Executive Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association,
President Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association held at the home of the President, March 11th, 1907, the following lines of work were unanimously agreed upon:

First: To return at once to the quiet methods of procedure which brought us to within 1-1/9 per cent of a majority vote for our Constitutional Amendment at the State election in 1900.

Second:- To follow the lines of least resistance, exactly as we did to secure the Initiative and Referendum, when that amendment to our State Constitution was pending.

Third: To disclaim, and when necessary, disavow, all affiliation, implied or openly, with any and all political associations organized for any other purpose than to secure a majority vote for the enfranchisement of woman.

Fourth: To hold no public Equal Suffrage gatherings, except parlor and precinct meetings, without the unanimous vote of the Executive Committee.

Fifth: To protect women from encountering disagreeable friction with opponents by employing men, preferably old soldiers, both the Blue and the Gray, to canvass for signatures for our initiative petitions, for which we must pay under present custom, at the current rate of \$5.00 (Five Dollars) per 100 for verified signatures.

Sixth: To enroll the names and addresses of all the men and women we can secure at our parlor and precinct meetings, at \$1.00 per capita, to assist in the formation of the Governmental Study Clubs of the State Equal Suffrage Association, auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association;

Exh 29, 1907

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provided: That said National Association, shall deposit at once, at the disposal of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association, subject to the order of its Honorary President, Mrs. Viola M. Coe, for the sole purpose of the pending State Equal Suffrage campaign, the sum of \$2000 (Two Thousand) to be drawn upon in such sums as may be needed, only upon the order of the said Mrs. Viola M. Coe, when signed by the President and Secretary of the State Equal Suffrage Association, who shall keep accurate account of all expenditures.

It is our unanimous belief that, with the above sum of \$2000, placed at our disposal by the parent association, we shall be able, with the addition of such contributions as we may quietly secure locally, to carry the work to within a month of the June election of 1908 and possibly to a finish. But, if during the last weeks of the campaign, we shall lack funds to employ a few of the most popular speakers from the National Equal Suffrage Association, or from the States that now enjoy Equal Suffrage, we hope to feel free to ask for the requisite additional assistance, for which we exact no pledge from the parent society.

(signed) Abigail Scott Duniway.
President
(signed) Viola M. Coe.
Honorary President
(signed) Elizabeth L. Lord
Vice President at Large.
(signed) Charlotte M. Cartwright
First Vice President
(signed) Mrs. W. E. Potter
Treasurer
(signed) Mrs. Frederick Eggert,
Auditor.
(signed) Mrs. M. A. Dalton,
(2nd Auditor)
(signed) Sarah A. Evans
Member National Committee
(signed) Mrs. Imogene Bath,
(Auditor)
(signed) Mrs. Elizabeth Craig
Corresponding Secretary
(signed) Mrs. A. Bonham,
Fin. Sec'ty.
(signed) Elma Buckman
Recording Secretary.

[Apr. 29, 1907]
Portland, Oregon, Apr. 18/1907

Dear National President:-

I clip from this morning's Oregonian an item of local and (to us) National interest. Mr. Ross, of the firm of Ross & Ross (his wife is the Co.) called on me a few days ago from the Circular Letter Co., and offered to furnish stationery (letter heads, envelopes, etc.) and write for us all our letters for the campaign, address them and pay postage, for \$4. per 100. We will thus need no paid headquarters; and our quiet methods of procedure will eliminate a large part of the expense. Mr. Duniway (State Printer) has secured for our use a complete, up-to-date poll of the State. With Prohibition out of our race, with the business men no longer arrayed against us, with the press on our side, and the quiet co-operation of the N.A.W.S.A. according to the plan proposed, we hope to lay Oregon as a trophy at your feet in the Ides of June, 1908. We will use the services of the Secretary of State in sending out 100,000 of our Oregon Women's Non-Political Association's appeal to voters, as demanded by our State Press Association by resolution last fall, and adopted at its annual meeting.

Did I tell you in my letter yesterday about our plan for a compromise with the business men of Portland? The death of President Goode of the Lewis & Clark Exposition will retard our plans somewhat, but Dr. Coe is at the helm, and we hope to reach a mutual understanding at an early date.

The petitions are all that worry us now. So many petitions are springing up on all sorts of questions that the difficulties increase daily; but, with the sinews of co-operations with the National for which we ask, we'll manage all right.

Yours for Liberty

(Signed)

Abigail Scott Duniway

We do not mean to write to all men, but to leaders in every community who manage the voters to suit themselves.

(COPY)

Apr. 29, 1907
Portland, Ore., April 17/1907

Dear National President:-

Enclosed please find the unanimous agreement of our State Ex.Com., signed by our full Board, as suggested by our Nat. Corresponding Sec., Miss Kate Gordon. We are a unit in this work, as proposed, and we sincerely hope you will be glad to co-operate with us, in the only way in which we see the possibility of success. Influential business men are quietly planning to prevent another organization of hostile balloted forces; and, if we can only succeed in getting our petitions overwhelmingly signed, without public outcry, we will be ready for the next step. We now need the munitions of war, for which this appeal is made. New members are being added almost daily to our quiet forces, of which we say nothing through the papers. It will interest you to know that State officers of W.C.T.U. and ourselves have mutually agreed to a friendly armistice, without a dissenting voice. President Addison and I arranged for this in February at Salem. Last week I enjoyed a friendly call at my home from the State Secretary, Mrs. Henrietta Brown, of Albany. Mrs. Shane, their State Treas., is another personal friend of mine, with whose daughter (the re-elected treas. of our Woman's Club) I am in regular ~~correspondence~~ conference. The few obscure upstarts pushed by Mrs. Celby to the front last year, who tried last fall to capture the suffrage organization for good and all, in collusion with an octogenarian paranoiac, subsided after the papers refused to print any more of their screeds, and we hear nothing more from them. Mrs. Ray Welch, who got up the splendid meetings for you and Miss Laughlin in Cottage Grove, now lives in Portland. She spent several hours in con-

