

(COPY)

[Jan 25, 1909]

Prescott, Ariz.
Jan. 19, 1909.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

I wrote you a few days ago, and am writing again to urge upon you the necessity of immediate action in sending us organizers. We must organize quickly and call a territorial convention while the legislature is in session in Phoenix, which will be for sixty days from the 18th of Jan. Nearly all of the legislators wives are spending the winter with their husbands in Phoenix and there are several suffragists among them. There could be elected delegates to the territorial convention, which should be held in Phoenix before the legislature adjourns. In this way, we can secure representatives from nearly all of the counties and make a good showing.

We should have at least two to do this work quickly and well, and those who are not afraid of a hard stage ride and a few hardships. We are having beautiful weather now, but cannot depend upon it lasting long.

I am working every day to get things into shape, so that the work can be done quickly and well.

Faithfully,

(Signed) Frances W. Munds.

Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 28th, 1909.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Your letter of the 25th, which reached me yesterday, threw me into great perturbation of spirit. I could not see my way clear to answer it yesterday; but today I write that I will go to Arizona, at your request. If my own judgment alone were consulted, I hardly know that it would indicate this move, except in the default of any one else to go just now. I had planned a quiet winter in Ky., working for the big Petition and increase of membership. But having always thought we ought to work in the Territories, it would seem inconsistent if I should allow other less vital work to interfere at the critical moment. I shall telegraph to Mrs. Munds today; and I shall start to Prescott tomorrow night, no preventing Providence. I wish I could have heard again from you, giving suggestions for my assistance; but as time seems important, I have thought best to start at the earliest moment, without waiting for further information.

I suppose I should mention the terms on which I think I should go. I think my expenses of all kinds should be paid; I mean, for travelling, meals and board and lodging. I have ususally borne some part of these very willingly; but this time I shall have to incur more expense by leaving home after making arrangements to stay in Lexington. I shall not wish any thing for my time and labor. I shall hope it will be worth something; but one of my doubts in going is whether my efforts by myself, with only such help as Mrs. Munds will give, after knowing Dr. Woods' experience with her, will accomplish enough to make it worth while. I strengthen my resolution by remembering that money, though frequently hard to get, is still not as hard

to get as chances to win a state, which this may be.

I had undertaken to do all the work in Ky. for the big Petition; but your asking me to leave absolves me from that obligation. Still, it may make a difference at Petition Headquarters. Mrs. Catt has just sent the last batch of petition blanks; and has written that she will now close her work and put it in Mrs. Avery's charge. I shall try to put my part in some one else's hands before I go tomorrow; but it may be impossible. In that case I shall write to Mrs. Avery and tell her the present status of the Petition; and she will have to do the best she can. Of course, after I get to Arizona I may find I shall not have to stay long; but usually I expect to see the suffrage interests delayed to the very last days of the Legislature.

I shall write again before leaving tomorrow, to let you know my final plans. It may be, on inquiry, I should go to Phoenix, and ask Mrs. Munds to join me there.

I have a great deal to do to start on three days' notice, so will finish anything I should say tomorrow.

Cordially yours,

Lexington, Ky. Jan. 29, 1909.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw,

Hoylan, Pa.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am just in receipt of your most interesting letter of Jan. 27th with inclosures. It seems to me that your answer to the South Dakota women is all that we could do about the matter. I suppose that Miss Gregg will remain there until she gets things straightened out as far as possible; and I hope she will be free to come to Arizona. Of course it may become apparent quickly that nothing can be done there. I will give you my opinion of the prospects as soon as I have the time to form an opinion. But if there is to be a long legislative siege I feel that I must have help from some one besides persons like Mrs. Munds who has family cares interfering with her continuous work. I shall want Miss Gregg to come as soon as it appears that there is a chance to do something.

As I wrote to you yesterday I have arranged to start to-morrow morning. I had intended starting Friday night, which was the first minute I could make my necessary preparations, among which were having a new dress made. I found that if I left Friday night I would reach Prescott at night and that I was not willing to do, but going Saturday morning I reach Prescott at ten thirty on Wednesday morning. I have taken a round trip ticket to Phoenix, which costs no more than to Prescott, and west of the Mississippi I have as many stop-overs and have as long a time as I choose. The round trip is \$91.40 and the length of the ticket is nine months. I go on the Santa Fe Road from Kansas City. I have written as well as telegraphed to

2.

Mrs. Kunda, and am expecting to have a conference with her on Wednesday.

Until further notice you had better send letters to me in her care.

I am glad to say my sister, Mrs. Clay, will come to Lexington for awhile to take charge of the Petition work and any other Kentucky work that may be necessary during my absence. While it is probable that she cannot do quite as much as I might have done, not having all the threads in her hand, yet I believe the Kentucky Petition work can be better done by this arrangement than by transferring it at this late day to Mrs. Catt or Mrs. Avery, so I shall consider it settled. I suppose also that my absence for awhile will not make it necessary to change our plan to have Miss Penfield come to Kentucky as soon as she leaves Indiana. Please let me know as nearly as possible the precise date at which she could come to us so that we could be arranging our routes as soon as possible. I am

Very cordially yours,

Diet.

(COPY)

[Jan 27, 1909]

Dear Miss Shaw:-

The W.C.T.U. made father and Mr. Andrews believe that the bill they introduced was my measure and that I knew all about it. It was not, and I did not know anything about it. Mrs. Pickler held us back from coming here until after they had introduced the bill. Father and Mr. A. were greatly annoyed at the deceit, but the work had progressed so far that they felt that another bill would defeat both. Mrs. Jeffries, who is very unreasonable when angry, expected me to make father and Charley withdraw their support from the bill they had introduced and put in a universal suffrage bill. This would be impossible and impolitic, and we would be ridiculed for our dissention. This bill will go through if we all work for it. I felt it better to compromise, to work for the bill and then we, as an association, control the campaign after it is on. This would be best for all concerned. The W.C.T.U. will make such terms and be glad to. The Legislature does not consider it a W.C.T.U. measure, for father supposed it was the Association and has so considered it. If it is now left in the hands of the W.C.T.U., Mrs. Jeffries will work to defeat it at the polls, and that is what she wants to do. The whiskey men will also -- this is our chance. For the sake of the Cause, help us to now keep it in the hands of the Association and work for this measure. The W.C.T.U. have not done right, but the cause is at stake and we must not antagonize these other women. I can control the situation if you will keep Mrs. Jeffries still. No one else can do it. Mrs. Pettigrew seems to me just the one for President. Mrs. Simmons (who controls Mrs. Pickler) and Mrs. Jeffries have made our trouble. Now if you will help us, I believe South Dakota is saved. I am all tired out and about sick, and if we do not succeed in keeping Mrs. Jeffries from making any more scenes, we will lose out.

Yours,

(Signed) Edith M. Fitch.

Mrs. J. is very antagonistic to the church and to the W.C.T.U. Can you not quiet her? We are desperate. I agree with Mrs. P. that Rose is not the best organizer for us.

Jan 27, 1909

(COPY)

Pierre, S.D.,
Jan. 19, 1909.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

Mrs. Fitch and I sent you a telegram last evening which read: "Telegram advising acceptance of taxpaying suffrage bill will help us. New bill unadvisable." We want this telegram from you to quiet Mrs. Jeffries, who is a fine corresponding secretary but impossible as a worker in a Legislature. The men in the Legislature tell us that the bill, which is about to pass, is the only one that can be gotten ~~and~~ through now, and that if we will all consent to it they think it will pass. The bill provides that all who own real estate or any taxable property can vote. My experience in Wyoming convinces me that it will give the ballot to 95 % of our women, and it certainly places the ballot within the reach of every woman.

Mrs. Fitch and I are getting on capitally together, and I do not ever expect to meet a woman more capable of working in a legislature. Her father-in-law introduced the bill in the House and has given it his entire attention. Her brother-in-law (before his first wife died he bore that relationship to her) has done the same thing in the Senate. The Speaker of the House is her personal friend. She has been working faithfully among these men for months and had her wires all laid. Then Mrs. Simmons and Mrs. Ramsey, on behalf of the W.C.T.U., got on the ground first and went to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Fitch and got a tax suffrage bill introduced before we were on the ground. The men were innocent victims, and Mrs. Simmons and Mrs. Ramsey say they did not know they were using our men, but went to them because they introduced other bills for them last year. Then Mrs. Jeffries flew the track, made a scene in the Legislature on the ground that the National Suffrage Association would not endorse anything but a universal suffrage bill. Of course, we would rather have that too, but we cannot command a Legislature and have to take what we can get. Mrs. Jeffries is very unreasonable, and we are hoping for a telegram from you that will quiet her.

Miss Bower is a dear girl, never does any harm and always some

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some good; but she is not a personal worker, lacking clearness and directness in conversation. She has no initiative and is not a forceful speaker or an organizer.

I have never met our President, and she did not answer the one letter I wrote her. The District Presidents and Mrs. Jeffries have done the work that has been done. Miss Bower is a W.C.T.U. woman first and suffragist second.

We are arranging for electing a new President, but have our hands too full just now to attend to it. It must wait for the passage or defeat of our bill.

I read your letters in which you kindly guaranteed \$50. for my expenses here. If Mrs. Jeffries were amenable to reason, I could get through here without spending more than \$25. My son had three good meetings in the Black Hills, and secured \$56. monthly in pledges, but as I know the givers personally I expect to collect them. I am just fifty years old. I wish other women could have the honors of office, but I will do all I can for suffrage in South Dakota, and even accept office if all concerned feel that I am just the one.

Thanking you always for all your kindnesses, and all the inspiration of your letters.

Sincerely

(Signed) Nina D. Pettigrew.

Meylan, Penna.,
Jan. 27, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I arrived home late Saturday night and all day Sunday worked with my stenographer getting off necessary letters to South Dakota and other important points.

I enclose copies of some of the letters which will show you the complications which the utter incapacity of Mrs. Pickler, as President, and the folly of the other women in delaying action, have brought about.

The excuse that the W.C.T.U. took an unfair advantage of them, and got their Bill in first, is not, to my mind, a very worthy one; for weeks ago they wrote me that Mrs. Pickler had urged them to let the W.C.T.U. put in their Bill and the suffragists endorse and work for it. I immediately wrote protesting against it, urging that the suffragists put in their own Bill and seek the co-operation of the W.C.T.U., but on no account to make the W.C.T.U. the leaders in the movement. They delayed for one cause or another until the W.C.T.U. had secured Mrs. Fitch's father and brother-in-law to introduce their tax paying suffrage bill; and when the belated suffragists arrived, instead of paying no attention to the W.C.T.U. Bill and going ahead and introducing ^{was} their own measure, they split on the enforcement of the W.C.T.U. Bill. They give as their excuse that they would have lost it if they had introduced another Bill, because the tax paying suffrage bill was ahead and if they united they could get this Bill submitted. My only fear is that they can. I know of nothing that would injure us more.

When I was in Chicago this fall, some of the leaders among the Trade Union women told me that if we attempted to get tax paying suffrage in any State they would turn the whole force of the labor organization against us.

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I have informed the South Dakota women that under no consideration will the National Association assist in any way a campaign for any form of class suffrage; that while each State is free to make its own plans the National cannot aid it along any line not in accord with its general policy, and that if the State Association endorsed this tax suffrage bill we will have to immediately withdraw all support which we are at present giving them.

