

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

May 30th, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I enclose my vote on the two slips sent out by you. I am very glad that you have taken in hand finding new organizers for our work. With your long and successful experience it is a pleasure to vote Yes to your suggestions, knowing they are practical and wise. In answer to Mrs. Upton's letters I have already expressed an opinion on the employment of Mrs. Davis and also of the young woman from S. Dakota. I am very clear in my own mind that no more outsiders should be sent into Oklahoma at this point of the campaign, and none but trained ones at any time. As we need more workers there, I wish we might give definite instructions to Mrs. Biggers and our office force, if you think it wise, to be on the active lookout for local workers to work in Oklahoma. In my letter to Mrs. Upton I deprecated the idea of sending that untried woman from S. Dakota to Oklahoma, and suggested that we donate her services for awhile to S. Dakota itself, as that seems to be a state which is a hopeful field for a campaign in the near future.

In my vote about the Committee on Book of Recitations I have conformed as much as I could to what seems the result of the investigations of the Committee, though in some points I may disagree with them.

In my letter to Mrs. Upton in answer to hers to the B.C., of May 27, I say in part, "Since Mrs. Biggers has asked us to keep these Headquarters if I were to act on what would be my policy, I would say that we should write to Mrs. Biggers that from her position and responsibility we felt it incumbent to regard her judgment, and therefore we would reconsider and keep the Headquarters at least till after the elections. You observe that I would act as if it were a concession to her judgment. I am sure that more and more we will find it necessary to allow home workers to take the responsibility in their own state campaigns, and I believe Mrs. Biggers' devotion and good sense justify us in this reliance upon her"....."In the expectation that we will continue the campaign by putting the question before the voters on an Initiative petition, and that we will continue to pay for such a petition, if necessary, from General election to General election till we succeed, I now think we ought to make the concession of keeping Headquarters and paying Mrs. Boyer her salary and expenses, - certainly till the election in August, and leaving it open then to be further guided by events. "

Faithfully yours,

Swarthmore, Pa., May 28, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have received the enclosed report from Rachel Foster Avery for the Committee on book of recitations. Mrs. Avery asks that the matter be submitted to the Business Committee and I, therefore, send the enclosed vote.

Please read the report and give the matter your careful consideration and send your votes to me at Swarthmore.

Faithfully yours,

Anna M. Shaw

Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association

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

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

Corresponding Secretary—
MRS. ELIZABETH CRAIG
173 16th St., Portland, Ore.

Recording Secretary—
MISS ELMA BUCKMAN
42 E. 18th St., N. Portland, Ore.

Financial Secretary—
MRS. A. BONHAM
14th. and Everett sts., Portland, Ore.

Treasurer—MRS. W. E. POTTER
Hunter's Station, Portland, Ore.

Auditors—
MRS. F. EGGERT
The Hobart Curtis
MRS. M. A. DALTON
Portland, Ore.
MRS. IMOGENE BATH
Hillsboro, Ore.

1st Vice President—
MRS. C. M. CARTWRIGHT,
215 7th St., Portland, Multnomah Co.

2nd Vice Pres.—MRS. CLARA WALDO,
Macleay, Marion Co.

3rd Vice Pres.—MRS. EMMA GALLOWAY,
McMinville, Yamhill Co.

4th Vice Pres.—DR. ANNA B. REED
Lebanon, Linn County

5th Vice Pres.—MRS. EVA EMERY DYE,
Oregon City, Clackamas Co.

6th Vice President—
MRS. MINERVA B. EATON,
Union, Union Co.

7th Vice President—
MRS. ROSE M. SKENCK,
Toledo, Lincoln Co.

Honorary President—MRS. HENRY WALDO COE
387 12th St., Portland, Ore.
Member of National Committee—MRS. SARAH A. EVANS
225 7th St., Portland, Ore.

8th Vice President—
PROF. HELEN CRAWFORD,
Corvallis, Benton Co.

9th Vice President—
Mrs. MINNIE WASHBURN
Eugene, Lane Co.

10th Vice President—
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Marshfield, Coos Co.

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Port Orford, Curry Co.

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Mrs. ELIZABETH L. LORD
The Dalles, Wasco Co.

13th Vice President—
Mrs. IMOGENE BATH
Hillsboro, Washington Co.

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

Portland, Ore., May 27, 1907.

Dear National President:—

I have waited several days since receipt of your letter of May 10th, expecting arrival of your proposition, which, since you have rejected ours, is overdue.

There having come to light through the press, so many chances for litigation over numerous referendum petitions, we became solicitous about the legality of yours; so I sent a copy of it to Attorney General Crawford, asking him to read and study it carefully and reply candidly. He complied at once in detail, showing many discrepancies or loop holes for litigation, one of which I quote: "I notice that your form of petition does not contain the affidavit on its back; and this I am convinced would be a fatal oversight." So, you see, even if we had won last year, an impossibility in any state under a hurrah campaign run by outsiders, we would have been left at the mercy of the courts; and a decision against us would have set our cause back twenty years.

I have now placed, at my own expense, an order for correct petitions in the hands of home lawyers, and we shall begin all over again as soon as the proof is pronounced legal in form by the Attorney General.

The majority of our committee are much disappointed over your refusal to allow the National Committee to assist us in our way after you had so signally failed (as the National has always done) in yours; but I was

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Portland, Ore.,

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not at all surprised, as I looked for nothing else.

It is indeed strange that you cannot see the necessity for a change in the National method, after so many failures.

In our still-hand campaign of 1900 when the N. A. W. S. A. quietly contributed \$100 (one- hundred dollars) for literature) and kept away bodily we came within about two-thousand votes of a majority; in 1906 we lost under the National method, by over ten-thousand. Facts are stubborn things. Let us face them as they exist, dear President, remembering always that a radical change of leaders and methods, in any state, after victory, has been brought into sight, is neither safe nor wise. Never fear but our National co-workers will be given all the glory that is due them if they send us the necessary sinews of war, to help us out in our own way in this important crises, but if they continue to with-hold the help that, after their failure, is our due, and we go ahead as we maen to, and win anyhow or die trying, it will not be hard to convince other states (as some of them believe already) that the National Association is composed chiefly of hot air.

Hoping for an early reconsideration of your remarkable letter, which is not a reply to our proposition at all, but only an answer to your misconstruction of it, I remain,

Yours for better luck next time,

P.S. A copy of this will go to each member of your committee.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
May 17th, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Your letter of the 13th inst. is at hand.

OKLAHOMA. It seems to me the decision is wise to leave Mrs. Boyer in the state till after the elections. Her last letter to the B.C. shows such an unsettled condition of things that we might lose much by acting too hurriedly; and as you say, we can be guided later by the result of the elections.

OREGON. I shall vote Yes to the vote you have sent out. By-the bye, the Secretary of State informs the Governor that the requirements of the law have been complied with in the case of petitions, and the Governor has to issue the proclamation ordering the question to be submitted to the voters. This is a mere detail, but perhaps it is as well to say exactly what we ask of the Oregon E.S.A.

I observe that some of my remarks in my previous letter have not conveyed the exact impression I intended. For instance, I did not intend to convey that the Oregon people would have anything to complain of if the National did not continue the campaign. On the contrary, they ought to think nothing but that the National has been most generous. The people who would have a right to complain are those who have paid out money under the understanding that the Initiative and Referendum gives an opportunity for a continuous campaign, so that no educational work is lost during the long interim which occurs in states where the question cannot immediately be submitted again. This is one thing that I think justified us in such an expenditure in Oregon; and what I have constantly mentioned in speaking of that campaign. Now when we get the petitions, neither Mrs. Duniway or any of the opponents of suffrage can prevent the question from going to the voters. Of course, it can go before them under much great advantages in some circumstances than in others. But it seems to me that the great point is to have it submitted. Your remarks ~~anxion~~ the effect on our question of the attitude of the political leaders and parties in one of your letters in regard to the situation in Oklahoma are so entirely in accord with my own that I am somewhat at a loss to see why we differ at all on the situation in Oregon. My observation in Oklahoma leads me to believe that the success of our cause did not depend upon the conviction of the voters so much as upon the expectation of the political machine of making capital of the woman vote. We all believe the suffrage will soon be given to women; the political leaders can see that just as we do. And my hope for speedy success is that one or other of the parties will make a bid for the woman vote just as the Republicans made a bid for the negro vote after the war. I think the Oklahoma Convention would have given us suffrage by a large partisan vote if they could have been assured it would have strengthened the Democratic party. Of course, we have no means of assuring any party that it would result in an advantage to itself. But we always have the hope that one or other of the great parties will take some chances on it, as it is likely from an ordinary conception of human nature. When one party shows a disposition that way, very likely the other will try not to let it get ahead, but that is just the more to our advantage.

