

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Moylan, Pa. May 23rd, 1908.

Dear State President:-

When this letter reaches you I expect to be on the ocean, en route ~~to~~ Europe. Before going to Holland to attend the International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting, I have accepted the invitation of the English Suffragists to take part in their demonstration at Albert Memorial Hall, on the day of their great national parade, June 13th, which they propose making the largest demonstration these earnest and devoted suffragists ever yet engaged in. On the night of the 13th I leave London for Amsterdam, where I am to preach the sermon on the 14th, preparatory to the opening of the International Convention on the 15th of June.

Recently I made a tour through the South which embraced the National Headquarters, Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana and Georgia, and although the trip was somewhat hurried and I was not able to visit half the cities which invited me, I have come back feeling greatly cheered by the outlook.

The result of the trip can be summed up just as any similar trip in any other section of the country might be by saying our greatest need is consecrated leaders, who are able to give time and service to our Cause. Sentiment is ripe everywhere, and suffrage is no longer a tabooed subject. I met with many amusing instances of the fellow of presuming that the subject is not pop-

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ular, one of which was told me by a lady after my speech at Dallas. She said "I was afraid to ask my husband to come here to-night, but I just plucked up courage and did it, and he said "Oh! yes, I want to go if you will accompany me," and I then said I thought you would not like to hear a woman talk on that subject to which he replied "Why, I have always been a suffragist but I did not mention it to you for I thought you were opposed." Here were two people living in the friendliest relations, each utterly ignorant of the others favorable attitude toward a subject so universally discussed as Woman Suffrage is to-day. Our fears are in our own minds and arise from our own cowardice. There is sentiment everywhere. We lack leaders who are willing and able to serve the Cause by crystallizing it into organization. I have determined that my mission henceforth is to search for workers and leaders, rather than the creation of sentiment. There is not a State in the Union in which an efficient organization could not be built up, if it only had efficient women whose whole time could be secured in its service.

The first week in June has been sacradly set apart as self-denial week in behalf of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, There is not a suffragist under the flag who, if she will, cannot during that week of self-denial secure some small or large sum toward the completion of the fund which you, at our last National Convention universally voted to raise. Let it not be said of a single woman, for whom and to whom our great leader dedicated her sixty years of splendid service, that she forgot her debt and failed to try to repay a portion of it in Susan B. Anthony's name.

[May 23, 1907]

It will not be long before we shall meet at the National Convention in Buffalo. The Sixtieth Anniversary of the first Womans Rights meeting. Let us make it a memorable occasion, and, though we have had few victories in our own country during the past year, the Cause has been growing, and since we last met the women of Norway have been enfranchised, England and Iceland women made eligible to all public offices, except members of Parliament. Denmark has granted municipal suffrage, and in other lands the cause has advanced. Everywhere the whole tone of the movement has changed, and this change was aptly expressed in the language of Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, at the recent hearing before Congress in these words. "The women show progress of their Cause in their greater dignity and self-assertion of their demand. They no longer assume the attitude of pleaders but, in no faltering language, demand that justice shall be done. They are not asking a favor but are asking the opportunity to discharge their duty to their homes and country at the ballot box." This is true. Women are rising to the plane of self-respecting assertion, and they will receive the respect from others which they for themselves feel, and no more.

I hope you will all urge your women to arm themselves with the splendid literature which our National Headquarters is prepared to supply and that wherever they are, at home or wandering far afield for their vacation, they will make it the occasion of much seed sowing, preparatory to a harvest the coming year.

Co-operation of Labor Organizations, of self-supporting and college women, with club women, realizing more and more their impotence in the service of the world, the waste of time, strength

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and money in disfranchisement, with temperance people feeling that it is easier to secure temperance laws than to enforce them, and that the great need of the world is a voting constituency to maintain temperance officers in order to enforce temperance laws, ~~and~~ all these forces are combining to bring in the day of our final victory. Still, we must remember the words of Susan B. Anthony, "The Cause will triumph, nothing can prevent it", but the time of its final victory depends upon the loyalty and faithful service of those who believe."

I expect to devote my summer in working for the Cause and shall return home immediately after the meeting of the International Council of Women in Geneva, Switzerland, September 6th. May the God of nations, who has always led his people in their struggle for freedom, keep us and may we meet at Buffalo full of rejoicing and hope.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

[May 29, 1908]

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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, Lexington, Ky.
DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.

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

OFFICE OF
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



MEMORIAL

TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.

Gentlemen:-

You are respectfully requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to place the following plank in your Platform:

RESOLVED: THAT WE FAVOR THE EXTENSION OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE TO THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE STATES, UPON THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS UPON WHICH IT IS NOW ACCORDED TO MEN.

We ask this,

1st. In order that our Government may live up to the principles upon which it is founded.

2nd. In order that the women in the homes and in the industries may have equal power with men to influence conditions affecting these respective spheres of action.

In making this demand for justice, our Association calls your attention to the fact that more than five million women who are occupied in the industries of the United States are helpless to legislate upon the hours, conditions or remuneration for their labor. We call your attention to the fact that through the commercialized trend of legislation, the children of our Nation are being sacrificed to a veritable juggernaut - cheap labor - while this same trend is wasting our mineral, land and water resources, imperiling thereby the inheritance of future generations. We call your attention to the moral conditions menacing the youth of our country.

Justice and expediency demand that women be granted equal power with men to mould the conditions directly affecting the industries, the resources and the homes of the nation.

We therefore appeal to the Republican National Convention, assembled to name national standard bearers and to determine national policies, to adopt in its platform a declaration favoring the extension of the franchise to the women of the United States.

(Signed)

Anna Howard Shaw, President,
Rachel Foster Avery, First Vice-President,
Florence Kelley, Second Vice-president,
Kate M. Gordon, Corresponding Secretary,
Alice Stone Blackwell, Recording Secretary,
Harriet Taylor Upton, Treasurer,
Laura Clay
Mary Simpson Sperry. Auditors.

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, Moylan, Pa.

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

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Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.
MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Moylan, Pa., Sept. 25th, 1908.

Dear State President:-

I reached home last night and never did home or homeland seem so dear to me as now. It is a joy to sit at my own desk at work again.

My summer has been fruitful of both health and service, and I understand better than ever the oneness of the human family and how an act of Congress or of Parliament in one country may influence the weal or woe of the people in lands thousands of miles distant. At the National Convention, I hope to tell you of the service I have been able to render our cause, and that my summer, though called a vacation, has been most fruitful of good results and even though wrought in other countries has had a direct bearing upon the work at home.

I trust that with a full delegation you will attend the National Convention at Buffalo and that you personally may be able to be present at the executive meeting at the Y.M.C.A. at four o'clock P.M., October 14th.

In order that our Convention may be of real value to your State and the whole country, each President should bring to it the ripened experience of her years of service and her best thought for the future. Our meeting should be not merely a recital of the progress and triumphs of the past sixty years, but should be fruitful of suggestions and plans for the work of the coming year. We need

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not only inspiration and enthusiasm, but wisdom to enable us to meet the most trying and difficult years that lie before us, years when victory is not far distant and, because of that very fact, the work will need to be more carefully planned and diligently carried out than ever before.

The coming into our organization of large bodies of women, who have never heretofore in any concrete form united with us, will require careful thought, and to this some of the foremost women among us are giving their careful consideration and formulating suggestions which we hope will be of vital interest to the Association.

The completion of the college woman's organization and formal union with us will be of vast importance, and we hope the self supporting woman's organization may also be successfully completed, and by a union of all our forces we may prove the fallacy of the statement of Mrs. Humphrey Ward that the Anti-suffragists have completely routed and annihilated the suffragists of the United States when we face them with the fact that never in our history had we as many members, nor as much active work in process as at the present time.

Let us come to Buffalo fully determined to give of our best to make the Convention memorable, and let each delegation feel that its success depends upon it.

Rejoicing in your continued service and loyalty,

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

*Oh it is good to be at home.
I hope the B C may meet as early as the 12th
as the State Convention will break in on the
time of the 14th*

Richmond, Ky.

Oct. 8th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I received a letter from Mrs. Upton, dated the 5th, with a copy of one from Mrs. Boyer, dated the 2nd, which Mrs. Upton asks me to answer directly to you.

I am decidedly in favor of complying with Mrs. Boyer's request and sending Miss Gregg to Oklahoma directly after the Buffalo convention, or even before it is over, if possible. If we could defeat that Mr. Ellis, and clearly by the suffragists, it would be worth thousands of dollars to us, as it would be an object lesson which the politicians could and would observe. Particularly in a state where a senator (Sen. Owen), avows that his woman suffrage record helped his large majority.

You have my vote, therefore, to help Mrs. Boyer as she asks. If this is impossible, you have my vote to help as much as the circumstances permit. I think certainly we ought not to vote to close headquarters in Oklahoma till after the election; and not then if we elect a working number of our friends to the Legislature.

We all welcome you home, and are delighted to know that your trip improved your health and strength.

We are expecting you in Richmond for our State E.R.A. convention the 17th and 18th of November. Mrs. Upton has made the dates, but I mention them as my letter may reach you first. We accepted an invitation for the convention from Richmond again, because the Normal School here makes a new and important audience each year.

Cordially yours,

Lincoln, Nebr. Nov. 5, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

When the motion was made in the Business Committee to withdraw Miss Gregg from Indiana immediately, and put her in the enfranchised states, the motion seems to have been made without any plan of procedure back of it, or any due consideration of conditions, or the expense of the undertaking. Had there been any such consideration we would have realized that an appropriation of \$800 for Miss Gregg's expenses would not begin to cover the expense of travel and hotel bills alone, for such work as was planned. The states are so immense, the towns so widely scattered, and the cost of travel in these states so great, that twice that sum would be required.

Miss Gregg naturally expected, as she was directed to do this work, that some reasonable plan must have been in the minds of those suggesting it, and asked for directions. As no plan was given the Business Committee by the movers, and when Miss Gregg consulted Miss Gordon and Mrs. Upton, neither could give her any information, she naturally turned to me; and I am now, as I was in Committee meeting, at a loss to know what she was expected to accomplish, or how she was to go about it. So, after looking the situation over, we have come to the conclusions, which I will explain in this letter.

I consider it advisable for her to return to Indianapolis and gather up the work begun, and put Miss Penfield in charge when she leaves for the west, in compliance with the vote of the Business Committee.

On reaching Denver, I found that plans had been made for almost continuous receptions, meetings, etc. during my stay; so I had little leisure, and was too much fatigued to give to the work of the petition and the organizations, as much time as I would have

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liked. However, I had an interview with Mrs. Decker, and later, one with Mrs. Grenfell, and from each I received entirely opposite information and suggestions as to the best method of procedure.

Mrs. Grenfell felt little hope that the women of Colorado would be interested in joining the National Association, or that individual women would care to sign the petition. She seemed to feel that by doing their own work and trying to correct conditions in their own state, the Colorado women were doing all that could be asked of them.