A revival of interest in the question of statehood for Arizona makes it appear that the present Congress may any day pass a Bill favoring the measure. A letter from Mrs. Munds indicates that she is trying to do something and is very anxious for help. With Miss Chase incapacitated and Miss Gregg trying to straighten out South Dakota, which, to my mind, by its unwise action is a greater menace than statehood for Arizona, I was in despair; so I took a chance and have written Miss Clay begging her to go there. Miss Clay believes in and is anxious for work there; in addition to the other qualities which fit her for just what is needed there, she is a Southern woman and I am hoping with all my heart that she will consent to go. I know she will hate to do it and will feel that it is asking a great deal, but it is our one chance and hope. I am sure that a vote is a formality only, for we will all be more than thankful if Miss Clay will accept this service and go.

The date for the National Convention has been finally settled,-- from July 1st to 7th inclusive. The Epworth League begins the 7th, and as there will be a Sunday and one exposition day out of the week that will leave us only five days for regular work, which I think will be needed because I do not believe we can have any time for an Official Board meeting before the opening of the Convention. According to our Constitution, we must hold an Executive Meeting the day before that of the opening of the Convention. I think we should call an Executive Meeting for the

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night of June 30th. As most of the officers will be together enroute, we could do as we did when we went to Oregon,- hold Official Board meetings on the train and dispose of a lot of routine matter.

In order that the best results may be had, I wish each member of the Official Board would prepare carefully the topics she wishes discussed and send them to me in advance, so that I can have them copied and classified, and each one of us may have a list before us to help in the discussion.

There seems to be a unanimous opinion that we accept with joy the offer of the Christian Herald, and an equally unanimous opinion that we write the Kansas Trackman a politic letter, stating that the Kansas Suffrage Association is not auxiliary to our body and that we do not feel at liberty to authorize any invasion of the State, etc., etc. These letters, I am getting off to-day.

I cannot, in mere words, explain the intense interest which has been manifested in suffrage throughout New York State. It is the one topic of discussion; and now that the Antis have come out into the open we are having the time of our lives. Mrs. Ivins gave me a breakfast a week ago Sunday, and I had the privilege of sitting between Mr. Ivins and Mr. W. D. Howells at the table. It was very interesting to hear their discussion, and to listen to Mr. Howells talking of "us and our movement", as though he had never been opposed to it. I think he has entirely forgotten that he ever was. Miss Howells was one of the guests, and her father told me that she held up every guest that came into the house to sign her petition. She is very enthusiastic and it is so with hundreds of people who have never shown any interest before..

On the 16th of this month, in the Hudson Theatre, New York City, I spoke for the Society for Political Education, one of the leading lecture societies of that City, on the affirmative side of woman suffrage. The house was packed and not a seat sold for less than \$1.00, up to boxes.

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The result of my address, as given by some of the friends, was that the matter was well chosen and helpful. Even Mrs. Gilbert Jones and Mrs. Richard Watson Gilder, the leading Antis, told several people that I was more than fair -- that I was convincing -- and I think it did us some good. Even if it did not, Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, who spoke last Saturday against suffrage, did do us a great deal of good. The expressive remark made by a lady in a box next to that of Mr. Ely's (the manager, whose guest I was) to another lady in another box, neither of whom I knew, "Well, what rot! If she has no points or arguments to make, why did they not get ^{one} ~~some~~ who had!" was, I think, the impression her address made on almost every one not strongly an Anti. Mrs. Blatch said she was ashamed to belong to the same sex, and Mrs. Ely, the wife of the manager, almost wept in her disappointment and shame.

Mrs. Clarence Mackay was there, but well veiled, and Mrs. Meyer, in quoting from a remark which Mrs. Mackay made in her address at the suffrage luncheon, sneeringly spoke of her as "the lady who, when she made an address, had her clothes minutely described in the press"; and in quoting from Mrs. Gilman she pretended to stumble over her name, and in a most flippant and sarcastic manner said: "I guess I have got them all in!" whereupon, I am glad to say, only a few of her Anti friends were so contemptible as to giggle. In quoting from me, she just used one-half of a sentence, - leaving off the other half which explained the first, making it exactly opposite to what I really said. I cannot recall a single point which she made. It was gush and sneers from end to end. She got her punishment for her sneers at Mrs. Gilman, however. The management gave a luncheon to some of the speakers and had invited other guests, among them Mrs. Gilman. She was not present at the lecture and came a little late to the lunch. Mrs. Meyers and I sat at the table with Mr. and Mrs. Ely. When Mrs. Gilman came into the dining room of the club, Mrs. Ely,

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who is a little mite of a Holland woman, strung up in her impetuous way and rushing toward her, with both hands extended, exclaimed: "Ah, my dear friend, I feared you would not come". She brought her to our table and introduced her to Mrs. Meyer and myself, and then led her to another table where she was to sit. When Mrs. Ely returned to her place to the table, Mrs. Meyer said: "Is that Mrs. Stetson-Gilman?" "Yes", said Mrs. Ely, "my very dear, dear friend." Mrs. Meyer's face got very red, and she said: "Your friend! Why I ~~thought~~ is not she the one who writes so and so and believes so and so?" With great warmth, Mrs. Ely replied: "Mrs. Gilman's opinions are her own, with which I have nothing to do. ^{of} I only know her noble service and her beautiful character, and I love her for what she is." Mrs. Meyer looked as though ~~the~~ ^a house had fallen on her. It was a brave and noble repulse, and I glory in little Mrs. Ely.

As perhaps some of you know, I have been attending a series of meetings up the Hudson for the New York State Suffrage Association, and I am to continue it for two weeks longer. They have been most unusual in interest and in numbers. The best one, so far, was at Poughkeepsie. It was arranged by Mrs. Cressett's daughter, who is helping in the management of these meetings, and she is showing unusual ability in securing the co-operation of desirable people. Heretofore, we have not been able to hold a meeting in Poughkeepsie because of the influence of Vassar College; but Miss Cressett secured a list of patrons and patronesses among the most influential towns people and members of the college faculty, who, by the way, are largely all suffragists even if the President is not. He now says he is not opposed to it, while he does not favor it. Having arrived at this point, he may be a lecturer for us yet.

The Men's Suffrage Leagues in Chicago and New York City are facts now and have started off well, particularly in Chicago. There seems to

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be an entirely new spirit in the air, and Chicago and New York City seem to be the centres at present.

I am home for three days to fill up my stenographer, and then I go out again. On Thursday, I am going to Ardsley-on-the-Hudson to the home of Mrs. A. L. Barber who, when in Washington, used to give receptions and other things and was very helpful. I am going to see if she will not give something toward furnishing our Congressional Headquarters. On the 29th I speak at the home of Mrs. Clarence Packay in New York City, and then until the last of February my time is filled with work in New York and the hearings in Massachusetts and Maine, and also in New York.

I am almost distracted in being obliged to be out in the field, and yet needing to be home all the time. It is almost impossible each day to answer the letters which come to me upon every conceivable subject under the sun. More and more are they turning to us.

All the members of the Board have voted that we shall allow the Washington suffragists to hold their regular meetings in our Legislative Headquarters; that the Christian People offer shall be accepted with many thanks, and that the Kansas Trackman shall be smoothed over and mollified.

To-day I have a letter from a Presbyterian paper, published in Philadelphia, wanting suffrage matter. They are needing our help. It seems that one of the editors boards where my niece Lola lives, and she got after him one day, telling him what the Christian Herald had done. Now, it seems, their paper is anxious for material also. I wish we could employ Mrs. Harper's entire time to write for us.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw
Per G.

Dic.

Enc.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.
First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
Second Vice President, 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,
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Ella S. Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Moylan, Penna.,
Jan. 25, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I am sending you a copy of Mrs. Mund's letter, and I beg of you to go to Arizona. Now, I know that is a mighty big thing to ask, but I believe that if you were on the ground you could find out about the situation and have a clearer view of the possibilities than anybody else who is free to go. You know, on account of the need of the South Dakota Hearing, and the fact that we voted to send Miss Gregg there if they wanted her, and the prospect that there would not be statehood this year for Arizona, ^{such} and that after the South Dakota Hearing Miss Gregg could go to Arizona, we telegraphed her to go to South Dakota and she is there now. She probably will not remain long, ^{in S. D.} but in the mean time somebody should be in Arizona. Miss Chase has positively declined to go, feeling that she is utterly unable to do so, and I think there could be nothing worse for our cause than a sickly woman, ~~and~~ or a woman who was not well and strongly balanced, which I fear is true of Miss Chase at present, talking ^{with} and interviewing men.

Now if you could go to Arizona, I should feel that the situation was in the hands of some one who could give us definite advice. If you will go, I do not think we need stop to get a vote of the Official Board, because I am sure that every one of them would be more than glad to have you do so, and every day is just so much lost time. The Legislature, as you will see, is in session only sixty days, and it began on the 18th of Jan., so there is not a single day to be wasted in waiting.

[Jan. 25, 1909]

I will send out a letter to the Official Board, but I assure you votes enough in advance, because Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Upton and I, with your vote if you are in favor of doing it, would make one-half of the Board, and I am sure every other member will agree. If you can go, will you not telegraph Mrs. J. L. Munds, Prescott, Arizona, immediately, because you see she is really planning some kind of work; but in order to carry it out she will need some one right by her side, and I beg of you to go at once.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Dic.

Enc.

Jan 27, 1909

(COPY)

Fort Pierre, S.D.
Jan. 23, 1909.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Miss Gregg's presence here at this time can never be estimated in money, it is worth everything to the suffrage cause all over the United States. Mrs. Fitch has been trying to force us to give in to her and her friends and endorse this W.C.T.U. tax paying bill which Miss Gregg tells her would be a dangerous thing to do. Mrs. F. is almost crazy with authority and responsibility. It was only last Apr., I think, that she became interested in the Ass'n, then to be promoted to the presiding officer in so short a time has been too much for her. She almost shook her fist in Miss Gregg's face at the close of our meeting and told her she wanted her to understand that she was for South Dakota women first, the National and W.C.T.U. afterwards. I think Miss Gregg showed a little feeling when she told her we did not need that pounded into our ears to understand it. Miss Gregg has been very patient with us and I think will lead us out all right. I hope this tax paying bill will be defeated in the House, then we will go ahead with out full suffrage bill, which Mrs. Fitch tells us will never get out of Committee, which will be better than to have tax suffrage. I think Miss Gregg will keep you informed while here. If this bill does pass the House, then our legislative work is done, for it is a W.C.T.U. measure pure and simple, and I might add silly and unjust.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Mrs. Jeffries.

Lexington, Ky. January, 5th, 1909.