Having these views, you see that to me it is a comparatively a matter of little importance whether or not the Oregon E.S.A. does its just share of work or not. What I desire is that the petition shall be filed so that

the question must come before the voters. Then we are in the position of being ready for any chance which may occur in the political game. As I have had occasion to remark, the petition can be filed for about \$1000, and if nothing else were done, I think it is worth that much money to have the question voted upon. I think it would be economy to do so every general election till we won. Every body sees that sentiment is daily growing in our favor all over the world. That is the cheerful burden of Mrs. Upton's cry all the time; and all of us agree with her. Now I have never contended strongly for any thing more of a campaign in 1907 than what is necessary to have that petition secured and filed before 1908. If we have the petition ready we are in the way of any winning by any of those party vicissitudes than are coming up frequently in the game of politics. Oregon is an important political state because its general election comes in June. Some political party or machine may see an advantage in having its woman vote in the presidential campaign of 1908. And we ought not to lose a chance by not being ready. I wanted to go right on with the petition last summer, and then stop work till 1908; but the disturbed condition of suffragists put a stop to what we were doing. It is a misfortune that we have to reckon with Mrs. Duniway; but we know she will not allow herself to be ignored, and so we must do the best we can with her. I shall be satisfied if we so co-operate as to obtain the petition safely filed before Jan. 1908. Then we have the advantage of "time and chance" which happen to all causes; and I think they are in our favor. After the petition is filed, we can consider whether it is desirable to do any thing more or not; and there will be time to do it, if we so desire.

I think it was very tactful for you to say in your letter to Mrs. Duniway that you saw "no reason for allowing the work to cease in Oregon while we are trying to arrive at some amicable arrangement between the National and State Associations". That gives them the encouragement of expecting help if only those petitions are gotten. And I am confident that either in Oregon or elsewhere there are enough suffragists to provide the necessary funds, if only there can be some way devised whereby the securing of the petition can be made a certainty. That ought to be easy, for getting signatures is a sort of business in Oregon, which seems to require only finding the persons who are willing to do that work. And the price per name seems fixed at five cents. I am very glad to vote Yes to the vote you sent out; I wish the amount you suggest were \$800 instead of \$500, but perhaps with what have been already secured the sum you mention will be sufficient for what are yet to be gotten.

Faithfully yours,

Swarthmore, Pa., May 13, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I. The majority vote of the members in regard to a mass convention in New York is in favor of the plan. Two on the Board have suggested that if we should be asked to pay for speakers, we should say who and how many they shall be. I ought to have made it clear in my letter that the National Committee is to decide that point.

There were five votes in favor of the meeting, one undecided and two against. The official vote will be sent out as soon as I return.

II. In regard to the Oklahoma work, there was a uniform opinion that it is too expensive and must be curtailed, but a difference as to how that was to be done. The greater number advocated cutting down headquarters and postage expenses. The postage bills were extreme. Some advocated withdrawing some of the workers.

Personally, I feel the expense of a newspaper worker during a hotly contested campaign for Statehood, with men seeking all offices from pathmaster to U. S. Senator; with capital fights and boundary line feuds, and with prohibition and whiskey at war; at a time when our question is not before the voters, is a most useless expenditure of money and I am (and have been ever since the close of the Constitutional Convention) in favor of withdrawing Mrs. Boyer from the state until we begin our work on the next legislature or the Initiative and Referendum. Miss Gregg, with two or three local women, could hold the fort with the Farmers' and Labor Unions. The majority, however, do not think so. Mrs. Upton and Elizabeth and I, while I was in Warren last week, went over Mrs. Boyer's bills and decided upon certain reductions, and Mrs. Upton has written her to that effect. Dr. Woods is now out of the state

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and when she returns she will not be able to do much work this summer, and Miss Gregg goes home in July for her vacation. Therefore, it seemed best to keep Mrs. Boyer there until after the Election. The plans after that will have to be determined by the character of the Election and the action of the President in regard to Statehood.

III. The vote on the purchase of the Type Machine for the President's office was unanimous and I thank you.

IV. I have not yet heard from two members of the Committee in regard to the proposition of the Oregon President, but of the six heard from, five voted No and one Yes.

I have written Mrs. Duniway that to accede to her proposition would be contrary to our method and that as we are responsible to the Association for the use of money donated, we could not place a large sum in the hands of a committee subject to the order of the state president. I said, however, that I could see no reason for allowing the work to cease in Oregon while we are trying to arrive at some amicable arrangement between the National and State Associations; that I felt sure the comparatively small amount of money necessary to secure the 8,000 names would be willingly contributed or advanced by some of those most interested.

I want to say candidly that I believe every dollar spent by the National Association in Oregon during Mrs. Duniway's life will be money worse than wasted, that I personally will not vote thus to spend one dollar but, of course, I stand ready to carry out any instructions of the Committee, and I will submit to a vote any plan which the Committee may suggest.

I have thought of one plan which might appeal to a majority of the Committee though I shall frankly say my vote will be cast against it, as it will be against any and all plans for paying money during Mrs. Duniway's administration. It is to suggest to the Oregon Association that if some member or members of that

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Association will advance the money to pay for the petitions and a sufficient number of verified names are secured, and the amendment submitted by the Secretary of State, after such submission, we will reimburse the creditor to the amount of \$500.00.

If they really mean anything, they will do this. When I read over that list of names, of course, I do not believe one person in ten knows his name is there. I have written to some and the reply is they were not aware of the use of their names, that they had not been and would not attend a meeting over which Mrs. Duniway presided. Others I know do not live in the state and did not when their names were published, but some of you believe the list is all honest and right. If you do look it over, see the wealth represented and then ask if it is reasonable with such a list as that, that the National Association should be asked to pay a few hundred dollars to secure their petitions?

Some of the Business Committee say we boasted of a continuous campaign and that we will be placed in an unfavorable position, if we do not keep our word. Our word was that we would not secure the petitions; the state pledged to do that. We declared we would not but that when they secured the petitions, we would help them in their campaign. Let them perform their part before they accuse the National of bad faith.

If the suggestion I have made of the offer to pay for their petitions after the amendment is submitted, if they secure a sufficient number to do so, appeals to you, please say so; if not, then make a suggestion which you think fair and I will submit it to the vote of the Committee.

Faithfully yours,

Anna N. Shaw

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

May 10th, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw,

Yours of the 7th inst., is at hand. How thankful we all are at the success of Misses Thomas and Garrett! I invoke a blessing on all those who have contributed to this fund; and I feel deeply that no other philanthropic object will relieve as much human suffering as this one to do justice to one half of the citizenship of our country.

MEMBERSHIP PLAN. I have so fully expressed myself for some years on the subject that what I say has not much novelty. But as this is somewhat in the nature of a vote, I will write again. Taking up your letter point by point,

I. & II. I agree with your criticisms substantially.

II continued. Here I disagree with you entirely. All my experience as a local and state president for fifteen years or more is to the contrary. Since Ky. E. R. A. adopted the main features of this paragraph (in the details I prefer the Ky. method to what is suggested by Miss Gregg) our Asso. has steadily grown in membership till last year, when the effects of the state president's absence for two years was felt. It is true that the great obstacle to organization is the difficulty of finding persons to take the responsibility of the organization. ^{Ky.} This plan puts all the work upon the very few who are willing to work. If there is no one willing to work, nothing can be done on this plan or any other. But I know that it is much easier to find officers who will collect dues and hold a meeting when desired thanx and members who will pay dues when asked, than it is to find officers who will undertake to provide programs and hold regular meetings and members who will even contemplate attending these meetings. If

we leave out this feature out of our National plan for organizers, I see nothing new at all for what we designate club membership, though there may be something in the fraternal membership. You quote the example in Ky. of the local club in Richmond, where Mrs. Bennett is president as the most favorable example of the working of the Ky. plan. This is not my judgment. I would rather quote that of Newport, where there was at first a "working club" of sixty or more. It wore itself out at that, and disbanded, sending the money it had in hand to the State. At my suggestion, it joyfully re-organized on the new plan, with five or six members, has steadily grown till now it has more than its original numbers, held the convention you attended whilst I was in Oregon, and has constantly held itself ready to co-operate with the State and National when its assistance is desired. Or, I might quote that of Lexington, where I have been president almost for twenty years, giving my best thought and energy to the local club, yet could never raise it above seventy members at its best, and running down to thirty, but which sprang at once to over one hundred on the new plan, and fluctuates nearly to two hundred paying members, of the most influential people in the city/many of whom never attended a meeting and who would never have given their names, if it was not distinctly agreed that attending meetings was not a part of their work. I am always glad to mention that Mrs. Breckinridge is one of the members secured on these terms. Mrs. Upton considers, that on account of her editorial connection with the Lexington Herald, she is one of the most useful members in the South. Of course, nothing can be done where there is no one to do anything. But where there are a few ^{to be officers} in a community or even in a state, who will work to utilize the non-working members in ways agreeable to themselves, after their names have been obtained, those officers can do a vast deal more and

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and more hopeful work if they have the numbers behind them who will join on the non-attendance plan, but who will not join on any other. I am going to vote for any good plan to increase what we may call enrolled membership, but I will not stultify myself and my experience by disapproving of what I have proved to be a great improvement on our usually accepted plan. I trust that our organizers will be empowered at least to use their judgment, when to organize on the old plan, and when to organize on that suggested by Miss Gregg, or on what has been tried with success in Kentucky.