While Mrs. Decker, on the other hand, seemed to think that considerable numbers of them would gladly sign the petition, and she also assured me that she had little doubt that if I come and address the Federation, we could secure its affiliation with the National Association.

Of the two women, I think Mrs. Grenfell the more straightforward and honest in loyalty to suffrage, while Mrs. Decker is more influential, if willing to do anything, and as we must depend on her entirely to secure affiliation, I think we will have to be very careful not to arouse any antagonism on her part.

I called on her at her home and talked an hour about the situation. I think she is sort of freeing her way in regard to suffrage work, and is greatly impressed by the organization of the College women, with President Thomas at the head, and I think if we go about it rightly, we may secure her cooperation in urging the Colorado women to affiliate, if we change our Constitution so they can be legitimately admitted. But she positively assured me that nothing could be done until after the Federation meets in September.

Miss Gregg was present during my interview with Mrs. Grenfell, which lasted several hours, and I think she is impressed with the same feeling that Colorado women would resent outside National intrusion, and whatever is done by a National worker must appear to be simply taking counsel with Colorado women as to the best methods

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of work.

I greatly regret that when the plan to withdraw Miss Gregg from Indiana and place her in Colorado was proposed, there was not a plan proposed, adapted to the needs of the work in the enfranchised states. I am quite sure if we had carefully considered the situation in Colorado, we would have realized that it would be impossible to get the Federation or any other strong organization to unite with that split-up, badly officered State Suffrage Association, and since no provision is made in the Constitution for a State organization to unite directly with the National body, but must come in through the State Suffrage Association, we meet a difficulty at the outset. In the discussion it was stated that some different ruling might be made to apply to the enfranchised states, but as there is no way by which these state societies, even if they consented to do so, could affiliate with the National directly, and besides, there is no way in which we may reach the state societies except through their state conventions, which meet at different times of the year, and can only be approached by some one who is on the ground when their conventions assemble. Therefore, all that can be done by Miss Gregg is to interview the state officers of these organizations, to see what can be done when their conventions meet, and yet we have no plan to lay before them as to the method by which they could unite with our National body.

If every kind of society in the state were free to join our National body by paying ten dollars, they might easily control the National convention, or on the other hand, as Mrs. Decker stated, few small local bodies would join and pay ten dollars as they would not be able to send a delegate.

In every address that I made, and I made from two to three a day, I emphasized the petition work, and yesterday afternoon at a large reception given us by several societies, I emphasized it very strongly.

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reception given us by several societies, I emphasized it very strongly, and several women assured me they would help, and one woman who stated she was not a suffragist, said she would get five hundred names.

After carefully considering the matter together, Miss Gregg and I feel that the best plan to follow is to get Mrs. Bradford, who, with all her faults seems to be one of the leading women of Denver, about whom others will rally, or else has some sort of influence which makes them appear to rally around her, to undertake the work of securing the petition in Denver. There is very little doubt that she was elected County Superintendent, but she will not enter upon her work for two or three months. In the meantime, she might be glad of a little financial help, and perhaps we could get her to start right out with the petitions. She understands the whole situation, and knows women in every precinct who would do good work.

Then in the meantime we could learn from her, or from whatever source we can, the names of women who would work and be able to suggest workers, so that we may be able to clinch something when Miss Gregg goes to the state, and to push the work with as little delay as possible.

I am thoroughly convinced that whatever we do in these states, we must do for all time, because we cannot depend upon these women to continue any consecutive line of helpful work for us. They have the feeling that we do not appreciate what they are doing and that we do not realize that by taking care of themselves and carrying their own political work, they are doing as much as we have any right to expect. They are not slow to say that they got suffrage for themselves, and the rest of us must do the same. There is not one in a hundred who believes that their freedom is due to any assistance received outside the state, and it is very difficult to make them

B.C. 5.

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feel that they owe anything to other women who helped in their enfranchisement. Still, Mrs. Decker felt that if I could be present, and present our ~~XXXXX~~ case before the State Federation, as I did to her, it might be possible to swing them into line, and get them to join the National Association, but it cannot be done until after the National Convention; and aside from the State Federation, it does not seem to me worth while to try to get any other women's societies, except the W.C.T.U. and I do not think the State W.C.T.U. would join under any circumstances, through fear of conflict with their National body. I think, however, it would be possible to get them to do some good petition work.

I will write later of my impressions of the election, and of the attitude of the women of Colorado. I am very sure if you had all been there you would feel much as we do, that if the Antis have no arguments from their standpoint, it is simply because they do not know how to gather them up. The statement was made by scores of women that they are tired of it and want to get rid of it; at the same time I have no doubt if the question were submitted, nearly all who talk against it would fight tooth and nail to prevent its being taken from them.

It does not seem to me to be wise to push the petition work in Utah, though we could probably get a great many names. Of course we must ask their cooperation, but I think it best to put the work in the hands of Utah women, and take what they get for us.

I trust that this plan which I have outlined, particularly that of getting the work started in Denver at once, while Miss Gregg is finishing up her work in Indiana, will meet with the approval of the Business Committee.

Faithfully Yours,

Anna H. Shaw

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



Ans. Dec. 5

Moylan, Pa., Nov. 25, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Mrs. Avery and Miss Gazette went to Washington on Tuesday to investigate houses with a view to establishing the headquarters which was discussed at the annual Convention. They found a desirable house in a very excellent location which we can have for \$40.00 per month, and I think we know of a woman who is most desirable as a housekeeper and one who would take most excellent care to have the place attractive and orderly and who, herself, is a lady and could meet people in a way which would be perfectly satisfactory to us all.

Some time ago she wrote me desiring some kind of work in our Association, and I told her that I would keep her in mind. Some of the members of the Committee know her. It is Mrs. Jennette M. Bradley of New Haven, Conn., whose husband was formerly an official of the Government in Washington. Years ago she used to be the greatest help at our Conventions. She was the woman who could always get things, - flowers, platform furniture, a place, or anything of that sort we needed. She is very gentle in her manners and I am very sure that everyone who remembers her would think her perfectly fit for the place, and those of you who do not know her would be pleased with her.

We have the refusal of the house until Saturday, but I am quite sure we could hold it over until Sunday or Tuesday perhaps if, on receipt of this letter, you will immediately telegraph me

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[Nov 26, 1908]

whether or not we shall close the bargain for it. Miss Gazette and Mrs. Avery both think that it is a most desirable location, and if we are going to carry out the plan it must be done at once, especially as there is a prospect that there will be a campaign in the District this year to secure suffrage for men. We certainly should not let such a thing go by without a strenuous effort to include women.

Please wire immediately on receipt of this.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Anna N. Shaw

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



Ans. Dec. 5,

Moylan, Pa., Nov. 30, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

You have doubtless received from Mrs. Upton the word that Miss Chase is prepared to go into the field and that she would like to go south to Arizona. What do you think of offering her to Mrs. Munds for work there, as it seems to be the opinion of the majority of the Members of the Business Committee, so far heard from, that work should be done in Arizona and that Mrs. Munds should be the one with whom she should co-operate. There is no question but a large petition secured in Arizona would help in getting the suffrage question into the Enabling Act if anything could do it. Of course, we will have to decide upon the amount of help to be given to Arizona if we send a worker into the State.

Some time since, the President of the United States appointed a Committee to investigate agricultural conditions, of which Dean Bailey of Cornell was Chairman. On seeing the notice of this in the papers, I immediately wrote to Dean Bailey asking if any women were to be appointed on the Investigation Committee, and what notice would be taken of women's share in agriculture. I received a polite reply from his Secretary that the President of the United States had appointed a committee of five persons, all of whom were men, and that they were then out on their tour of investigation. He sent me a list of questions stating that forty thousand of them had been sent to different parts of the country for replies. The

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only notice taken of woman is as wife and daughter, although the questions have to do with the home, social surroundings, education, etc., rather than crops, lands and kindred subjects. I think we ought to do something about it, either by sending a letter of protest to the President or to Dean Bailey.

I wish to consult with you in regard to the date of the National Convention. Before I went to Buffalo, I had given my time for the month of July to Chautauquas notwithstanding the fact that the last time I gave to Chautauqua work I felt I never could do it again, but the field is such a good one and the opportunity to reach such a large number of people is unequalled in the same length of time during any other season of the year, I felt I must do what I could at the time when I could do the most good; so that I had, as the Bureau says, "sold" the entire month of July. When we decided to go to Washington with our National Convention in July, I was obliged to write to the various Chautauquas and cancel all ~~times~~ my dates, which I did successfully up to the 25th.

On my way west after the Convention, I was interviewed in Chicago by a gentleman who has been very successful in placing speakers and who seemed very anxious to take my time in August. So I "sold" him the month of August, and I was very glad to do this as cancelling my July dates was a very heavy financial loss. It is now important that we set the date of our Convention for several reasons. Mrs. DeVoe should know in order to make arrangements with the Fair people for the halls and the date we want as Suffrage Day at the Fair, also for Miss Anthony to make arrangements with the railroad people. As my engagements will begin on the 25th of July, I shall have to be through the meeting and be able to be as far east as Kansas City by that time, so that I think we should not begin later than Wednesday or Thursday, the 14th or 15th of July. Will

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you kindly attend to this point as soon as possible?

I received a letter from Rev. Eleanor Gordon in regard to the work in Iowa. They feel as if they must do a particular kind of legislative work this winter, which will demand local headquarters work. At their State Convention, they raised the necessary money to carry on their work for the year, but not sufficient for the headquarters at Des Moines. Miss Gordon has written me stating that she would be very glad to give her time to this work, but it is absolutely impossible for her to do so as she is obliged to earn her living, but that she will devote as much time as possible to the legislative work. She seems to have taken hold of the Iowa work with a good deal of spirit and interest and, as she is a good speaker, I am sure she will do a good deal toward building up the State.

She thinks it will take about \$450.00 to do the legislative work in addition to the other State work and thinks they can raise one-half of it and asks us if we think the National would be willing to assist them. I think it would be well for us to do so, because a little encouragement of that sort does put a good deal of heart into the people of the State who are willing to help themselves, as is Iowa. I therefore include this with the other votes.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Anna H. Shaw
Per G.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

The following amendment is offered to Art.III of the Constitution, by Kate McGordon, Corresponding Secretary.

Individuals may become co-operating members of the N.A.W.S.A., by the payment of \$1.00. Adopted.

Organizations may become affiliated members of the N.A.W.S.A., on approval of two-thirds of the National Executive Committee, and upon payment of \$10.00 annual dues, - these affiliated organizations to be entitled to one delegate only. Adopted
These sections to be numbered 6 and 7.

The following amendment is offered to Article VI, Sec.I of the Constitution, by Harriet Taylor Upton, Treasurer:

By striking out after the word state, first line, the words, "and one member from each State," and further to change all sections of the Constitution referring to Executive Committee to conform to this change -- such as Art.III, Sec.5, By-Laws I, Sec.2. Lost by 86 yeas to 53 nays.