My. Dear Miss Shaw:-

Your letter of Jan. 2d. came to hand yesterday. I am very much gratified by your position of unwillingness to await for anything in bringing forward woman's suffrage in the district campaign. Your sentiments and mine agree entirely on that point. I also agree in thinking it would be well for Miss Gordon to proceed to Washington at once. I have written her a few lines, urging her to go. Now in regard to New Mexico and Arizona; I am truly sorry about Miss Chase's continued ill health; but she is right not to go if she feels dismayed at the undertaking. It is work which must be gone at with good courage or not at all. You never have said anything more about the man of whom Dr. Wood spoke. I would like to see the experiment made of getting a man to assist us, if we could find a favorable opportunity to begin. It would be a formidable undertaking for Miss Greeg alone in Arizona, for I have no confidence in Mrs. Mund's capacity to help. As for New Mexico, I am in favor of employing Mrs. Bolles to help Miss Greeg, if Miss Greeg can be sent to New Mexico now; if she cannot be sent rather than have no work done, I would prefer to let Mr. Mrs. Bolles do what she can by herself. Unless the members of the Board think her so untactful as to be liable to make enemies. If she is merely not very capable, I think it would be well to be profitable for our cause to send her to start headquarters, as it always involves a great deal of labor to make such acquaintances as she can among the Legislators, and to let her do what she can by herself, until Miss Greeg can be sent to help. I believe it would be all but an impossible task to get a suffrage clause in the suffraging Act, without some influence

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from the territory itself. It appears from Mrs. Bolles letter that ~~no~~ sentiments can be mustered, if there is anyone to do it; but as we have absolutely ~~no~~ one else in sight, I believe it is better to have her than no one.

I received your letter about not sending Miss Penfield until March. Your decision is entirely is entirely satisfactory to me and I believe will be to the local clubs to which I will look for assistance in arranging her route. When you next write to Miss Penfield, please ask her to notify me at what time she will be ready to come to Kentucky as soon as she can determine the date herself.

Mrs. Park and Miss Lexow left this morning for Cincinnati. Mrs. Park organized a State Branch in Louisville, added some members to it here in Lexington, had a very pleasant meeting yesterday afternoon among the students of the State University, where she was able to form a temporary committee to take further action later on in regard to forming a College League. Mrs. R. L. Stout, the Dean of Women, is very favorable to the movement and promises to foster it. Though the holidays were a very poor time to come for the colleges, Mrs. Park has helped us. She and Miss Lexow made an exceedingly agreeable impression, and we have had excellent newspaper reports.

Very cordially yours,

Dict.

Ans. Jan. 14.

Moylean, Penna.,
Jan. 5, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

There are one or two points which should have been submitted to the Board before: One is in regard to the Advisory Board which we voted at Buffalo to secure and to add the names to our stationery. I think we should pick this Advisory Board with very great care and that each name should be one of importance in some particular line of work, and they should represent different sections of the country. I would like to have the members of the Board make nominations. I enclose a list of the names which I have suggested for the Advisory Board and will ask you to vote for them, marking them 1, 2, 3, etc. in the order of your choice. If, however, you do not wish for any of them then you will make a list of your own and after all are in I will submit a revised list to the Board.

The second matter which I wish to submit is in regard to the delegates to the International Suffrage Alliance in London, April 26th, 1909. I have not heard whether any other members of the Official Board expect to go to England for that meeting except Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Upton and myself. Mrs. Avery does not need to be made a delegate, as she is an officer of the Alliance and has a vote. The rest of us will have to be made delegates if we vote and, as National President, I would of course like to be one of the delegates. We are entitled to six, and if Mrs. Upton goes I think she should also be made a delegate. Therefore, I will nominate myself, Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Villard and Mrs. Blatch. If you know of any other persons who are going whom you would like to nominate as delegates, I wish you would do so. Miss Emily Howland, Lucy Anthony and Julia Foster Avery expect to go, but I think it would be well for them to be alternates and have some one else for the remaining ^{two} ~~three~~ delegates, for we are entitled to six alternates as well as to six delegates. I would be very glad if any member of the Official Board, who expects to go, would say so and let me have the privilege of voting for ^{her} ~~him~~.

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

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.

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1909

Moylan, Pa., Jan. 2, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I have heard from a majority of the members of the Board in regard to the measure for suffrage in the District of Columbia proposed by Ex-Senator Blair, and the entire Board is strongly in favor of our taking an active part in the campaign to secure women suffrage as a part of the measure.

There is a division of opinion of the members of the Board as to the wisdom of waiting for our measure to become an amendment to the bill for male suffrage after it has been introduced in Congress. I do not in the least question the friendship of Ex-Senator Blair for his desire to secure women suffrage, but I question any living man risking a measure which he is ambitious to champion by adding women suffrage to it. My doubt does not rest upon any feeling that men suffragists are not loyal to women, but it is so easy for human people to reason themselves into feeling that if their particular measure is carried the other measure will be more successful. A man, even the best of them and the truest suffragist among them, cannot feel that women suffrage at this time in the District of Columbia is much more important and far reaching in its effects than man suffrage would be, and I am personally opposed to waiting in for anything or anybody for making our appeal for women suffrage. I am therefore in favor of one of our National Officers proceeding at once to Washington and calling the District suffragists together and seeking a plan of cooperation with them in carrying on the campaign.

[June 2, 1909]

I would much prefer that Miss Gordon should be the member of the Board to do this work. I know such a call upon Miss Gordon at this time would be a tremendous burden, but, to my mind, this District of Columbia suffrage work bill is more important than all the other work of the National Association, and if it is necessary to drop any part of the work which Miss Gordon has already taken up in order to carry it through, then I think Miss Gordon should do it. Our Congressional Headquarters at Washington can be used for this purpose and I suppose it will be ready for furnishing next Monday and we could take immediate possession. I have no doubt the District women would be very glad to have the Headquarters to use for this purpose and would cooperate with us very freely if they were approached in the right way at the beginning. I am so sure that you will all agree with me in the desirability of having Miss Gordon take charge of this work in Washington that I am writing her to-day asking her if it will be possible for her to do so. I must confess I hated to do it, for I know how devoted she is to the local work in Louisiana and how much National work she has in hand, - nevertheless, to my mind she is the one member of our Committee who has a certain kind of political insight and believes in political measures and is, withal, discreet and tactful in her dealings with both men and women.

I am sorry to say that Miss Chase declines to go to Arizona or New Mexico to do the kind of work we need to have done there. She supposed we were going to organize these Territories, but when we informed her of the work to be done with the Legislature and the kind of work which is necessary in connection with securing the passage of an amendment by the Legislature or in incorporating a bill in the Enabling act, she says the very thought of it has made her ill and her doctor and friends advise her not to go. I really think if she is in such a nervous state she is unfit to go and unfit to do work. We must not send into the field women who are not physically and mentally able to carry on

3--O.B.

Jan 2, 1909

the kind of work we have to do,- so the best thing for Miss Chase will be to remain quietly at home until she becomes well enough to do the kind of work which is required. I am very sorry at the thought of having to give her up, but her letters really sound as if she was not able to go out into the field.

I have heard nothing from Miss Gregg since the telegram, but I am writing her again to-day to know definitely when she can start for Arizona.

I have also received a letter this morning from Mrs. Bolles in regard to New Mexico. I wrote her stating that we did not wish to organize New Mexico,- that any effort made there would have to be made simply with the legislature or to insert a clause including woman suffrage in the Enabling Act. This is her reply:

Lumberton, New Mexico,
Dec. 29, 1908.

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

My dear Miss Shaw:-

Yours of the 24th came to hand yesterday and I hasten to reply. Your ideas of the situation in New Mexico entirely coincide with my own. I think any effort to organize the territory now would be entirely thrown away. I had made up my mind that the legislature was the only place where any effectual work could be done.

It seems to me that it would be worth while to try to get a woman suffrage law passed by the legislature this winter before the territory is made into a state. That would make it much easier to get such a provision incorporated in the constitution when statehood is granted to us. This work, as you say, should be done soon. The legislature meets next month on the 11th I believe. It sits only once in two years so that work of ~~xxx~~ ^{this} kind in 1911 may be too late.

Jan 2, 1909

There is really no great demand for statehood among the people of New Mexico but the politicians want it and are trying to get it. They are the ones who will obtain it as soon as possible so it is best to act as though it were coming soon whether the people want it or not.

I have been surprised at the amount of woman suffrage sentiment prevailing in this out of the way mountain locality. The leading Democratic politician here, Felix Garcia, a Mexican, is strongly in favor of it and I learn that his partner, Ernest Vint, post trader at the Indian Reservation at Dulce is as much so. Mr. Garcia has a copy of the petition for an amendment to the national constitution at his store for signatures and I am sending another to Mr. Vint asking him to sign it and present it to others. The people here are mostly Mexicans who cannot speak English so I cannot work among them personally. The population is widely scattered and can only be reached through such men as I have named when they come to town to trade. There has been no work done for woman suffrage here so it must be that its effect in Colorado has made the people here favorable to it.

I am not personally anxious to go to Santa Fe to work with the legislature and would be glad if a better person could be found to do it. I had thought, since writing you, that it would be impossible for me to leave home to do it, but now I might be able to get away by about Feb. 1st, and could spend two months in Santa Fe if necessary, or perhaps even longer. It would cost considerable to do this, as, of course, you know even better than I do. It would be necessary to open respectable headquarters there but I know what economy is and would make the expenses as light as I could.

Should you decide to make the experiment you would, of course, give me all necessary instructions. I have had considerable experience in legislative work in Rhode Island so should not be a novice in the work.

Jan 2, 1907

Hoping that whatever should be decided on will be for the best,
I am

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Ellen M. Bolles."

Now, as Miss Chase is not going to these Territories what do
you think of having Mrs. Bolles cooperate with Miss Gregg in New Mexico?
I would not like to put her there alone, but she might be helpful if Miss
Gregg were to go there.

Faithfully,
Dic. *Ann H. Chase*

New Years Day 1909

My dear Miss Clay,-

This is my first letter in the year 1909 and it brings to the very best wishes for a good and successful year.

As it is a holiday for every body here but myself and my stenographer is away I am going to try to answer the letter I received from you this morning as I want to get it as soon as possible. Your wish not to have Miss Penfield before March is a most satisfactory one for she feels that it is impossible for her to leave Indiana before then without doing injury to the work there.

I understood that you wanted her the middle of January and wrote her so and she greatly regretted it. The mistake must have been mine and I will write her at once that she may remain there until that time. When I hear from her again I will write you definitely in regard to the date.

I agree with you that it would be a great help if Miss Gordon could go to Washington if we undertake the work there and I will write her at once and see if she will go or if she can go. Mrs Avery will do all she can to help and give all of her spare time to it.

I will write you later, at greater length.

Faithfully

Anna H. Sharr

Jan. 14.

Weylan, Penna.,
Jan. 12, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

Now that we have established Legislative Headquarters in Washington, I think we should have some definite plan as to who should use them and upon what terms.

We have received a request from Mrs. Tindall of the District Suffrage Association to hold the District meetings in our rooms. The first meeting is to be held to-night, and Mrs. Avery granted permission to hold this meeting until we could hear further from the Official Board.

I have also written Mrs. Tindall that I had no doubt but the Official Board would be willing to permit them to hold their regular meetings in the Headquarters. Personally I should be opposed to them or any local club establishing headquarters in the building, but the more it can be used for meetings the better. She also wrote that she thought the Federation of Clubs of the District of Columbia would be glad to hold its meetings there. Now this would be just what we would want to enable us to hold out some inducement to the Federated women to come there, and probably there are other associations that would wish to hold meetings there also.