In the passage quoted from Miss Gregg, nothing is said of any difference in membership paid to the National. I suppose you allude to something you do not quote. I agree with you there should be no difference in dues paid to the National, and, I think, none paid to the State. Only the local dues can be omitted by the locals, - the state dues may be omitted by vote of the state.

III. I agree with your criticisms of this paragraph.

IV. I like getting the affiliated members on payment of annual dues of ten cents, all of which I think should go to the National. They should have no vote at all; for I think the votes of those who do not keep themselves in touch with the work which is going on is apt to be injudicious. I think the State Asso. should have representation in the National on the basis of all paid-up, bona-fide members, whether they are these affiliated members or others. I think Affiliated members will not care particularly to vote, and I think it will complicate matters to allow them to do so in the state convention. Besides, we cannot dictate to states about that. All we can do, is to allow them to be represented. As a matter of course, I prefer the suggestions I made myself in my report on Membership. There I

suggest certain things, to which I refer you to the minutes.

I do not observe anything in your proposition different from the enrolment already in use except the first payment of ten cents. I believe all enrolled persons stay on the list till they ask to have their names taken off. As my plan makes them declare themselves members of a local and makes it possible to have them pay every year, it appeals to me more. However, I feel not so strongly on this sort of membership, as I have never experimented with it. I am satisfied with having given to the Asso. my careful thought on the subject; and I resigned my chairmanship because I feel that some new thought is desirable.

I am going to vote Yes on your proposition in place of No. IV of Miss Gregg; not because it meets my own views, for it makes too little difference between the present enrolment plan and itself; but because I am thoroughly convinced that our present plan of membership is inadequate and unsuited to our needs and any departure is at least an effort towards an improvement. We cannot do any thing more than make a tentative effort till the Association votes on it; and what we may do will throw some light on what is needed to do.

While I vote Yes on your proposition in place of No. IV, I also am firmly of the opinion that regular club membership should be on the basis of giving the name and paying annual dues as the only obligation of membership of unofficial members. In giving the report of the vote taken kindly make it evident that I am undeviatingly of this opinion.

Faithfully yours,

Ashtabula, Ohio, May 5, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Some time since I asked the members of the Business Committee to kindly send me any plan which appealed to them as a good solution of a cheaper membership, which would bind to our Association bodies of people already organized in other associations and who would neither pay a large fee nor give time or thought to suffrage work. Mrs. Upton has replied and Miss Clay's plan will soon be printed in the Minutes.

Since that time, Miss Gregg, Chairman of the Committee on Increase of Membership, has sent her plan to the members of the Sub-Committee on organization, and I presume each one has returned to her the suggestions desired. I have waited hoping to hear from other members of the Business Committee, but I feel there should be some decision soon in order to give instructions to the field workers. I, therefore, submit my reasons for not favoring all of Miss Gregg's plan, and place before you the only one which at present appeals to me as feasible. I ask for it your earnest consideration and desire suggestions.

Fearing some of the Committee may not be within reach of the communication sent by Miss Gregg, I will repeat the portions of her plan to which mine refers.

1st. "Push increase of club membership by urging each member to pledge to try annually to secure two new members during the year, and instruct organizers to form clubs wherever possible. Likewise, urge local clubs to form clubs in other communities in the same county."

This is just what we have been doing for years except that in my letters to clubs I have asked them to urge members to pledge to secure one member each

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year. That would give us more than 60,000 paid up members by the fall of 1908.

II. "Do not make club attendance and club organization an absolute requirement for membership. Admit to membership in the local or State organizations, all who pay the dues of fifty cents per year, though they may decline to attend club meetings."

Up to this point in Miss Gregg's plan, we have always acted. I do not know of a single local or State organization which makes attendance upon club meetings an "absolute requirement" for membership, and most, if not all states, accept direct members who are not members of any club, as does the National Association.

Up to this point there is nothing new or different from our past methods and so far I think I am safe in answering we are all agreed. There are to my mind several objections to the remainder of the paragraph.

II.(continued) "Instruct organizers to secure members on this basis, when club organization is impossible" (i.e. on payment of dues with no other requirement). "In such organizations, elect a permanent chairman, who may call these members together at any time, for special business; and a treasurer, whose duty it shall be to collect the dues and forward the same to the state treasurer. The entire amount of dues, less the cost of remittance, shall be paid into the state treasury, until these members shall organize into a local club, when they may then retain twenty-five cents per member in the local treasury. Make a personal canvass of the suffragists in the community, especially among men, for this dues-paying membership."

There are two difficulties in the way of the practical working of this latter part of paragraph II. Everyone who has been in the field knows very well that the great obstacle in the way of organizing clubs is not that there are not suffragists enough in each community to make large clubs, but that it is impossible to get anyone to be willing to take the responsibility of the organization. A woman who would hold together a non-working body and canvass from house to house annually and

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collect dues and increase the membership every year would be strong enough to build up and hold an organization together. I do not believe there are a dozen towns in a state where you could get a woman to do this canvassing work when there was no live, active, helpful organization back of her. In existing clubs, the reason the membership falls off is for the lack of just that kind of a treasurer. I believe a good treasurer need never have the membership of her club fall back, but to go at it in cold blood and make a canvass of a town with no organization and no club enthusiasm is a human impossibility, and save in an old established community, where the one woman who has it in hand is a leading woman, of influence and standing, whose family carries weight aside from the Cause itself, as in the case of Mrs. Bennett in Richmond, Ky., this method would be an utter failure, and to my mind disorganizing.

In the second place, I do not believe there should be a difference in membership dues to the National Association. Whatever the amount of dues paid locally but ten cents per member should be paid to the National Treasury.

III. "Let the state association provide for a collective club, composed of isolated suffragists, where fewer than five pay dues in one community; such collective club to have the same representation as any local club; the officers to be elected by the members, or if this is impracticable, to be appointed by the State Officers (such a collective club exists in Penna. and is composed of isolated suffragists, who otherwise would not be in the state organization)".

This is just another name for direct state membership which is the simplest method and the Penna. Club is simply an effort on the part of that splendid Miss Campbell, who draws everybody into the work she can. They do not elect or have any other officers than those of Miss Campbell's Phila. Club. They are simply an annex to the Phila. Club instead of the state.

With all these various kinds of membership, we would have such a complicated machinery as would drive the National Treasurer to a mad house and swamp the Association with red tape.

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If there are only two loyal, dues paying people in a community, I would rather have them a working or non-working club by themselves than to have a hundred loose individuals over a state in a so called club. Let them become direct state members. Each state may make such provision for representation from them in the state as it sees fit.

IV. Endeavor to secure an affiliated membership among Granges, Farmers' Unions, Labor Unions and individuals, who decline the fifty cent membership as follows: Each affiliated member to pay ten cents annually; every five affiliated members to have one vote in the club with which they are affiliated, and their entire dues to be sent to the state treasurer. If such members are affiliated directly with the state association, and not with a local club, eleven such members shall have one vote, in the State Convention, and their dues, together with the dues of the affiliated local club members, shall be sent by the state treasurer to the National Treasurer.

"These affiliated members shall be counted in the basis of representation in the National Association and may be elected delegates to the National Convention."

This fourth plan of membership is the one upon which I presume there will be the greatest divergence of opinion among us and as our decision means so much for the future of our organization, I hope I may be pardoned for giving my views at length and that each member of the Committee will give time and thought to its consideration. We are entering upon a new era of service and because of the greater financial ease with which we shall be able to work, we must give the strength that is thus conserved to planning carefully our work.

We are not without a precedent in the effect of a ten cent membership upon existing state associations.

A few years ago it was thought a good plan to organize the Friends into a national body and on a ten cent membership basis. The Friends were

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enthusiastic and in several of the yearly meetings passed resolutions and appointed committees. The first year they secured 400 members and it grew until 1905 when they paid for 1064. Then it fell down to 136 last year. When they paid for the large number, it was learned that the Friends had withdrawn from the local associations where they had been paying fifty cents and one dollar, and joined the Friends' Society for ten cents, and Pennsylvania and Maryland Associations protested against it and the Friends' Association was practically broken up. The worst of it all is that many who had formerly cheerfully paid the regular club dues, after they had belonged for ten cents are not going back into the local clubs again.