[Apr 29, 1907]

--2--

ference with me yesterday in my home, and will do a splendid work for us on the Hights. I hope when you come to us next time to show you the active co-operation of a host of first-class suffragists who took a back seat last year, not because of any hostility to the National forces, but because our work, ^{was in the wrong hands} locally speaking, ~~was in the wrong hands~~ Dear Mrs. Coe has won and holds our everlasting gratitude for standing by the Old Guard in the storm.

I have forgiven you fully and freely for your attack upon me in the tail end of the hurricane, for you knew not what you did! But you know I told the truth.

Hoping hereafter for complete harmony and co-operation with every one of our National workers, I am, as ever,

Yours for Liberty

(Signed)

Abigail Scott Duniway.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio

President, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Swarthmore, Pa.

1st Vice-President at Large, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Swarthmore, Pa.

2nd Vice-President at Large, FLORENCE KELLY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

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3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

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Warren, Ohio.

Auditors : { LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

{ MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

April 29/1907



Swarthmore, Pa.,

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

I enclose copies of two letters which I have received from Mrs. Duniway and her plan of "silent campaign", and ask you to vote as soon as possible in order that the result of our judgment may be forwarded to the Oregon Association.

Faithfully yours

AHS.-R.

Anna H. Shaw
C. S. R.

[Apr 20, 1907]

Swarthmore, Pa., April 20, 1907.

Dear Members of the Business Committee:-

I was entertained at Mrs. Catt's home in New York on Thursday night and had an opportunity for a very extended conversation with her and we went over the situation in regard to the meeting, which was suggested in New York next fall or winter. The result of the Peace Conference made us both feel that some very excellent work could be done for suffrage if a large meeting could be arranged in New York and the plan suggested by Mrs. Catt appealed to me as one which would be of very great advantage to us and to the cause.

It was this:- that the meeting should last for about four days, that a portion of the time should be given to speech making by influential persons - persons who would give tone and character to the meeting as well as entertainment to the people who heard them - but that there need not be many of this class, just enough to make it really a representative meeting, that the larger part of the day sessions should be utilized in discussions by the floor and that there should be invited not only the suffragists of the country but all kinds of organizations should be asked to send delegates, who should have the same right of discussion and suggestion which our own suffragists should have, - in fact that it should be a mass meeting of people of all kinds and descriptions, of organizations who should be asked to give their views as to methods of work in the interest of some definite suffrage action.

You know we have this year decided to do all we can to get organizations to not only adopt resolutions for us but to adopt a definite resolution to make an appeal to the legislatures of the various states asking them to petition Congress to submit a Sixteenth Amendment. It was Mrs. Catt's suggestion that this meeting should bear entirely upon that subject and that these people by being asked to participate in such a meeting could be readily asked to push this measure through

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their own organizations and instead of simply passing a resolution in favor of it could be interested to take it up as a part of their regular business.

It was Miss Anthony's ambition for years to have two or three great conferences in different parts of the country and I think the suggestion of Mrs. Catt would carry that idea out and if we could begin with a successful one in New York, I think it would set a pace to have others in different parts of the country. I should like to have one taken to St. Louis or to New Orleans or to some other of the great cities after a time, but I think it would be well to start in New York and see what we could do. In this way we would be able to utilize other organizations and to bind them to us and obviate some of the difficulties of a membership fee.

Mrs. Catt suggests that without doubt the New York people could raise the money for the hall and other local expenses, if the National would help do the work such as sending out the invitations to other societies and things of that sort, which should go from the National Headquarters, and the work could be done there by the machinery which we have on hand in the easier time of the summer.

The whole plan struck me as very feasible and of very great value and I am heartily in sympathy with it and would do everything in my power if it was considered advisable by our Association to help make it a success. We are unquestionably at the present time doing a great deal of work which will ultimately bear results, but we are not doing anything of a showy kind to keep ourselves before the public, and I really think we ought to do, not less of the quiet, regular work which is now being carried on so splendidly, but we should do a little of the showy work as well and keep ourselves before the public. In his address before the Young Women's Suffrage League, this was Mr. Stead's emphatic advice, "Be talked about, don't let people think you are asleep". Mrs. Catt is ready to put herself heartily into the arrangements for such a meeting and she believes that they have the women in New York, women of influence who could be put at the head of committees and in that way the local work could be well done.

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In order to secure the prominent people who would give tone to such a meeting, it would be necessary for us, of course, to pay their expenses - to pay the expenses of a few of them - and if we undertake this work as a National Society we should expect to pay the expenses of a few of the most prominent of the speakers, unless they would be willing to come for nothing, - in that case we would not urge them to take it. We would have to bear the expense of a good deal of correspondence. Such a meeting would, of course, be quite an expensive affair and yet I think we can all see its value. If it is successful, it would boom us all over the country; therefore, I don't think we should stint our endeavors and not make it successful, simply because we are afraid to spend a little money. It would be better to make a booming success of it and pay out a little more than to let it fail for the want of a sufficient amount. I am going to ask you to vote upon this question.