The following amendment is offered to Article VII, Sec.4 of the Constitution, by Alice Stone Blackwell, Recording Secretary:

In the election of officers, and on any other question, the delegates present from each State may cast the full vote to which that State is entitled, whenever the delegates present from five States request it. In all other cases, each delegate shall have one vote. Lost.

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MARY S. SPERRY,

2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., Nov. 25, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I hope some time to be able to tell you of the most interesting and almost triumphant trip from which I have just returned. It is useless to begin the recital without following it through, and at present there is neither time to write nor read it if written. Suffice to say that, if we needed evidence to tell us of the unequalled progress of our own cause and encouragement to assure us of its growing hold upon the people at large, and of the deeper consecration of our own members and of their desire that work should be done, and that they are ready and willing to do it, there could be no question after these four weeks of such a tour as I have never before taken.

It was not because the meetings were larger, or that more functions were held, so much as the manifestation of initiative developing in women, of their readiness to see and seize opportunities for presenting our cause and the spirit in which they carried out their plans. I have returned comparatively well and full of courage and hope.

PETITIONS. At each meeting held, there was a willingness to take and circulate petitions, and Mrs. Catt writes that they are all ready with instructions to send to the proper persons in each State. As this is Mrs. Catt's particular work, and as it is advisable to cut off all duplication of service, I will leave her to inform you of her plans, as doubtless she either has or will shortly.

E Nov 25, 1908

MISSSES GREGG AND PENFIELD--INDIANA. Miss Gregg expects to leave the work in Indiana in the hands of Miss Penfield who, she says, is giving promise of a most excellent organizer, Miss Gregg noticed in her the particular trait which impressed me when I first saw her in Texas, and that is,- quickness to see things to do and an ability and readiness to do them.

A letter from Mrs. Capwell of Buffalo says "she is a most willing and cheerful worker and people like her." Miss Penfield will continue the work there ^{in Indiana} and already they are planning for their State Convention in March, if I can go to them before leaving for the International meeting in England. We may leave Indiana with Miss Penfield/ for the present. After she has spent as long a time in Indiana as the Official Board think is advisable, Miss Clay has asked for her for a month in Kentucky and Mrs. Avery desires her for a month or more in Pennsylvania,- in fact, I think her time will be fully provided for and the arrangements so managed that she will not require personal supervision from Headquarters, and they will be relieved to that extent.

MISS GREGG AND MISSOURI. Miss Gregg will leave Indiana on Saturday and will stop at St. Louis enroute to the enfranchised States. Mrs. Upton has received several letters from Mrs. Worth of St. Louis, as well as other letters, which have made her feel that the National Association should look into matters there and see if there is evidence of a sentiment and desire for a real organization, and if there are people ready to undertake the work who will keep it alive. I fully agree with Miss Gordon that, when a State President simply sends a few dollars annually, with no association back of her, just to keep herself in the National Association as a delegate, and really does no work and year after year there is no organization or growth in her State, then the National Association is justified, if

there is a sufficient demand on the part of the State, in taking a hand in rearranging matters. As Miss Gregg would have to pass through St. Louis, Mrs. Upton and I thought it would be well worth her while to stop off two or three days and look the ground over and report to us and then we could plan as to what our action in the matter should be. I would not feel the least hesitation in the National helping to depose Mrs. Mulkey if there are others in the State ready and able to build it up.

MISS GREGG AND THE ENRANCHISED STATES. From St. Louis, Miss Gregg will proceed to Denver to begin planning for petition work. Miss Gordon objects to Mrs. Bradford having charge of the petition work, not from any personal reason but because she is not as reliable as one who has charge of the work should be, and I agree with her if we had a choice, but to tell the truth we have none. Miss Laughlin would have been perhaps better if she were an older or better known Colorado woman, but all the women I met, who were old Colorado women, did not seem to have the least particle of interest in suffrage for other women and Mrs. Grenfeld says she did not think many would take the trouble even to sign a petition.

The truth is this-- most of the women there were too young to know of the struggle for suffrage in their State, or did not live there at the time it was granted, and their attitude is just the same as that of men would probably be if the men of Arizona or New Mexico should ask them to sign a petition for their enfranchisement. They say, as one did to me, and she the President of the Colorado Suffrage Association, "We got the suffrage for ourselves, why don't the rest of you women work for it as we did?" This was said before a large number of women. I did not leave them long in ignorance of the fact that they worked but little, even in their own State, compared

[Nov 25, 1908]

with what others had done for them, and if they would work as hard to help other women to get it, as other women were working to defend them and their use of it, they would realize more that they are still under obligation to the struggling womanhood all over the country. Still, all were not of that type though the majority are utterly indifferent as to others. After I spoke at one of the receptions, a lady said: "I am not a suffragist, though I vote, and if you feel that way send the petitions and I will agree to get you 500 signatures myself." Mrs. Bradford seemed the only ~~xxx~~ woman who was doing things outside of her own personal interests.

There is a large body of professional women whom Miss Gregg will interest I am sure. They were kindness itself to us and they will, I am sure, do much for us. She should keep matters under her control, at least until she sees how things are working. I have given her a number of letters to different people and other blank letters to fill in to those whom she learns will be helpful in arranging for her.

The question which we must settle is, - do we want her to go to Utah or would it be best to leave that State to the local workers? At Union City, Indiana, at the National Council of Women, we met two Salt Lake women both of whom are Mormons, but one of them was as interesting and clear headed and as attractive as a woman can be and assured me she would be glad to be helpful in any way she could. If it is desirable to have a large number of signatures from Utah, Miss Gregg should go there too, but if you think best she might go to Salt Lake City, arrange the work there and leave it in the hands of the Salt Lake women to look after the rest of the State. What is your judgment in the matter? This strikes me as the best plan.

In regard to securing the union of other societies with our

[Nov 25 1906]

own, you will remember in presenting the amendment to the Constitution the word "National" was left out of the printed slip, but it was simply an omission and was amended by the Convention and was so understood when it was voted. If all organizations might become auxiliary to the National Association, then any society organized for any purpose, local as well as State or National, could by paying \$10.00 become auxiliary to our National Association, with one delegate, and swamp the whole suffrage movement. Certainly no one could dream of State or local associations becoming direct members of our National body. That this was the understanding of our Board is shown from the fact that we tried to devise a plan whereby State societies in the enfranchised States could have a different rule applied to them on account of the difficulty in keeping up State Suffrage Associations through which they might be admitted to membership as the Self Supporting League of New York through the New York Suffrage Association. Therefore, in the printed Minutes, the word National should be placed before the word Organizations in the amendment admitting them to direct affiliated membership.

I greatly regret that no definite plan of admitting societies in the enfranchised States was settled by the Convention, and yet I do not believe much can be done in this direction hastily. In Colorado and Utah there is a kind of Suffrage Association, but they are not such that other societies would join and enter ours through them, so that we must arrange some other plan of cooperation. For instance, - in her interview with me, Mrs. Decker intimated that the Colorado Federation of Clubs might be induced to federate directly with the National but not through the State Suffrage Association. Nor do I think it would be possible for the Federations of the four States to unite for that purpose, as each State would want the delegate. If any one sees a plan which could be made to work success-

[Nov 25 1908]

fully and be advantageous to the National, I wish she would give it to us.

Outside of the Federation of Women's Clubs there really are no other organizations among women which are of importance, except the W.C.T.U., save in Utah. Here our troubles will begin, for there are at least two women's societies which are national in scope and which have their headquarters in Salt Lake City. They are Mormon societies and are members of the National Council. I am very sure they would be only too glad to join our National Association as affiliated members and pay their dues and have two Mormon delegates. The question is this, - shall Miss Gregg be instructed not to seek affiliated organizations in Utah, or are you willing to have these societies unite with us?

The difficulty, suggested by Mrs. Decker, in securing other societies is that it will take time to bring it about, that little can be done before it is presented at their next annual meeting and that we should have some influential suffragist there to present the subject. As their annual meetings are at different times, that would be a difficult task. The Federation of Clubs of Colorado meets in September next and Mrs. Decker suggests that if I were there I might persuade them to join us. Now, if the Wyoming, Idaho and Utah meetings assembled at about the same time it would certainly pay us to have us go on the ground, if I could arrange to be there.

Miss Gregg will be able to tell us more after she has canvassed the situation. In view of the fact of the kind of work we have set for her in these States, with their few and scattered cities and great distances at great expense of travel, will make this experiment a costly one. I have urged Miss Gregg to get as many direct individual members of the National, on payment of \$1.00, as pos-

[Nov 25, 1908]

sible. We may secure enough to help measurably in the expense.

In view of my former letter, Miss Gordon states that, as one who voted for Miss Gregg to go to the enfranchised States, she is willing to re-submit a vote-- to change it if it is considered advisable. But the practical objection to this is that the suggestion was acted upon by the Convention and is out of our hands. Therefore, we must get the most out of the work possible and Miss Gregg will do all she can, I am sure; but we must at the earliest possible moment devise a plan by which the State Societies of the enfranchised States may unite with us, so that if they show any particular willingness there may be a way to admit them.

FEDERATION OF LABOR. When I learned that the Federation of Labor would meet in Denver, I immediately wrote Mrs. Grenfield asking her to be our fraternal delegate to that body, sending her a signed fraternal delegate's certificate. She was ill in bed at the time of the Convention and asked Mrs. Wright, President of the Suffrage Association, to take her place. This morning I have a letter from Mrs. Wright enclosing the resolution which was passed. She said Mr. Gompers was exceedingly kind and did all he could for her and insisted on her addressing the Convention in behalf of the resolution. Her letter is rather long and rambling, and aside from what she says of Mr. Gompers's friendliness adds; "I have talked with many of the men delegates and found much covert opposition to the idea of women in politics."

ARIZONA. I enclose a copy of a letter from Mrs. Munds in regard to Arizona. Will you give it your earliest and most earnest consideration and let me know at once your wishes in regard to it?

I consulted with Mrs. Catt in regard to the Arizona women whom she thought would be the best to work for any measure determined upon, and says she thinks Mrs. Munds the best woman to appear in the

8--B.C.

ENov 25, 1908

There are many other things upon which I must consult with you but this letter is as long as I dare make it to-day. There will be others, for I fully agree with Miss Gordon that in all matters of importance the whole Business Committee should be consulted and be kept informed.

Three cheers for Victoria and Chicago!

Faithfully,



Dic.

Enc.

ENCL 25, 1908

(COPY)

Lumberton, New Mexico.
Oct. 29, 1908.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw,
President N.A.W.S.A.,
Weylan, Pa.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

My sister, Mrs. E. D. Bacon, of Hartford, Conn., suggests that as I am now a resident of New Mexico, I am so situated that I could do much toward bringing this territory into the Union as a woman suffrage state. I would be glad to work in the cause once more and am so situated now that I could devote my time to it.