The question is upon what terms should we permit them to meet? The District suffrage women are showing quite an interest in the Headquarters, and Mrs. Tindall and Miss Gillett have contributed much toward the furnishings. Mrs. Tindall, who has broken up housekeeping, has contributed much toward furnishing the kitchen and the household working part of the building, while Miss Gillett has contributed a piano and I believe is to furnish a desk and some other things. Mrs. Avery contributed, besides beds, tables, etc., some hall carpet and some bed linen. We are going to ask some other friends of suffrage for contributions of that sort

Jan 12, 1909

Of course, we are not asking contributions for the furniture for that part of the building which will be opened to the use of clubs, as we will want some uniformity in it and not have it a ~~hodge-podge~~ hodge-podge mess.

Mrs. Avery feels that the District people should be permitted to hold their regular meetings there until the next National Convention without any additional charge except the donations which the members are making toward furnishing the house. Please let me know at once in order that I may definitely answer Mrs. Tindall and give her your views on the matter.

I am troubling you with a great many letters, but as these are questions which you all have a right to decide, it is absolutely necessary

Faithfully,

Dic.

Anna K. Adams

Lexington, Ky. Jan. 14, 1909.

Rev. Anna K. Shaw,

Moylan, Pa.

Dear Miss Shaw,

I have three letters from you which I have not answered, that of the 11th having just reached me. I will answer them in their order of time.

Jan. 5. I have examined your list of members for the Advisory Board; and have marked them in the order of my preference, those whom I have not marked is because I know nothing of them personally. I suggest that Mr. William Foulke deserves some recognition from us. It seems to me that Senator LaFollette would be a good one. In the recent answers to the letters sent out by the New York Times I observe Congressman Richmond Pearson Hopson is in favor of suffrage. I would recommend that correspondence be entered into with these last two gentlemen and if they consent that their names be put on the list. Also Governor ^{La}afroth

Perhaps I am suggesting too many active politicians, but our subject is political and now we should do what we can to claim them for our side.

I do not know of any persons who are going to the International Suffrage Alliance in London. I cheerfully vote for yourself, Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Willard and Mrs. Blatch for delegates, and for Miss Emily Howland, Miss Lucy Anthony and Mrs. J. F. Avery for alternates.

Jan. 8th. I am gratified at your interview with the editors of the Christian Herald and will speak further of this in the next issue of the letter of Jan. 11th. If you ask my opinion as to the advisability of

Jan 14, 1909

2.

Connecting yourself in any way with the disagreement which Mrs. Blatch is having with Miss Hay and the New York press, my advice would be to keep out of it religiously. My experience is that there is nothing on earth more unprovable than interfering with other peoples disagreements.

From my small knowledge of Mrs. Blatch I am convinced she is perfectly able to take care of herself, and, without this opinion being justified by my acquaintance with her, I fancy that she would not be very careful of your interests when disagreeable circumstances came up. It is very easy for her to suggest that the National President, the State President and herself should go as a committee and talk to leading people. But she would be the spokesman whether authorized to be so or not; and the other members of the committee would likely find themselves with a quarrel laid upon them in which they had no original part. My advice is emphatically that the National President keep out of it. If anything is necessary to defend our delegates and the National Association abroad, - that is a different matter, and non-antagonistic measures might be taken to prevent it.

Jan. 9th. I entirely agree with you about the Fort Scott man. I see no occasion for our falling into plans of absolute strangers; and I think we should be particularly cautious about doing so in Kansas. When we begin work there let us work on plans we have devised ourselves.

Jan. 11th. Certainly I will give my vote to accept the proposition of the Christian Herald; and I shall be pleased to afford any assistance that I am able to do in Kentucky.

Jan. 12th. 1. In regard to the use of the headquarters in Washington I am in favor of permitting them to be used free of charge by the District Association until the next National Convention, as Mrs. Avery suggested.

2. I am in favor of granting permission to other societies and clubs of women on very moderate terms. I know from

3.

[Jan 14, 1909]

experience that all such societies, as have not much funds, frequently have difficulty in finding a suitable place for meeting and the opening of our headquarters to them on moderate charge has a tendency to bring them into fraternal relations with us. I think that the terms and the societies who may be admitted ought to be left in the hands of a small committee who are able to judge what terms could be called moderate, for I do not think that we ought to be put to any expense at present for other associations than our own, except under very unusual circumstances. I believe it is our policy to allow readily the use of our headquarters to societies whose fraternalism we desire. I am not in favor of renting out our headquarters with the sole idea of making money,

Cordially yours,

Diet.

Jan. 8, 1909

Ans. Jan. 14.

Moylan, Penna.,
Jan. 8, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I have just returned from New York where, as you know, I debated with Mrs. Gilman, and although a large majority of the audience voted in favor of my side of the question, I personally feel that Mrs. Gilman had by far the best of the argument and should have had the vote; but the main object was accomplished, I suppose, and that was a nice sum of money for the Women's Trade Union League which, I hope, will make them feel kindly toward the Suffrage Association.

On the following morning I had a long interview with Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Kelley over the petition work which seems to be progressing ^{very} well. Mrs. Kelley is particularly pleased with the help it has given the suffrage work in the organizations with which she is allied in New York. Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Kelley and I will have a final interview in regard to the subject on the morning of the 16th when arrangements will be perfected to have the work of collecting, sorting and storing the petitions done in the Congressional Suffrage Headquarters in Washington. Mrs. Catt sails for England the 13th of February and can do nothing toward the petition work after the first of the month, when it will have to be turned over to us.

I also had an interview with Mrs. Blatch, which I will report on a separate sheet.

Later in the day, by invitation of the managing editor, Mr. George H. Sandison, and the assistant editor, Mrs. Kate Upton Clark, I went to the office of the Christian Herald, a religious paper having 220,000 regular subscribers but which circulates 300,000 copies weekly. The editor and owner of the paper came into the office while I was there, and the other editors seemed very anxious to have me make a favorable impression on him and enlist his interest. I did my best and the only feasible result was that he said if I could convince the managing editor that active interest in the woman suffrage movement on the part of the paper would help our cause, and not injure the interests of the paper, the columns were open to us.

[Jan 8, 1909]

There can be no question that the managing editor is a good suffragist, and so is the assistant editor, but the real underlying motive of this sudden interest in our movement is the liveness of it abroad and the revived interest in New York, and they want and hope to increase the circulation of their paper by siding with us. They are willing to do a lot of real suffrage work toward that end.

I asked the editor to state definitely what he wanted us to do and how he thought we could cooperate with them. He talked over a lot of the most impracticable things which were sure to win if we only tried them, which we have tried hundreds of times, but the one thing he urged us to do was to go into the most favorable State and put forth all our energies there. I asked him to prepare a letter which he would like to have me submit to the Official Board, stating his views. I assured him that we would do everything in our power to cooperate with him. I told him of the plan which is being worked up by Miss Gordon to reach the ministers of the various denominations, and he said he would print the leaflet in full in the Christian Herald when it was ready and make such an appeal as Miss Gordon would write and do, all he could to arouse the readers of the Christian Herald, of whom he said there were fully a million. He also said he would publish letters ~~from~~ ^{for} if we would write ~~to~~ the paper, taking up some point of the suffrage movement and writing a little letter upon it; but he seemed very anxious that all of our letters and articles should not be antagonistic, that they should be based upon justice with an appeal to the chivalry of men. He seemed to think that we ~~did~~ ^{had thought} not ~~think~~ of that before, - that it was an entirely new idea. He said men were so just and chivalrous that they needed only to be appealed to. His logical male mind did not suggest to him that if men, as a whole, were either just or chivalrous we would not have to make the appeal nor would we have been driven to ~~these~~ ^{this} sixty years campaign. Nevertheless, he and his paper are allies which we must win and hold if we possibly can.

He gave me this week's paper damp from the press with their first suffrage article, and it certainly is a good one. It is an interview by Lyman Beecher Stowe with six members of the United States Senate from the four enfranchised States. Their pictures are in a row across the top of the page and they are a fine looking lot of men and the inter-

views are splendid. There is material for a first class leaflet which could be made from it and could be credited to the Christian Herald. I will send a copy to the Literature Committee. I know of nothing better which could befall us than the support of this paper, because it goes into the ranks of the conservative people whom we, as an Association, so far at least, have not been able to reach.

Yesterday's New York Evening Journal had a splendid suffrage cartoon which would make a first class poster and also good for a postal card. One side of the picture represents two politicians, big and portly, smoking cigars, with their hands in their pockets and their backs turned toward the bulletin board and a woman; the woman comes up to about their knees and they do not see her and they are not reading the bulletin board. On the other side of the picture are the same two politicians and a woman holding in one hand her declaration of what her vote will go for and in the other hand her vote. She stands as tall as the politicians and they have dropped their cigars in the street; have their hats off and are bowing down to the ground. Underneath the first picture is the inscription "This is about the size of the woman trying to talk moral truths to politicians when she has no vote." On the other side "Things will be different when women can vote and throw worthless officeholders out onto the sidewalk, as they soon will." I think if we get an opportunity to use this cartoon it will be a good thing for us.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Dic.

Enc.

Ans. Jan. 14.

Jan 8, 1909

My interview with Mrs. Blatch was in regard to the New York work and conditions which are now arising there through Miss Hay's influence, for she is doing in New York exactly what she did in the National Association, - attacking every woman whom she thinks stands in her way whom she can ^{not} control. They are passing through a similar experience to that of some of the National Officers a few years ago. The results, however, promise to be more serious, as the trouble seems to be taking the form of antagonism to suffragists and suffrage leagues who will not come into the Suffrage Society.

Mrs. Catt evidently does not recognize the true reason of the refusal of the College League, the Self Supporting League and Mrs. Mackay's Society to join the Interurban. She thinks it is disloyalty to organization and antagonistic to existing methods of work, but the true reason is Miss Hay. She is in absolute control of the Interurban Headquarters; speaks of it as "my society" etc.; runs its meetings; calls meetings whenever she wishes to do certain things and fails to notify members and societies belonging which she cannot coerce or flatter into voting whatever she wants. She is there, as she has been everywhere, the disrupting force, and Mrs. Blatch and others feel that she is back of the recent attack on Mrs. Blatch in the New York press, which is trying to create dissatisfaction in the Self Supporting League. They are utterly at a loss to know what to do. Mrs. Blatch suggests that the best thing to be done would be to have me, as National President, Mrs. Crossett, as State President, and herself, as a worker in the ^{local} League Society, go to some of the leading New York suffragists and explain the whole situation of Miss Hay's relation to the suffrage work. I am perfectly willing to do it if it is thought advisable. I hate to open Mrs. Catt's account.

Mrs. Catt is going to take her to Europe with her and I suppose the experience of Copenhagen will be repeated over again unless we take some official action to defend our delegates and the National Association from her misrepresentations. It is a great pity that Mrs. Catt forces us either to accept Miss Hay or else fail to enlist herself personally in cooperation with us in our work. I had hoped we were done with this matter forever, but it looks now as though we had a worse case on our hands than before. I would like your advise as to what I would better do.

(COPY)

Jan 9, 1909

January 11, 1909.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw,
Meylan, Pa.

My Dear Miss Shaw:

The idea of THE CHRISTIAN HERALD is to lay before its readers the strong arguments for woman suffrage, as it is likely to benefit the home and the church; and appeal to them to organize in every town groups of suffragists (to be called, "Suffrage Circles", unless some better name occurs). These groups should co-operate with the regular suffrage organizations, wherever practicable, and endeavor to influence every assemblyman and every senator in their State legislatures by means of an ^{incessant} ~~inexhaust~~ stream of letters, personal interviews and petitions.

It is especially desired that the letters, though brief, should be strong and frequent, and from as many different men and women as possible.

It is planned to establish soon a department for letters in THE CHRISTIAN HERALD, in which all worthy letters or portions of them (so far as our space permits) will be printed.

We should be grateful for any addresses that you can send us of women in the different states who would be likely to coöperate with us.

We shall endeavor as far as we can without identifying ourselves with what is called "militant suffragism", to coöperate efficiently with the regular suffrage organization.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) (Mrs.) Kate Upson Clark

Assistant Editor.

Jan. 14.

Moylan, Penna.,
Jan. 9, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

A Mr. Brown of Ft. Scott, Kansas, came this morning with a letter of introduction from Mrs. Upton, on whom he called yesterday.

He is here in the interest of a paper called The Trackman which has to do with the railroad track men. It is the paper through which so many exposures have been made during the past year of the condition of the railroad tracks which have resulted in so many accidents, and for a time it created quite a sensation.

In the copy of the paper which he showed me there were several articles on woman suffrage, and it seems that he and the editor, J. I. Sheppard, have conceived the plan of getting the teachers of Kansas interested in woman suffrage, because at the teacher's convention in Topeka a week or two ago they passed a resolution in favor of suffrage.

I think that this resolution aroused in the mind of this particular man the idea that if their paper came out for suffrage he could get the teachers of the State interested in getting subscriptions and thus build up the circulation of the paper. Then I think it entered into his head that if he could get the National Association interested in the matter, and with our backing him by our influence, he might more readily secure the support of the teachers.

I do not know how much of what he said to me was the result of candor or of a scheme to get us to help them in establishing their paper. As you all know, I make no pretense of any ability to read what is in the minds of men who are seeking women's help politically or otherwise, - consequently, I do not pretend to know whether he is a friend of suffrage or simply a sharper who is trying to use suffrage for his own advantage. He has a great many very good ideas, as most people have which require money

[Jan. 9, 1909]

to carry them out, and he would like to have us furnish the money.

I think what he really wanted was for us to agree to pay for a subscription to the paper for every teacher in the State of Kansas, but after I talked with him further he wanted me to give him a letter of introduction to Dr. Aked to see if he could not interest Mr. Rockefeller. I do not personally know Dr. Aked, but if I did I certainly would not give a letter of introduction to any one under such circumstances.

Mrs. Avery was present during part of the interview. I told him that I could not consult the Board in regard to anything unless he put what he wanted in writing, and the enclosed is a copy of what he wished me to submit to the Board which is, as you see, to organize the teachers for equal suffrage and to educate the labor vote of the United States on the side of equal suffrage. I told him that I would submit this proposition to the Official Board and as soon as I ~~have~~^{heard} from you I would send the result to Mr. Sheppard, the editor of the Trackman.

Personally I am not in favor of anybody organizing the teachers for suffrage in this way. I do not think they could do it in the first place, and in the second place if the teachers are to be organized it should be done by some one whose first interest is suffrage and not, ^{the} exploiting of a newspaper. Then again, Kansas has withdrawn from our Association and we practically have no control of that State. If I were very sure that this was a genuine desire on the part of the editor of the Trackman to work in the interest of suffrage, I would be very glad to cooperate with him in any way we could, but I feel that it is an effort to get hold of some rich people through the influence of the suffragists and I think we ought to be very careful in whatever we do. This man may be honest enough, but as I never heard of him before, and know nothing about the editor of the Trackman, I think that we will have to be very careful in the matter. It seems to me a very different proposition from that of the

3--O.B.

Jan. 9, 1909

Christian Herald, which we know is already a well established paper with a tremendous circulation.

Moylan, Penna.,
Jan. 12, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from the Christian Herald which came this morning before I got my other letter off to you.

You will see the proposition they have made, which I am very sure we can readily accept and do everything we can to aid them in attempting to organize these circles. I think they will be disappointed; nevertheless, the attempt will greatly benefit us in bringing the matter before a large body of conservative people who will accept it much more readily when presented by the Christian Herald than if given to them in any other form.

I have written a note to Mrs. Clark thanking her for their proposition and telling her that I have laid it before the Official Board and that I had no doubt our official acceptance of it would be made in a few days. Please send your vote as to whether or not we shall cooperate with the Christian Herald so that I may reply to them at once.

Faithfully,

Anna N. Shaw

Dic.

Enc.

Feb. 19, 1909

The Trackman, a labor paper published in Ft. Scott, Kansas, with a general circulation among labor men throughout the United States, proposes to organize the teachers for equal suffrage and use the columns of the paper to educate the labor vote of the United States on the side of equal suffrage. In so doing they ask the endorsement of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

(Signed) J. I. Sheppard.

Editor Trackman.

Moylan, Penna.,

Feb. 15, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

You will find enclosed herewith the financial statement of the Petition Fund, which has been forwarded to me by Mrs. Catt.

The reason why this financial report balances to a cent, without a penny to pay on either side, is that Mrs. Catt deposited some money in the bank, with the expectation of taking back that which was not needed to pay the expenses for the New York office. The exact amount used for the bills was \$135.76, which produced the exact balance. Ten dollars is left with Mrs. Hackstaff, not for postage (as the report says) but for stencographic work in addition to postage, if necessary. I told her when that money was exhausted, if it was, to apply to Mrs. Avery and to state her needs.

Faithfully,

Encl.

Anna H. Shaw,
Per G.

NATIONAL PETITION FUND.

Feb 15, 1909

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RECEIPTS.

Deposited for Petition Fund by Mrs. Catt	\$500.00
" " " " " "	126.29
From National Treasury	400.00
" " " by credit of Mrs. Catt's pledge	200.00
Deposited for Petition Fund by Mrs. Catt	200.00
" " " " " "	<u>135.76</u>
	\$1562.05

DISBURSEMENTS.

Printing	\$460.00	
Postage	195.40	
Stenographers	474.75	
Rent	187.50	
Rent of typewriters	24.50	
Miss Reynolds	115.00	
Express	66.60	
Telephone	13.76	
Supplies	14.14	
Missouri postage (Hackstaff)	<u>10.00</u>	
	\$1562.05	<u>\$1562.05</u>

[Feb 15, 1909]

National Petition Fund.

1908

Nov. 17	Stamps	XXXX	\$2.00
	Special deliveries	XXX	.30
	Supplies-Voucher 1	XXXX	6.94
" 19	Stamps	XXX	.10
	Rent Nov. 16 to Dec.		
	16	XXXX	40.00
	Supplies (no voucher), receipt books and two blank books		.40
" 21	One week's salary (Rose Ostertog)		14.00
	One-half week's salary plus one day Mrs. Collins (A.E.) \$2.50 X 4		10.00
" 23	Postage		2.00
	Wrapping paper		.20
" 20	Stamps		8.00
" 23	Postage		10.00
" 25	Wrapping paper		.60
" 30	Supplies		2.00
" 19	Supplies		.75
" 28	Miss Ostertog		14.00
" 28	Mrs. Collins		15.00
			<u>\$126.29</u>

Feb 15, 1909

1908		Receipts	Expenses
Dec. 1	Deposited for Petition Fund by Mrs. Catt	\$500.00	
	Paid Mrs. Catt for cash advanced for Nov.		126.29
	Deposited for Petition Fund by Mrs. Catt	126.29	
	Louis Weiss & Co., 15,000 Petition Blanks, 15,000 Slips		69.50
	Mrs. A. H. Collins -- 2 days		5.00
" 5	Express		3.50
	Stamps		6.00
	Rose Ostertog - 1 week		15.00
	Mrs. Ezekiel		10.00
" 7	Hotel Martha Washington, telephones to Dec. 7th		3.12
	Wheeler & Bosworth		30.00
	Stamps		5.00
" 8	Hotel for express		10.40
" 10	Rent of Remington Typewriters, Nov. 18 to Dec. 18		8.00
" 11	Hotel rent of room for 1 mo.		50.00
" 12	Rachel Ezekiel- 1 week		15.00
	Florence Barber (2 days)		5.00
	Stamps		5.00
" 16	Stamps		10.60
	Rose Ostertog- week and one-half		23.75
" 17	Hotel rent "K" to Jan. 15		40.00
	Stamps		6.00
" 19	Rachel Rachel Ezekiel - 1 week		15.00
	Florence Barber - 1 week		15.00
	Hotel express to date		14.40
" 21	Underwood typewriter- 1 mo. to Jan. 12		4.00

Forward

Feb 15, 1909

Brought forward

1908		Receipts	Expenses
Dec. 21	Stamps		\$10.00
	Remington typewriter (2) 1 mo.		7.00
" 29	Rose Ostertog- 1 week		15.00
	Florence Barber - 1 week		15.00
" 24	Rachel Ezekiel - 1 week		15.00
	Stamps		6.00
" 29	Fanny Chafin to Jan. 2		32.00
	Louis Weiss & Co. per bills		141.75
	From National Treasury	400.00	
" 30	Stamps		20.00
" 31	Rachel Ezekiel for two weeks to Jan. 9		30.00
1909			
Jan. 2	Rose Ostertog- 1 week to date		15.00
	Florence Barber - 1 week to date		15.00
" 4	Louis Weiss & Co. for printing		5.25
	Stamps		10.00
	Minnie J. Reynolds- 1 week to date		25.00
" 6	Stamps		10.00
" 8	Stamps		20.00
" 9	Rose Ostertog- 1 week to Jan. 9		15.00
"	Florence Barber, 1 week to Jan. 9		15.00
" 12	Minnie J. Reynolds to Jan. 9		25.00
	Stamps		15.00
	Received from Nat'l Treasury by credit of Mrs. Catt's pledge	200.00	
	Deposited for Petition Fund by Mrs. Catt	200.00	
	Rachel Ezekiel - 1 week		15.00
" 16	Rose Ostertog - 1 week to date		15.00

Forward

Feb 15, 1909

Brought forward

1909		Receipts	Expenses
Jan. 29	Louis Weiss & Co., printing		\$121.75
	Telephones		2.48
	Express		16.30
	Stamps		5.00
	Louis Weiss & Co, printing		33.25
	Postage (Missouri)		10.00
		\$1562.05	\$1562.05

Brought forward

[Feb 15, 1909]

1909		Receipts	Expenses
Jan.	Florence Barber		
Jan. 16	RECEIPTS - 1 week to date		\$15.00
" 19	Stamps		20.00
" 21	Minnie J. Reynolds- 1 week to Jan. 19		25.00
	Hotel Martha Washington, rent of room "K" to Feb. 1		20.00
	Hotel Martha Washington, rent of room "M" to Feb. 1		37.50
	Hotel Martha Washington for express to date		22.00
	Rachel Ezekiel- week ending Jan. 23		15.00
	Underwood typewriter to Feb. 1 (2 weeks)		2.00
	Remington typewriter for 2 weeks, 2 machines to Feb. 1		3.50
	Louis Weiss & Co., 2000 envelopes		8.50
	" " " " , stationery		42.40
" 23	Rose Ostertog- 1 week		15.00
	Florence Barber- 1 week		15.00
	Underwood typewriter ribbon		1.00
" 26	Minnie J. Reynolds - 1 week to date		25.00
	Stamps		10.00
	Hotel Martha Washington, telephones to date		8.16
	A. G. & P. C. carbon paper		2.25
	Stamps		10.00
	Deposited for Petition Fund by Mrs. Catt	135.76	
" 29	Rachel Ezekiel - week ending Jan. 30		15.00
	Rose Ostertog - week ending Jan. 30		15.00
	Florence Barber - week ending Jan. 30		15.00
	Minnie J. Reynolds		15.00
	Miss Chafin		16.00
	Stamps, etc.		5.00
	Wheeler & Bosworth, printing		2.00

Forward

Moylan, Pa.,
Feb. 28, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Mrs. Boyer and will ask you to vote in regard to future work in that State. You will note from her letter that the vote had not been taken before the House, although it was stated in the Woman's Journal yesterday that it had. I have not seen it anywhere else, and fear that Miss Blackwell concluded that because they had had a Hearing, the vote had been carried,- as she states in the Journal that it had a majority in the House but does not give the figures.

I do not understand exactly why if there was a majority, as claimed, in the House in Oklahoma the Bill was introduced in the Senate with a Committee known to be antagonistic to us. I have asked Mrs. Boyer twice to explain the reason and she has failed to reply to either letter. If there really was a majority in the House, it seems to me it would have been good politics to have first introduced the Bill into the House ~~xxxx~~ and then have it go to the Senate with the prestige of the House back of it. Then, if it failed in the Senate, the women could go before the State with the claim that it had carried in the larger body and been defeated in the smaller,- whereas by introducing it in the Senate, which was known to be antagonistic to us, and have it defeated there it would be difficult to bring it up in the House; even if carried there it could not become a law.

I have greatly regretted that Mrs. Boyer has not answered this point in any of her letters, and just ~~why~~ how, if the measure has not come to a vote, it is known that the House is favorable. I have been trying all winter, as I have stated, to get an answer from Mrs. Boyer,- but have failed,

[Feb. 28, 1909]

A telegram was received by Mrs. Avery from Mrs. Fitch stating that the full suffrage measure had carried in the lower House in South Dakota, and it was probable that it would carry in the upper House, but we have not learned whether or not that has been done. In a letter to me, the Governor stated that if it passed the lower House there would be very little doubt of its passing the upper House.

Never before has any Governor of any State done for us what the Governor of South Dakota has. He has actually taken the lobby for us, and has used his influence in every way to bring the foreign members to a realization of their error in voting down the measure. I want to say right here to the newspaper members of our Board that no recognition of this should be made in public in any way. While personally we may write letters of appreciation to the Governor, we should not do anything publicly in regard to it. Now that there is a prospect of our having a campaign in Washington and South Dakota, the less we say in advance ^{to the papers} about our work, and what we are doing and propose to do, the better it will be for us. It is a mighty poor general who announces in a bulletin his plan of campaign and informs the enemy each day what he intends to do the next. I think we should be careful not to allow the newspaper instinct to overcome our judgment and interfere with the success of our work by informing our enemies just where to move before we have struck our blow.

Dic.
Encl.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

P. S. You have all received from Mrs. Upton a copy of the article of the Oklahoma Constitution in regard to the number of signatures required to call for a Referendum, and that the vote on the Initiative by the electors, in order to carry the measure, requires that it shall be approved by the majority of the votes cast in such election.

This, of course, does not mean the votes cast upon the question, but a majority of the votes cast on any question or officer at the election at which this measure is voted. I believe it is true that an amendment, no matter how popular, has never been carried in any State when such a vote is demanded to carry it.

Moylan, Penna.,
Feb. 28, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I have so much to write about that I fear I shall have to ~~make~~^{write} several Official Board letters. In this one I will enclose a copy of a letter received from Miss Clay, informing us of the work up to date in Arizona. A letter more recently received from Miss Clay by Mrs. Avery says that as she was able to manage local conditions herself for a short time, Miss Gregg has gone to New Mexico. I am very glad of this arrangement, for I think we will in that way get a clearer idea of what can be done in both territories.

You will remember that Mrs. Bolles has written several times to many different people urging that she be paid to go and work in the Legislature at Santa Fe, and I think it was almost the unanimous opinion of the Board that Mrs. Bolles was hardly the woman to deal with a western legislature. She is not only an elderly woman, but decidedly New England in her type and has had little or no experience outside of the State of Rhode Island. A short time since, not receiving a satisfactory reply from the Official Board, Mrs. Bolles wrote several people in Rhode Island, and perhaps other places, asking them to contribute money toward her expenses in Santa Fe. One of these letters was sent to Miss Sarah J. Eddy, who wrote me in regard to it asking if the work was desired by us and stating that she would be willing to contribute \$50. toward it. I asked Miss Eddy to wait until I heard from Miss Clay. The next letter I received from Miss Clay stated that they had telegraphed Mrs. Bolles to go to Santa Fe, but had not yet heard from her. I then wrote Miss Eddy saying that Mrs. Bolles had been sent for and thanked her for her offer to contribute toward the expenses of the work in New Mexico, but asked her if she would send her contribution to the National Treasury in order that

[Feb 28, 1909]

the money might be paid to Mrs. Bolles in a legitimate way.

I must confess that this habit of people writing to others for money, and for other things, is growing, and it is one which I feel we ought to check as far as possible. There is a woman in New York now soliciting money for suffrage work who is not at all associated with any society and not responsible to any one, but of course the people from whom she solicits do not know. I am informed that she is securing a number of contributions during these exciting times. Do you not think it would be a good thing for us to insert a paragraph in Progress and other suffrage papers asking those who contribute money to the National work to do so directly through their own State Treasurer or through the Treasurer of the National Association, - stating that word has come to us that people are soliciting money for the Suffrage Association who have not been authorized to do so, either by their own Society or by the National?

You will note in Miss Clay's letter that she speaks of securing a typewriter and stenographer. Without waiting for a vote of the Official Board, Mrs. Avery, in my absence, suggested to Miss Clay that she purchase a typewriter as one would be needed for the Legislative Headquarters at Washington, and as soon as they are through with it in Arizona it could be shipped to Washington. I also, without waiting for a vote of the Board, wrote to Miss Clay immediately and told her to secure a stenographer. When anything needs to be done at once in order to make it effective, there is little use in waiting at least three weeks or more, which would be the time required to get a letter here from Arizona to the members of the Board and then back ~~here~~^{there} again, before answering because then the answer would be of little importance. It is also useless to pay the expenses of a person for any definite kind of work unless we give her the tools with which to work; and so I took it upon myself (as I have several times this winter in emergencies) to tell Miss Clay to go ahead,

[Feb 28, 1909]

knowing the Official Board would vote favorably in regard to any necessary mechanical assistance needed in the field. In fact, I think the person who responds as Miss Clay did to a call for immediate duty, should not have to ask for every little bit of help,- especially when she is a member of the Official Board and knows the attitude of the Board toward the work needed to be done. This is particularly true in the case of Miss Clay, whom we all know to be very careful and conscientious in the expenditure of money. I am going to ask you to vote upon this matter however, and upon your vote will depend the continuance of the employment of a stenographer.

You will remember that at the annual Convention in Buffalo one thousand dollars were set apart from the Thomas-Garrett Fund for the organization of working women, some of which was to be expended in New England and part in Illinois. So far, very little of this Fund has been called for, as the workers have been busy along other lines; but now that Legislative Hearings are over the organization of working women will be more generally taken up.

I had a conference with Mrs. Avery yesterday who, as Chairman of the Working Women's Organizations in Philadelphia, has had during the last winter an unusually active and successful woman who has so thoroughly stirred up the local Labor Unions in and around Philadelphia that scores of meetings have been held, and they are now ready for a large gathering to call them together for organization. Mrs. Avery asks if \$100. of this organization fund among working women may not be used for this purpose? I believe her request should be granted, because it is in a direct line for which this money was set apart, and the work has been done in a most excellent way. The foundation is well laid and what is needed now at the height of public enthusiasm, is a large public meeting with some labor leaders to address the working people. This we feel will be a splendid culmination of the winter's work in local Labor Unions. I am going to ask you to vote upon allowing Mrs. Avery \$100. of this one thousand for this purpose.

Faithfully, *Amelia H. Chan*

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.

First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.

Second Vice President, 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,

6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Ella S. Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Moylan, Pa., Feb. 27, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

When your letter arrived I was in the wilds of Maine and just returned from various gatherings last night. Lucy sent the part of your letter to Mrs. Avery which referred to the typewriter and stenographer, and I suppose Mrs. Avery has answered it. She is to come over this afternoon to talk with me and I will then learn. I should of course if I had time get a vote of the Business Committee in regard to this matter, but there is not time, for by the time a letter should get out and back and then to you, it would be too late to be of value and then I do not think it is necessary to ask the vote of the Committee upon every little item of expense connected with everything gotten for the work which we have ordered. The business committee ordered this work done if advisable, and consequently such an important thing as a stenographer and a typewriter goes with the need of the work. Therefore, I am going to say on my own responsibility with yourself and Mrs. Avery and myself nearly making half of the committee in any way to go ahead and get the machine. I think it is much better to buy one. If you can get it for \$75. by advertising in "Progress" but I suppose Mrs. Upton would have to get it for you in that case. Could you agree with the Underwood people to have the advertising done and get it right there in Arizona. I will write Mrs. Upton today and she can tell you, or perhaps you have written her; as this matter will have to be decided between you, do not stop to consult with me. In regard to a stenographer, of course, it might be possible for you to employ one part of the time if you could find someone who is engaged somewhere else. You would not probably need her all the time, or have her long, but my advice is to get one for all that you need, because this is a great waste of money to use Miss Gregg typewriting, if there is field work she can do to advantage. If so, as I have said, but you are on the ground and your judgment in such matters is better than that of us at this distance, and so I give you what authority I may have to do anything and everything which you feel is necessary to be done, because immediate action is of the greatest importance. You only have a few weeks in which to work and if you spend the time writing back and forth about every little matter you lose all the opportunities and advantages which quick action may give you.

In regard to how much money you should spend for the stenographer, that of course is a matter which I cannot decide here because we do not know what they cost, or how long you need her or anything about it. My advice is to get one and use her as much as it is absolutely necessary and then pay her what you have to; whatever that may be. There is no other way for it and it is a waste of time to stop and discuss. I feel perfectly helpless so far away and have the fullest confidence in your judgment and that of Miss Gregg, to act according as conditions demand. I am sure that no one would be

[Feb 27, 1909]

-2-

more careful of expenses than you are.

I have sent a copy of the portion of your letter in regard to the work to the business committee in order that they may know what is being done.

I am also going to prepare a business committee letter and send it to you in a few days, upon other points which I am sure you will be interested to know about and upon which I want your judgment as well as that of other members of the committee.

Faithfully,

Anna W. Shaw

Incomplete

Phoenix, Arizona.

Febr. 26th, 1909.

My dear Miss Haw,

Your letter of Febr. 19th has been received. By letters which ought to have reached you before this you will see that Miss Gregg and I thought it best to help Mrs. Bolles before the New Mexico legislature; and she went the evening of Febr. 20th. I heard from her this morning. She says Mrs. Bolles was not there to meet her; and that there are 15 feet of snow on the track between Humboldt and Santa Fe; that if Mrs. Bolles does not come soon she will interview some of the men by herself. I have heard from Mrs. Boyer that our bill has been defeated in the Senate. Such enormous expense as we underwent in Oregon and Oklahoma without success makes me feel that we must not lose a chance to get it by legislative action in Arizona and New Mexico. Therefore, in view of Mrs. Avery's information that S. Dakota may yet pass our bill, I want to write at once that I still think Miss Gregg ought to work in Arizona organizing till the Seattle Convention. There is every chance that the tainted bill will pass in the extra session of Congress; which lasts only ten weeks. The members of the Constitutional Convention must be elected within 60 days of its passage, and sit almost immediately. Therefore anything which is to be done in Arizona must be done at once, whilst S. Dakota can wait awhile. Besides, from Miss Gregg's report of the women there three seem to be able to work advantageously, namely, Mrs. Fitch, Mrs. Pettogrew and Miss Powers. It is decidedly my opinion that the National should help these financially and let them go to work, provide our bill still passes.

I noticed with joy that the Washington Governor signed the suffrage bill Febr. 25th. This means work for our women there, also. But I want

RECORDING SECRETARY
FRANCES ELLEN BURR, Hartford,
102 Windsor Ave.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
ELLA B. KENDRICK, Hartford.

TREASURER
MARY J. ROGERS, Meriden, 82 Akron St.

AUDITORS
JULIA E. KENYON, New Haven
ALICE G. FORD, New Haven

DEPT OF CHURCH WORK
CORR THOMSON SAGE, Collinsville

DEPT OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY
ELLA REEVE BLOOR, Waterbury

Connecticut
Woman Suffrage Association

PRESIDENT, ELIZABETH D. BACON, HARTFORD
106 CAPEN STREET

VICE-PRESIDENT AT LARGE, ANNIE C. S. FENNER
NEW LONDON

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT, MRS. B. M. PARSONS
HARTFORD

COUNTY VICE-PRESIDENTS

Hartford County
ELIZABETH J. WARREN, Collinsville

New Haven County
HANNAH F. STURGES, New Haven

Windham County
ELLA S. BENNETT, Willimantic

New London County
ETTA S. CHAPMAN, Niantic

Fairfield County
FLORENCE POHLMAN LEE, Glenbrook

Litchfield County
MARY C. HICKOX, Washington Depot



Hartford, Conn., Feb. 9th 1929.

My Dear Miss Shaw:-

Although I have no idea when our bills (Municipal Suffrage and for Constitutional amendment) will be given a hearing I am desirous to learn if we could secure you for either or both, if it can be arranged for them to come near together.

Financially we are bankrupt, for we have been spending beyond our means for organization and petition work.

I have personally solicited money and the Treasurer has solicited through writing from those she thought might contribute. Our club (the Equal Rights Club) contributed to the State Assn two weeks ago \$22. which saved the situation for the time being. All this means we cannot pay a speaker a large amount, therefore you must take that into consideration before accepting the invitation to speak before the legislative committee.

We have never been fortunate enough to have you present our cause to our lawmakers, possibly we are aspiring too high but no one else could present the justice of our cause so well as you can. I hope you are to be in Boston on the 23rd. Possibly we might secure a hearing near that time. Last week the Constitutional committee had not even organized. Business goes slow at the

[Feb 9, 1909]

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Hartford, Conn.,

Beginning of the session, I shall be glad to hear from you soon in regard to this matter.

I am enclosing a part of a letter I received a few days since from my sister, Mrs. Bolles of New Haven thinking it may be of some interest to you.

Undoubtedly you will be glad to learn that Mrs. Bolson organized three clubs among men & women in Industry and they are doing fine. I am mothering the one here as the officers are young men and women and desire my assistance though I remain in the back ground ready to aid if necessary. The meetings are very interesting. Truly one present at the last meeting. Mrs. Bolson did preliminary work for organizations in several other places but we were forced to give up the work for the present. I have organized a club in New Britain. Isn't that a hopeful record for Connecticut?

Yours sincerely,

Elizabeth D. Bacon.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Moylan, Penna.,
Feb. 9, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I am sending you a copy of a letter which I have just received from Mrs. Bolles, and I will ask you and Miss Gregg to look it over and see what you think would better be done. Personally, I am opposed to employing and paying Mrs. Bolles, but if you think something could be done, and that it was advisable for either one of you to go to New Mexico, I will stand by whatever decision you may reach in the matter. Certainly Mrs. Bolles' letters show one of two things; either that she is very anxious for a job for herself, or else she is dead in earnest for a woman suffrage bill to be presented to this legislature. Perhaps you would be able to find out better than I can from this great distance,- so if you have no objection I will turn over this whole matter of Arizona and New Mexico to you and Miss Gregg.

Now, in regard to your suggestion of the method of organizing Arizona: I want to frankly confess that I have very little faith in that method of organization, and I feel that if it were attempted generally throughout the States, it would only be a matter of a very short time before we have no organization at all; but in regard to Arizona,- I think it is very different. While we have no authority for organizing on such lines in regular State organizations, I do think it would be very well to attempt it in organizing for a campaign. As that is about all we will probably do in Arizona, I think there would be no harm,- on the other hand, it would be quite helpful to attempt organization along the lines

2--Miss C.

[Feb 9, 1909]

you suggest, and I would raise no objection to it.

Mrs. Avery, who has been going over the ground of the National work with me this morning (as I am home only for three days, leaving tomorrow morning early for New York again), agrees with your suggestion for Arizona, but not for regular State organization. I should call it a campaign suffrage organization rather than a State suffrage organization, - then if it falls through, as soon as our National workers leave the State it will not be a bug bear in the way of future organization.

I received a telegram from Miss Gregg last night which read as follows, as nearly as I could get it over the phone: "Set work in Congress to illiminate the word male from Arizona Constitution. Arizona will not object." Now, I understood from that that you wished us to set the wheels in motion in Washington to illiminate the word male from the suffrage clause of the new State Constitution for Arizona. That was the principal ground covered by Mrs. Avery and myself to-day. It is decided that she shall go to Washington and interview varicus Senators and Congressmen from the enfranchised States to see what can be done along this line. Mrs. Avery is certainly giving herself and her whole time in a most generous way to the work, and seems like herself of fifteen or twenty years ago. She looks well, and young, and strong, and seems to enjoy it.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Dic.

Enc.

[Feb. 9, 1909]

(COPY)

Lumberton, N. Mex.,

Jan. 31, 1909.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

Yours of the 27th received to-day. I had made up my mind before getting it that you would not conclude to do anything in New Mexico this winter. I must say I am sorry for this decision, for I believe there is a chance to do good work with our legislature at this time. But it would require a worker on the spot to get such a bill as we want introduced into the legislature. Without some one there, the measure would not be even thought of, so there is positively no chance to accomplish anything as long as we take no steps to do it. If I had \$150. to spare, I would go to Santa Fe and see what could be done. I think that amount of money could be made to cover all expenses. I mean to try to raise it if I can and hope, if I do so, the N.A.W.S.A. will be willing to stand back of me in my effort to induce the legislature to pass a woman suffrage bill. I should dislike very much to see New Mexico come into the Union as a state before any effort was made to secure woman suffrage in it as a territory.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Ellen M. Bolles.

P. S. If Miss Gregg will write to me from Phoenix, I shall be glad to correspond with her.

E.M.B.

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

President, MRS. ELLA HAWLEY CROSSETT, Warsaw
Vice-President-at-Large, MISS HARRIET MAY MILLS,
 926 West Genesee St., Syracuse
Recording Secretary, MRS. NICOLAS SHAW FRASER, Genesee
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Treasurer, MRS. ANNIE E. MERRITT,
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 { MRS. HENRY VILLARD,
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 MRS. MARCUS E. CALKINS, Ithaca
 MRS. ADDIE M. MURRAY, Elmira
 MRS. ROXY B. BURROWS, Andover
 MRS. MARTHA F. PRATHER, Jamestown
 MRS. M. A. B. MEDCALF, Nunda
 MRS. LUCY P. ALLEN, Easton
 DR. HARRIET M. DOANE, Fulton
 MRS. DENNIS EVARTS, Holley
 MRS. E. E. PECK, Batavia
 MRS. MARY E. HOLLIDAY, Valley Falls
 MRS. CARRIE V. BALLINTINE, Warsaw
 MRS. C. A. BALDRIDGE, Geneva
 MRS. P. E. DORR, Herkimer
 MISS ELECTA E. WOOD, Waterloo
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 MISS CARRIE BURGESS, Schenectady
 MRS. ANNA C. ETZ, Hornell
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 MRS. EDWARD FLINT, Mount Vernon
 MRS. BELLE DE RIVERA, New York
 MRS. ELIZABETH GRANNIS, New York.
 MRS. A. S. CAPWELL, Buffalo
 MRS. JOHN SHEPPARD, Penn Yan
 MRS. F. J. TONE, Niagara Falls
 MRS. W. C. GANNETT, Rochester
 MRS. MARIE F. LEE, Little Valley

Albany, N. Y., February 2, 1909.

Miss Laura Clay,

Phoenix, Ariz.

My Dear Miss Clay:-

Your two letters have been forwarded to me at Albany and I rejoice in your ability and willingness to start for Arizona at once. I do hope that you may find things there more favorable than you had expected and that you can see some little indication at least that the Legislature may do something or failing in that, that it will be worth while to try to get Suffrage in the Constitution of the new State.

I have just received letters from Laura Gregg stating that she is bringing all around good feeling in South Dakota, and that while she is not sure that a full Suffrage amendment can be carried to the present Tax Paying Bill she is doing what she can to help it along. But just as soon as there is any decision one way or another and she finds that they will not put in the full Suffrage amendment or that they will not defeat the Tax Paying Suffrage Bill, then she will go to Arizona to help you, but I have told her to keep busy in South Dakota until she hears from you and that just as soon as you look the ground over and learn what the conditions are you will let her know and if she leaves South Dakota and you think it is best she will go right to you in Arizona. If you do not think it is worth her while then let her know that and we will start her off in some other field, but I am very glad that you are going there so that we may have some definite idea of what is being done or at least what we hope can be done.

I am very glad you could get Mrs. Clay to leave her home and go to Lexington for a time and look after the Petition work. I do hope that we can work up that Petition and really make a showing of it. I think we should make it as

Feb 2, 1909

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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Vice-President-at-Large, MISS HARRIET MAY MILLS,
926 West Genesee St., Syracuse
Recording Secretary, MRS. NICOLAS SHAW FRASER, Genesee
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Treasurer, MRS. ANNIE E. MERRITT,
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 145 West 58th St., New York

STATE HEADQUARTERS, 926 WEST GENESSEE ST., SYRACUSE, N. Y.
ALBANY HEADQUARTERS, 21 SOUTH HAWK STREET

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MRS. MARIE F. LEE, Little Valley

spectacular a display as possible when we take it to Congress in order to get newspaper advertisement.

The best joke which has happened yet on the anti-suffragists is a letter which they have sent to Governor Hughes, which came out in to-day's paper, begging him to appoint women on various boards. The strongest Suffragists in the land could not have asked for more, but they close up by saying, that they do not want to risk the country by voting. If I can find another paper that has it in I will send you a copy. I am sure it will warm the 'cockles of your heart' although I must confess I have never yet learned what "the cockles of your heart are, But I have always heard that everything that is amusing warms them but I am sure yours would be warmed up over this ridiculous and absurd letter coming from anti-suffragists. Without the last line it would be good Suffrage literature.

Never did I see times so lively as they are here in this part of the world now. If I was triplets I could not accept all the invitations that are coming, which are really important.

I speak at the Maine Hearing on the 17th and the Massachusetts Hearing on the 23rd and here in Albany on the 24th of this month, and the other days of the month I fill with other engagements so that I feel measurably content at being kept busy. I shall be quite anxious to hear what you find in Arizona. In regard to your financial statement I think it is a very generous one and I am very sure one which the Association would be very glad to accept. You will of course send your bills in to Mrs. Upton.

Wishing you good success, I am,
Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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.,
Feb. 8, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I returned home yesterday afternoon, and this morning confronted a pile of letters so high on my desk that it is literally true that I cannot see over them unless I stand up. As I am obliged to leave early on Wednesday morning, I am going to devote the entire time of these two days, except when I go into the City to speak to-night, dictating to my stenographer, and she will get the letters off after I leave for New York on Wednesday. The number of calls which are being made upon my time in every direction is encouraging as well as appalling. I am positively driven to my wits end, and my head is simply a confused mass of demands calling me in every direction. The one comfort to me is that I am speaking well, so people tell me, and I judge that is true from the number of people who ask me to speak for them after they have attended the meeting. I sometimes wonder how I do it when I feel so stupid, or rather so confused as I have the last two weeks,- and yet when I am speaking I am conscious that I carry on the thread of my discourse logically, but when I come home, after being gone some days, and confronted by such a mass of correspondence, it almost drives me into a panic.

By this time Miss Gregg will be with you, as I had given her instructions that the moment the Bill passed, or was voted down/ in South Dakota, to go immediately to Arizona. Now that you and she are on the ground together, I think it is wise to leave the decision of what ~~we~~ our Association ^{shall there} ~~will~~ do entirely in your hands. As far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing to vote for any line of action which appeals to

2--Miss C.

[Feb 8, 1909]

you in council with the Arizona women as advisable, and I therefore wish that you, as the National representative, in cooperation with Miss Gregg, would decide upon the line of procedure, and rest assured that I will cooperate with you in any plan which seems advisable. If something needs to be done at once, I beg of you not to wait and miss the opportunity simply to consult with the Official Board, for in such a movement as this there are times when to wait for consultation would lose the opportunity for success. Sometimes we must act upon our own initiative and then take the consequences; but when we have done what we believed to be for the best, we can afford to take the consequences better than to let disaster overtake us through a faltering, hesitating policy.

I beg of you not to leave Arizona too soon because of a little trifling, additional expense if you remain. It is best for us to know what we can do than it is to be as undecided as we have ^{been} for lack of proper information,- so I hope you will limit your stay by your own business and convenience, and by the needs of the Association.

While I am greatly disappointed in the result in South Dakota, I am far happier that the whole thing fell through than that ^a property suffrage bill should have carried. I think Miss Gregg's presence there has done a great deal toward keeping the peace and leaving things in a better shape than they would have been if she had not gone.

I think your advise to Mrs. Munds was ~~very~~ good when you told her the fear of woman suffrage prompted the gentleman to claim that an endeavor to secure it would endanger statehood. Personally, I do not think it would endanger statehood at all, but if it did ^{it} ~~that~~ would not have the least influence upon me in endeavoring to secure it. I have reached that point where I will not hesitate for a moment to seek to secure woman suffrage, no matter what the results may be to other measures. We have waited long enough for other measures, and I for one will not wait for any

3--Miss C.

[Feb 8, 1909]

thing further in this country. When I read the list of names of the men who voted us down in the Legislature in South Dakota, and find there is scarcely one of them which is pronounced in the English language, I feel that list should be published and sent to every American man to shame him that he has permitted the women of his country to be disfranchised until their permanent disfranchisement may be fastened upon them by such a mass of foreign people. It is an outrage, which ought to make the blood of every American woman boil.

I wish you would accept this letter for both yourself and Miss Gregg, and that one letter to either of you will do for both, as I am so hurried it is impossible for me to write to both. Please convey to Miss Gregg my sincere gratitude and appreciation for the good work she did in South Dakota, and my regret that she was not there soon enough to prevent the introduction of the Bill which, I believe, has cost us the State,- for I have little doubt that if the proper measure had been introduced in the beginning, and proper management had been carried on during the Hearings, that the question would have been submitted. That it came so near to carrying, amazes me.

With sincere regards, I am

Faithfully,

Annie H. Shaw

Dic.

Moylan, Penna.,
Feb. 2, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I enclose a copy of a letter just received from Mrs. Catt in regard to the petition work, which, on January 30th, she turned over to Mrs. Avery and the Legislative Headquarters at Washington.

There has been an immense amount of work done. Mrs. Catt has daily gone to the office and worked tirelessly day after day. If all the officers and delegates at the Buffalo Convention, who voted to carry on the petition work, had cooperated with one-half the zeal, which has characterized her service, the task would have been greatly simplified and a million names easily secured.

Mrs. Catt sails Feb. 13th. I would like the unanimous vote of the Official Board to send to the ship a letter of appreciation and thanks.

I am to be in New York for several meetings. The meeting at Mrs. Mackay's, at which I spoke, was declared a great success. Oh, but it was fine, and somewhat amusing.

Faithfully,

Enc.

Anna H. Shaw
Feb 2.

*Financial statement not yet received.
Will forward as soon as it comes.
Feb. 6th.*

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.

First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.

Second Vice President, 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,

6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Ella S. Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Moylan, Penna.,

Feb. 12, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

It seems that the wrong letter was enclosed in your letter to-day, as this is the one which should have been sent to you. It was sent by Mrs. Bolles to Mrs. Bacon, her sister, and Mrs. Bacon forwarded it to me.

I do not think it is worth while to pay \$150. to Mrs. Bolles, but I presume you will know better what to do in regard to it than I will at this distance.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Encl.

Anna H. Shaw
Per Y.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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OFFICE OF
THE HONORARY PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Moylan, Penna.,
Feb. 12, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

Immediately on receiving Miss Gregg's telegram, I had an interview with Mrs. Avery, as I wrote you, and on the following night she started for Washington to do what she could to put in motion such influences as we might have there.

Immediately after my interview with her, I left for New York, and on the following day your letter came. Lucy forwarded it to Mrs. Avery in Washington at once, so she has it there with her. As I have not seen it, I, of course, cannot reply to it directly, but I am sending you this information that you may know we have acted promptly and are doing everything in our power at this end of the line. What a magnificent thing it would be for us if we could win Arizona this year? I certainly hope we may have such a victory, for with all the aroused enthusiasm all over the country, the winning of a State would put us upon our feet, and I believe many more would follow.

I am enclosing a letter which Mrs. Bacon of Connecticut has just sent me, Mrs. Bolles has been trying very hard, as you know, to be sent to Sante Fe to work. Personally she would not impress me as one who could be very successful with a body of legislators, but, of course, I do not know exactly how successful she might be in New Mexico. I think, however, it would be well to move slowly before employing her, and I am going to turn the letter over to you and Miss Gregg and ask your advice. Of course, if anything is to be done, it must be done immediately, as their legislature will soon adjourn.

Just as soon as Mrs. Avery returns from Washington, we will report the result of her interviews there.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Moylan, Penna.,
Feb. 10, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

You have all doubtless heard that the tax paying suffrage bill, which was introduced into the South Dakota Legislature by the W.C.T.U., and which the State Suffrage Association attempted to endorse, and which created much confusion and discord, passed the Senate by a large majority; but on being taken into the House the tax paying clause was immediately eliminated from the bill, which left it a bill for full suffrage. It was defeated by a vote of 32 to 38, so that a change of four votes would have carried it; and I have no doubt that if such a large vote was secured under the circumstances, that had the bill been properly introduced in the beginning, and if our women had taken care of their own bill and not followed in the wake of the W.C.T.U., it would have undoubtedly carried. This is a very great disappointment to me, for I really believe, with proper management, we could have secured the measure. However, I was so happy over the defeat of the tax paying suffrage bill that I do not feel as badly over the defeat of the full suffrage bill as I otherwise would.

I enclose a copy of a letter received from the Governor, and my reply. Evidently the ladies who informed him of my action only told half the truth, which is always worse than an entire falsehood, and he did not understand the situation.

Laura Gregg, acting upon my suggestion, left immediately for Arizona after the vote was taken, where in company with Miss Clay she is now at work. I received a telegram from them last night asking us to put in motion influences at Washington to try to secure the elimination of the word male from the suffrage clause of the new Constitution for the

2--O.B.

[Feb 10, 1909]

new State. Mrs. Avery and I have been consulting together in regard to it, and she has decided to go to Washington and interview the Senators and Representatives from the enfranchised States, and others who are friendly to our cause, and see what can be done in this matter! Mrs. Avery is certainly throwing herself into the work in a most remarkable way, and is doing splendid service.

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Sperry stating that their bill was lost in the Assembly by only two votes, - 37 to 39. She says they are now ready to begin the petition work, but she wants financial help from the National. Just here I wish to state that she is but one of several of the State Presidents who have demanded financial assistance in doing petition work. I do not see how it is possible for us to furnish it, for if we begin with one State there will be no end to it. It does seem to me that this is a line of work which the individual suffragist, who has been crying for service, could easily do.

I am much gratified, however, at the way in which the work is being taken up, and the good sense which so many people are showing in their attitude toward it; so many people are saying it is giving them just the chance they needed to approach people, and enables them to do good work.

There is one State, however, whose demand for money differs from the others, and that is Wisconsin. Rev. Olympia Brown wants to borrow \$300. for one year. I wish you ^{would} reply to this point, whether or not you are willing to loan this sum to Mrs. Brown. She does not say what form of security she will furnish, simply that she wishes to borrow the money.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw
Per G.

Dic.

Enc.

Feb 10, 1909

(Copy)

Executive Department,
State of South Dakota,
Pierre,

Jan. 26, 1909.

Miss Anna Shaw,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

Just received word today that you have sent a telegram to the ladies of Pierre who are interested in the Suffrage question here, to amend the bill so that it will be a full Suffrage measure.

In my judgment, the friends of the Suffrage movement in this State, who are on the ground, should be entitled to use their judgment in the way that they deem best for legislation on this question, and I believe that they are introducing the only bill that has a chance of passing the Legislature so as to bring the Suffrage question before the voters of the state.

I introduced a full suffrage bill in the Senate two years ago and was enabled to get the measure through the Senate, but when it got to the House, where the majority was largely foreign, as it is this year, the bill was defeated, and I believe the same thing would occur in this Legislature,

There is a strong chance, if the efforts are united, of getting the present bill through the legislature, provided the real question itself is not brought up in the House for full and free discussion. The right of 10,000 petitioners to bring before the voters of the state a change in the Constitution should carry in both branches of the legislature, regardless of how the individual legislators personally feel on the

Feb 10, 1909

question itself.

I think this would be a great advance in favor of the suffrage movement, and would bring about full suffrage within a few years.

I take the liberty of writing this letter because I am very much interested in this matter, and hope the measure that is now before the House will prevail.

With kind personal regards, I am

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) R. S. Vessey.

Dic. AW

Governor of South Dakota.