There is another reason in my mind why it would be well for us to have this meeting. There is unquestionably a very great prejudice against the National and the State Association by a few of the women in New York. These women, while numerically few, are pretty good talkers. They talk a great deal and they have more or less influence and I think it would be well for the National to come in touch with the New York suffragists in order that much of the feeling might be removed, which has been created partly by misunderstandings and partly by persons who have reasons of their own for wanting to create an impression unfavorable to the National and State Associations. I think that even these women themselves would see that much of their feeling was unfounded if they could come a little closer in touch with us and I am very sure that the other women whom they have influenced would realize it. Consequently, I am personally very strongly in favor of holding such a meeting but will abide by the decision of the majority of the Committee if they feel that it is not desirable at the present time.

In making the announcement for the meeting in New York, "Progress" could be utilized very generally in sending it out all over the country and so save a great deal of extra printing and work in the Headquarters.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., April 20, 1907.

Dear Members of the Business Committee:-

I do not know whether you have been informed of the fact or not that the National Association has never furnished me with a typewriting machine, that from the very beginning I have used my own, and it is pretty well used up. It was a perfectly new machine and one of the very best and now that the work is increasing so much that my own stenographer has to use the machine all the time, it gives me no room to use it for my own needs, and Lucy has to have a machine in making arrangements for meetings and all that sort of thing, for she does this work entirely for me, - arranges all my meetings and all that sort of work which I do for the Association; consequently we have to have the use of our own machine for that purpose as well as for my personal business.

We have now an opportunity of purchasing an almost new Remington machine for fifty dollars and it's a very excellent machine. Lucy thinks it's a very great bargain and I am going to ask the Committee if it will not purchase this machine for use in my office.

The Underwood, which came from Oregon, has been adopted by Mrs. Avery for her work for the Susan B. Anthony Fund. While we were together in the same house, we utilized the two machines in a sort of company way, but now that we are about to separate, that cannot be done any longer. I enclose a vote upon this question with the other votes, which I am about to send out to-day.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., April 20, 1907.

Dear Members of the Business Committee:-

I have been so hurried in writing my Business Committee letters that I failed to say anything in connection with the great Peace Conference in New York. I feel abundantly paid for going for aside from the opportunity of meeting with so many people and mingling with a large number of women connected with other associations and in that way sort of allying ourselves with a great movement like that in the interest of which the Peace Conference was called, I had an opportunity of speaking the only word for suffrage which was spoken during the entire Conference and while it was in a small meeting in the early morning, nevertheless it was reported in connection with the Peace Conference and I understand will be incorporated in their report.

I had one other opportunity to say a word for equality. When the resolutions were presented, one was offered by a Harvard student desiring the co-operation of the National Peace Association with the Collegiate Peace Association in order as his resolution read "to educate college men in the principles of peace". As soon as he had finished reading his resolution, I immediately rose and asked that it should be re-read because I wanted to call the attention of the great audience to the wording so I could make a correction. After he read it the second time, I moved that the word "men" be stricken out of the resolution and the word "students" inserted. This, of course, brought applause from all the suffragists who immediately recognized the point, but a reporter, like so many other people, was wholly unconscious of what I could mean by asking that the change be made, for when the meeting was over, he came to me and said, "Dr. Shaw what was your objection to that resolution, don't you think that students are men?" I said, "Not always". He said, "Do you mean to say that you think a man isn't a man because he's a student?" I replied, "Oh, no! You asked me

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if I didn't think that college students were men and I said no, not always, because many college students are women." Then he said, "Oh! I see your reason and I think it's a very good one," but it was amazing to see how long it took him to realize the fact that all college students are not men. I am very glad to say that the young man accepted my amendment very readily and it was unanimously carried by the Conference, so that if I got nothing else out of this meeting, those two facts fully repaid me for all the time and expense to which I was put in attending, but I got a great deal more out of it and feel that I have not mingled as much as I ought with the people who are interested in other reforms beside suffrage, and during the next year, I am going to take advantage of every opportunity that comes to me to be present at great gatherings of every possible description, so I was very glad that last night I was one of the speakers at the annual meeting of the Anti-Vivisection Society in Philadelphia.

Faithfully yours,

Anna A. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., April 20, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I don't know whether Mrs. Upton has sent the report in regard to the expenses in Oklahoma to the entire Business Committee or only to the Sub-Committee on Organization and Campaigns, but I am going to repeat it here.

The expense of the Oklahoma work is so great that it seems to me it is unwarranted unless the results are such as to make us feel that the money has been wisely expended. Mrs. Upton has made a careful estimate from Mrs. Boyer's report of the probably expenses of the four months from April first to August first and you will probably be surprised to learn that it will cost more to carry on the work in Oklahoma during those four months than it will cost to carry on the National Headquarters, pay all of its clerks, Progress and press work for six months.

Mrs. Upton's Estimate of Oklahoma's Expenses for four months based on Mrs. Boyer's expenses for March and the first three weeks of April:

Expenses of Headquarters per month will be -----	\$188.00
Boyer's Salary-----	100.00
Wood's Salary-----	100.00
Gregg's Salary-----	100.00
Boyer's Personal Ex.-----	35.00
Gregg's Expenses in field-----	76.00
Wood's " " " -----	48.00
Salary 1 extra Oklahoma woman \$1.00 per day 26 working days	26.00
Expenses of moving and sundries	20.00
	\$693.00

The question now arises can we afford to pay so much money for work in a state at a time when we have no question before the people, when all the men of the state will be interested in the vote for statehood and for the members of the

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National Congress as well as for the State officials. There is such intense rivalry in the state that before the campaign is half over, the men will simply be wrought to a frenzy and we will neither get a space in the press nor a hearing from the people. I am very sure that if we were to subscribe for the press clippings of Oklahoma during the next four months, we would be amazed at the small amount of space which would be given to our question and it doesn't appear to me that the expenditure is warranted by the conditions.