As you will perhaps remember, I devoted eight years in Rhode Island to this kind of work, so am not a novice in the business. Of course I should be obliged to hold an official position in the N.A.W.S.A. in order to accomplish anything. If there has been no national organizer deputed to do the work in New Mexico, it seems to me that being a resident of the state and therefore already on the ground, I could do the work better and with less expense than an outsider could.

If the idea strikes you favorably, will you please use your influence with the committee having the matter in charge to have me appointed national organizer for New Mexico. Of course I could not devote my time to this work without remuneration as I am not a woman of means. I believe the National pays its organizers a salary and expenses and under those conditions I would be glad to do the work. I only wish I could afford to do it without pay, but that is impossible.

Hoping for a favorable reply, I am

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Ellen M. Bolles.

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, Moylan, Pa.

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

2nd Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,
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.

COPY

Washington, D.C.,
Moylan Park Nov. 18, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

As has been the case for several years there are again persistent rumors that some form of suffrage will be asked for in the District of Columbia. This year the belief is general that the President will recommend a change in the District government and presumably some form of suffrage. I conferred with one of the editors of the Star, who thinks the rumor has a basis of fact. I then went to the White House but could get no information there and asked for a hearing for the women of the District. Mr. Loeb sent word for me to make my request in writing which I have done. I have this much faith in the President's justice that he will grant us a hearing if he intends to take action. In the meantime the various citizens associations are recommending man suffrage. You will remember that last year Mr. Caffery, a prominent labor man here said that we were to let the men get it and then they would give the women suffrage!

In looking over the history of our movement I find that work for woman suffrage in the District has always been one of the recommendations and we are every day getting nearer to suffrage in the District. I can imagine no greater victory for the anti's, or anything more discouraging to the English women than to have man suffrage recommended by the President or conferred by the Congress of the United States.

I cannot understand the apparent apathy as to suffrage work in Washington. It appears to me to be the most important in the entire country. I shall do what I can at this crisis but I practice my profession for my living and cannot devote all my time to it, as I must carry along my share of the office work with my partner who is a good suffragist and encourages me in whatever I can do for the cause.

Very sincerely,
(Signed) Emma L. Gillett.

[Nov 25, 1908]

(COPY)

Prescott, Arizona,
Nov. 4, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

Arizona has elected a Republican delegate to Congress and this means statehood for us during the short session of Congress.

Now, Miss Shaw, we must begin to make ready for the Constitutional Convention. There is no use in trying to do anything with the present Legislature. We have three staunch woman suffragists in the Council, but they are all Democrats and I don't know as we could do anything with our Republican Governor. He is opposed to our measure, although he voted for it in a trade six years ago when Brodie vetoed the bill.

The election returns are not in yet, and there may be more woman suffrage men than I know of now, and if you should think it best to try and do anything with this Legislature, provided we have a chance to pass our bill, let me know. Of course it would help to have the woman's vote to help elect the right men to the Constitutional Convention.

It seems to me that it will be well to try and pass the bill during this Legislature if we have any ~~how~~ to do so, but, of course, we must not take any chances if we are in danger of losing it.

I wish you would write and let me know just what you think can be done, and how much help the National can give us?

Sincerely,

(Signed) Frances W. Munds

(Mrs. J. L.)

ELVW25, 1908,

(COPY)

WHEREAS, - The economic Platform of the A.F. of L. adopted by the Minneapolis Convention and re-affirmed and amended by the Norfolk Convention, among other planks in its Platform, affirms its belief in "Women Suffrage" co-equal with man suffrage", and,

WHEREAS, - In the Annual Report at the last National Convention of the A. F. of L. it is expressly stated that it is the "Much abused Trade Union Movement which stands for the recognition of the rights, political, social, moral and industrial of women": Therefore be it

RESOLVED, - That this, the 24th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, does now re-affirm this platform and expresses its belief in the need of full political equality for all women. That this political equality is as necessary to their economic independence as it is for their brothers in all branches of labor, and we pledge the affiliated Unions of the land to earnestly work for this political freedom.

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw,

Dec. 30, 1908.

Moynan, Pa.

Dear Mrs Shaw,

I have just received yours of December the 28th, asking when I can begin Miss Penfield's months engagement in Kentucky. I am surprised at the thought of her coming by the middle of January, because I had understood from your letter of Nov. 25th, that she would be at work in Indiana until March. When a convention there was expected. You have never made any other illusion to her engagements since then. So I have done no planing for her whatever; however I suppose that time of the year as good as any other for Kentucky, and if you think it necessary to send her without longer notice, I will do my best to take her. Please let me have an immediate answer, as I have no time to lose.

I have been greatly over whelmed with work since our Kentucky convention, but I now have a stenographer and hope to be able to get through better. However a longer notice than two weeks would be very desirable.

I want to say again that I think the prospective campaign in the District of Columbia is of the greatest importance. I believe Mr Blair's suggestion of seeking the help of men, acquainted congressional business an excellent one. I think we have utilized the assistance of men too little in the past. Perhaps because we did not have any whose services we could get. I judge Mr. Blair wishes to be employed himself because of his experience in Congress and devotion to our cause making him exceeding desirable. I do not know him well enough myself to give an opinion, but if those of the Board, who do know him think well of his business abilities, I think that we should do our utmost to secure his services.

I should like very much to have a copy of the memorial he seems to have prepared, and of the speech which he mentions . In fact if this campaign begins to be as important as he seems to think , it appears to be the very best chance we have ever had, and ought to be worked to the fullest extent. Please write more about this. I want to know every detail. I think if the campaign really opens this winter, we ought to try to persuade Miss Gordon to go to Washington, for I think she has a fine grasp of public affairs.

When you write to Miss Gregg please express my very sincere sympathy with her in her bereavment, would like to write her a few lines if but I am not sure of her address.

I trust that she will go at once to Arizona and that Miss Chase is already on her way.

Miss Parks spoke to the Transylvania students on the 23rd. of December but that is not one of the colleges which is on her list for organization, though there is good material there. She had no opportunity to speak at the State University, the student body being thoroughly disorganized on account of the holidays. She has arranged however, a little reception for January the 4th, at which she and Miss Lexow will be present. The students will be returning that day, and there attendance is likely to be small.

I greatly regret her visit to Kentucky was in the midst of the Christmas holidays. Hoping to hear at once concerning Miss Penfield, I am

Very cordially yours,

Diet.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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, Lexington, Ky.
DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.

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

OFFICE OF
THE HONORARY PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Moylan, Penna.,
Dec. 28, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I am writing to know when you will want Miss Penfield to begin her month's engagement in Kentucky, as Mrs. Avery wants her to go to Pennsylvania after she is through with you.

Mrs. Avery is taking hold of the work with a great deal of interest here and she wants to plan a route in advance of Miss Penfield's coming. I suppose, however, it will not be possible for her to do much for you before the middle of January, as a letter which I received from Mrs. Upton states that Miss Penfield had an operation on her nose and throat and that she will not be able to speak for about ten days. It is an operation that she ought to have had done some time ago but delayed it and constant speaking seems to have made it worse. I do not suppose she will be ready to do anything before the middle of January, but would you want her at that time and shall I say to Mrs. Avery that you will take her from the middle of January to the middle of February and Mrs. Avery can have her after that time?

It looks very much now as though we were going to have a campaign in the District of Columbia and we will probably then have use for our Congressional Headquarters, for we certainly ought to make the best campaign possible if we undertake to do anything in Washington, and we will have to take the petition work there as soon as Mrs. Catt gets through with it.

I hope Mrs. Park was able to get up a good club in Lexington.

2--L.M.C.

[Dec. 28, 1908]

I am hoping that the death of Miss Gregg's mother will not keep her in Kansas long and that she will be able to leave for Arizona as soon as she can possibly get away. It seems rather cruel ~~to~~^{for} her to go there at once, but the work there must be done immediately. I have asked Miss Chase to go just as soon as she can and start things in Phoenix. I have also written Mrs. Munds asking her to have a letter awaiting Miss Chase in Phoenix, giving her the names of any people who will cooperate with her, and I have urged Mrs. Munds to get a few of the Arizona women to stand together as the representatives of the Territory and its work and that Miss Chase and Miss Gregg should, apparently at least, be working under their direction.

I trust the coming year will be one of the greatest woman suffrage years in the history of the world.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Anna H. Shaw

189 North Mill St.

Lexington, Kentucky, Dec. 28, 1908.

Moylan, Pennsylvania.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw,

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Yours containing the correspondence of Mr. Blair has been received. I am much impressed with the opportunity which Mr. Blair points, not having received the memorial he speaks of and not having his speech of September 17, 1890, I am not able to form an opinion of the way in which we should treat his clan, therefore I wish only to state in general that I am entirely in favor of sparing neither time nor effort in entering this open door of opportunity.

I feel myself so unable to suggest plans until I have fuller information, and until I have opportunity of consulting with others that I can only say that I consider this to be a matter of utmost importance, and that if necessary a conference of the official board should be called. But of that I think you are the best judge. I disagree with Mr. Blair in thinking that we ought even to contemplate waiting until an amendment is decided upon in general terms and then putting in an effort to have ~~women~~ included.

It is my experience that there is never lacking a pretext whereby the claims of ~~women~~ can be pushed aside. If we are going into this at all, I believe in going into it from the start and not waiting a moment for any interest except our own.

Cordially yours,

Dictated M. R.

Lexington, Ky. Dec. 28, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

I have just received your letter giving the news from Miss Gregg and the letter from Mrs. Munds. I am sorry for Miss Gregg's bereavement.

I am glad the Board has decided to send both Miss Gregg and Miss Chase to Arizona. I do not think we need to despair about our chance of a bill in the fear of a veto from the Governor, now that we are fore-warned we should be fore-armed, and we should try at once to bring pressure on President Roosevelt to use his influence against a veto by the Governor, and upon President-elect Taft also if necessary. Surely an appointee of the President should be amenable to his opinion and even though Roosevelt is lukewarm he may have some conscience against a veto of the bill in the disagreeable manner in which it was done some years ago.

Cordially yours,

Dict.

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, Moylan, Pa.

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Auditors: LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.
MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., Dec. 24th, 1902.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

A few days ago Ex-Senator Blair sent a letter to Mrs. Blotch, a copy of which I enclose. She forwarded it to Mrs. Catt, asking her to forward it to me.

After reading it, Mrs. Catt wrote Ex-Senator Blair asking him further in regard to the petition which Congressman Callinger has introduced into Congress, and asked him to send his reply to both herself and me. This morning's mail brings me the enclosed letter from Ex-Senator Blair.