Then we had the experience of a paid organizer going about in a state collecting individual dues one year and "inflating the membership" and the next year when no paid organizer circulated about the state membership slumped back 800 members and it took nearly all the gains of the other states to make up their loss.

Suppose Miss Gregg should be able to get 5000 ten cent members in Oklahoma this year at a cost of \$2000 and next year we did not have a field worker in the state. There is no question but the State would fall back the 5000 members. This would leave our membership such a fluctuating and uncertain quantity that we could never have any definite idea of what any year would bring forth.

The plan which I shall suggest obviates that difficulty by keeping the name of a person who has once paid a membership fee of ten cents permanently enrolled.

Any plan to be acceptable in seeking to build up our Association so as to satisfy the "argument of numbers objection" must comprise several features.

First. It should not interfere with nor discourage regular club membership.

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Second. It should not be an incentive to suffragists to leave regular clubs and join a cheap group to save either time or money.

Third. It should not unduly inflate the membership one year to fall back the next.

Fourth. When once secured, it should be a permanent and not a fluctuating membership.

Therefore, in place of the IV plan of Miss Gregg, as quoted, I submit the following:

Endeavor to secure from Granges, Labor Unions, Farmers' Alliances, Women's Clubs, etc. a fraternal membership on the payment of a ten cent membership fee, such member to be retained upon our lists until personally requesting to be dropped, - five cents of the fee to be retained by the State Association and five cents to be forwarded to the National Treasury.

This would obviate all the objections which present themselves in all other plans which have been suggested.

The small fee would make them actual bona fide members in both state and nation, and since they neither wish to work nor pay money to carry on work by others, but simply to be known as suffragists, it accomplishes that. It increases our argument of numbers membership upon a permanent and not a fluctuating basis and does not lead to disintegration of existing ^{working} organizations.

It leaves the control and policy of the Association in the hands of the people who do the work and pay for it. It is perfectly fair and just.

That would give us three kinds of members:-

1. Fraternal non-working members with an entrance fee of ten cents.
2. Direct National members on payment of one dollar, twenty-

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five cents of which should go to the support of "Progress" and they should receive it as compensation for their dollar.

3. Club membership, which shall be the voting constituency.

I believe if this method were followed, we would not only keep intact the existing organization and build it up, but we would gain a fraternal membership of great proportions.

If this method meets your approval, will you immediately notify me? If it does not, will you kindly at once suggest a better or more practical one?

Faithfully yours,

Anna M. Shaw.

Ashtabula, Ohio, May 5, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

You have all doubtless learned ere this of the success of Misses Thomas and Barrett in securing the \$60,000 Fund which they began after the Baltimore Convention.

When the last night of April I received the telegram announcing the fact, I realized how it is possible for one to die of joy. I had prayed and hoped and believed it would come, but when the final word came, I was just ready to start for my lecture but for a few moments I was too weak to move or speak. I shall put my gratitude into action and may our efforts be greatly blessed. I know you will all write President Thomas and Miss Garrett your thanks. If you deem it best we as a committee can take some formal action and send to the several donors as well.

Now as far as I am concerned, I shall until my power to serve ceases take Miss Anthony's motto, "I know nothing but woman and her disfranchised". I can give all my thought and time to the service of that Cause.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

May 3rd, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have received copies of the two letters from Mrs. Duniway, and have given her proposition the most careful thought. I suppose all of us have been impressed by the fact that the states which are the most promising for campaigns in the near future have expressed more or less clearly a disinclination to have the Business Committee direct the campaign, with the exception of Oklahoma, where the State feeling has not yet had time to grow, and where we have been particularly fortunate in a president whose loyalty and devotion have kept her constantly in the public eye as the leader of the campaign. S. Dakota, I believe, said they did not want the National workers; Washington hinted rather to the same effect; we know there was great feeling in California and Kansas after the campaigns. Now it is not the fault of the suffragists that they meet the expression of state feeling from the voters after these campaigns. As long as we do educational work alone, there is little or none of this feeling; but the moment we begin a campaign we become a political factor; and whether we like it or not, we are immediately judged by political standards, and they are opposed to outsiders interfering with state politics. The understanding of this political feeling is spreading among our friends; and it seems that in the near future we shall either have to adapt our methods so as to throw most of the work on home people or else make it the policy of the National not to work in campaigns at all. I suppose we are not ready for that at this time. Of course, it is much to be deplored that every state, and

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2.

Oregon in particular, as it is now in question, has not a full board of officers with whom it would be pleasant for the National to co-operate, in full confidence and amity. As long as Mrs. Duniway lives, however, that seems impossible. But we have the satisfaction of seeing on the Oregon board women who command the confidence of the state for other societies. In Mrs. Coe we have a woman of high standing and pleasant manner. And it seems she has consented to stand responsible for accounting for the money. Her husband is a business man, successful and in full harmony with his wife on our cause. He is not likely to allow Mrs. Duniway to involve her in any doubtful financial schemes. Other names I recognize of women who know Mrs. Duniway and who have too much at stake to allow themselves to be hoodwinked. I am very far from agreeing with you that acceding to the proposition laid before us is to place the money in Mrs. Duniway's hands to do as she pleases with. I think we have all the safeguards that are practicable with allowing the State Board to run its own campaign. And I believe that not to have a campaign in 1908 in Oregon, after spending \$15000 there, and after all our public talk of a continuous campaign would be disastrous to the prestige of the National. If we could be almost equally so if there was a campaign in which the National had no recognized part. If we spend all that money in a state and do not leave enough results behind to permit us to keep in touch with the local movement, outsiders must be unfavorably impressed.

I am in favor of accepting the proposition laid before us; unconditionally, if they will not accept a modification. But I would prefer to write to them that we cannot afford to spend another dollar in Oregon now for education, and that a certainty that a vote will be taken next General

[May 3, 1907]

3.

Election is requisite. That we will assist to the extent of the \$2000 asked for, with the proviso that only \$1000, (or \$800, if Preferable) shall be called for till the petitions are filed with the Secretary of State, and that the money shall be used exclusively for paying for the canvassing for signatures and necessary postage and clerk hire for that object till they are secured, with a report from time to time of progress, so that we may assure the friends who contribute the money that a vote can certainly be submitted.

Miss Pease should be instructed to have the remainder of the signatures still in her hands ~~unverified~~ verified at once, and to notify the Oregon Board how many she has. Even if only 8000 are legally required, I think it prudent to have ten thousand, so as to preclude any chance of error, and to discourage any ~~attempt~~ attempt at trying to pick flaws in the petition by the opponents. I believe Mrs. Duniway is entirely right in thinking that difficulties are added by the number of petitioners in the field, and immediate work is none too early to get the petition in time to send out the Appeal to Voters of which she speaks.

I would like to write even more fully than I have done, but I suppose I have said enough. I am sending a copy of this to Miss Gordon and Mrs. Upton; and if all are not agreed to accede to the proposition, I hope we will compare notes till we have found a feasible plan to help in Oregon for a vote in 1908.

Faithfully yours,

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.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.
MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Swarthmore, Pa.,

June 25, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I was very glad to get your letter telling of your attendance upon the Convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs and of their good strong vote for school suffrage, but particularly were we glad to hear of the vote of the State Educational Association. I would much rather have that body unanimously for us than almost any other in the State. I only wish that instead of voting for school suffrage, they had extended their vote to full suffrage, but that will come after awhile.

I am very glad you agree with my telegram to Mrs. Catt in regard to holding a meeting in New York if she was not present to take charge of the details of working it up.

I begin a series of lectures at Chautauquas on the eleventh of July, starting out at Evansville, Indiana, and then going to Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and Indian Territory. I dread the very thought of roasting at those places during that time and am very much amused at the letter which I received from the man when he was urging me to go, in which he stated that it was very cool at their Chautauquas. The idea of its being very cool in Arkansas, Kansas and Indian Territory the last of July is rather interesting, but it's good work for the suffrage, for we can reach more people at one of those Chautauquas than at any other half dozen suffrage meetings and the word goes all over the state.

Hoping to hear from you soon in regard to the points asked in my Business Committee letters, since I want to get all the work done I can before going away as there will be very little opportunity for correspondence in the field, I am

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

[June 24, 1907]

Swarthmore, Pa., June 24, 1907.

(C O P Y)

My dear Mrs. Duniway:-

Your letter of June eighteenth containing the letter of the Attorney General, for which I thank you, arrived this morning. I return it immediately because I presume you would like to have it on file as soon as possible.

I am very glad that your Advisory Board will see you through in securing the petitions. Judging from the long list of influential and wealthy persons, it will not be a very great tax upon any one of them and I have wondered why they have not before this come to your assistance in this matter.

Trusting you will have no further difficulty in securing the correct petition, I am

Very truly yours,

(signed) Anna H. Shaw.

Swarthmore, Pa., June 24, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter just received from Mrs. Duniway this morning. I think Miss Gordon's sharp letter to her has rather tamed the old lady down a little bit and now it seems to me that since she says her Advisory Board will furnish the necessary money to secure the petitions, the best thing for the National to do is to quietly wait and see whether the petitions are secured or not; after that is done, then we'll know better how to act further. I enclose a copy of my reply to her letter.

If her statement in regard to the flaw in the old petition is correct, then it is just as well that we did not proceed with the work any further last year. I think the petition was made as nearly as possible a special copy of the one circulated the year before, which was prepared by the Oregon Suffrage Association before our National workers went into the field at all, for they had a number of names collected before we held our National Convention at Portland. I think there is but one real defect in the petition and that is the last one noted by the Attorney General where he says, "I notice your form of petition does not contain an affidavit on its back and this I am convinced would be a fatal oversight and any sheet not containing this affidavit could not be filed with the Secretary of State". Our first petitions were filed with the Secretary of State and as my goods are packed, I have not one at hand to see whether or not it had an affidavit on its back, so I don't know whether or not this statement of the Attorney General in regard to the old petition is correct. I am sure that Mrs. Duniway is getting joy and comfort enough out of the mistakes to revive her youth and make her live several years longer, although I don't know but she was the one who got up the first petition, but that's so long ago that she would be quite able to forget it.

Faithfully yours,

Swarthmore, Pa., June 22, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

In my letter yesterday I overlooked a point which I should have brought to your notice and that is the request sent out by Dr. S. M. Siewers, of Cincinnati. What action shall we take in regard to it?

I think the suggestion is a good one if it were generally taken up but if only a few states or even a few people in a state acted upon it, it would be worse than no action whatever.

Is it the opinion of the Business Committee that we should take it up and try to secure co-operation with other societies over the country and push the measure? Please let me hear from you on this point as soon as possible.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

June 24, 1907

(C O P Y)

Portland, Ore., June 18th, 1907.

Dear National President:

I take pleasure in sending you the Attorney General's letter, as per your request.

Lawyers informed Miss Pease last July, (but did not tell me till December) that the petitions we were using under National authority were not legal, though Miss Pease said another lawyer had said they were all right. I called a halt on them in December when 4,480 names had been checked up, 500 of which I had gathered myself at civic, socialistic and Forum meetings, before which I had spoken by invitation.

The "Antis" knocked us out in the Senate, after we had gotten the proper form through the House.

We are organized anew and will begin taking signatures of counties as soon as the State Printer sends us the blanks, a sample of which I will enclose to you.

I am sorry the National Assn. will not send supplies to our beleaguered garrison, when our victory will mean as much to it as to us, I am doubly glad that our Advisory Board will see us through without it, if necessary; and I am compelled to announce that it is necessary.

We are to have July 19th as Suffrage Day at Chautauquas with 7 women speakers, White Ribboners conspicuously absent, as aforetime, though friendly.

Mrs. Colby has adopted the "still-hunt" system, now. I never hear of her any more, except when she approaches the wrong citizen. But I'll be obliged to advertise her "League" if she doesn't quit collecting money for her aims under our banner, as I am told, she is doing.

Yours for the conflict

(signed) Abigail Scott Duniway.

No blank enclosed

A.S.D.

Swarthmore, Pa., June 21, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

On reading an account of the extension of suffrage to the women of Norway, I immediately cabled to Gina Krog, the President of the National Council of Norway, who perhaps more than any other woman has worked in the interest of the Norwegian women's enfranchisement. The reason I cabled her instead of Mrs. Qvam, President of the Suffrage Association of Norway, is because Miss Krog lives in Christiania and Mrs. Qvam in some out of the way little community in the northern part of Norway and it would be impossible to reach her. I have, however, written a letter to Mrs. Qvam explaining our reason for sending the cablegram to Miss Krog and congratulating them on the action of the Norwegian Parliament.

If we don't look out all the women of the world will be free before we get any chance at all in this country, but if it was only a question of a legislative or a Congressional vote even, it would be a small task compared with the large one which confronts us.

From the report of the meeting of the Democratic State Convention in Oklahoma yesterday, I see that our friend Mr. Owen has been nominated for the Senate and our arch enemy, Mr. Haskell, has been nominated for the governorship. A telegram received from Mrs. Upton a day or two ago says that the legislature which has been nominated on the same ticket with Mr. Haskell is opposed to us. This will, of course, block anything we might be able to do in the Oklahoma Legislature next winter, providing the Democratic ticket is elected, and the probabilities are that it will be, because anything that we should be able to get passed through the legislature would be vetoed by the Governor as he is exceedingly bitter. Our only recourse now is the Initiative and Referendum and in that case everything will depend on the wording of the Initiative Clause in the Constitution as to whether or not we can secure the

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submission of an amendment in two years.

Now the question for us to decide will be our future action in regard to Oklahoma, - just how much work we shall put in there and who shall be in charge of the work. It is going to be a long siege and we will have to think very carefully before we act.

With the exception of Mrs. Kelley, so far the vote received in regard to the meeting in New York with Mrs. Catt absent is unanimously opposed to it. Mrs. Kelley feels that it isn't wise to postpone the meeting because of the absence of any one person. I have written her that the point is not so much the absence of one person as the fact that there are others in the city in whose absence we would rejoice and that the Interurban without Mrs. Catt is a very weak society officially.

There is a point in one of Mrs. Upton's letters to me, which I think should be carefully considered. Her letter referred to Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day, Chairman of the Committee on Church Work, and the amount of money to be appropriated for the use of that Committee. It seems to me that whenever the National Association appoints a committee to do its work that the chairman at least should be furnished with sufficient means to secure stationery and postage. I think, therefore, a sub-committee of the Business Committee should be appointed to examine the field of work of each committee and make an appropriation in accordance with the importance and amount of work to be done. There can be no hard and fast rule, because the work of one committee is very small and unimportant, while that of another is much more extensive and very important indeed. I would, therefore, suggest the appointment of a sub-committee of the Business Committee to consider the work of the various National Committees and submit an estimate of the appropriation which should be made to each one to the Business Committee for ratification. Will you kindly return your vote on the slip enclosed?

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There is one point in connection with our next National Convention, which I think it is time for us to discuss because the exact time of holding the convention should be fixed before long.

As 1908 is the presidential year, it would be impossible to hold a convention the latter part of October as the entire attention of the press and of the country would be taken up with the campaign and there would be no space given to our meeting, neither would we be able to gain the attention of the people. Then the women in enfranchised states would not leave during the campaign to attend the Convention and although there are usually very few of them present, still I think the Convention dates should be fixed at a time when they could attend if they choose to do so.

While November is rather late to see the beauties of Niagara and the country round about it, still it doesn't seem possible to hold the Convention before that month, nor can we hold it too early in the month because of the election. Not being a voter, I cannot swear to the fact but it seems to me that the Presidential Election is always the first Tuesday after the first ^{Monday} ~~month~~ in November. If that is true, then it will occur on the third day of November.

Mrs. Stanton's birthday occurs on the twelfth of November, if my memory serves me correctly. As we are all packed up, I have no access to the Suffrage History so as to learn definitely. Now it seems to me that if it were possible for us to arrange for the National Convention to be held so as to include Mrs. Stanton's birthday, it would be a very wise as well as an appropriate time, since we are to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the first convention held for woman suffrage, which was called by Mrs. Stanton and others. This would make not only a double celebration as the fortieth anniversary of our National Association and the sixtieth

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anniversary of the first suffrage convention but in addition a service in honor of Mrs. Stanton. As this is the first opportunity we have ever had to hold a National Convention on Mrs. Stanton's birthday, it seems to me it would be an exceedingly wise as well as appropriate thing to do.

Can we not, therefore, set the date so as to include November twelfth? We might begin our Convention on that date, for I don't think it would be well to get it too near the election, nor do I think it would be wise to carry it too late in the month as November gets cold during the latter part of the month. Will you in your replies, please express your opinion in regard to this matter?

Faithfully yours,

Amos A. Shove

Swarthmore, Pa., June 21, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

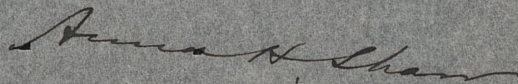
Miss Blackwell in a recent letter says, "You have probably seen by the papers that the richest and most influential of the Filipino women are making a crusade for suffrage. Mr. Fiske Warren, of Boston, a great anti-imperialist and Filipino sympathizer told me the other day he thought there would be a chance to get women the vote there now in connection with the new plan for partial self-government. Wouldn't it be a good plan for you to write to Mr. Taft about it to see if there is anything we can do to help?"