I don't see why we need expensive headquarters or headquarters at all other than a place in which Mrs. Boyer can do her work, and a room in a private house, which did not necessitate a janitor and chlorides and so many different things could be obtained for at most ten dollars a month, and I cannot believe that it would be impossible to secure board for less than a dollar and a half a day in addition to a room for Mrs. Boyer in the City of Oklahoma. Of course, if Mrs. Boyer wished to board at a hotel and pay a dollar and a half a day, that would be a matter which would wholly concern her, but I don't think the Association can afford to pay that price for the board of one of its workers.

I feel it my duty to say very emphatically that our whole method of conducting the work in Oklahoma at this time seems to me rather extravagant and not in accord with the necessities of the situation. What is needed more than anything else is to secure the interest of the farmers and the labor union men. If our campaigns have taught us anything, it is that no matter what the ordinary man may say or feel in regard to our question, when he comes to vote his action is controlled by the attitude of his particular party or his particular association upon the question, so that to my mind it is of more value to secure the co-operation of a few of the leaders in the labor organizations and in the farmers' alliances than it would be to convert ten thousand men over the state.

I don't believe we are going to do it through the newspapers. We

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have had Mrs. Boyer in the state for months and in her letter to us she says that there is a marked change in the newspapers against us within the past few weeks and that we have got to get hold of them again. Now just why the hold should have been lost I don't see. Of course, the vote of the Constitutional Convention against it is the explanation but that has been done and probably nothing that we will say will change the attitude of mind of the editors in regard to that matter and our method of procedure is too expensive. I believe Mrs. Boyer is a valuable woman but think that her services would be of a great deal more value to the Association as a newspaper woman if she could combine with her newspaper work in Oklahoma and Indian Territory the newspapers of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas and one woman ought to be able to do that especially if she keeps a stenographer and to pay Mrs. Boyer for newspaper work for Oklahoma alone is an expense which I don't think is at all warranted at this time when there is practically no campaign and no interest in our question in the state.

What we do need in Oklahoma is two or three local Oklahoma women to go about among the farmers' alliances and other organizations of that sort and wherever a large meeting could be arranged, then have Miss Gregg and Dr. Woods fill those appointments. We do not need headquarters and I am in favor of asking Mrs. Boyer to give up headquarters, which require the amount of rent of those which she says she has engaged and a janitor and other expenses and ask her to take a private room in a house where the room would be cared for and there would be no additional expense above this rent, - a room which will be convenient for her to do her work in while she is in the state.

Personally, I would be in favor of asking Mrs. Boyer to leave the state and come to Warren and assist in the work there if Mrs. Upton would like to have her do so and put in her charge the papers in the states where there are no Chairmen of Press Committees and in which we want to work for suffrage sentiment. This would

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not be deserting Oklahoma, for if we keep two organizers in the field and one or two local women, we would be doing for Oklahoma more than we have ever done for any other state in our whole history.

I am going to ask you to vote on whether or not you think we should keep up the present rate of expenses in the State of Oklahoma and pay more for four months' work in that one state than we are paying for six months for the whole National Association at our National Headquarters. If we should vote that it is not wise to continue this expensive attempt at a campaign and in a state when there is really no campaign on hand as in Oklahoma, it would not in any way be violating our agreement with Mrs. Boyer, because she has refused to sign the contract which we sent to her, a contract which to my mind was very liberal when we consider the salaries which are paid the other workers, who have been in our movement for so many years and who are in their own field rendering service quite equal to that of Mrs. Boyer in hers and much more expensive, if it were paid for at the rate at which such service is usually compensated.

While it is an excellent thing to secure the results which they are securing from W.C.T.U. meetings and farmers' meetings and schoolhouse meetings, it is exactly the same kind of work which we are doing in all the other states and with the number of workers in the field in Oklahoma, we could get just as many results in any other state into which we might go, - Ohio, New York, Iowa, or anywhere else - because there isn't a northern state in which every meeting of the W.C.T.U. that is held would not pass a suffrage resolution and there is not a single meeting, which I shall hold in the next two months in Ohio and New York, in which we could not get a resolution passed endorsing woman suffrage, so that this work is simply the same kind of work we have done and will do in every other state as well as in Oklahoma, so there is no specific and distinctive kind of work being done there which is not and could not be done anywhere else and consequently no more need of such expensive

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service at the hands of the National Association.

The bills which are sent in from the Oklahoma headquarters are to my mind excessive and much of the expense unnecessary, in fact they remind me of the expensive methods of the Oregon campaign and seem to be following very closely in their footsteps. I do not mean by this that good work is not being done in Oklahoma but I think we are paying too much for the kind of work which is being done.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., April 13, 1907.

Dear Members of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter just received from Mrs. McCulloch. What a splendid victory she had and how glad I am that it came to her, for we won't have to be afraid of what she will do or the blunders that she may make. It's a great comfort to feel that she's a safe woman and will use her position wisely.

I leave here to-night to attend the Peace Conference in New York next week. I shall be there every day except on Tuesday when I go to Asbury Park to lecture. I certainly hope that there will be some recognition of suffrage in that great body and it will not be the fault of Mrs. Kelley or Mrs. Catt or myself if there is not.