There is evidently a determination to extend some form of suffrage to the District, and nothing would be more damaging than to have women utterly ignored. You see, ^{Ex-}Senator Blair wants us not to make any campaign until the bill has been introduced and then have some Member bring in an amendment. Now the question is before us to decide whether or not we are willing to wait or whether we should begin our campaign immediately and be ready for whatever measure may come up. This will be one good use to which our Congressional Headquarters at ^SWashington may be put to immediately.

I agree with Ex-Senator Blair that suffrage in the District of Columbia is not a local measure. It holds a different relation to the whole government, and it seems to me that for men to secure the suffrage in the District with women ignored would be a greater blow to our movement than if we were defeated in any other two or three States. I think

2--O.B.

[Dec 24, 1908]

we should make the best campaign possible in order to win.

I am writing you this morning so that you can give me your opinion and we can be ready to go to work just as soon as our headquarters are opened, if we agree upon a definite plan of action, but the plan should be very carefully made. Of course, I do not mean to ignore the District Suffrage Association, but I am very sure that if we show a friendly attitude toward them, and a willingness to give them help and co-operate with them, they will stand by any plan of action which we are all agreed upon.

Will you let me hear from you as soon as possible, because I have received a letter from Belva Lockwood which shows that she will take some independent action unless she is headed off by the District Association or by the National?

Merry Christmas to you all!

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Dis.

Enc.

Dec 24, 1908

(COPY)

December 23, 1908.

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw,
President, Nat'l American Woman Suffrage Association,
Moynan, Pennsylvania.

My dear Madam:-

Your letter of December 21 is received. Enclosed is copy of my personal memorial which I introduce as a citizen of the country at large, rather than of the District of Columbia, because the interest of the whole is greater than that of any of its parts in the extension of the republican form of government to the entire nation.

There is now a general but rather discordant demand among the inhabitants of the District of Columbia for a change in the form of their municipal government and the President has sent a special message to Congress upon the subject. Many of the leading and more thoughtful people in the city see no real solution of the problem which does not extend the full suffrage and representation in Congress and the electoral college provided for in the enclosed proposed amendment to the Constitution, the principal features of which I first introduced in the Senate April 3 or 4, 1888, and again in the 51st Congress and supported by a speech which you will find in the Congressional Record of September 17, 1890, which it is important to examine.

As the wheel has again turned around presenting a great opportunity - and great opportunities come but once or twice in a lifetime - I have again prepared the amendment with the additional features utilizing the extension of suffrage to the District so as to remove the great dangers to the country at large which became specially manifest in 1876.

The fourth section is not logically a part of the subject matter of the preceding sections, but covers a serious defect in the Constitution which would probably be submitted to the Legislatures separately, but

2--Copy.

[D-24, 1928]

which may just as well be embodied in the memorial with the rest for the purpose of discussion.

Now there is the subject of national suffrage so raised that the Congress cannot avoid it by saying that the nation has no voter and therefore no jurisdiction, because the suffrage is reserved wholly to the States.

It is a matter of history that the great woman suffrage movement has always been avoided - shunted one side, because the nation as such had not sought to have jurisdiction - "Go ye to your several states", and Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony and all the rest thereupon put on their bonnets and departed.

I wish I had the money for the shoe leather I have worn out here for this cause, and for the chaffing, sneering and pelting with paper spitballs and the like that I have endured in getting hearings and being heard myself upon this subject of suffrage which any, even a half-witted Senator ought to know should forever be left with the States - so they used to say then - so they will continue to say even after you pile in upon them your great Petition with millions of names.

But this memorial which I send you cannot be ignored. Slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia was always admitted to be a national affair.

The second section provides that Congress may prescribe any qualification for voters in any manner consistent with government republican reform, and four states already have woman suffrage so that if we can carry the amendment we can make the fight hopefully, in fact almost certainly for woman suffrage in this District; and as a result of the general nationalized battle, in every state by state action, or by a national constitutional amendment embracing the whole - perhaps colonies and all. Congress has both legal and moral jurisdiction over the people of the District of Columbia, and now holds them in slavery.

[Dec. 24, 1902]

There is not an argument for the suffrage in this District which does not support the suffrage for woman in the nation at large, and in carrying suffrage for this District you will carry woman suffrage for this nation.

If thought best you can petition for woman suffrage in the District, in direct terms at once. The clause can be amended by adding the words "and in prescribing such qualifications there shall be no distinction on account of sex."

I thought we could get the men folks easier at first by framing the article as it is, well knowing or at least firmly believing that, as the agitation goes on, by the time we get the amendment and back to Congress for the necessary legislation to carry it into effect, we shall easily get woman suffrage, not only in this District, but also shall carry the grand measure for the emancipation of the forty millions of white slaves, for which you are preparing your great Petition of Right. This memorial would be ancilliary to that.

I don't pray enough but I do pray God that I may live to see that Petition granted and some woman, the Mother of her country by virtue of a higher title than that by which Washington is acclaimed to be its Father. He liberated three millions. Lincoln liberated four millions, but that woman would have enfranchised more than forty millions, and they of those already dominant in the soul-life of the nation.

Now the present unrest and agitation in the District of Columbia presents a great opportunity, if it be properly utilized, and I have prepared this memorial from the experience of forty years of thought and effort in the general cause, for I have been in favor of equal suffrage regardless of sex from my youth - yes from my childhood up. I have to all appearance ten or fifteen years of active working life before me. While retaining my voting home in New Hampshire, my office and work are here

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and I would prefer to put my remaining years into this cause, the triumph of which carries all other cognate issues, such as temperance, education, industrial welfare, and, in short, the general transformation not only of the country but of the world.

In order to do this I must relinquish to some, perhaps to a considerable extent, my legal business upon which I am dependent; for my life has been mainly given away in these "causes" - and gladly - I am not whining, nor kicking nor begging.

But, excepting New York, and in some important respects not excepting New York, - Washington is the all important place for a Headquarters - at least for local counsel who could and would constantly help to shape and facilitate effort. New York and Washington would not conflict, but rather would complement each other. I find the rum people, and all forms of combinations that want anything of Congress which they actually get, thoroughly organized and phalanxed, and invariably aided by counsel or men familiar with public men and practical legislation. Certainly Washington is the great centre from which to reach all parts of the country. Everybody comes here and all great newspapers are here represented.

Now I should deprecate any step which would put men at the front of the great movement. Men can never so well/ advocate the cause in conventions and before committees and legislative bodies, as can women. But I have often thought that perhaps men might have helped them more than they have, and in important ways in which women could not help themselves, and now when it is so clear that a great effort is to be made by the influential elements of society hitherto so indifferent apparently as well as by those who have so long borne the burden and heat of the day, would it not be well for you to utilize us poor worthless men folks a little. We might prove to be to you what Lincoln said of the darkies when he suggested that they were worth saving, because "some day they might help to

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preserve the jewel of Liberty in the house of Freedom."

Perhaps we might help you to get it, and save both time and money which are important - specially the time, to those who do not want to die, as so many of our greatest ones have died, "without the sight".

If I could have had the cooperation of the W.C.T.U. in the plans I laid out thirty-three years ago, we would long since have had the Liquor Traffic prohibited by Constitutional law, but they would not. Now comes a new opportunity for these great causes, of which yours is inclusive of them all.

I send a copy of this and of the District memorial to Mrs. Blato and Mrs. Catt.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

(Signed) Henry W. Blair.

Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 23rd, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Amerry Christmas and a Happy New Year!

I have just received your letter of the 22nd, enclosing the copy of one from Mrs. Pickler.

It is entirely in accordance with my opinions to employ Miss Bower if we are going to do any thing more for S. Da. than to employ Mrs. Fitch as we have done. If there is to be a campaign there at all the good in having trained workers of the home women is inestimable. I heard you express that view strongly in Buffalo; and I suppose we really are all agreed upon that. Certainly, if we employ her, she should cut loose entirely from the W.C.T.U., and work according to our methods and views.

I wrote you at length on Monday about Arizona: the news your letter conveys about the politics of the Legislature does not alter my views. For though we may fail to get the Legislature to do anything, as those territories are to come in as states, it seems very important that we should bring some degree of pressure from them to have suffrage put into the Enabling Acts. I am hoping much from the ~~affairs~~ efforts which will be made from our Washington Headquarters; but we ought and must have some co-operation from the territories themselves; and this we cannot get without a representative of our Asso. being on the ground. Therefore, I am decidedly in favor of sending both Miss Gregg and Miss Chase, without waiting to hear from Mrs. Munds or any one else. As I wrote, it is hard on one person to go alone into such a large field; but we might send these two together, and afterwards they might get some local help, and then divide,

permitting Miss Gregg to go to New Mexico to see if anything can be done there. If this is not practicable, then both should stay in Arizona, as the most hopeful field.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park has been with me a few days, and has just gone on to Louisville, to stay till Monday, when she will return to Lexington and hold a little social meeting with the students of the State University. Yesterday she spoke at Transylvania, and made a most favorable impression. She has labored under the greatest difficulties, because of the holidays; but as this interval had to be spent somewhere, I suppose it might as well have been spent here as anywhere. She has done good; though not as much as she could have done at another time.

Mrs. Catt is urging me to undertake the big Petition work without any of it being done from the National headquarters of the Petition. I have not yet answered, because I cannot undertake it without clerical help, and I do not yet see how I ~~can~~ can get that. Always something seems to disarrange my working plans, - something new demands part of my time and strength.

I am glad the Canadian Council affair has turned out all right.

Cordially yours,

Memorial to the Democratic National Convention of 1908

Gentlemen :

You are respectfully requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to place the following plank in your Platform :

Resolved: That we favor the extension of the Elective Franchise to the women of the United States, by the States, upon the same qualifications upon which it is now accorded to men.

We ask this

1st. In order that our Government may live up to the principles upon which it is founded.

2nd. In order that the women in the homes and in the industries may have equal power with men to influence conditions affecting these respective spheres of action.

In making this demand for justice, our Association calls your attention to the fact that more than five million women who are occupied in the industries of the United States are helpless to legislate

upon the hours, conditions or remuneration for their labor. We call your attention to the fact that through the commercialized trend of legislation, the children of our nation are being sacrificed to a veritable juggernaut—cheap labor, while this same trend is wasting our mineral, land and water resources, imperiling thereby the inheritance of future generations. We call your attention to the moral conditions menacing the youth of our country.

Justice and expediency demand that women be granted equal power with men to mould the conditions directly affecting the industries, the resources and the homes of the nation.

We therefore appeal to the Democratic National Convention, assembled to name national standard bearers and to determine national policies, to adopt in its platform a declaration favoring the extension of the franchise to the women of the United States.

ANNA H. SHAW,
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
FLORENCE KELLEY,
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
KATE M. GORDON,
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
LAURA CLAY,
MARY S. SPERRY.

Do you think this is all right if
20 send word to Miss Shaw
MEMORIAL.
K.M. E.

E1908J

TO THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1908.