On reading her letter the thought occurred to me that this might be a subject upon which we would be able to create some sort of national co-operation with other societies just as we did in regard to the protest upon the clause in the Oklahoma Constitution. The press is very glad to take up almost anything during the summer months as it has very little news matter and we might secure more space upon such a question as this than upon any mere question of local suffrage.

I am writing Mrs. Kelley asking her advice in regard to it as she is the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on National Legislation, but if anything is to be done we must act promptly and I thought it would be well to get the opinion of the Business Committee so that if Mrs. Kelley thought it wise to undertake this work, there would be no delay in getting the opinion of the National Board upon it.

Will you kindly give me your view on the question by return mail and answer questions enclosed? It seems to me if there is any real ground for action, it would be well to take advantage of it. Of course, if anything is to be done, it will have to be done right away.

Faithfully yours,



Swarthmore, Pa., June 21, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

You doubtless received a copy of Mrs. Duniway's letter in reply to the announcement of our vote upon her request for two thousand dollars since in her letter to me she said she was sending a copy to each member of the Business Committee, which saves me the trouble of doing so. I enclose my second letter to her announcing the decision of the majority of the Business Committee upon the proposition which I submitted. The vote was not received from Mrs. Sperry until the day after Mrs. Duniway's letter arrived; therefore, I had no opportunity to answer Mrs. Duniway in regard to the vote until after her last letter arrived. If I had had, I should have taken no notice whatever of the last letter.

Soon after receiving Mrs. Duniway's letter, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Upton and Miss Gordon wrote me expressing their indignation in almost similar language, which coincided with my own feelings in the matter, which are that Mrs. Duniway's letter should convince us of the utter inability of the woman as a leader and that to withdraw from all further communication with the Oregon Suffrage Association while she remains at its head is the only way compatible with dignity and self-respect.

Miss Gordon adds, "I wish further to ask you to consult with the Business Committee upon the wisdom of my writing Mr. U'Ren and having him secure the necessary signatures for the National Association without our appearing in the matter at all. That Abigail will absolutely fail to secure the necessary signatures we all know but I do think as a matter of policy it will be a bad thing not to have the question come up again after our tremendous campaign last year".

In discussing this portion of Miss Gordon's letter with Mrs. Avery, it seemed to us that for the National Association to take the petition work out of

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Mrs. Duniway's hands would be to arouse the very furies in her and she would resort to the press and misrepresent and bitterly abuse the National Association and do everything she could to stop securing signatures and further block the way when the opportunity comes for future work in Oregon. In fact I don't think Mr. U'Ren or anybody else would attempt to secure these signatures in opposition to Mrs. Duniway. What some people consider as respect for Mrs. Duniway, some of us know to be abject fear of her sharp tongue and sharper pen. Under such conditions it would not be possible for anyone, not even Oregon people, to carry on a campaign and we would simply spend five or six hundred dollars and be compelled to lie dormant and be voted down at the election. I cannot see the advantage in such a defeat over being dormant and having no vote upon the question. The advantage in a campaign, even when voted down, is the education which results from the agitation and ~~waxwax~~ with no such agitation I see nothing to be gained except an added adverse decision.

I again repeat the point which I think justifies us in withholding from Oregon our help, - that we pledged to aid them when they had collected the petitions, which they pledged they would do before we left the State. They have not made a move in that direction, which has not so far been paid for by the National Association. Instead of trying to deal with them, we should inform them that we await their fulfilment of their pledge, at which time we will not fail to do whatever appeals to us as wise and helpful in their campaign, that is, if we continue to hold any communication with the Oregon Association whatever while Mrs. Duniway remains the so called head.

I do not feel surprised at Miss Gordon's interest and desire to have the petitions collected. Under ordinary circumstances or even ordinary extra-

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ordinary circumstances, it would be the only wise thing for us to do, but the conditions, which prevail in Oregon are absolutely unthinkable according to my view. I await further instructions of the Business Committee.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

June 21 1907

(C O P Y)

Swarthmore, Pa., June 10th, 1907.

My dear Mrs. Duniway:-

As I stated in my former letter to you that I would submit a proposition to my Board of Officers in regard to the Oregon work and if it was acceptable to them would notify you, I am sorry that there is necessary delay in sending you the information but as the members of the Official Board of the National Association live in different parts of the country, it requires some time to reach them with a communication and receive their replies. The replies, however, are all in and a majority of the Committee do not accept the proposition which I suggested, therefore, I have nothing definite to report to you from the National Board at this time.

A letter received from you yesterday states that there is a defect in the petition which the Oregon State Association circulated last summer for signatures, and that your Attorney General has notified you of the fact. I wish you would send me an exact copy of the Attorney General's letter as it might be a guide for other states in preparing future petitions, and I would be very glad to have it. I am, however, glad that any error made in the petition has been discovered at this time and I trust that the new petitions which you said you have ordered printed are free from any little technicality which might possibly be used to interfere with the workings of Woman Suffrage when it shall be secured.

I am very glad of your statement in your letter that you intend to go ahead and win the Suffrage in Oregon, as we most sincerely hope you may, and I assure you that when the Oregon people have shown a willingness and secured the petitions as they assured us they would before we left the State a year ago, the National Association will be ready to co-operate in any way which appeals to it as helpful in bringing about the desired result.

Very truly yours,
(signed) Anna H. Shaw.

189 N.Mill St.

June 21st, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw,

Last week I attended the Ky.Federation of Women's Clubs, where they passed a resolution in favor of school suffrage for women who can read and write by a majority of 57 to 7. Yesterday I returned from the convention of the State Educational Asso., which endorsed a school suffrage resolution by a unanimous vote. My absences have caused my correspondence to fall a little behind; and I see I have your letter to answer on the Conference in New York. I now send my vote that I endorse your telegram to Mrs.Catt, that the National would not favor such a conference unless Mrs.Catt can be in N.York as manager.

I am glad to see the hopeful letters in regard to the attitude of the Outlook.

I trust that both you and Miss Lucy are thoroughly recovering your strength, and that the hot weather will not debilitate you. Please give my regards to her.

Faithfully yours,

Swarthmore, Pa., June 17, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Lucy and I reached Swarthmore yesterday afternoon, Lucy feeling no worse from her journey and to-day she seems greatly improved. I feel very much encouraged.

I found on my return pretty nearly a bushel of mail, much of which ought to have been forwarded to me and I had been wondering why I did not get the letters. It seems that my niece, whose house we are now occupying, left a woman in charge and requested her to forward Lucy's mail and Mrs. Avery's and her own and the woman says did not say anything about mine. It may be that my niece thought that by saying Lucy's mail the woman would understand that meant mine. The result is, however, that while all the other mail was forwarded, mine was kept here for about a week. That accounts for my not replying to some of your letters. I am not, however, going to try to answer any of the letters to-day as I am going to read them over and classify them, so that I can make my replies as condensed as possible.

I am to-day simply sending you a copy of two letters, which I received this morning, one from Miss Thomas and one which ~~xxxxxx~~ Miss Thomas enclosed from Mrs. Harper. I am sending you these because I believe it will make you feel so happy to get them and to know of this other stroke which Miss Thomas has made for our cause and its results. I am quite sure Miss Thomas would not want any of this used for publication and I hope nothing will be said about it in any way so as to get it into the press because publicity might undo any good effect which might otherwise come to us by a possible change of policy on the part of the Outlook. As I go over the country in every state of the Union I find the Outlook more generally taken than any other magazine unless it may be The Ladies' Home Journal. It has the greatest

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possible influence and if it would even modify its attitude toward us, it would be a tremendous help, so that I think every possible precaution should be taken by us to do nothing which would in any way interfere with the success of Miss Thomas's stroke. She didn't say in her letter for me not to speak of it but I presume she thought I would not where it would be used publicly.

To-morrow I will send out a business letter in regard to the various points which have been raised in Mrs. Upton's and other letters which are now waiting for replies.

I shall be at home for three weeks and in that time I hope to get somewhat rested from the rather hard experience of the last two weeks. As I have written you, Miss Anthony's home is sold and before we left on Saturday afternoon the new people had come in. I hope I may never have any occasion to go to the house again.

I suppose everyone of you spent Saturday throwing up your hats and cheering over the enfranchisement of the Norwegian women. Lucy and I were glad to get this bit of good news the last day we were in Aunt Susan's home.

Lucy is improving and consequently I am feeling better and in a few days I expect to be all rested up.

Faithfully yours,

Aunt M. Shaw

June 17, 1907

(COPY)

The Deanery,
Bryn Mawr,
Pennsylvania.

June 14, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Miss Garrett and I have deposited Miss Anthony's legacy in a separate bank under a separate name, as you will see, "The Susan B. Anthony Endowment Fund", and we hope that it will form a nucleus for permanent suffrage endowment.

I thought you might be interested in reading the enclosed letter from Mrs. Harper. Mr. Hamilton Mabie dined with Miss Garrett and me when we were entertaining Ambassador and Mrs. Bryce, and the subject of suffrage coming up, we told him that we had been compelled to stop our subscription to the Outlook on account of its unfairness to woman suffrage. He seemed to be very seriously impressed at the time, and, as you will see, it bore some fruit. Please return me Mrs. Harper's letter.

Miss Garrett and I expect to sail for Europe on the 19th of June.

As Miss Garrett is so busy, I will write for her to say that she begs that you will pardon her not having answered your question about the use of some of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Guarantee Fund toward promoting the work in colleges for women and toward assisting Mrs. Park's side of the work. She asks me to say that she and I both feel with you that nothing more important could possibly be done, and that the plan you suggest meets with our most hearty approval. We were delighted with Mrs. Park when she was here. She spoke to about a hundred college women at the Acorn Club in Philadelphia and to about two hundred college women at the

June 17, 1907

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Country Club in Baltimore with most surprising results. Thirty-five members signed the League after the meeting in Philadelphia and seventy-nine, I think it was in Baltimore, and very many more women said that she had brought them to a position in which they would never after say a word against woman suffrage, even although they might not feel willing to join at the moment. All of them to whom we talked told us that they would in future do their best to investigate the question. If it were possible to employ Mrs. Park it would be magnificent.

If it were possible for us next year to begin the preparation of really convincing suffrage literature, I believe we could convince all the college women whom we could persuade to give it a reading. This seems to us the main necessity at present.

We hope very much that you are feeling more rested. It will be a relief to have the sad business of dismantling Miss Anthony's house over.

I will look over my package of leaflets and send you as many as I can possibly spare. Many have already been definitely promised.

With kindest regards from Miss Carrett and myself,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) M. Carey Thomas.

Peoria, Illinois, July 31. 1907

Dear Member of the Business Committee,

As Mrs. Upton informed you I was to have met Mrs. Biggers, and Mrs. Boyer at Tulsa, I.T., on Saturday July 20, but Mrs. Biggers was too ill to leave home in the excessive heat. Mrs. Boyer was there, and looking and feeling well.

Unfortunately I was very tired as I had been travelling and speaking daily, sometimes two Chautauques in one day, and the night before I arrived at Tulsa I had to leave Pittsburg, Kansas at 3.15 A.M., arriving at Tulsa at 2 P.M. breakfastless, and the following day had to leave Tulsa at 5 A.M. and speak at Vinita, I.T. at 2.30 in the afternoon, and that same evening at Parson, Kansas at eight o'clock.

So with the thermometer at 104 in the shade I was not in very good trim for a conference. We did the best we could however,--Mrs. Boyer was exceedingly kind and went out and got a lunch for me and I lay down while she went over the situation for an hour.

Then she left me to meet some of the Tulsa women, and I met them for a few minutes at five o'clock. Then for another hour Mrs. Boyer and I talked and at eight I lectured at the Chautauque, and we talked again from the time we got back to the hotel until about one in the morning--we had short sleep and she went to the train with me at 4.30 A.M., and as it was late we talked again for an hour.

The sum and substance of the conference was this:--there are so many "ifs" in the way of any plan for Oklahoma, that it is impossible to make one and not have to stop and have to say "if". The result so far as she is concerned was that it will be well for her to remain in the T territory until after the election--the time of which was then in doubt, but from newspaper reports has since been fixed for September 15.

In the meantime she is to attend the republican State Convention at Vinita, and with Mrs. Biggers interview as many of the candidates for the legislature as possible.

She has engagements for four or five other gatherings where she is to speak, and try to win the farmers etc. All the other time that she can spare from the office and her newspaper work is to be used in interviewing legislative candidates.

July 31, 1907

LEGISLATURE.---The reason the legislature is of so much importance is that when the Constitutional Convention reconvened, or as many of the members as they could get together, they made various changes in it by which they practically nullified the value of the Initiative and Referendum by making it necessary in order to carry an amendment to have a majority of the votes cast at the election--not on the measure, but upon any question or office which might be voted upon. That you see would give no chance at all for us, and to secure a petition would be a fearful task, as it would require over 4000 voters names. But they also made a change in the Franchise Clause, eliminating a point which formerly declared the legislature could restrict the vote but could not enlarge it, and gave the legislature what is called the Legislative Initiative, enabling it to submit an amendment to the Constitution, which would carry if only a majority voting upon a question, voted for it. This throws all our advantage with the legislature and gives us our only chance there. If there were any question of our getting justice from the voters it does seem as if that would give us a chance, and would be an immense saving in not having to secure a tremendous petition. At least it seems the only thing, and the reasonable thing to work for. The only thing which can be done is to interview, either personally or by letter the candidates for the legislature.

Mrs. Boyer seems to think that the politicians think we have influence and are helping our friends greatly, and injuring our enemies chances. She says those who were formerly bitterly against are keeping still, or hedging, and the lukewarm are becoming friendly. I do not know of course how much influence we really have, but

Mrs. Boyer seems to think they believe we have much. One of the reasons for it is that for some reason the men who were our good strong friends and who were told that their advocacy of our cause would ruin them politically, have forged ahead, and those who bitterly assailed us as did the democratic nominee for Governor, are having the fight of their lives to hold their own. I think that if they analyzed the causes they would find woman suffrage had little to do with it, but I am willing to gain

our advantage their opinion gives us

July 3, 1901

It is still uncertain whether the Constitution will be accepted by the President, and if it is not everything will have to be done over--our part and all. If it is accepted then we will have to have some one to look after the legislature, but it will be time to decide that later.

Mr. Owen in counsel with Mrs. Boyer advised three things if the Constitution carries

- 1st. Interview legislative candidates, as to their attitude should the question were put before them next winter.

- 2nd. Work through home people on the uncertain candidates.

- 3rd. Seek submission of the question.

SECOND. The National Association should try to get an expression from the legislatures of the four enfranchised states, recommending woman suffrage to the Oklahoma legislature, or to the Constitutional Convention, if Washington rejects the present constitution.

THIRD. Secure a memorial to Congress to insert a suffrage clause in the enabling act if a new Constitution is necessary; if not, then a memorial asking for a 16th Amendment to the National Constitution.

All of these suggestions seem wise and right in line of what we naturally would have done, and it is good to have so wise a man, and so good a friend advise them.

I asked Mrs. Boyer why the plan of employing State women was not more generally carried out and she said--it is all very well to talk of State women, but when you want them there are none. They will work for a day or two, then back out or have to go home to their families, or they are no good, or something happens and you cannot depend on them. They talk work, and think they can do it, but when the time comes they will not, or cannot. I urged her to try and get some good women to interview certain men and she is going to try. Mrs. Biggers were she only able would be the best, but she is not physically able.. I asked Mrs. Boyer about a young woman suggested by Mrs. Kelley, and Mrs. Boyer says she would be fine if we could get her, but she is seeking position for herself and will not come out and take a stand for suffrage, says she does not know whether she is a suffragist or not. She is too

Swarthmore, Pa., July 1, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

A short time since Mrs. Upton wrote that the office greatly needed a multigraph in order to simplify much of the work of duplication which the press and other demands at the present time lay upon the working force of the office. I overlooked this point in sending out my votes a few days since and because of that hope you will reply as soon as possible or that a sufficient number will reply so that Mrs. Upton may get the machine as soon as possible.

My own feeling in regard to the matter is that one of the weaknesses of women and women's associations is that they try to work without tools and use up twice as much time as would be necessary if they had the right kind of implements with which to work, and that any reasonable labor saving machine is not an added expense but an added saving to the Association.

I enclose in this letter the result of several votes which have been taken recently.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Swarthmore, Pa., July 1, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

This morning's mail brings a lengthy letter from Mrs. Upton in regard to the work in Oklahoma. There is one point, which I would like to correct in it. She says that I did not quite approve of the suggestion made by Mrs. Boyer of interviewing the candidates.

I did approve very much of that method of work but not of Mrs. Boyer and Miss Gregg doing it. I felt it was work which ought to be done by local people. For two outside women to be going through the state from county to county interviewing candidates in regard to their attitude on any question seemed to me not a very desirable thing and I thought it would be of greater value and much more appropriate to have the work done by local women.

I am greatly in favor of local people interviewing the candidates before they are nominated as well as after and it seems to me when we get so much information of the enthusiasm and all that sort of thing which prevails in Oklahoma, there ought to be some local women who could be induced and many people from different parts of the state who could be induced at least to speak to a candidate in their vicinity without the National having to pay them for their day's work or for traveling expenses.

One of two things is true, - either there are not such a vast number of people enthusiastic as we are led to believe or else there ought to be more people who would be willing to do at least so small a thing as to interview candidates. I can't quite make the reports which come from Oklahoma hang together, not that I think Mrs. Boyer or anyone else would misrepresent the situation, but I think they are carried away by very little encouragement and a good word from almost anybody seems to

July 31, 1907

shrewd a politician to declare herself, although some of the laboring men have urged her to do so. I urged Mrs. Boyer, after she told me of her remarkable power over men, and of her ability to make them believe in her not to do anything to antagonize her, but in every honorable way do all she could make friends with her, and win her to our work. Mrs. Boyer thinks that if she would boom us, she believes she could carry us. As to that I am doubtful, but from all I hear she is one of those quick sharp Irish women who know how to use words and plan on the emotions, and seem to be doing a lot, but is sharp enough to utilize the work others have planned, and she gets in for the harvest. I presume it will be that way with suffrage.

Mrs. Boyer seems to be doing good work with women when she meets them--she did at Tulsa, and there are some strong W.C.T.U. women there--one the editor of the State W.C.T.U. paper. The trouble is the women are so interested in the Prohibition fight that they do not dare touch the suffrage for fear it will hurt it. Women will some time learn that their own freedom to work for reforms where they can really effect something is of more importance than some present favorable measure.

I am stopping at a hotel in Peoria, Illinois, for three days, between Chautauquas, to write some necessary letters--and even here they follow me, and I have received letters from a dozen States.

I am glad enough to have a day or so to rest, for during the past three weeks I have not had a day. In fourteen days I spoke at seventeen different Chautauquas. I still have thirteen more, and when the last one is over I will shout Praises Be loud enough to be heard a long way. The heat has been fearful--the wonder is that people will attend Chautauquas in such weather.

Faithfully,

Swarthmore, August 2, 1907.
Sent out by L.E.A.

Anna H. Shaw.

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set them to thinking that everybody is ready to say good things. Whenever there is a little task to be done of any sort, there seems to be no local people who are willing to be employed or local people to do it without being employed.

I think we should understand what Mrs. Biggers means when she says the campaign is to be carried on under the Initiative, - whether she understands by that that from now until a vote can be carried under the Initiative in Oklahoma we are to conduct an expensive campaign such as we have been and are doing, which everyone of us knows is an absolute impossibility, or whether it is to be the kind of a campaign which we can afford, which must certainly be largely carried on by cheaper people employed locally and without expensive headquarters.

For instance, I cannot see that it was necessary for Miss Clegg to remain many days in Oklahoma City waiting for returns or that she should remain at Mrs. Biggers to write an address. While the returns were coming in, she could have been busy somewhere else, and addresses should be written outside of the time one is engaged in the field. However, there is nothing for it but to remain in Oklahoma and do the best we can as inexpensively as possible.

Another point which I wish to speak of is the circular which has been sent out to the Democrats and is probably to be sent out to the Republicans. While, of course, literature is needed for the work, it seems to me that one hundred dollars for a slip of that sort is a very expensive way in which to send literature. If it were a document, which could be sent all over the state and used several times over, that would be one thing, but just for a special use a hundred dollars is a good deal of money to put into a circular of that kind. While I believe the National should pay for some such circulars, I do not think that the State should be permitted to print any kind it chooses and then send a bill to the National and expect that it should be paid without demure. I think the National should be consulted in advance

July 1, 1907

and while as Mrs. Biggers states in her letter there was not time to do it in this case I think there should be a limit put to the price of circulars of this sort, so that whenever it is necessary to print one in a hurry, it shall not be of such an expensive kind as to make it unreasonable. We all know that they have been eager to have expensive literature in Oklahoma and that Mrs. Boyer felt quite disturbed because we did not print the Memorial in the same expensive manner in which Mr. Owen had published it. It is my opinion that there should be a limit set at once to the expense of the literature sent out by the State Association, which it expects the National to pay for.

From the list of dates sent me by the lecture bureau for the month of July, I find that I am to be in Indian Territory at two Chautauques - on the 20th and 21st of July. Of course, my addresses on these occasions are to be along suffrage lines.

The fact upon which Miss Gregg and Mrs. Biggers lay so much stress that "Mr. Haskell is not particularly against us because he opened his speech with a great rigmarole to the ladies and ended by asking the honest men and women to support him" does not to my mind imply that he is the least bit in favor of suffrage. Of course, he wants the women to support him. There isn't a politician in the country who wouldn't be glad to get the good will of women and a remark of that sort is very little to tie to. What he did in the Constitutional Convention is much more of an index of what he will do when he gets a chance again than any little flattering remark he may make during his candidacy when he wants the help of everybody.

It is this assumption of so much upon such very small data that makes me feel we are calculating on a great deal more help from the politicians than we will get when they are in a position either to make or to mar our prospects. If a man will not say right out that he will help us or believes in us when he wants our help, we may be very sure that we cannot depend upon him after we have given it to him.

July 5, 1909

As Miss Gregg will take her vacation after the Fourth of July, that will leave only Mrs. Boyer in the field. According to my view, she is quite sufficient for the National to have there during this time. From the headquarters, she should correspond with the local workers throughout the state and secure as many interviews between local workers and candidates as possible and I think she would make greater headway by corresponding with local people than by attempting to do the work herself and it would be worth more when it was done if there really is any particular State pride or State feeling in Oklahoma. In this matter, however, they have shown a little more sense and a little more regard to ordinary honesty in not only being willing to accept money from outside people but advice and help as well.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Thayer

July 1, 1907

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

June 5, 1907.

1. Are you in favor of publishing a paper in accordance with the plan suggested by Miss Gordon?

Unanimous vote in favor.

2. In which City shall the effort be made?

Miss Shaw, Mrs. Kelley, Miss Clay and Mrs. Sperry leave the decision to the committee; Mrs. Avery votes for Chicago or New York; Mrs. Upton, - New York, Philadelphia or Chicago; Miss Blackwell, Philadelphia first.

3. Suggest the names of members of the Business Committee in order of your choice to form the Committee to take the initiative in forming plans, naming committees, and act as representatives of the National Board in the enterprise.

Miss Gordon, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Upton. Unanimously in favor of Miss Gordon as chairman, Mrs. Avery six, Mrs. Upton five.

I have eliminated my name from the first three places wherever it has been voted upon because I am an ex officio member of the committee anyway.

Richmond, Ky. July 3rd, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Your letter enclosing voting slip is just at hand. I see no need for comment upon any of the points in your letter just at this time, except upon what you say in regard to Mr. Haskell's attitude on the suffrage question (Haskell, the Governor nominated for Oklahoma). The ~~the~~ only reason I comment on that is because I consider the most important lesson I learned during my stay in Oklahoma is that the time I have been expecting for some years has apparently arrived in that state-viz; that the politicians are ready to regulate their attitude to our question by the effect they hope it may have on their political party. As I listened to the impassioned speeches against suffrage in the Con? Convention from the Democrats I was impressed by the thought that the most impassioned speaker would speak equally warmly on the other side if he could believe that woman suffrage would strengthen the Democratib party. Of course, we cannot prove that if the Democrats give women suffrage it will make more voters for the Democrats than for Republicans among the new voters. We can only assert that it is probable. Then for the first time I heard the argument freely used that woman suffrage is bound to come soon,-- it cannot be staved off long. The party that takes the strongest part in giving it to them will strengthen itself among the new voters just as the Republicans strengthened their party by giving suffrage to the negroes. Haskell would vote right now, I believe, if he thought suffrage would help the Democrats, for woman suffrage. Therefore, I suppose the favorable feature Mrs. Biggers and others see in his present attitude is not that he is asking the help of women now for himself. As you say, that is too cheap flattery to take in any one who knows how politicians will pull every string for any sort of support. Rather, I suppose our friends are fortified in their wish to pledge the Legislature for us, even though it be composed of Haskell's machine men, because they hope he sees that since woman suffrage must come soon the Democrats should make capital out of it; and that the incidents of the campaign so far ^{have} made Haskell aware that he had better not oppose the rising tide in our favor.

The fact that Oklahoma is still uncertainly as to whether or not it will range itself on the Democratic or Republican side makes it particularly valuable as a field for this new argument of strengthening the party which takes the initiative in extending the suffrage. I am very much in favor of pursuing the policy our friends are now working on. I am exceedingly glad you are to be in Indian Territory; and I hope you will consider the situation from this standpoint.

Cordially yours,