On April fourth, the will of Miss Mary Anthony was probated. We had feared from the attitude of some of the relatives that there might be a contest and our fears were well founded, because when Lucy and Mrs. Avery arrived at the court room on the morning of the fourth (I was not able to be present because I had a previous engagement to lecture in New York on that day) they found Mr. Bacon, the husband of Anna Anthony, present with a lawyer to make a contest of the will in the interest of his wife and another niece and some nephews of Miss Anthony, but they made such a poor case that immediately when they got through presenting it, the Judge admitted the will to probate. I am going to ask you to say nothing of this so that in no way it may get into the papers, because we are very anxious that what seems to us a shameful proceeding on the part of some of the relatives may not reflect on those who are as indignant over the proceeding as anyone can well be.

It was decided, however, by the executors, who are Mrs. Avery, Lucy and myself, that it would be well not to pay to the local, state or National work the gifts which Miss Mary wished to go in these directions until the expiration

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of a year from the time of her death. In no case was there any money given to the society, it was given to three women - one set for the local, one for the state, and one for the National - to expend according to their discretion. Those whom Miss Mary mentioned as the National women were in the order in which she mentioned them - Miss Shaw, Mrs. Upton and Mrs. McCulloch.

You understand that there were no bequests left in Miss Mary's will to anyone except to Lucy Anthony and myself, but that she left for the executors a letter of request asking them to use certain parts of the money for certain purposes which she mentioned, according to their discretion. Of course, Lucy and I understand very well that while her estate was left to us absolutely, it was left to us as Miss Susan's was - to be used in the ways in which we knew she would like to have it go - and we will as far as we are able follow out what we consider a sacred trust.

Lucy is still in Rochester at the old home, sending out different things which are to be given to various friends, and we have offered the house for sale. After due consideration, it was thought best that the house should be sold, because if it were kept and rented, it would never be kept just as it was before and a house which is rented soon runs down and we felt that it was better to close it while its old memories hung about it than to let it sort of run down and pass into the hands of people who might not care for it. So when I came away the night before last, Lucy and I realized that it was perhaps the last time that we would ever be in the old home together and it almost seemed like going through with the agony of parting with dear Aunts Susan ~~and Mary~~ and Mary again, but it seemed best to all the friends to do as we have done.

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Stewart, of Chicago, and I copy a single paragraph because I think you will be glad to know how they feel about the Convention in Chicago. She says:

"I have heard many of the Chicago women say they feel that it has

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been a great blessing to Chicago suffragists to have entertained the National Convention. Everything that we did seems to have been so thoroughly appreciated and our own pleasure in the Convention too was so great that we have been more than repaid for all that we did."

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

ENCL 13, 1907

(COPY)

Chicago, April 8, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw & Business Committee:

I hope my being elected Justice of the Peace in Evanston has not made you think the office-holding-bee in my bonnet might stop my further suffrage work, and so I will tell you confidentially how I once ran for office.

As we approached our city election, it appeared that there was only one candidate for the office of Justice of the Peace, and he a plumber who had been before the courts as defendant several times. The City Attorney who conducts all our cases involving the infringement of the liquor laws tried to get some one else, some lawyer to run and finally came to me. I agreed to stand as a candidate and he and other friends got out petition blanks, secured in two days about four times as many names as were needed, filed them the last day, and I was duly nominated by petition as an Independent, let by party convention. I could not do much as a campaigner, as I had planned a Hearing at Springfield the next week and all the details as to speakers, railway-fares, hotels, etc. were on me. But when we returned, we devoted Thursday and Friday before election to sending out my article and accompanying letter to the 5000 voters. The suffragists in the neighborhood helped and of course the children. I made no speeches and arranged no meetings. Mr. McCulloch had ordered a lot of cards for the polls with yellow ribbon badges bearing my name, but the serious illness of his mother called him to Iowa and I was alone, Tuesday, election morning. I had messages from various polling places asking where my cards were, and so took the pony-cart with Miss Sloate and Miss Auten and visited every polling-place, twelve in all. At every place our pony-cart would be immediately surrounded by men who knew us, offering premature congratulations and asking for a yellow streamer and tickets. We ran out of badges and I bought plain yellow ribbon, yards of it, and cut it up as we went along. Mrs. Rice and Mrs. Grant went with me in the afternoon as we made a tour of the polls just before closing and we had a continuous reception. All the people in the carriages and auto's working with desperation for their candidates for Mayor or aldermen carried a yellow ribbon and waved us greeting. It seemed the only bit of cheerfulness about the election. It was the hardest fought election for twenty years and the Mayor's majority first announced as 27 is now down to 6, while the City Clerk says my majority is 1300.

Where does suffrage come in, you ask? Whenever I pinned a ribbon on a man I told him I stood also for woman suffrage. My many letters of congratulation say, it will help the woman movement. The Chicago press intimate the same and have given vast space to every little detail and all their imaginings. Their tone has been uniformly cordial and flattering.

My judicial duties will not be very heavy for there are already four other Justices of the Peace in Evanston who are not burdened with work and I can put over work to them if I get too much. I only care for enough to show I can do it, establish the precedent and make way for other women lawyers in larger judicial positions.

We have a hearing this week in Chicago on our Chicago suffrage bill before the Legislative Committees.

Yours truly,

(signed) Catharine Vaughn McCulloch.

Swarthmore, Pa., April 3, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I send you the result of the votes sent out on March 26th and 27th. I have not as yet heard from Mrs. Sperry on either of these votes but as I shall leave home to go to Rochester to attend to the adjustment of Miss Mary Anthony's estate before there is time for her vote to be returned, I want to send out the result so far and as the vote is practically unanimous in most cases, Mrs. Sperry's vote would not affect the result one way or another.