Gentlemen:

You are respectfully requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to place the following plank in your platform:

RESOLVED: THAT WE FAVOR THE EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE TO THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE STATES UPON THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS NOW ACCORDED TO MEN, IN ORDER

- 1st. To live up to our declared principles of Government.
- 2nd. To enable women in the homes and women in the industries equal power with men to influence conditions affecting the homes and the industries

In submitting this demand for justice, our Association desires to call attention to the fact that over five million women are occupied in the industries of the United States helpless to influence through a constituency the hours of their labor, the conditions under which they shall labor or the wages for their labor.

We call attention to the fact that due to the commercialized trend of legislation the children of our nation have been and are being sacrificed to a veritable juggernaut—cheap labor, while this same trend is sacrificing the mineral, land and water resources, perilling thereby the inheritance of future generations.

Likewise we call attention to moral conditions menacing the youth of the nation and which calls threateningly for the better enforcement of law for the protection of youth. Justice and expediency therefore demands that the mothers of the nation be granted equal ^W peer to cope with conditions directly affecting the homes, the industries and the resources of the nation.

We therefore appeal to the great National Delegated Conventions gathered to determine National policies, to adopt in their platforms, in a spirit of both justice and expediency, a declaration favoring the extension of the franchise to the women of the United States.

Anna Howard Shaw, President,
Rachel Foster Avery 1st. Vice Pres.
Florence Kelley, 2nd. Vice President

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

President, - Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.
First Vice-Pres. - Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
Second Vice-Pres. - Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
Corresponding Secretary, - Kate M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Warren, Ohio.

Recording Secretary, - Alice Stone Blackwell,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, - Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Mary Simpson Sperry,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
1800 PRYTANIA STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA.,

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has been granted by the Sixtieth Congress a hearing upon their bill asking for the submission of an amendment to the National Constitution forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex. The date of this hearing has been set for Tuesday morning, March 3rd.

A very cordial invitation is extended to the women members of the families of our Congressional representatives to be present at this hearing upon what we deem the most important request for legislation before the people of our country.

These hearings will be heard in the committee room of the judiciary of the House, and in the Marble Room of the Senate. The Association having large demands from parties interested to attend these hearings, and listen to the arguments, would appreciate an early reply signifying acceptance or declination.

Believing that there is no question of more serious importance to the women of the country at large, than this question of the suffrage for women, I am, on the part of the Association,

Very truly yours,

Dec 18, 1908

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE DECEMBER 2d, 1908.

-o-

1. Are you in favor of sending Miss Chase to Arizona if Mrs. Munds desires the assistance of a National worker?

Yes: Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Upton, Clay, Stewart.

Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

2. How much money are you willing to appropriate to Arizona work?

No vote.

3. If Miss Chase does not go to Arizona, where shall she be employed?

Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon and Upton expressing no opinion, depending upon what States desire her.

Clay, New Mexico.

Stewart, South Dakota or State of Washington.

Blackwell not voting.

4. At what time shall the date for the National Convention in Seattle be fixed?

Shaw and Avery, July 1st-6th inc. or 8th-13th inc.

Kelley, to suit the plans of Miss Shaw and Mrs. DeVos.

Gordon, at a time to catch the International Council delegates.

Blackwell not voting.

Upton, sometime to include July 4th.

Clay, according to decision of Miss Shaw, Miss Gordon and Mrs. Upton.

Stewart, at Miss Shaw's convenience.

5. Shall we assist Iowa in its Legislative work?

Yes: Shaw, Avery, Upton, Clay.

No: Kelley, Gordon.

Blackwell not voting.

Stewart, undecided.

Carried.

6. If so, how much shall we appropriate for that purpose?

Shaw, \$225.00; Avery, \$250.00; Kelley, not voting; Gordon, not voting; Upton,

\$400.00 or \$450.00; Clay, \$200.00 to \$300.00; Stewart, not voting.

Blackwell not voting.

[Dec 18, 1908]

7. Are you in favor of paying ~~Maxaskagmankask~~ for a secretary for a booth at ~~the~~ the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Washington?

No: Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Upton, Clay, Stewart.

Blackwell not voting.

Lost.

8. Are you in favor of paying the salary of a local worker in Connecticut according to the request of Mrs. Bacon?

Yes: Shaw, Avery, Gordon, Upton, Clay, Stewart.

No: Kelley.

Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

9. Are you in favor of contributing toward work in South Dakota?

Yes: Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Upton, Clay, Stewart.

Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

10. Are you in favor of sending Miss Gregg to South Dakota when she finishes work in the enfranchised States?

Yes, if South Dakota wishes it, Shaw.

Yes: Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Upton, Stewart.

No: Clay.

Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

11. Are you in favor of employing Mrs. Bolles in New Mexico?

No: Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Upton, Stewart.

Yes: Clay.

Blackwell not voting.

Lost.

Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 21st, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have just received your two letters of dec. 18th. ARIZONA. I have felt sure you would get little satisfaction from Mrs. Munds; and I am in favor of proceeding in Arizona and New Mexico without waiting for any one.

I quite agree with you as to the futility of our workers trying to compete in "political methods" with astute politicians. Our only course is straightforwardness; and I think Miss Chase will do very well. I am perfectly willing, also, that Miss Gregg should be detailed for that work, if it is more acceptable to other members of the Board; or more convenient on account of her now being West; or, indeed, for any reason, for I have not any objection to sending her or any National worker into the territories. If the man Dr. Woods spoke of is out of the question, I think both Miss Gregg and Miss Chase should be sent to the two territories of Arizona and New Mexico. Since the vote has now decided not to employ Mrs. Bolles, it seems necessary we should send either Miss Chase or Miss Gregg to New Mexico. If we could employ that man, I think it would be good policy to do so; and also to let Miss Chase go to Arizona, too, and do some organizing whilst he worked in the Legislature. If we do not employ the man, I think we should send Miss Gregg and let Miss Chase go too, and divide the work in much the same manner. I think it is cruelly hard on one person, even as accomplished an organizer as Miss Gregg, to send her alone into a field so large and important as Arizona, where she will practically have no local help. If we employ the

the man, Miss Gregg might go alone to New Mexico, and perhaps engage Mrs. Bolles to do some local work under her direction. I feel that Arizona should be our first consideration, because I have been informed that New Mexico would be controlled by a boss; and all our efforts probably would be ineffective in that case; or it might happen that the boss chose to help us. But I think we should exert every effort in our power to act in the territories, and to act now. I hope material assistance can be exerted from our new headquarters in Washington.

MRS. DAY.~~xix~~~~xxxx~~ I do not think we are morally bound to keep Mrs. Day employed, much as I would like to have her attached permanently to our work. You remember in Moylan the matter of employing her at all was left to you, by a vote taken very late, made on my motion. If you have not in any way bound us, I know of nothing which has. The reports were that she gave satisfaction in Maine; and I had supposed she had done the same in Pannsylvania. We left Buffalo with the distinct understanding that we were to wait to see if Mass. employed her before we made her any more offers. At least, that is my recollection. Now if she cannot organize in a manner to induce the states to employ her, I do not see how we can utilize her and I do not see that we are bound to do so. I am like you, very sorry, but helpless about it. I think we are morally bound not to use funds in our keeping for any purpose, however desirable, except to push the work. Can Mrs. Day use a type-writer? She writes a pretty letter.

I am expecting Mrs. Maud Wood Park this morning to spend a few days with me whilst she sees what can be done by way of organizing College Clubs. The holidays make this time very inauspicious; but I hope something can be done.

I am glad the matter of prefixing "National " before the amendment has been satisfactotily arranged. I was sorry to object to Mrs. Upton before I had written you that I was not satisfied. But my letter explained why I did so.

Cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio

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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.



Moylan, Pa., Dec. 18, 1908.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I have been trying my best to draw some information out of Mrs. Munds in regard to Arizona. I wrote her some weeks ago asking her just how the Legislature stood in regard to the different political parties,- if there was a prospect of a sufficient Democratic vote to override the veto of the Governor, and other questions of that sort as to our chances of getting a submission of a suffrage amendment from the present Legislature. I have received no word from her in reply, but she has written to several other people, Dr. Woods and others, asking what the National Association would do for her. I again wrote her a letter asking her what she could do,- if she could go to Prescott and stand at the head of the work in the Legislature, or, if she could not go, if she knew of anyone who could stand as sponsor for the work provided we could send them a National organizer and worker.

I asked her to reply immediately and it is now more than three weeks since the letter was sent out and I have had no word from her whatever. On my return home from the west, day before yesterday, I found a letter from Mrs. Munds which had been written to Mrs. Kelley some weeks since asking her to formulate some laws in regard to child labor, etc., which Mrs. Kelley forwarded to me. Now it seems impossible to get into communication with Mrs. Munds. She wrote me twice while I was away in Denver, and as soon as I re-

[Dec 18, 1908]

turned I replied at once and have tried ever since to get some word from her, but have failed.

Now the question for us to settle is this; The probabilities are that statehood will come to both Arizona and New Mexico this winter. If Mrs. Munds does not reply to our letters and take some active position herself, shall we send a National worker into the Territory to see what can be done with the Legislature and to try and get favorable action on the part of the Arizona men in the new constitution for the State? It looks very much to me as if it would go by default if we wait for Mrs. Munds. If the National desires to act upon its own initiative, it would not be violating any rule of our organization since there is no suffrage association in Arizona, and we would not be encroaching upon other people's preserves. If anything is to be done at all, it must be done at once or it will be useless.

The majority of votes received from the Official Board in regard to the employment of Mrs. Bolles in New Mexico ^{is} ~~has~~ been opposed. Now, what shall we do there?

The majority of the votes received in regard to Miss Chase was to send her to Arizona, but Mrs. Upton thinks Miss Chase would not be the right kind of a woman to go to Arizona, - that they need a woman who understands political conditions and is able to work according to political methods. Personally, I think Miss Chase would be quite as apt to succeed in legislative work as the people who understand what are called political methods. If the opponents have strength, they will outwit our straightforward woman, who works by straightforward methods, just exactly as they do their so-called political woman who, in our experience in the past, has succeeded no better by their political methods.

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If we do not send Miss Chase to Arizona, where can we send her? She cannot work in Maine or New Hampshire, for the climate is too cold, and I do not think it is worth our while to spend our money in either of these States unless there is an amendment pending. If Miss Chase does not go to Arizona, whom shall we send there? Certainly this is no field for Mrs. Day. It needs some one who has had some legislative experience and, although she has had a little in Maine it was not sufficient, I judge, to fit her for going into another State; but some action must be taken at once in regard to Arizona and New Mexico.

I was requested to see if I could find anyone in Colorado who could go to New Mexico. The only one I found was Mrs. Bradford, who had been before, but whose duties as Superintendent of Public Schools of Denver will now prevent her leaving the City, even if we should desire her.

The first question for us to settle is shall we go into Arizona and take possession of the field without waiting longer for Mrs. Munds, who really has no authority as an officer to dictate in the matter, only as a State representative, and if she could and would work would she be better than an outsider? She has always been a kind of a myth,- you would hear from her once in a while and then you might write a dozen letters and never get a reply. I confess I am absolutely at my wits end to know what to do.

Miss Gregg is, to my mind, the best person whom we have at our disposal to go to Arizona and find out conditions. In a recent letter received from her, she says she feels that she will have succeeded in arranging the work in Colorado and Wyoming by the first of the year and could go either to South Dakota or wherever it was

Dec 18, 1908

thought wisest to send her. I feel that during the legislative time this winter she is needed much more for legislative work than for that in which she is engaged.

I await an immediate reply.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Anna H. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio

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Warren, Ohio.

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

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



Moylan, Pa., Dec. 18, 1908.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I spent last Tuesday at Headquarters and while there saw Mrs. Day, who had come on from Pittsburgh expecting and ^{hoping} for further employment as an organizer.

You will remember that while there was no vote to continue her in organization work, we did state that, if Massachusetts did not engage her and she proved satisfactory as an organizer in Pennsylvania, we would try to keep her employed. This decision, as well as others relating to organization work, rested upon the willingness of the States to arrange routes and traveling expenses. Massachusetts did not employ Mrs. Day and the Pennsylvania Society does not feel that her work in this State was satisfactory. This was not Mrs. Day's fault, however, as arrangements had not been properly made, and heaven pity the human being who has the task of enthusing the placid, self-satisfying community of friends. Still, she showed almost no initiative and little knowledge of how to get hold of people. In fact, I do not think any woman can who has a whine in her voice, and Mrs. Day's whine grows.

The poor woman is in a desperate situation and does not know which way to turn. She is left absolutely without funds and at her time of life that is a most difficult condition for any woman to face. Mrs. Upton thinks we are morally bound under obligation to keep Mrs. Day at work, but I do not. There is nothing in any

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letter which I have written her which bounds us in any way to continue to employ her, and there was nothing in our action at Buffalo to guarantee it unless there was a call for her on the part of the States. I have no request for an organizer anywhere except for Miss Penfield. Miss Clay wishes to have her a month when she leaves Indiana and Mrs. Avery wants her after that time. No other State has made any request for an outside worker except South Dakota.

If there should be a campaign in Maine, and the Maine people desire to employ her, from her knowledge of the State she ^{but} might be useful, on that contingent is far off and scarcely to be considered. Most of the States are asking the National to pay the local organizers rather than to send them outside help, and I do not see any opening at present. Has any member of the Official Board any suggestions to offer in regard to Mrs. Day?

Mrs. Upton said she could be kept busy in the Headquarters until New Years to good advantage and I have said, if she will remain for her expenses until that time, I would consult the Official Board and see if they felt as Mrs. Upton does, - that we are morally bound to employ Mrs. Day regardless of opportunity or fitness for service.

I do not wish to be understood as stating that Mrs. Day would not be a valuable worker in the Headquarters if we had a kind of work which needed unskilled labor. At present, there seems to be no opportunity of that sort. I am heart sick over it, but do not know what to do.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Stinson

Dis.

Enclosure dated Dec. 14, 1908

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, Moylan, Pa.

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

Moylan, Pa.,

Dec. 21, 1908.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I enclose a copy of a letter from Mrs. Pickler. The South Dakota people had previously wanted Miss Gregg, - now they are evidently anxious for Miss Rose Bower as their state organizer. More and more the states are getting to feel that they want their own organizers, but they want the National to pay the bills.

I fully agree with Mrs. Pickler that even though Mrs. Fitch can do good work, and since she has a husband who can earn a living for the family, I do not think it is a good plan for us to take a woman away from her little children to do work over the State for two reasons: It is not a good plan and opens us and our work to criticism, but, most of all, that kind of a woman must be divided in her interests and cannot give the best of herself to the work. If she cares for her children, she must be turned toward them continually and devising plans so that she can get round home frequently; it, of course, also makes the work expensive. If there is a choice in employing Mrs. Fitch or Miss Bower, I ^{should} certainly be in favor of Miss Bower; but if she is employed by us it must be as a suffragist and not as a W.C.T.U. worker, and she must understand from the beginning that we are seeking for the ballot not in the interest of temperance only, and so shape her work. I think this statement should be clearly made to her if we employ her. I really think she could do splendid work, for with her ability as a musician and that sort of thing she would be an attraction in the back woods country and could do a great deal more for us than a woman who could not whistle or play on the horn.

I have asked Mrs. Avery to write to the Official Board in regard to leasing the house in Washington, as she is the one who did the work and has had entire responsibility of it so far and can explain it better than I. The vote of the majority

[Dec 24 1908]

of the Committee was in favor of the lease and I will enclose it in this letter if there is time to have it copied before the mail goes out.

I have informal information that the Canadian Council has decided to withdraw its request to change the name of the Committee of Suffrage and Rights of Citizenship, and I now feel that the expenditure of time and money last summer has been fully repaid; for if this measure had gone through, and there is no question whatever that it would have gone through if I had not been in Geneva, it would have been a greater blow to suffrage than all of the ~~frank~~ efforts of the Anti-Suffragists ^{of this country} put together. However, I cannot trust the Canadian Council very thoroughly, and I shall not feel sure that there is not some underhand work in the matter until after the Toronto meeting, but I assure you I shall keep pretty close watch of it up to that time.

The members of our Association who were in Geneva at that time rendered good service in helping to bring about this result. I feel for the first time that it was really worth while for me to have taken the chairmanship of that Committee.

A request has come from Miss Chase to know what she is to do, and while a majority of the Committee voted to send her to Arizona, if Mrs. Munds desired it, we are still in the air in regard to Mrs. Munds' wishes, for I have had no word from her. The only thing I have received from Arizona is a list of the members of the Legislature from a gentleman to whom I wrote asking for it, and I find that it stands -Republican, 62 and Democrat, 63. Unless all of the Democrats voted for us, and some of the Republicans, there would not be a sufficient vote to carry it over the Governor's veto, and the Governor would certainly veto it. Therefore, I see very little chance of getting it through the Legislature. If, however, some one on the ground could get it through, by hook or by crook, that would be the thing to do, but it does not look particularly hopeful. Since Mrs. Pickler feels that Miss Gregg would not be of great value in South Dakota, ^{directly} shall we send her to Arizona, or shall we send Miss Chase? Even though we do not hear again from Mrs. Munds, I must know the wish of the Committee immediately or it will not be worth while for anybody to go.

Dic.
Enc.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

189 N. Mill Street,
Lexington, Ky.
Dec. 14th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have just written to Mrs. Upton, which will explain itself.

I have read carefully the letters of Miss Gregg and Dr. Woods you enclosed. I think Miss Gregg has done the best and proposed the best that seems ~~practicable~~ practicable for Missouri.

I am interested in that man Dr. Woods speaks of. I know Mrs. Munds is a poor dependence for work of any kind, as our previous experience has proved. Now if we intend to do anything really effective in Arizona something must be done besides depending upon Mrs. Munds for help. Miss Chase could do much; at the same time, new methods appeal to me, since we have not got a state for eleven years on our present methods. If this man is well recommended by the friends in Des Moines, it may be a good plan to see what he can do.

I have received a letter from Mrs. Maud Wood Park, proposing to come to Lexington and Louisville during the Christmas holidays, to organize in the State University and Louisville. I consulted with the Deans of Women at the State University and Transylvania; and both thought the holidays a very unpropitious time for organizing. However, I have written to Mrs. Park, inviting her to come to Lexington and view the situation for herself, and return some time in January to organize. I cannot hear for some days; but I hope she can come, as I am very anxious an attempt shall be made here/.

Cordially yours,

[Encloses 2 letters Dec. 1, 1908]

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, Moylan, Pa.

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

2nd Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,
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.



Moylan, Pa., Dec. 10, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I herewith enclose copies of two letters: one from Miss Gregg, because I think you would like to know of her success in Missouri; also a copy of a letter from Dr. Woods in regard to this man going to Arizona to work in the Legislature with Mrs. Munds.

Personally I do not feel at all like engaging a man, about whom we know nothing, to go into such a delicate line of work as we have on hand in Arizona. I have not yet received any reply from Mrs. Munds, so that I do not know what she intends to do. If she is as slow about getting to work as she is about answering letters, she will not begin before the Legislature is over.

I am just starting off on my trip to Grand Rapids, Mich.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw
Per G.

Dic.

Two enc.

(Copy of Miss Gregg's letter)

Denver, Colo., Dec. 1, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

I think there is a possibility of building up an association in Missouri. The Miss Richardson, who wrote the letter to Mrs. Decker, which you forwarded, is a bright, enthusiastic young woman of 19, who wants to work in suffrage and wants to be directed. Her mother is a charming woman who, when young, belonged to the Virginia Miner Club, but when her children came she devoted herself to them and dropped out of the club, and in later years lost all track of it. But she is an earnest suffragist, and a broad minded, all-round woman. She belongs to the most influential club, the Wednesday Club, which is very conservative and is the most aristocratic. It is the club to which Mrs. Philip N. Moore, the General Federation President, belongs, and it is the club which recently had Mrs. Snowden, but did not want her to talk on suffrage.

However, Mrs. Richardson does not hesitate to say she is a suffragist, but I imagine she is so tactful and sweet about it that it does not make her unpopular, even with those conservative people. She was very lovely to me, and said if I would come back in the spring she would arrange some parlor meetings.

The Werths were like old-time friends. Mrs. Werth came to the station for me as soon as I phoned her, took me to her home to stay over Sunday, took me to hear Maud Adams Saturday night, and Mr. Werth, a nice old German, is as much a suffrage factor in that home as his wife and daughter. He spent Sunday morning ~~with~~ in helping me find Mrs. Mulkey, who has moved from her old address. She now lives at 3300 Halliday ~~St~~ Ave.

Of course the Werths are anxious for meetings and will do

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everything they can to help. Mrs. Werth belongs to the Clotho Club, which I imagine is not so aristocratic as the Wednesday Club, but is composed of good substantial women-- the kind, I judge, that compose the majority of our suffrage organizations. So I think her meetings would get me among a very good class.

Mrs. Werth took me to see Mrs. Begg, an ardent suffragist who manages two nice family hotels, and she said she would help in any effort that would be made. She invited me to stop with her next time I come, and while of course I would not feel like going to her for a prolonged stay, I think probably she would give me quite a reasonable rate, if I were doing parlor work in the City.

I did not say anything to Mrs. Mulkey about a possibility of the National doing anything, because she is such a magnificent bluffer that I think the only way to deal with her is in her own coin--bluff. To hear her talk, you would think Missouri were leading the nation in suffrage work, and her attitude was that of such self-sufficiency that it looked quite presumptuous for the National to think of offering anything.