The number of votes against paying the postage for the Chairman of the Press Committee of the State of South Dakota until September is five, with one in favor. Miss Blackwell votes to loan the ten dollars to South Dakota until September when the state shall repay it to the National. Miss Clay votes against paying the money to the Chairman of Press as establishing a bad precedent but suggests that since we would have been glad to have helped South Dakota, it might be well for us to contribute ten dollars toward the state work and ask the state to use it in the press work. This to my mind gets over the difficulty, which would be in the way of paying the money to the Chairman of the Press Committee and so establishing a precedent and I am in favor of Miss Clay's suggestion, - that we contribute ten dollars to the state of South Dakota asking them to use it in their press work. If any of the Business Committee have any objection to this plan, I wish they would say so. If not, I shall take their silence as evidence of their willingness to contribute to South Dakota and shall give an order on the Treasurer for that amount of money and ask her to forward it.

Votes in regard to contributing toward the Council Headquarters at the Jamestown Exposition are four in favor and three against. Upon the second question under date of March 26th, two voted to contribute \$50.00, three to contribute

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a pro rata share with other national societies; the other two voted against the measure.

The reason I was in favor of uniting with the Council in the headquarters is because Mrs. Schoff and the Mothers' Congress have three rooms on the grounds there and she to my mind is the bitterest foe against woman suffrage in this country and I thought it would be a good plan for us to be somewhat in evidence, especially as Mrs. Kelley assured us that if we had those headquarters, she would go down there part of the time in April and May and perhaps later in September. I had hoped that Miss Clay would be able to go part of the summer but in a letter just received from her to-day, she says she will not be able to spend any part of the summer in Virginia as she wants to devote her time to building up her own state, she has been away so much of late. Mrs. Kelley seemed to be quite interested in the project and I am sure would be a great help to us during the time she spends there.

I shall be in Rochester, New York, adjusting affairs in connection with Miss Mary Anthony's estate until probably about the 9th of the month when I return to Philadelphia. On the 13th I go to New York to attend that great Peace Conference where I am to speak on the morning of Wednesday, the 17th. On the 4th of this month I speak in New York for the Woman's Club and on the 19th in Philadelphia before the Anti-Vivisection Society, so you see I am going before various bodies with our subject. On the 21st of April, I shall start on my round of conventions in Ohio. I am contributing two weeks' time to the state of Ohio and four weeks to New York and I hope to be able to help strengthen the organization in both states.

Since dictating the above, a letter has been received from Mrs. Sperry, who has just arrived home after many delays by flood, etc., in which she gives her vote a good deal in the way in which Miss Clay gave hers. While not making me her proxy, she says she votes as I do on certain of the questions and this will leave the result just as it is.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Starn

Mar 3, 1907

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

March 27, 1907.

1. Are you in favor of paying the postage for the Chairman of the Press Committee of the State of South Dakota until September when their State Convention is held?

2. Are you willing to pay the postage of any other State Chairman of Press who may request it?

3. Are you willing to pay the postage of any other Chairman of any other State Committee?

	1.	2.	3.
Shaw	No	No	No
Avery	No	No	No
Kelley	No	No	No
Gordon	Not heard from		
Blackwell	As a loan	Decide on merit	On merit
Clay	No	No	No
Upton	Yes	Decide on merit	On merit
Sperry	Not heard from		

If anyone objects to the plan suggested by Miss Clay of contributing ten dollars to the South Dakota state work to be used for Press, please send word immediately to Mrs. Upton.

CA 3, 1907

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

March 26, 1907.

1. Are you in favor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association contributing a portion of the five hundred dollars required for the Council Headquarters at the Jamestown Exposition?

2. If so, how much shall we contribute?

3. If we decide to contribute toward maintaining headquarters, what demands shall we make for our Association? Shall we ask for a separate desk room or simply that our literature may be placed in proper position and the person in charge distribute it equally with other literature?

4. If we have headquarters there, shall we make an effort to have some officer or member of our Association at the Exposition a portion of the summer?

	1.	2.	3.	4.
Shaw	Yes	Pro Rata	Distribution of Literature & Secure Signatures	Yes.
Avery	Yes	\$50.00	Distribution of Literature & Secure Signatures	Yes.
Kelley	Yes	\$50.00	Distribution of Literature & Secure Signatures	Yes.
Gordon	No			No.
Blackwell	Yes	Pro Rata	Distribution of Literature & Secure Signatures	Yes, if we can get right person.
Upton	No			
Clay	No	Pro Rata		
Sperry		Not heard from		

Since we voted not to have any proxy voting, Miss Clay gets around it by saying that upon this question she would vote exactly as Miss Gordon does and I have so recorded her vote.

Swarthmore , Pa., April 2, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:-

You sent me your proxy a few days ago in voting on several of the points that were submitted to the vote of the Business Committee. In doing so, of course, you forgot that at the Business Committee meeting in Chicago, we voted that there would be no more proxy voting in the Business Committee.

I must confess I do not think it was a very wise thing to do, because sometimes one person may know more about a question than another person and give a much wiser vote, but since that was the vote of the Business Committee, of course, we'll have to stand by it. Nevertheless I put you down as voting according to my judgment on the questions in connection with New York, but as it did not change the result, it makes no difference. If it had, then of course, the vote could not be counted.

It was, as I said, unanimously agreed that we could not pay the expenses of the Business Committee for two meetings - one in November and one in January - and that the January meeting was absolutely necessary.

I have had a good many letters from Mrs. Upton recently as a member of the Sub-Committee on Organization, etc. in connection with the Oklahoma work. The one she sent in regard to Mrs. Boyer's position, I must confess filled me with a dissatisfaction little bit of ~~impatience~~ with Mrs. Boyer. Now, I know it cannot be possible that good board may not be secured in Oklahoma City for less than \$1.50 a day. Of course, if one boards at a hotel it cannot be done, but it seems to me that Mrs. Boyer could get a room in a private house and board in a boarding house or some private house where they would take her and not spend the money of the Association in a hotel and I am opposed to paying hotel rates for her living in Oklahoma.

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Personally, I am not in favor of carrying on a campaign as if we had an amendment before the voters at this time when the whole attention of the people is turned toward other things, voting on the Constitution and securing statehood for the state. I think with the exception of the farmers' meetings and meetings of that sort, our work will be entirely lost sight of during this campaign and to spend the amount of money we are monthly in that state without seeing any better result than I shall expect to see from such work seems to me an unwise and wasteful expenditure of our funds.

Nor do I really think it is necessary to keep a press worker in the state all this summer at very great expense, because the papers will be so full of statehood matter and the politics of the state that there will be very little space given to us. I am quite sure if we were to take the clippings from Oklahoma during the next five months, we would find but very little in them connected with our suffrage work. On the whole, I am not at all satisfied with keeping Mrs. Boyer in the state just to do the newspaper work of Oklahoma. If she could combine the newspaper work of Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico and work that territory, then I think it might be worth while but just to do it for one state at such an expense at a time when the papers are so full of other matter seems to me unwise and wasteful. We would make about as much impression on the general public as the peeping of a chicken would on a battlefield.

I think if one or two local women were to assist at the farmers' meetings according to the suggestion of Dr. Woods, while Dr. Woods is out of the state, that might be helpful, but I certainly am opposed to conducting a campaign on the scale suggested by Mrs. Boyer at a time when we neither can be heard through the press nor make an impression on the public on account of the importance of other things, especially when we have no measure pending in the election.

Apr. 2, 1907

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I am quite anxious to hear your opinion of Miss Gregg's method of taking memberships.

Since dictating the above letter, yours of March 30th has been received. I think the position you take in regard to the postage for South Dakota is a very good one and I am very glad you suggested it. I think it gives us a way by which we can help South Dakota, which I am very glad to do, and at the same time not establish a precedent in regard to paying postage or other expenses of the local committees. Miss Blackwell had suggested that we loan South Dakota the ten dollars, but I did not like that idea because when they came to pay it back, it would probably deplete their treasury to do it and they would somehow or another feel that they had been sort of robbed by the National Society. I think your suggestion is much better.

Mrs. Kelley was here one day last week and she said she would go and be a hostess at the Exposition in the interest of our society in April and ~~per-~~haps part of May and perhaps later in September and that she would do all she could in getting signatures and distributing literature. I really think that if she were there, she would be a very great help to the Suffrage Association and so long as the Council is to have charge of these rooms, I think it is better that we should take our share of the burden, because the Mothers' Congress is to be a prominent figure at the Exposition, having three buildings under its charge and its president, Mrs. Schoff, is an unscrupulous enemy of woman suffrage and of the woman suffragists of the country. It was she who set those Utah women by the ears and now they're in an awful squirm to know how to get out of it. They made their false charges in connection with the suffragists and I rather think the Utah women feel they have been sold by Mrs. Schoff. I think if we treat her with firmness and at the same time keep from making an attack upon her in any way so as to give her friends a chance to defend her, she will make herself so obnoxious bye and bye that they will get sick and tired of her.

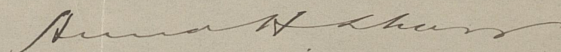
[Apr 2, 1907]

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A woman who deliberately sets herself to misrepresent other women cannot hold her place in any body of earnest, honest people anywhere and Mrs. Schoff, if she has rope enough, will be sure to hang herself.

I think you have gotten around the vote of the Business Committee that there shall be no proxies and when you get back home, if you will look at your Minutes of the meeting, I think you will conclude that is what the vote was. Mrs. Upton, who made the motion, is of that opinion. I confess I don't think it was a wise one, because as I told you in my former letter, ~~some~~ one person may have much more information and much better information upon the subject discussed than some other members of the Committee, and not only that but it will compel every member of the Committee to vote in order to get a majority vote on any question and if four should refuse to vote, it would be impossible to get a vote upon any measure. But it is merely a rule, which we ourselves passed and if we find it doesn't work well, why we can change it when we meet at our next Business Committee meeting in January.

Faithfully yours,



Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association

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MRS. ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY
292 Clay St., Portland, Ore.

Vice President at Large—
MRS. ELIZABETH LORD
The Dalles, Ore.

Corresponding Secretary—
MRS. ELIZABETH CRAIG
178 16th St., Portland, Ore.

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14th Vice President—
MRS. J. H. TRULLINGER
Astoria, Clatsop Co.

Portland, Ore., April 2, 1907.

To The Executive Committee Of The National American Woman Suffrage Association,

President Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Committee held at the home of the President, March 11th 1907, the following lines of work were unanimously agreed upon:

First: To return at once to the quiet methods of procedure which brought us to within 1 1/9 per cent of a majority vote for our Constitutional Amendment at the State election in 1900.

Second: To follow the lines of least resistance, exactly as we did to secure the Initiative and Referendum, when that amendment to our State Constitution was pending.

Third: To disclaim, and when necessary, disavow, all affiliation, implied or openly, with any and all political associations organized for any other purpose than to secure a majority vote for the enfranchisement of woman.

Fourth: To hold no public Equal Suffrage gatherings, except parlor and precinct meetings, without the unanimous vote of the Executive Committee.

Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association

[Apr 2, 1907]

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Fifth: To protect women from encountering disagreeable friction with opponents by employing men, preferably old soldiers, both of the Blue and the Gray, to canvass for signatures for our initiative petitions, which we must pay for under present custom, at the current rate of \$5.00 (five dollars) per 100 for verified signatures.

Sixth: To enroll the names and addresses of all the men and women we can secure at our parlor and precinct meetings, at \$1.00 per capita, to assist in the formation of ~~the~~ Governmental Study Clubs, of the State Equal Suffrage Association, auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Provided: That said National Association shall deposit, ^{at once,} at the disposal of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association, subject to the order of its Honorary President, Mrs. Viola M. Coe, for the sole purposes of the pending State Equal Suffrage Campaign, the sum of \$2000.00 (two thousand dollars) to be drawn upon in such sums as may be needed only upon the order of said Mrs. Viola M. Coe, when signed by the President and Secretary of the State Equal Suffrage Association, who shall keep an accurate account of all expenditures.

It is our unanimous belief that, with the above sum of \$2000.00 thus placed at our disposal by the parent association, we shall be

C Apr 2, 1907

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able, with the addition of such contributions as we may quietly secure locally, to carry the work to within a month of the June election of 1908, and possibly to a finish. But, if during the last weeks of the campaign, we shall lack funds to employ a few of the most popular speakers from the National Equal Suffrage Association, or from the States that now enjoy Equal Suffrage we hope to feel free to ask for the requisite additional assistance, for which we exact no pledge from the parent society.

292 Clay St Portland Ore
May 31st 1907

Dear Miss Clay. The above is a copy of the original, as it came from the typed writer shop, of the letter signed by every member of our State committee and rejected by yours.

Wishing you to see it in covered form (minus the signatures) I now send it to you with a copy of my reply to Anna (Shaw's) mispelled letter. An ever Yours for Liberty Abigail Scott Duniway

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association

For Campaign of 1907-8.

The executive committee of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association has chosen at the suggestion of its state president, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, the following Advisory Board: the president explaining that she was sorry she had not space enough in a newspaper column, or on a letter page to add at least a thousand names to the list of personal friends who have aided her from time to time during the past 35 years in her efforts to bring the movement up to its present respectable and responsible position before the public: Senator and Mrs. W. C. Fulton, Senator and Mrs. Jonathan Bourne, Congressman and Mrs. W. C. Hawley, Governor and Mrs. George E. Chamberlain, Judge and Mrs. C. E. Wolverton, Mayor and Mrs. Harry Lane, Albert Tozier and Frances E. Gotshall (secretary and treasurer of the State Press Association), Dr. and Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe, Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Olds, Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Hoge, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Cartwright, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Breyman, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Harris, Mr. and W. S. Duniway, Miss Helen F. Spalding, Mrs. C. A. Coburn, Mrs. Sarah A. Evans, Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson Myers, Mrs. Abbie C. French, Dr. Andrew C. Smith, Hon. A. S. Watt, Mrs. Grace Watt Ross, Mrs. Rose Hoyt, Rev. Father Black, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Duniway, Rev. T. L. Elliot, Rev. and Mrs. E. L. House, Rabbi and Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Rev. and Mrs. E. S. Muckley, Rev. and Mrs. J. W. Brougher, Judge and Mrs. M. C. George, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Allen Beals, Mr. and Mrs. D. Solis Cohen, Mr. and Mrs. B. S. Pague, Mr. and Mrs. F. Eggert, Judge and Mrs. William Galloway, Judge and Mrs. R. P. Boise, Judge and Mrs. J. B. Waldo, Judge and Mrs. H. H. Northup, Mrs. J. N. Dolph, Judge and Mrs. Seneca Smith, Mr. J. N. Teal, ex-Governor and Mrs. W. P. Lord, Mrs. M. O. Moore, ex-Governor and Mrs. T. T. Geer, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Mayer, Mrs. Solomon Hirsch, Judge and Mrs. Lionel Webster, Mr. and Mrs. I. N. Fleishner, Judge and Mrs. S. A. Lo-

well, Judge and Mrs. Rufus Mallory, Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Duniway, Mr. and Mrs. W. S. U'Ren, Mr. and Mrs. L. Therkelsen, and Miss Mary O. Douthit.

The Association, which has returned to its work under its old-time Declaration of Principles, has issued the following open letter:

To Every Voter in Oregon, Greeting, Dear Sir and Friend:—As it has become necessary, as a result of recent developments, to remove from the voting mind the idea that we are masquerading as suffragists under the management of a political party, the undersigned take this method to inform you, that, while we welcome as voting allies all believers in the fundamental principles of liberty for all the people, regardless of their opinions or affiliations upon any and with every other question in which they may be interested, we are not ourselves a political party, nor do we owe allegiance to any political organization of any name or nature. We believe in the inherent right of self government for every law-abiding citizen; and we are seeking freedom for ourselves that we may become your legal coadjutors in the formation of a government of all the people, for all the people and by all the people. The mother half of all the people is rated in law with idiots, insane persons and criminals, from whose legal classification we are looking to you to release us, your wives, mothers, sisters, daughters and sweethearts, at the June election of 1908, thus leaving us free to choose for ourselves at every succeeding election, as to whether or not we shall avail ourselves of the opportunities to which we know it is your duty, and ought to be your pride, to extend to us of your own volition, without waiting for the initiative to come from us.

"ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY,

"President.

"ELIZABETH CRAIG,

"Corresponding Secretary."