But I do not think that one woman with a bluff ought to be allowed to stand in the way of a whole State, especially when other women want work done and are willing to help. And my suggestion would be this: that I ~~remain in the State until March~~ go to St. Louis in the spring and hold parlor meetings, arranged by Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Werth and Mrs. Begg, and if Mrs. Park reaches the college girls before that time, possibly they might help in the parlor work too, among their mother's friends.

I think before I go Mrs. Upton might write to Mrs. Mulkey that some suffragists, whom I met, had invited me to come and hold some parlor meetings in their homes, and that the National was going to send me to accept their invitations, and Mrs. Upton could then

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ask her to arrange some too. I would not think it wise for us to make any attempt to get Mrs. Richardson and Mrs. Mulkey together, for I do not think it would be pleasing to Mrs. Richardson, and I did not therefore mention Mrs. Richardson's name to Mrs. Mulkey, for I was afraid Mrs. Mulkey might call on her. And in these parlor meetings I think I ought to gather up memberships as I did in Indianapolis.

You know there are two little clubs in St. Louis. Mrs. Ferth is president of one, and she has organized another among the wage-earning women. Mrs. Mulkey claims to be president of another, but I could not get any definite information about that, and I think it exists in Mrs. Mulkey's imagination.

Then I think I could get some parlor meetings in Kansas City. The Unity platform is open to me at any time, and I have a friend who attends Rev. Mary Andrews' church and I think she could get some meetings for me in that crowd: and then I have a physician friend who is a strong suffragist, and I believe we could build up a membership, at least in that City.

Then, when we get a sufficient membership built up, we can call a Convention and elect a president. If Mrs. Mulkey will call it, which she probably will, if she has to, so much is gained: if she will not, then a committee can call a mass convention.

I simply offer all this as a suggestion which seems practical to me. If we are going to wait for Mrs. Mulkey to make a move, we shall probably be waiting forty years hence, for she has now held the office nominally for 5 years, and has not called a convention or built up membership or done anything else, so far as I can find out.

Then by the time I would get done with Missouri, I could

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for
move over into Iowa ~~for~~ those open air meetings, if Iowa wants them,
and then do a little round in South Dakota on my way to Seattle.

I arrived in Denver this morning. I went first to Dr. Long's office and she took me out to Mrs. Bradfords. Then I hunted me a room, which will be at the Plymouth Hotel. Please send mail there. Gail invited me to stay there, but I did not think it wise, as I can do twice the work in a given time if I have a down-town room where I can run out and find out things as I need them.

Mrs. Bradford is coming down to work with me to-morrow, and by the next day I hope to begin on the letters to go out into the State.

I trust that your letter heads will be here by that time, and if you approve of the form I sent, that it will be here too. The storm has delayed the mails, and I suppose that is why they are not here yet. When I get my plan worked out for Colorado, I will submit it to you.

While in Logansport, I learned that the National Woman's Label League, of which Mrs. Anna B. Field, Elwood, Indiana, is Secretary, will hold its next convention in Louisville in June. I think that this is a good convention to send a fraternal delegate to.

I was sorry to leave Miss Penfield. She is going to make a splendid worker. She makes a good speech, and knows how to do things. You made a splendid "find" when you got her.

Lovingly,

(Signed) Laura Gregg.

Denver, Dec. 1, 1908.
Plymouth Hotel.

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 7th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have just received a letter from Mrs. R. F. Avery, asking a telegraphic reply to you whether or not to comply with the new terms for repairs of the Washington house engaged for Headquarters. As I wrote in my letter of Dec. 5th ^{to} ~~you~~ you, I have no information at all which justifies my voting on headquarters there. My understanding in Buffalo was that we would not undertake that expense without outside help. If any such help has been offered us I have never heard of the fact. I do not understand on what vote or authority this step has been taken. I see nothing in the minutes sent us to authorize it, and if any vote has been sent out except the announcement you made that Mrs. Avery and Miss Garrett had gone to Washington to look at houses, and you wanted a telegram about it, I have not received it. Under these circumstances I can not vote one way or the other.

Very cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

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



Moylan, Pa., Dec. 2, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I did not enclose the vote in the Business Committee letter which I sent out Monday, as I dictated the letter on Saturday before going to Bryn Mawr to hold a conference with Misses Thomas, Garrett, Lexow and Mrs. Park, expecting to get back by Monday noon in time to enclose the vote before the letter was sent; but we kept strenuously at work on the College plans, constitution, etc., until Monday night, so the letter was sent from my office before I reached home. I enclose the vote and ask you to return it as soon as possible in order that I may answer before I leave home for Buffalo, Michigan and Ohio on the 10th.

CONNECTICUT. Mrs. Bacon has promised last year two weeks of Miss Chase's time, but for some reason Miss Chase could not go when Connecticut was ready and Connecticut was not ready when Miss Chase could go, so that the work was not done. Now, Mrs. Bacon wishes to know if the National Association will pay the salary for two weeks of one of their own local workers who, they consider, will do good work for their State and they seem to prefer her to Miss Chase.

WASHINGTON STATE. In a letter written before Mrs. DeVoe reached home, Dr. Cora Eaton says: "Our workers are teeming with plans and especially with matters we wish to talk over with the National. For one thing, the suffrage booth at the Alaska-Yukon-Pa-

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cific Exposition. I understand that we can have a booth for \$65.00. Mrs. Jarmuth, one of the most gifted, attractive and devoted workers, is very anxious we should keep that booth a centre of activity. Do you think you would consider keeping a paid National representative in that booth for the six months that the Fair is open, if we will agree to keep one worker from the State for the same period? Mrs. Jarmuth is positive the time and money could not be better spent by either the National or the State, and certainly her special line of work would go to prove that, in the success she has made of the posters and the dodgers and the house to house canvass and the general aggressive personal work."

I have written Dr. Eaton that while I believe it would be helpful to the work in Washington to have such a booth yet, since the National Association has assumed \$50.00 additional per month for the payment of Mrs. DeVos's salary, making \$100.00 per month in addition to the assistance given the State during the past two years, I did not think we could assume any farther financial responsibility in Washington at this time, but that I would submit a vote on the subject.

SOUTH DAKOTA. Mrs. Fitch wishes to have an official title placed on her stationery while she is working in South Dakota. She has been made Vice President of the State and wishes to be made a National organizer.

We have had a good ~~rule~~ rule which has served us well and saved a great deal of trouble when I have been obliged to refuse endorsements to women who are constantly asking me for recognition as National organizers and lecturers. The rule is that the National Association will not endorse any one as a National organizer or lecturer who has not ~~been~~ done satisfactory work in her own State and been recommended for the position by her State officers, or who has

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not been employed by the National Association and its official board is satisfied as to her qualifications for such an appointment.

Since Mrs. Fitch has been elected Vice President of South Dakota, that, it seems to me, is endorsement enough for her State work, and my advise is that we wait and see what and how she does her work this winter and, if it is satisfactory, then we can give her a National appointment at our next Convention if it is desired. It is easier to make an appointment than it is to unmake it after it has once been made. I liked Mrs. Fitch's manner and the way in which she stated her position very much, still I think it is wise for us not to hurry since she is doing work only in her own State and has only their endorsement.

The South Dakota Association is anxious for a National worker for the Legislature and very modestly asks that Mrs. Upton or Mrs. Avery or I, or all three of us together, should go to their Legislature and address it at a hearing. Since it is out of the question for any one of us to go that distance for a single hearing, I am going to make the following suggestion: After my conversation with Mrs. Decker, Mrs. Grenfell and others, I was more thoroughly convinced than even at ^{the} Buffalo Convention that to take our best and most experienced organizer and Legislative worker out of the active field and put her into the enfranchised States to secure the co-operation of organized bodies and do petition work was a grave mistake, and I now suggest that, as soon as Miss Gregg forms the committees for petition work and finds out what can be done in regard to the co-operation of other societies in Colorado and Wyoming, that she return to South Dakota and assist Mrs. Fitch in the Legislative work.

South Dakota looks to me at present as one of the most favorable States we have, especially when its Governor and so many of the leading members of the Legislature are favorable to our measure.

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Mrs. Fitch says: "My husband told me yesterday that father said when he was here the other day that he was going to work hard for resubmission of the amendment at the Legislature. This will be his second term and only about one-third of the House members are old ones. If we make no mistake, I feel sure we have a most favorable opportunity."

If Miss Gregg goes to South Dakota, that is an additional reason why Mrs. Fitch should not be known as a National organizer but as one wholly interested in State work, speaking for the State women. If you will observe the railroad route, you will see that in order to reach Pierre in South Dakota Miss Gregg could go from Wyoming across Northern Nebraska and reach a point where she can enter South Dakota directly to Pierre. There would be little additional expense in having her return east that way.

My suggestion is that she leave committees to look after the petition work in Denver, Colorado Springs, and one or two other important points in Colorado; learn what she can of the prospect of securing co-operation with other societies with ours, then go to Cheyenne doing the same thing in that City, especially making an effort to secure a promise from the officers of the Federation of Clubs to make the attempt to co-operate with us; then to go from Cheyenne to South Dakota, leaving Utah and Idaho to be managed by correspondence. Idaho is of so little importance, and there are so few towns in the State, that the trip there would be practically useless. I fully agree with Mrs. Kelley that the less we push co-operation of other societies with ours in Utah the better. The Utah people will look after the petition work. If anyone can suggest a better plan for South Dakota, I should be very glad to entertain it.

NEW MEXICO. I have a letter from Mrs. Ellen M. Bowles, formerly President of the Rhode Island Suffrage Association who is

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now a resident of Lumberton, New Mexico, a copy of which I enclose. I know nothing of Mrs. Bowles ability as an organizer or Legislative worker. She held the State Association of Rhode Island together for a few years but did not do much toward building up the organization, which may not have been any fault of her own however. If it is decided to employ her, I should not advise paying her more than \$50.00 per month and expenses, as she is an ~~untried~~ untried and unknown worker.

If I remember correctly, the money for the year was appropriated by the Business Committee with the assistance of the Executive Committee, and there is very little left to use for additional work even in so desirable a field as New Mexico, but I think as there is a prospect of statehood something ought to be done.

OKLAHOMA. In a letter from Mrs. Figgers, she says: "We were much surprised that it takes a majority of all the votes cast at the election to carry any amendment to the constitution. Not one of the six submitted this year carried, although some of them had a majority of the votes cast on them." I judge the amendments to the constitution were submitted by the Legislature and yet had to have a majority of all the votes cast at the election to carry them. We had been informed that this was the case only when the question submitted was called for by the initiative of the electors, and that was why it was thought better to secure favorable action by the Legislature. But if it takes a majority of all the votes cast at an election to carry a measure, whether initiated by the electors or the Legislators, our question in Oklahoma would be more utterly hopeless than ever.

A letter from Mrs. Laskey to Lucy states that 17 of the pledged members favorable to woman suffrage were elected, that the Legislature is composed of 154 members. She does not state whether this includes the Senate or not.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw