

Meylan, Pa.,
March 19, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board,

I enclose copies of letters from Mrs. Biggers and Mrs. Boyer, which were received last night.

You will realize that it is absolutely impossible for me to comply with Mrs. Boyer's request to telegraph my reply, as I cannot reply until I receive the decision of the Official Board. As Mrs. Boyer has already sent a copy of the letter which she sent to me to Miss Clay, Miss Gordon and Mrs. Upton, I am sending a copy of it to the remaining members of the Board.

You will see how necessary it is that I should receive replies immediately in order that Mrs. Boyer may not remain in the State at unnecessary expense to herself, since her time with the National Association expired with the close of the Legislative session.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Thayer

Dic.

Encl.

Mar. 19, 1909

(COPY)

Marlow, Okla., March 15, 1909.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Your letter dated March 10 has just been received. We live in the country on a rural route and mails are sometimes delayed in reaching us, particularly such mail as reaches Marlow on Saturday.

We had just mailed letters to you and several members of the Business Committee in which we explained what we thought a very unusual opportunity to carry on work by initiative petition. I really feel as if this initiative petition plan as suggested by Mr. Charkis our last opportunity for suffrage in this state for years to come. It is impossible for us to collect 40,000 signatures. That is a task too great for one state organization to undertake, as these signatures must be of registered voters.

The legislature extended its session to March 12 and each day an attempt was made to call the vote on our bill. There may be a special session of the legislature, at which time we have the assurance of some of the democrats (insurgents) that our bill will be called up; as the House bill differs slightly from the resolution introduced in the Senate it will be referred to the Senate and Mr. Yeager thinks he can get enough votes to pass it. We do not feel so hopeful and the special session is not assured. Therefore the initiative petition seems to be our next step. This we do not feel able to carry without the assistance of the National.

We are hoping that this new proposition regarding the combination for the circulation of petitions will lead the Business Com. to reconsider its decision to withdraw help from Okla. This has been explained in the letters mailed this morning. I will await your telegraph reply.

The Socialists have asked us to notify them as soon as possible of our purpose to continue or abandon the campaign. If we decide to

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continue they will lend us their assistance, if we abandon the work they wish to proceed immediately to institute a campaign for woman suffrage by the Socialist Party.

Mrs. Boyer will remain with me for the coming week and then go up to Oklahoma City and close up the work there unless we hear favorably from you. We will try and act upon your suggestion concerning a meeting while Mrs. Boyer is still in the state and try to formulate some plans for future work.

Miss Clay's experience in Arizona was precisely the same as ours here in the Senate. Several were traitors to pledges made not only verbally but in writing.

We have sufficient clerical work to keep us busy while awaiting your telegraph reply.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

Kate E. Biggers.

(COPY)

Mar 23, 1909

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Well at last we have gotten a conference called. As I wrote you - Mrs. Pickler had sent for me to come to Faulkton, and I went. She received me very cordially, and was very nice to me. But it took a lot of talk to get her to see the importance of calling a conference immediately; she made the plea that she could not leave home for two weeks on account of the expected confinement of her daughter; and she was not willing to have the conference without her, but when I finally, as a last resort, told her that there would be a terrible row with the other officers, she agreed to call it next Tuesday, but would call it in Faulkton instead of Pierre, and from this decision she would not recede. So I hurried back to lay the matter before those here, and we have been in caucus all day. I sent for Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower to come, for I felt that there must be a caucus of those who were standing together, so that they would know what they were going to stand for, and as they are now in the majority I think we are really going to get a good strong plan worked out. These five women are so strong and so splendid. Tomorrow we are going to interview the Governor's wife and the President of the State Federation to try to get them to go on the Campaign Committee. Then before we go to Faulkton we are going to get a conference with the Governor and get him to give us his ideas of a campaign plan.

It delights me to see the women taking hold with such ability, and I feel real hopeful tonight. But the thing that is troubling me is this:- The antis have already opened their press campaign and they are getting in some mighty effective work in the Sioux Falls papers, and also the Sioux Falls City dailies. The latter dailies circulate largely in S. Dakota, and the antis are stuffing them as well as the S.D. papers. Now of course Miss Bower's strong suit is her own initiative style. Mrs.

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Mar 22, 1909

Fitch will be splendid in lining up the county papers, and will probably get more editorial support for us than any one else could. But I don't know of any woman who has the wide world experience to handle these anti articles. Does the National intend to put in a press woman to help Mrs. Fitch and Miss Bower? I think she is badly needed, but please give your answer to me first, for I have not suggested such a thing, and if you have any idea of sending Miss Blackwell or Mrs. Boyer or any one else, I wish you would tell me, and I think I could suggest it in a way so that the State would ask for it, instead of you having to propose it. It will have to be handled very delicately, but there is a very great need.

When will Mrs. Avery come? I think the sooner the headquarters are opened the better. I am told that the antis have already engaged their headquarters in Sioux Falls, and that the eastern antis are going to send a man and a woman. So I hope our headquarters can be opened before long.

Lovingly,

(Signed) Laura

Pierre, S.D.

Riverview Hotel,

Mar. 18-1909.

Maylan, Pa.,
March 25, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing a copy of a letter written by Mrs. Dunaway to Mrs. DeVoe which was forwarded to me. It may be of interest to some of you.

I am also enclosing a copy of a letter from Mrs. Avery in regard to doing away with the Committee on Suffrage in the Senate, so that our cause may come before the judiciary rather than before this small and insignificant committee. I fear, however, it is too late to accomplish anything this year, because on account of the extra session of Congress the committees have already been appointed, and I am very sure it will be impossible to get any change after the appointments have been made; but it might be well to be thinking about it and devising a method by which we can bring the influence of the women of the country, if necessary, to bear upon their Congressmen to get it changed before another session of Congress two years hence. I do not think it can be done before the time of presenting our petition next winter.

I do not remember whether I have written you in regard to the \$100. donated to the Susan B. Anthony Fund by the Ladies of the Modern Maccabees. You will remember that soon after Miss Anthony died the National Council, at the suggestion of Mrs. Sewall, appointed her Chairman of a Committee to collect funds to erect a ^{monument} ~~monument~~ to Miss Anthony. We opposed the project from the first, and very little had been done about it; but last fall, while attending the meeting of the Council in Union City, the question was brought up and I explained to them Mrs. Sewall's relations to the Council, especially to the International Council, and the manner in which she had retained money belonging to that body without giving any account of it, and the way in which she secured the \$2000. from Miss Anthony, and the whole attitude of the National Council toward

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her. I simply told them the facts and that under no circumstances would our National Association do anything toward such a fund, and I knew that the heirs of Miss Anthony were bitterly opposed to it so long as Mrs. Sewall had any connection with it whatever.

After a good deal of talk, a motion was made to do away with the Committee and give up the project of raising the fund, and to turn over to the Woman Suffrage Association any funds which had already been raised by any of the societies belonging to the Council.

It seems that the Ladies of the Modern Maccabees were the only ones who had raised anything, and they had raised \$100. A short time since the Secretary of their organization wrote me asking to whom to send this \$100. They had confused our fund with that of the Rochester Society, thinking it should be sent to the Rochester building. I explained to her the two projects, one of which was an entirely independent one by the Rochester Society and the other the fund of the N.A.W.S.A., which was to be used for the cause, and left her to take her choice. I must confess I rather emphasized Miss Anthony's interest in the suffrage work, and the result was that they sent their \$100. to Mrs. Upton some time ago to be placed in the treasury to the credit of the Susan B. Anthony Fund. I acknowledged the gift in the name of our Association.

Mrs. Stewart, on the strength of the request of Wisconsin for the loan of \$300. to carry on the petition work (which, by the way, most of the members of the Board have not noticed or given me any answer to send to Mrs. Brown) suggests that it would be a good plan to have a loan fund which could be loaned out to societies who were in a tight pinch for some particular kind of work, with the expectation that it would be returned. The plan strikes me as a very good one, and I believe that at some future time it would be well to try it; for I am sure there are some states and clubs who, if they could have a little help, would be able to

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pay it back. There are others who receive help now, without thinking anything about it, who could pay it back if the money had been given them with the expectation of having them do so.

Faithfully,

Dic.



Encl.

Moylan, Pa., March 22, 1909 .

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I am sending you a copy of Miss Gregg's letter. So far none of the members of the Business Committee has given any opinion as to what should be done in South Dakota. I wish you would immediately send me your views of the best method of procedure. I have told you over and over again what I thought could be done. Now situations compell a change in plans. Now then, if you have any suggestions to make I wish you would do it immediately.

What do you think about Miss Gregg's suggestion of somebody immediately to be associated with Mrs. Fitch in press work ? It seems to me that this will make a rather long campaign and as we have no money at present to do it with I fear that we cannot carry on a strenuous campaign for so many months, but I do think the papers should be taken possession of at once if we can raise the money to do it.

I await your suggestions, and I hope I will not have long to wait, because I want to get as much of the South Dakota matter straightened out as possible before I leave for Europe.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Moylean, Pa.,

March 20, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

It is impossible for me to have copied all the letters which come from South Dakota, as it would require one stenographer to keep up with them. I have had to call in one extra one several times as it is.

Each officer stands alone. Mrs. Pickler, without consulting any one of them, telegraphed Miss Gregg not to go to South Dakota, and to me not to send her after she heard I had done so. In the mean time Mrs. Fitch, in whose hands Mrs. Pickler had placed the South Dakota work, telegraphed me to send her immediately, as nothing else would keep them from hopeless confusion. Mrs. Jeffries, who, to my mind, is the strongest if not the most pliable woman in the state, had both telegraphed and written to the same effect,- as did Mrs. Pettigrew and Mrs. Breeden. I felt that if there was not something done immediately to keep the South Dakota people from hopeless, internal war, there would be no use in attempting any work. So I again telegraphed Miss Gregg to go to Pierre at once.

Letters poured in on me from all sides. Mrs. Pickler wrote on one page of her letters that it was too soon for Miss Gregg or any one else to come, as they had not yet made their plans and it was too soon to get the executive meeting together, and on the next page she wrote that she had established headquarters and engaged a stenographer; that she had located the campaign headquarters in Faulkton at her home; that the woman she was going to make chairman of the campaign committee is in California; that she has decided on how the campaign shall be managed; that she had planned Miss Gregg's work, etc.,- all this and she has never said one word to her officers or consulted them in regard to anything. They are furious about it, and are demanding her resignation.

I believe if anyone can keep the peace and start them off right it is Miss Gregg, in whom both sides seem to have confidence,- all but

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Mrs. Pickler and Mrs. Simmons neither of whom want the suffragists to have anything to do with the work.

Just here the mail came with a fine manly letter from Mr. Fitch, a copy of which I enclose, as it is short. This is the first time in our history that the men of the state have taken such a helpful stand, as they have in South Dakota, and it seems a great pity the women are so lacking in good horse sense and do not see their chance and get down to work.

Miss Gregg is in Pierre, and it is hoped that to-day or to-morrow they will meet and plan their work if they can get Mrs. Pickler to come to Pierre. If she has not called the Executive Committee together for consultation by to-day, then the Official Board of the state, through its Secretary, will do so, and ask Mrs. Pickler to resign. We can only wait and see what will come out of to-day's meeting of the officers.

It was impossible for the officers to meet on account of their poverty, and I had to promise the traveling expenses of four of them in order that they could get together. It was simply impossible not to help them get together to straighten out their difficulties and get their campaign started. There is not a dollar in the treasury, and the poor women have not a dollar of their own. I told them the National would pay the traveling expenses of the most important ones,- and that is four, but that they must finish up their work carefully and satisfactorily so that it could afterwards be carried on by correspondence.

I assured them that if they made a plan of campaign which would be harmonious, it must be in counsel with the men who had been loyal to us in getting the Bill passed, and with other societies who were willing to work in council, and that they must do all they could to raise funds in the state. Then the National would immediately set to work to raise moderate salaries for such good working state women as they decided upon, and as many as we could pay for.

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I wrote Mrs. Pettigrew that if she and Miss Bower would raise all their traveling expenses, the National would try to raise \$50. per month for each of them for salary. I think we could ~~if they decide upon~~ give Mrs. Fitch \$40. per month if they decide upon having her do the press work. I am not in favor of paying more for the state workers. They are very suspicious about outside people interfering or coming to the state to work, but when it comes to raising the money outside to pay local people for their work there is no inside protest against outside money.

These women named we know to be good, faithful workers, and I am sure we can and must get them to work at once, if they make any kind of a plan. The same would apply to a Scandinavian worker if we could find one in the state. If we cannot, there is a fine one in Minnesota who is the President of the Minnesota State Scandinavian League, which is affiliated with the Minnesota State Association. She is a very eloquent woman, I am told. I heard her speak a few minutes at the State Convention, and she is full of fire and devotion.

These, with Miss Gregg, are all I think we should engage before our National Convention.

I do not think headquarters will be at all necessary until after the Convention.

This morning's mail brought the best possible news from Dr. Eaton. We had been told the Washington amendment must pass another Legislature. That, to my mind, made it hopeless if it was necessary to get a two-thirds vote again; but Dr. Eaton says it is not so, - that it does not have to pass another Legislature, that it is now already submitted to the electors for November, 1910, - so that that campaign is really on. We, however, will not need to do more in regard to that state except to pay Mrs. DeVos's salary up to the Convention; then we must make our plans as to what we can do for each state.

The next question before us is who will write the call? It

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should be done at once. Make suggestions as to who should be invited to do it, and the kind of call we should have. It should be printed in the May Progress. Do suggest someone, or let some member of the Board agree to do it herself. It ought to be a whoop-la this year. I can talk whoop-la, but I cannot write it.

I returned last night from my eastern trip. Everything was most satisfactory. The Boston meetings were fine. Tremont Temple was packed from pit to dome, and it was a most enthusiastic audience. The Bill was to have been reported the next day, and the debate to take place in the House, but some influence was brought to bear upon them to postpone it for a week. Everybody thought it was anti-influence, so that the big mass meeting would not affect the result; but if that was their game they missed it sadly, for they are going to have another big mass meeting next Monday night. Some one good friend is providing the funds to pay the bills of this next meeting. It is remarkable the interest which is being manifested all over the country, and oh how I wish we had wisdom and money and speakers to take advantage of it. The Hearing in Connecticut was unusually large, but I doubt if very much will be gained there. Connecticut needs a leader badly.

In my interview with the New York newspaper man, I think I staved off the straw vote. He seemed to be very kindly disposed and is anxious to have us suggest some plan that will be dignified, and such a one as a good newspaper would want to take up and keep our question before the public. He is particularly anxious that no word shall be said of his communication with us. I really think he will do nothing more, - at least until he hears from us. He says that Mrs. Dodge, the President of the Anti-Suffragists, at first would not hear to it, but after she consulted with her people she decided it would be a good thing. Evidently the Boston Antis gave her a little insight into the result of the straw vote there, and they thought the plan would succeed if they could count

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everybody who voted no and all who did not vote at all as on their side, as undoubtedly they would if the plan had been carried out. I do not think we need to fear it however.

I suppose you know the New York American is carrying on a straw vote of its own just now, and it said the other day that the vote was about even. I drew the attention of this other gentleman to this vote, and I showed him how easy it would be, - that \$50. would buy 5000 papers and anybody could vote the whole lot of them, and that there was really nothing in it. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

I do not think I told you I was invited to dinner at Mrs. O.H.P. Belmonts on Thursday night. We staid and talked suffrage until nearly one o'clock. She had a number of other people in. We talked so late that I missed my train and had to stay over at the hotel another night, but I got her for a life member of the National Association before leaving. It was not hard work, however, because she seemed very glad to do it. I think she will help us financially by and by. She is at present building a great mansion in New York, and I know when it is finished she will utilize it for suffrage occasionally. I think she is much more stable than Mrs. Mackay, and is not quite so determined to have her own way about everything.

I wish I had time to tell you one-half of the interesting things which have happened this winter, but it is impossible. I hope to take advantage of our trip on the train to the Convention to tell the thousand and one things which I cannot take the time to write about just now.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Dic.

Enc.

Mar 20, 1909

(COPY)

Hurley, South Dakota,
March 17, 1909.

Miss Anna Shaw,
Meylan, Penn.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

I make bold to write you this letter because I am much interested in the cause of suffrage and hope to see it win in South Dakota next year. Circumstances make such a campaign very hopeful at the present time. In fact I have no hesitation in saying that if the right campaign can be made that the election will show a substantial majority for the measure.

South Dakota has just had a political upheaval and I have seen the primary movement grow from a time when it was immeasurably weaker than is the suffrage cause today till it ended in electing a governor from a new faction and placed Crawford in the U S Senate. The same patient, clever campaign that he made will win now for the equal suffragists.

But there are a good many things that discourage us and some of them you need to know and can do much to alleviate. There seems to be a row on now as to who shall be first in the campaign. At the time when the officers ought to be thinking of nothing save their cause they are antagonizing each other in a way that causes Mrs. Fitch and myself to despair. So far as we ourselves are concerned we are perfectly willing to be eliminated if that will do any good. But the right spirit must prevail in the association or campaign money will be wasted.

Mrs. Pickler and Mrs. Jeffries are irreconcilables and for either to have undisturbed control of the campaign would be detrimental.

You are in position to insist on harmony more than is any one in the state. If the suffragists can agree on the right kind of a tactful, clever campaign leader then the cause, I am certain, will win in

2--Copy

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November, '10. I could write much more regarding political conditions in the state that render the cause hopeful but I have not time and you would not have time to read it. I hope I have not offended you by writing this letter. It is prompted solely by a desire to help the cause and is not even suggested by Mrs. Fitch.

I am so sure conditions are ripe for a victory at the polls that I am taking this liberty to address you and also will assure you that anything that I or the Herald can do to make votes for the cause will be done.

Very sincerely,

(Signed) G. W. Fitch.

Maylan, Pa.,
March 30, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am sending you a copy of a letter just received from Miss Gregg, and there are several points in it upon which I want an immediate reply in order that I may straighten the matter out before going to Europe. The first one is in regard to her request for so many speakers to be started out in the State immediately. It did not seem to me that it was necessary to much more than start a few of the local workers and get things under headway before the National Convention, and I thought that with Mrs. Pettigrew, Miss Power, Mrs. Fitch and Miss Gregg the National would be doing all it could possibly do in the present state of the treasury until we ~~met~~ met in Seattle, and I still feel that way, except for the fact, which Miss Gregg mentions in this letter, of the willingness of the President of the State Federation of Clubs to take the field in our behalf with the Federated clubs.

I cannot help feeling that Miss Gregg has managed the conference in a splendid way, and in securing the co-operation of the wife of the Governor and the President of the State Federation before she went to the conference was certainly a master stroke, and when you read the list of names of the Campaign Committee I am sure you will feel, as I do, that it is an excellent one.

The question now arises as to what the National can afford to pay to state workers. When Miss Gregg asks if we are willing that the state should pay \$25.00 to Mrs. Pettigrew in addition to what we pay, she overlooks the fact that we have positively nothing to say about what the state does. The state can pay whatever it chooses to pay in addition to what we pay, but I think we should set a limit as to what the National should pay. Mrs. Pettigrew asked me to guarantee her \$50. a month some time ago, and you have voted to do so. Since then, she has asked the

2--O.B.

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same guarantee for Miss Bower, and to that you have agreed. Now, I feel that if we do not set a limit to what the National will pay there will be a continual demand for increase of salary until the end of the campaign, and I feel that the state women should not have the same salary which other women who enter the campaign have. They are so eager for state rights until it comes to raising money to pay them for their work,- then their state pride vanishes like dew before the morning sun.

I am in favor of stating that the National will pay \$50. a month salary for the local workers whom it decides it is desirable to employ. Then let the state raise and pay any additional amount that it can. I think one of the great mistakes we have made in the past has been to turn so much money over to the state workers without making any demand upon the states whatever. It seems unfair to pay the suffragists \$50. a month and then agree to pay the State President of the Federation of Clubs \$75.00 and her expenses,- and yet if we could not get her for anything else it would be worth so much to the campaign to secure the early co-operation of the Federation that I feel it would be unwise not to accept her. And so we are placed in a quandary, and I want you to express your opinion as to what is the best position to take upon this question.

Miss Gregg asks how many more speakers we will put in the field. I am opposed to putting any more into the field before the National Convention except Mrs. Pettigrew, Miss Bower, Miss Gregg and the President of the State Federation, unless we can get a local Scandinavian woman. It is not a question of what we want to do but of what we can do, and if we can get the money to do it with. You see, it will require \$50. each for Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower, \$100. and expenses ~~for~~ for Miss Gregg, \$75.00 for the State Federation President and from \$40. to \$50. for Mrs. Fitch. The total amount comes to \$325. a month plus Miss Gregg's expenses. With postage and other incidental expenses it would come to

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\$500. a month even with that small number of people. We could not calculate on less than that amount, and we have not the money in the ~~treasury~~ ~~treasury~~ to even begin with that amount. I do not fear but that we can raise the money, but I do not think we can raise more before the National Convention. Then in addition to that, we have Mrs. DeVos's salary of \$100. a month in the State of Washington. Will you not immediately send a reply that I may get this whole matter adjusted before leaving for England, which will be the 10th of April?

So far, it is the unanimous opinion of the Official Board that we cannot send a special press worker to South Dakota. With Miss Gregg, Miss Bower and Mrs. Fitzch, there ought to be enough in the state to answer all necessary purposes, especially as both Miss Blackwell and Miss Hauser are willing to write articles when necessary, and Miss Hauser is willing to send articles to the various newspapers and keep them supplied with matter. Miss Gregg, I think, is eager for a large campaign in South Dakota, but it seems to me that the ~~force~~ ~~force~~ ^{force} there already are quite sufficient, with the addition of the State Federation President.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Encl.

Anna N. Shaw

Moylan, Pa.,
March 31, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

Your interesting letter in regard to the situation in Arizona is here, and it recounts the same experience which we have had in every campaign we have ever had anywhere. We knew when we were in California, just as we knew when we were in Oregon, that our real foe was the saloon and in order to reach it we must have some sort of political power. The question then, and the question now is how voteless women with nothing to give, who can promise nothing in the future, can get political power.

^fYou speak of pledging candidates before their election. What difference does that make whether they are pledged or not when even men who are suffragists, and their wives are suffragists (as you say those in Arizona were), vote just as deliberately against us as the men who are not suffragists and who have not promised to vote for us! It does not make a particle of difference whether they promise or do not promise. Just as the dog in front of the Victor machine listens to his master's voice and recognizes it, so does the Legislator listen to his master's voice and recognizes it and obeys implicitly whatever he is instructed to do. To my mind that is the whole hopelessness of our situation. Now, good men know this - good men who are suffragists - and yet they never turn their hand over to change it or prevent it. The only men whom I have had any faith in working for us politically is the present group in South Dakota, and I do not think they are working for us. They are temperance men and are working against the saloon through suffrage. If they did not believe suffrage would help to down the saloon they would not work for us any more quickly than the saloonkeepers themselves; but to my

2--Miss C.

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mind it does not matter just why they are working for us so long as they are working, and we must keep their good favor and seek their council.

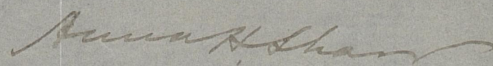
I have written Miss Gregg in every letter, and to every other woman in the state, to be sure and consult frequently not only with the Governor but the men who stood for us in the Legislature - keep in touch with them all the time and not let them get away from us at any time during the campaign; constantly ask their advice even on matters which we know a great deal better than they do, as well as on those which they know better than we do. Miss Gregg has shown, so far, remarkable ability in bringing things to pass, and while she is a most generous woman in giving praise to other people and in recognizing the good rather than the evil in them, sifting out much of what I consider ^{ex}aggeration as regards ability, etc., I still think they have a good committee and will manage the work very successfully.

I thank you for the report which you have sent and for the willing service which you gave to the Association in Arizona. I am sure we all feel a great deal better by the knowledge we have of the situation, as well as the fact that you have laid the foundation for some work later on if we undertake any, and we certainly ought to if we can lay our hands on the funds to do so in the fall.

I hope Miss Penfield will do good work for you in Kentucky. Mrs. Upton seems to think she is a very successful worker and has laid a very good foundation for something later on in Indiana. Personally I have no knowledge of her work, but I think she is a very tactful person in meeting people, which is a good thing.

Dic.

Faithfully,



(Copy)

Mar 30, 1909

Pierre, S.D., Mar. 27, 1909.

Dear Miss Shaw;

The Conference was a great success; it was unquestionably the strongest Executive I have seen in any state. Mrs. Pettigrew proved herself a real General, and I am filled with joy that we have secured such a woman for our Campaign leader. It was really a remarkable meeting in that there were two widely opposite opinions as to the policy to be pursued, that each side stood its ground stubbornly, and yet, when the majority carried all the essential points, there was not a particle of bitterness shown by the other side, and Mrs. Pickler who had us all in her home as guests, was as gracious a hostess as if the majority had not wrested from her the power to block the campaign any longer. So it really was a strong battle of ideas with the utmost self control on both sides; all through the two days I kept thinking how hopeful it is that we are going into the campaign with such strong women.

The first point carried was that there should be a campaign committee to direct the campaign; both sides agreed on this. The next was that this committee should have co-ordinate powers with the Executive Board; here there was a contest, and the majority "machine" won.

The next was that the Chairman should have power to submit questions for a vote to the joint Executive and Campaign Committees. Here there was a battle royal, and the power was secured. Then came the chief contest as to who the Chairman should be. Mrs. Pickler's candidate was Mrs. Philena Johnson, whom we all love, but a W.C.T.U. war horse. The majority candidate was Mrs. Pettigrew. Here Mrs. Pettigrew showed how really strong she is; she stood for herself and voted for herself, a most distasteful thing to her, because she saw it was necessary to do it in order to get the power of controlling the campaign out of Mrs. Pickler's hands, and of course she was elected.

Lexington, Ky. Mar. 27th. 1909.

Reverend Anna Howard Shaw,

Moylan, Pa.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I reached home last night at mid-night and find your important letters regarding South Dakota awaiting my answers. You ask the members of the Official Board to give suggestions about the campaign there and I will give my ideas without circumlocution.

I approve thoroughly of your offer that the National should pay Mrs. Pettigrew, Miss Bower and Mrs. Fitch moderate salaries for their work.

I would be glad if we can find a Scandinavian worker. If the South Dakota~~ans~~ workers do not have one in mind and they are willing that the Minnesota woman should be employed I think she would be a good selection.

I am definitely of the opinion that it will be unwise for us to send in a manager of the campaign. If the Official Board decides to send one I would cheerfully see it represented by Mrs. Avery. Nevertheless, from what you write as the state of feeling in South Dakota I believe such a step on our part would be ill-advised. Whether we like it or not, there is in every state a prejudice against outsiders in any political affairs. I would expect a repetition of our experience in Oregon. So far from sending in a manager I would change even from our precedent of having a woman as manager. With such men helping us as ^{the} Governor and the Fitches and others whose names I do not know I think we should try, or rather we should ask the South Dakota~~ans~~, to try to find a man suitable for this office. If

[Mar 27, 1909]

2.

they cannot find a man whom they would like then I should leave it to them to find a woman; and failing this, I would let them manage the campaign entirely to suit themselves. I see no reason why we should spend money in a campaign under conditions of friction and antagonisms which will, in all human probability, bring defeat. So much for the management of the campaign.

I would not send in any press helper for Mrs. Fitch. If a state worker can be found I would gladly vote to have a salary paid her or him. But I am definitely opposed to sending in any other outside worker, except the possible Minnesota Scandinavian woman of whom I have spoken, under the conditions named. If we cannot find another press helper in the state it is my advice that we shall do nothing more about it. I observe Miss Gregg's eagerness to have such a helper sent; but I have had occasion to know that in Miss Gregg's ~~deal~~ ^{zeal} she desires many workers when perhaps they can be obtained only under conditions which would neutralize their usefulness. I think Miss Gregg, our best trained worker, is sufficient to keep the National Board in touch with what is going on in the campaign in South Dakota. I believe that we should be contented with that means of communication and leave the people ~~who~~ ^{who} have succeeded in inaugurating this campaign to carry it on according to their own wisdom and discretion.

I expect to send a copy of this to each member of the business committee; but as I may not be able to do so today will you kindly let Mrs. Avery see this letter.

In regard to Oklahoma I wish my vote to duplicate Miss Gordons.

Very cordially yours,

Diet.

(COPY)

Mar 8, 1909

Santa Fe, N.M., Feb. 29, 1909.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Miss Clay forwarded your letter to me concerning Mrs. Bolles and New Mexico, and as Mrs. Bolles has told me about her writing to Miss Eddy for money, I want to give you a little information.

Yes, it is true that Mrs. Bolles is a Rhode Islander, and is 61 years of age. She is pretty heavy, and cannot get around at a very lively rate. At present she has the grippe in mild form, and probably is not as acute in mind or body as she would be normally. I do not think she has much executive ability, and don't think she ought to be sent to a Legislature alone. But she has two qualifications which we find mighty few women possess; the first is willingness to work, and the second is abundance of time, and as she is anxious to give both of these to the suffrage cause, I think we ought to make it possible for her to do it. I therefore think that we ought to secure in New Mexico a committee similar to the one that Miss Clay has secured in Arizona, get some letter heads printed, and furnish Mrs. Bolles the postage to send out letters all over the Territory asking for names of suffragists, and there are suffragists in New Mexico. I am told that Mrs. Luna, wife of the Republican National Committeeman, is a very earnest suffragist. I have not yet met her, because she has been ill, but she has sent word she is coming to see me. She is a Mexican. Mr. Baca, one of the Mexican members of the House, told me just a few minutes ago that he is a suffragist, and so is his wife.

On Saturday the "Third House" invited me to speak to them. This is an organization of the employees of both Houses, and some of them are very bright men; they made as good speeches as bona fide legislators usually make.

[Mar 8, 1909]

One of the lady clerks from Raton declared herself an ardent suffragist and said she had been lobbying for the suffrage bill. I think she would serve as one member of the Committee. So I do feel that it is worth while to fan the little spark that we already have, for sometime this territory will have to meet the question. New people are coming here all the time, and I doubt if there is any more illiteracy in this territory than there is among the negro population of any southern state, and to my mind even the illiterate Mexicans are a much more promising citizenship than negroes. So I cannot see why we should not build upon the suffrage sentiment we have here as well as any where else. I don't think the time is ripe to try to organize it yet, but with Mrs. Bolles so willing to do the work, I do think she ought to be supplied stationery and postage to correspond for names.

In every new field into which I have gone in the last ten years, I have had to spend from six weeks to three months in this correspondence before I could do much field work, and if Mrs. Bolles could be doing this work this spring, we would be that much ahead if we wanted to work in the next Legislature, or if a Constitutional Convention should come.

I think that sensation in the Senate Saturday was a grand stand performance. New Mexico undoubtedly has political corruption, but if its corruption can beat that of the United States Senate, the Lord have mercy!

I would like to know at once if you would like me to organize this suffrage committee and start Mrs. Bolles in the correspondence. I do not want to stay in Santa Fe very long, for I think our hearings will be over in a week, and I am anxious to get into the field and feel that I am really doing something. Will you therefore kindly wire me at Palace Hotel, Santa Fe, if I shall organize the committee, and if the National will furnish Mrs. B. the postage for correspondence.

Yours lovingly,
(Signed) Laura Gregg.

Moylan, Pa.,
March 8, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

The votes sent out have nearly all been returned, and I enclose the result. You will see that as far as they have been received, they are unanimously in favor of sending Miss Gregg to South Dakota immediately, and for Mrs. Avery as National representative at the South Dakota Headquarters when they are established later on.

I cannot express my regret at the conditions which compelled me to telegraph Miss Gregg to go to South Dakota at once, especially as Miss Clay feels it necessary that she should be in Arizona. So many letters have come from the different South Dakota women that I cannot take the time of my stenographer to copy them. I am days behind in even answering letters. My absence at the Hearings, etc., so much of the time, and having so much correspondence to do with South Dakota and the other field and organization work, and with only one stenographer, I am swamped.

The substance of the letters from South Dakota is the same. Mrs. Pickler is more interested in the W.C.T.U. than in the Suffrage Association, although she is the Suffrage President. She is very jealous for the W.C.T.U. that it should have due credit. In a letter which she sent to Mrs. Jeffries, and which Mrs. Jeffries sent to me, Mrs. Pickler says: "As the W.C.T.U. secured the petition and got the Bill (the License Bill) through the Senate, we would better let them alone. We have raised trouble already and the W.C.T.U. must not be antagonized if we want to win in the end, as they are organized and we are not and cannot be in two years. We must let them alone and let them have the responsibility of success or failure as it may be. Of course, I don't mean that we shall not work individually with any one that we can influence." The whole letter shows that Mrs. Pickler is wholly unfitted to lead or is unwilling

[May 8, 1909]

to lead, and she is anxious that the Suffrage Association shall not actively lead in the campaign. The other women, Mrs. Jeffries, Mrs. Pettigrew, Mrs. Breeden and others, all write begging to have Miss Gregg come at once to save the situation and start them off right.

Mrs. Jeffries says: "Mrs. Breeden and I want Miss Gregg's help now. You cannot send her too soon. She did so much before." Mrs. Pettigrew says: "I wish we could have Miss Gregg to help us. She understands our differences, and we all love and trust her. I think she would do all that anyone could do to harmonize opposing factions, and I think harmony is possible if we are wise." Mrs. Pithon says about the same thing, and I am very sure that unless Miss Gregg went at once there would be a miserable split among the suffrage officers, with Mrs. Pickler and Mrs. Simmons on the one hand and the other officers on the other. I hope Miss Clay will see that it was absolutely imperative that Miss Gregg should not only go to South Dakota but that she should remain there. Some one else must be found for Arizona if it is necessary.

I telegraphed Miss Gregg to go directly to Pierre because of the remarkable interest the Governor has shown in the passage of the Bill, and his writing to me that the campaign should be properly begun at once. I felt the first thing to do was to consult with him, and I have written him asking him to meet Miss Gregg and a company of South Dakota women to advise with them. I felt at liberty to do this as he had written me so many letters and had shown such an interest in the measure. I felt he would feel more kindly disposed toward us if he thought we sought his advice from the beginning. With all her faults, I think Mrs. Jeffries is the strongest woman in the State, and there are more women ready to assist in Pierre than in any other City, and in addition to the Governor there are the speaker of the House and other members of the Legislature who would consult with our women.

[Mar 8, 1909]

It does not seem to me that it will be necessary to establish State Headquarters regularly until after the National Convention. In the mean time, much work ^{could} ~~may~~ be done preparatory to launching the campaign if Miss Gregg was there to counsel with them.

To show you how ~~impracticable~~ impracticable the women are, it is the unanimous opinion that a State suffrage paper should be started at once, and they are actually planning to try it upon what is called the "LaFollette plan". I have written them as tactfully as I know how that a State suffrage paper would be ill-advised at this time; that instead of starting a paper of their own they should use the papers which already exist in the State, and that the money spent on a suffrage paper could be to much better advantage in getting literature to the voters instead of sending a suffrage paper to suffragists only. I have begged them not to undertake it at least until they have consulted with Miss Gregg.

It seems to me I have been writing day and night for weeks trying to keep them from doing fool things, which their inexperience and zeal without knowledge prompts them to do. I think they are all very willing to work, and the fact that they undertake so many foolish things is simply because they don't know just how to do the right things.

I have advised Miss Gregg upon a few points: First, to call upon the Governor with some of the loyal women and get his advice. Second, to get together as many suffragists as possible, and if they cannot get a new State President then to get a Chairman of the Campaign Committee appointed who is a strong woman and who knows how to do things when she is told. Third, get the State Suffrage Association to call a conference of leaders of all kinds of friendly societies and form an advisory board. Another thing, - to get a list of the registered voters and to be ready to send literature as soon as it is prepared.

Mrs. Avery and I consulted in regard to the kind of literature to get for the foreign people, and we decided some time ago to send to

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Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland and get the material for two leaflets from each of these countries,- one on the suffrage there, and the other eminent opinions in regard to suffrage. Mrs. Avery sent for these to leaders in each country whom we both know, and we will have the copy here soon I hope. The Governor wrote Mrs. Avery that he did not think it necessary to have the literature printed in the language of the countries, as most of the voters ~~already~~ read English. Of course, we are not taking this work out of the hands of the Literature Committee,- we simply wrote to the women we knew asking them if they would prepare the matter for these leaflets, because we thought they would do it for us more readily than for some one whom they had never met.

I think we should engage Mrs. Pettigrew to go into the field with Miss Bower according to the plan which she laid before me, and upon which you have already voted, and that Mrs. Fitch should be engaged to do press work and remain at home to attend to it. She has the facilities for sending out the press matter, and if she were given a small salary so that she could employ a maid, she could attend to that work very easily. I would advise offering her about \$40. a month. Then I should recommend leaving Miss Gregg in the State to work with the club women,- particularly in the vicinity of Sioux Falls and the far eastern part of the State.

If we can secure some Scandinavian woman to work among her people, I think that would be a good plan, and later on, when the campaign is in full blast, if we could get some Scandinavian ministers who have great influence with their country people to speak at public meetings, that would be helpful too; but that will all come later. I think that organizing campaign committees, holding parlor meetings, and sending out occasional bits of literature with the press work is what we should do until after the National Convention. If any of you have any suggestions further than these, I should be glad to have ~~them~~ you send them to me, or

--O.B:

5 Mar 8, 1909

if you do not approve of these suggestions, that you would say so.

I am enclosing a copy of Miss Gregg's letter in regard to New Mexico. I think her plan a very good one, and as matters had to be hurried up I wrote her that the National would pay for stationery and postage for Mrs. Bolles to correspond with the people throughout the ~~States~~ territory and learn as much as she can in regard to the suffrage situation and the number of friends upon whom we may depend, if we carry on the work in the territory later. Miss Eddy of Rhode Island has sent \$50. for this work of Mrs. Bolles, and I will write Miss Eddy just how the money is to be used. Of course, we are to pay Mrs. Bolles' expenses when she went to Santa Fe to meet Miss Gregg to consult with her, but aside from that I do not think we should pay any expenses of Mrs. Bolles in the field or for her to remain in Santa Fe, - but I do think we should furnish her with postage and stationery.

You will remember that at the end of the first year of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, raised by Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett, the National Association had borrowed \$2000. This we paid back at the Buffalo Convention, but it was not included in the appropriations made out of this year's fund, and I have asked Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett if they are willing that a \$1000. of it shall be appropriated to the South Dakota campaign and \$1000. to continue the petition work. If they are favorable, then we will have this \$1000. with which to begin the campaign, and by the time it is used I hope some means will have been devised by which the National Treasurer may appeal to the constituency everywhere for funds.

Mrs. Upton^C_A has asked whether we think it is better to appeal for the fund for the campaign as a portion of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, which we are to raise, or whether we would better make it a separate fund entirely and try to raise it on its own merits. I should be glad for any advice which the Board would like to give on the points asked by Mrs. Upton.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

[Mar 8, 1909]

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FEBRUARY 28, 1909.

-0-

No. 1. Are you in favor of Miss Clay purchasing a typewriter for use in Arizona to be sent to the Legislative Headquarters in Washington when no longer needed in Arizona?

Yes: Shaw, Avery, Gordon, Blackwell, Upton, Clay

Mrs. Stewart does not object to purchase if necessary.

No: Kelley.

Carried.

No. 2. Are you in favor of Miss Clay employing a stenographer as long as she thinks the work in Arizona demands her services?

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

Miss Gordon not voting.

Carried.

No. 3. Are you in favor of contributing \$100. of the Fund for work among labor women to the Pennsylvania Association for that purpose?

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

Miss Gordon and Miss Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

No. 4. Are you in favor of continuing the work in Oklahoma along the lines defined by Mrs. Boyer?

No; Shaw, Avery, Blackwell, Upton, Stewart.

Mrs. Kelley votes not to continue work after adjournment of present Legislature.

Miss Clay says that as Miss Gordon has been in Oklahoma since she was there, she will duplicate her vote, - but Miss Gordon has not ^{yet} voted.
Lost.

EM 28, 1909

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE MARCH 2, 1909.

-0-

No. 1. Are you in favor of sending Miss Gregg to South Dakota at once if they desire her?

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

No: Clay.

Miss Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

No. 2. Are you in favor of employing Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower to go through the Black Hills to start the campaign work immediately, and Mrs. Fitch in her own county, and such other local workers who are recommended by the South Dakota suffragists and approved by Miss Gregg, if she should be in the field?

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

Miss Blackwell not voting.

Carried.

No. 3. Are you in favor of Mrs. Avery being the National representative at Headquarters in South Dakota during the campaign if the state people desire her?

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

Miss Blackwell and Miss Clay not voting.

Carried.

(Dictated Mar. 9th)

Moylan, Pa.,
March 10, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

Your letter to Mrs. Avery was forwarded to me to-day with a copy of her reply, and from it you will know that I have telegraphed Miss Gregg to go to South Dakota. The Official Board letter which you will receive will tell you something of the complex situation there and the need of some intelligent person to direct matters; but since that letter was dictated more has followed.

A telegram came from Mrs. Pickler telling me not to send Miss Gregg, and another from Mrs. Jeffries and Mrs. Fitch saying she must come at once to save the day. I think that her being there can do no harm, and I am sure if she did not go the split between the two factions of the suffragists would be permanent, and I think that nothing but her presence there at this time will save the day.

Mrs. Simmons, who controls Mrs. Pickler, is determined to keep our suffrage women out until the W.C.T.U. get control of the campaign, and our women are up in arms about it. I have written them as conciliatory letters as I could, begging them to get together, and telling Mrs. Pickler that if she feels that she cannot co-operate with the suffragists and prefers to work with the W.C.T.U. that she ought to resign and not prevent the suffragists from doing their work in their own way; that it is a great pity for her to create discord among the suffrage women just for little personal differences between two organizations, which could be easily overcome if they would only get together and seriously talk matters over.

I am very sorry that Miss Gregg could not go to Arizona. It might have been that Mrs. Boyer could have gone, if you feel that was wise (as she is probably through in Oklahoma), and some of you have confidence in her ability to do that sort of work.

[Mar-10, 1909]

I note what you say about remaining after the Bill was defeated in the upper House and try to introduce it into the lower one. I certainly hope you decided to do it. It could do no harm, and it would be just that much more agitation and newspaper talk, and that is about all we could hope for it at this time.

I certainly think you are under no obligation to pay your own expenses for this additional time, for it is just as good suffrage work as Miss Gregg or anybody else would have ~~xxxx~~ been doing if they had been in the Territory trying to influence legislation. I hope you will consent to stay as long as you think you can, and feel that it is good work for the Association; for certainly I feel deeply grateful to you, and we have a much better knowledge of the situation and are at least justified in having done the best we could under the circumstances.

It seems to me I have written miles of letters to South Dakota within the past few weeks; all trying to keep them from doing foolish things in their zeal and inexperience. I am sure if you could see their letters you would realize the necessity of having someone who has had experience constantly at hand for them to consult with. With the exception of Mrs. Pickler, the officers all seem eager for advice and very willing to follow it. I am sure if they get over this first trial, and get started into the work, they will do nicely.

I think we should make a point of keeping the salaries of the women who work in the States as low as we can; that is--when a campaign is in one's own State local people should not be paid large prices for doing their own local work. I have therefore offered Miss Bower and Mrs. Pettigrew \$50. a month, for they are both new workers for us, and I think Mrs. Fitch should be given a very small salary and be kept at home looking after the press work. We should help the Chairman of the Campaign Committee, at least give her money for postage and necessary ex-

3--L.C.

May 10, 1909

penses of that sort, and we should keep Miss Gregg in the State to work with women's clubs up to the time of the National Convention; after that, I think the campaign would have to be launched in a more complete way.

From the letters which I have received from Mrs. Pettigrew, I think that she and Miss Bower will be able to raise their expenses if we can pay their salaries. I am opposed to organizing regular clubs, as I think it is much better for campaign purposes to organize campaign clubs; but I think I have written you all of this in the Official Board letter. I must confess the situation out there is weighing very heavily upon me, and I am getting too irritable and tired out to live in decent society.
Dic.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Moylan, Pa.,
March 14, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from the City Editor of the New York Herald, and my reply. If my reply does not accord with your view of the case, will you telegraph me at Hotel Astor, New York, where I will arrive Wednesday night, the 17th, that I may know it before I meet the Editor on Thursday morning?

You will all, I am sure, understand that this communication is not to be made public, and we must keep the good will of the Herald if we can. The inner secret of its change of heart is Mrs. Mackay. She told Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt last winter that the editor, Mr. George Bennett, and she and Mr. Mackay were great friends, and she would see what could be done to win the Herald. It has been changing its tone for some time, and now we must help it by trying to win its interest on some other line than this one suggested.

This is Sunday, but I have had no Sunday off from duty this year, and you must get this at once.

Faithfully,

Encl.

Anna H. Shaw

(COPY)

[Mar 14, 1909]

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York, March 12th, 1909.

Miss Anna Shaw,
Moylan, Pa.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

On last Tuesday I wired you at Moylan asking when you would be in New York and whether you could come to New York soon for the purposes of a consultation with the HERALD. In answer to my telegram I received one from Miss Anthony, your secretary, saying that you would be here March 18, or, if I wished to consult you earlier, to do so by mail. I am taking the latter course, although I hope also to see you when you come to New York, providing the matter is still pending. Let me present the matter briefly as follows:-

The HERALD believes that the subject of Women's Suffrage is past the stage of mere grotesque newspaper publication, and is entitled to more serious political treatment than has been accorded it. On the theory that the nub of the whole matter lies in the question as to whether or not women would vote if they could, the HERALD thinks that a ballot to be participated in by women only and conducted in a comprehensive and dignified manner by the HERALD would be of extreme interest. The tentative plan contemplates an election running well up to the time of the presentation of the suffragist petition to Congress next fall.

Obviously the success or failure of such a plan would depend upon the interest that the active suffragists and the anti-suffragists took in it. The HERALD believes that if the leaders on both sides would do what they could to bring out the vote, the result might be made a very valuable feature of the history of the suffragist movement. The best plan would be a ballot on a coupon to be published in the HERALD, the judges to be chosen as you and the anti-suffragists would agree, the whole ballot to be secret so far as publication of the names of the voters are concerned.

2--Copy

Mar 14, 1909

Now, with the rough suggestion before you, is it your opinion that the suffragists would do what they could to get out their vote, and would you and other leaders of the movement co-operate with the HERALD in making the ballot a success? As the matter now stands it is merely a suggestion and the carrying out of the plan will depend upon the interest manifested by you and other leaders in the movement for and against Women's Suffrage. Will you kindly keep this matter confidential until a decision is reached by the HERALD?

If you wish to use the telegraph in answer we will be glad to have you do so at the HERALD'S expense. If I do not hear from you before I shall see you at the Hotel Astor this City at ten o'clock on the morning of March 16, as per telegram from your secretary.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

M. G. Scheitlin

City Editor.

Moylan, Pa.,
March 14, 1909.

Mr. M. G. Scheitlin,
City Editor, New York Herald,
New York City.

Dear Sir:-

I have noticed with growing satisfaction and gratitude that for some time past the Herald has been showing a clearer understanding of the Woman Suffrage movement and has been giving it fairer and more serious treatment, both in its news and editorial columns. I therefore wish to express what I know will be the feeling of every suffragist, my sincere thanks for your statement that the Herald recognizes that the "subject is entitled to more serious treatment", and we believe we shall receive it at the hands of your paper, which we consider one of the most important publications in the world.

It is impossible for me, as President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, to decide in regard to so important a plan as you have so kindly placed before us without first submitting it to my Official Board. I am sure you will pardon me if in the mean time I express my own personal position.

If, as you say, everything depends upon "the theory that the nub of the whole matter lies in the question as to whether or not women would vote if they could", that point could be easily settled if the opponents were in the least influenced by facts. It could be done by learning from authorized officials the number of men and women entitled to vote in any state or nation where women are enfranchised, the number registering and the proportion of those registering who vote. This the suffragists have done over and over again, and the result is so satisfactory that the opponents ignore the facts and contrive to harp upon the old theory. So large has been the proportion of women who vote where full suffrage prevails

[Mar. 14, 1909]

that the opponents ~~persistently~~ refuse to discuss that point but persist in dwelling upon school, university trustees, or some other fractional suffrage which does not arouse much interest on the part of either men or women.

To my mind, the statistics where suffrage actually obtains are of vastly more importance and more correct than any expression of opinion when it is mere opinion and will not affect the result.

If such a plan as you suggest had any legal validity or would decide the question, we would welcome it with joy and throw all our energies into carrying it out, but when it will accomplish nothing except the expression of an opinion by those who take the trouble to return voting coupons and when one person could easily return an unlimited number of votes, legal supervision being impossible, I feel assured that the result would prove nothing.

A plan similar to yours was tried by the Massachusetts Legislature some years ago, but even ~~like~~ Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, then President of the State Suffrage Association, refused to take any part in it and urged the suffragists not to vote. The State Association could not carry a vote to recommend its members to take any interest in it, while the anti-suffragists at first carried on an active campaign and even organized a man's anti-suffrage association to help defeat the measure.

Later when they saw that all their efforts were futile, they issued a manifesto saying that every woman voting no, or not voting, would be counted against the measure. The result was that comparatively few women voted either way, yet of those who did vote there were twenty-five to one in favor of woman suffrage, being 22,204 yeas and 868 nays. Yet the anti-suffragists claimed it an unparalleled victory, counting all the women who had not voted as opposed, and this mock referendum has been used by anti-suffragists the world over, to prove that women do not want

3--KOPY M.U.S.

Mar. 14, 1909

to vote, and will not when they have an opportunity.

If the method were legal and if the side securing the largest vote would carry the question, the Suffrage Association would hail with joy this method of silencing forever the claim that a majority of women do not wish to vote.

If the Herald wishes to make a test in New York City or in New York State, why does it not do as the Philadelphia Record has, - publish the suffrage petition and ask for votes with the legal name and address of the voter and have the coupon returned to the President of the State Suffrage Association or some other person authorized to receive them, and a record kept of the returns, as is done by the President of the Pennsylvania Women Suffrage Association, Mrs. Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.?

If the vote were simply yes or no, any one person could fill a thousand coupons, but if the full legal name and address accompanied the vote there could not be the same opportunity for fraudulent voting.

I would like very much to meet you at the Hotel Astor at 10 A.M., Thursday the 18th, if you wish to discuss the question further before I hear from my Official Board.

Whether or not this plan is adopted, I trust the Herald will continue to treat the question of the political enfranchisement of one-half the human race as a subject worthy of serious and fair consideration.

With sincere gratitude, I am

Very truly yours,

Dic.

Weylan, Penna.,
March 2, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

Our battle field for the next few months is decided for us, and South Dakota is to be for us, I hope, a battle ground of victory. Certainly the wave of suffrage sentiment sweeping over the country ought to help us in our campaign there. The situation is one which will require most careful handling. The W.C.T.U. are claiming the submission of this amendment their victory, although it was not their Bill and was the result of the fight by our friends in behalf of full suffrage. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true they have done excellent work in South Dakota during the past years, and their petition was an influential factor in the passage of the Bill. What we must do now is to be as wise as possible in ^{an} not arousing ~~the~~ antagonism on their part, but co-operate with them as far as possible in carrying out the campaign. This will require very conciliatory measures.

I think Miss Gregg was so successful in handling both sides of the controversy in Pierre, and in keeping a friendly attitude toward the W.C.T.U., that I believe she should be sent to South Dakota at once to advise, council with and help start the work in the State. Everything will depend upon our beginning at once. If you are favorably inclined to sending Miss Gregg there immediately, I will telegraph her as soon as a majority of the votes are in, - if a majority is in favor of her going. I do not mean by this that Miss Gregg shall be put into the headquarters in charge of the campaign. As far as possible, it must be left in the hands of the South Dakota women; but they have shown themselves so inexperienced that they will need council and advice. I am sure they will be willing to work, but they will need some person to advise and council with them.

[Mar 2, 1909]

Mrs. Avery would be willing to go to South Dakota as the National representative from our National Convention. She could remain in the headquarters in co-operation with some South Dakota women, and help to direct the campaign in the field. The South Dakota people have the fullest confidence in Mrs. Avery's friendship. She is very conciliatory and I think would be able to harmonize all factions.

I am going to ask for your vote in regard to Mrs. Avery going to South Dakota as the National representative in the headquarters, when later in the campaign headquarters are established. I am sending these votes out at once without waiting to hear from South Dakota, in order to get the responses as soon as possible that I may know what to say to them when they write. Of course, no one will go who is not desired by the South Dakota women themselves.

A telegram from Miss Gregg to-day says what I believe to be true, - that the South Dakota suffrage women must begin at once or the campaign will be taken out of their hands. I have sent the ^{enclosed} ~~following~~ telegrams to-day to South Dakota, and hope you will approve. The Governor really is responsible for this success. He wrote me urging me to get the women to use their influence throughout the state to have the Bill reconsidered, and he actually took the field for us. We have never had a Governor do for us what he has done, and I am sure if we are wise and do not antagonize the W.C.T.U. in any way we will have their co-operation.

I think Miss Gregg and Mrs. Avery would be the two people who are free to go who would be perfectly safe. I mean for Miss Gregg to go at once and Mrs. Avery later, for I do feel it would be very risky to trust these inexperienced women without a National representative there now. Please reply to these points immediately.

Mrs. Pettigrew wrote me that she and Miss Rose Bower were going out into the field at once and do what they could to raise money to help

[Mar 2, 1909]

pay their expenses, asking if the National Association would pay the salary of one of them. I wrote her that I could not state ^{definitely} until I heard from the Board, but if the amendment was submitted I had no doubt the National would be glad to accept their offer.

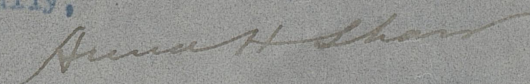
Miss Gregg, and all of the others who have written about Mrs. Pettigrew, says she is an excellent speaker and a woman of pleasing presence; that Rose Bower is able to get crowds together by her musical ability. It seems to me that these two state women should be employed to go into the field and organize campaign committees; that Mrs. Fitch should be employed to organize in her own country and to do work she can do without leaving her home long at a time.

These are just hasty suggestions which came to me on the spur of the moment, as I have just reached home from New York, after seeing the announcement in this morning's paper of the passage of the Bill and finding telegrams confirming it, - and there is no time for delay.

I enclose copies of the telegrams which I have sent to-day to the South Dakota people. I hurried them along because I want the suffragists to get into the field at once.

In regard to Mrs. Avery; she has had some experience in managing a campaign. She was the head office manager in the Campaign in Nebraska, and Miss Anthony used to tell me how splendidly she directed the office work; so that I believe that she has a certain ability, - but the thing that makes me want her more than any one else is because I believe the South Dakota women have absolute confidence in her friendship and judgment.

Faithfully,



Dic.

Encl.

(COPY)

Moylan, Pa.,
March 2, 1909.

Gov. R. S. Vessey,
Pierre, S. D.

Congratulations and gratitude from the justice loving women of America.

(Signed) Anna H. Shaw.

Mrs. Edith M. Fitch,
Hurley, S.D.

Congratulations. You may depend upon the National for generous co-operation.

(Signed) Anna H. Shaw.

Mrs. Florence Jeffries,
Fort Pierre, S.D.

Congratulations. Suffrage officers must formulate campaign plans immediately. National will co-operate.

(Signed) 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, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
THE HONORARY PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Moylan, Pa.,
March 2, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I received a letter from your sister, Mrs. Clay, this morning in regard to Miss Penfield, and I have told her that Miss Penfield will be in Kentucky on the first of April and remain there a month, and then go to Pennsylvania. Of course, as your basis of organization is different from that of any other state, she will have to have special instructions in regard to it.

Now that the Statehood Bill has been defeated in Congress, of course the thing to do is to see what can be done with the Legislature in Arizona and New Mexico, and Mrs. Avery will see what she can do at this end of the line. I doubt very much whether any Bill passes before the new President comes in, and I suppose what has been done with Mr. Roosevelt will be of no account and we will have to begin all over again with Mr. Taft. I must confess I have more hope from Mr. Taft than I had from Mr. Roosevelt, although to confess the truth I have very little hope of help from either of them, - not only them but any other politician. Still we must do our best to secure what influence we can.

I suppose you^u will have received your Journal by this time, and will know that the State of Washington has carried its amendment in both houses. While this seems like a great victory, it does not fill me with the hope it otherwise would, - because it has to go through another Legislature before it is submitted, and it is very easy to carry it by a big vote in one Legislature and killed in the next; but we must make the most of what we have. I am hoping that the South Dakota amendment will go

[Mar. 2, 1909]

through, and if it does then, of course, that will leave us with a campaign this year,- for in South Dakota it has to pass only one Legislature.

The cause is booming at a wonderful rate all over the country, and the letters which I receive have convinced me that one of the best pieces of work we have ever undertaken is this petition work. It is arousing an interest in states where formerly they had no interest whatever, and we are getting letters from people asking for petitions in sections where we have never had a foothold before. It is giving all the women something to do, and making them feel a part of the work. I think we have never expended any money in our lives, as an Association, which is going to bring back better results than this petition work. I anticipated a great deal from it before it was done, but nothing like what it is accomplishing, and if we had the means to carry it on as it should be, we could just as well get three times the number of names we are getting.

I am so thankful that you are in Arizona, and that Miss Gregg has gone on to New Mexico. I hope you will keep well, and since the Legislature closes so soon, of course you will not have to be there during the very hottest weather.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Annatt Shaw

I have just reached home from N.Y. & find telegram that campaign is on in So Dak. Can Miss Gregg go there at once if they want her. They need some one of experience to advise with them and she is free & non antagonistic. We let her go if it can be done. I will telegraph you if they

want her at once.

Santa Fe, N.M., March 4, 1909.

Rev. Anna ~~H~~. Shaw,

Moylan, Pennsylvania.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

It may seem officious in me to write so persistently about South Dakota, but having just come through a very critical situation there, between the Suffrag~~ist~~ Association and the W.C.T.U., I should feel guilty if I did not lay before you all the information that I can pull out of the recesses of my brain. A letter from Miss Bower, last night, says that the suffrag~~ist~~ measure which was carried was a full suffrage amendment to the W.C.T.U. Bill, asking that women be permitted to vote on the liquor question. A whirlwind must have struck the House suddenly, as they amended it to a full suffrage bill, and carried it by a tremendous majority. I never heard of anything like it in legislation before, and it is certainly due to the skillful work of Governor Vessey, Speaker Chainey, Mr. *Morris and Taylor* Fitch, and Senator Andrews; but the situation with the W.C.T.U. is all the more delicate, because it was their pet measure which was amended, and they will undoubtedly feel that they have the right-of-way in the campaign; and it therefore seems to me of vital importance that a National Suffrage worker should go on the ground at once, and try to stave off a clash between the Suffrage Association and the W.C.T.U. As you know, we had a terrible time for a few days about the legislative bill, and I do not think the breach is healed by any means, and I tremble for the campaign if another clash shall occur at the beginning.

I, therefore, think that the first thing that ought to be done would be to call a conference of Suffrage and W.C.T.U. leaders in Pierre. I say that it should be in Pierre because I think this conference ought to call the Governor into its deliberations. And this is where I think a National worker ought to be on the ground, for I do not think Mrs.

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Jeffries, Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Waldron and Mrs. Breeden will feel very amiable towards the W.C.T.U. leaders, but I do think that if a National worker were present it would be possible to get both sides to agree to work in harmony, though I doubt if they would agree to it if a National Worker were not present. It seems to me that this conference ought to be called at once, for two reasons: First: if it is not called immediately I believe that the W.C.T.U. will go ahead and open the campaign in their own way, and once having been opened by them it will be difficult to get the club women and the labor people to fall into the campaign later. I feel that it is very important that the suffragists of South Dakota should be in a position financially to take the lead in calling this conference, rather than have to play the second fiddle, as they did in the legislative campaign. Second: the conference ought to be called at once, because there is certain work that should be commenced immediately. Two years is none too long for this work, and as I feel pretty thoroughly acquainted with the whole state I will submit to you an outline of the work that I think should be commenced at once, and how I think it may be managed as inexpensively as possible. First: There is that immense Norwegian population that must be educated. These people are slow in grasping new ideas, but they are pretty sure if you can get a thorough hold of them, and I think a correspondence should be commenced at once, to get the names of Norwegian leaders in each school district, and then bunches of Norwegian literature should be sent to them for distribution. In all my campaign experience I have never seen a class of people take to literature so readily as do the Norwegians. When I made my tour of the Coteau Hills, ten years ago, I spoke on the populist platform, with the populist candidates, in the country school districts, and having but limited time, I simply made the announcement that I had literature that I would gladly distribute at the close of the meeting, and I think

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every Norwegian man and woman came forward to get the literature, and the big country vote that we got in that campaign leads me to believe that they read it. I think the most important thing should be the statement of the fact that Norway already has women suffrage. The Norwegian people of South Dakota are quite poor people, and, unlike the Finns of Oregon, I do not think the majority of them take the Old Country papers, and therefore, I think they are ignorant of the fact that woman suffrage already exists in Norway. Of course, this literature should be published in the Norwegian language.

Now, I think Mrs. Fitch could conduct this correspondence nicely from her own home, and probably would be glad to do it for a small salary. She would have to hire a maid to take care of her ^{house} children, and probably would have to have a little salary besides, because I think she works in the printing office as one of the editors and type setters, but probably she would do this work for about \$40 a month, although I have no authority for saying this. I do not believe that it is necessary to open a formal headquarters at this time, as I think all the headquarters work necessary for the present Mrs. Fitch could do.

Then, I think Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower should be put in the field at once, and kept there for the whole two years. I do not know what salary Mrs. Pettigrew would work for, but I am sure she will do it as reasonable as she possibly can. And I think all that she will want will be enough salary to keep her clothed for the hard campaign work. She is a woman who can go among all classes of people, and command respect, and she makes a most excellent speech. A letter from Mrs. Pettigrew recently, says: "If I could only have the salary for myself assured I believe I could raise the salary for Miss Bower, for I could go to the people and ask them to contribute to keep Miss Bower in the field, where I could not ask it for myself." Now, I agree with Mrs.

May 4, 1909

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before the Anti get in their work with them,

Pettigrew, that if a salary could be raised for anybody in South Dakota it would be Miss Bower, for she is very much admired all over the state, and she is invaluable as a drawing card for audiences. She can go into a town, even if the meeting has not been advertised, go to the schools and whistle, and the crowd comes in the evening. I think it would be well worth while for Miss Bower to go with Mrs. Pettigrew, work up the meetings, and furnish the music in the evening and write the press articles besides. I have told you, in my report, what catchy press articles she writes, and how the South Dakota newspapers give preference to her articles before any other, and I believe she could travel with Mrs. Pettigrew and do this press work and draw the audiences besides, and I am sure that her accompanying Mrs. Pettigrew would bring out many times the people that would come if she were not present. And I believe that Mrs. Pettigrew would succeed in raising the money for Miss Bowers' salary.

After the conference is over I think the National Worker ought to begin at once with the club women. If I remember correctly the president of the state federation is a suffragist, and I think she should get letters of introduction from the club president to club women all over the state. They are located mostly in the larger towns, and I think she could get a hearing before every club in the state, and work towards endorsement by the state federation in their next convention. If we can get this endorsement, then, when we formally open the campaign we can organize a campaign committee from the W.C.T.U., the State Federation, the Labor Unions and the Suffragist Association. But I do not believe the club women would take hold at this time, and I think it is very important that the work with them should be commenced immediately, and I think it quite essential that a good speaker, with good clothes, should go among them. And I feel that if we delay we shall not be able to get the co-operation of the clubs, for I think their attitude is about

5 MAR 4, 1909

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the same as that in most of the other states. I am particularly anxious that the club women of Sioux Falls should be reached in the beginning, for Sioux Falls is the social center of the state, and if we can get enough representative women interested now, then in the latter part of the campaign Miss Gordon could hold a parlor campaign and stir up the whole town, and get the workers at the polls, which we will be obliged to have in Sioux Falls.

Then, there are a number of Labor Unions in Sioux Falls that might be reached at the same time, the National Workers speaking among them - the club women in the afternoon, and among the labor unions at night.

This is a plan which I think ought to be submitted to this conference of Suffragists and W.C.T.U women, and I have no doubt but that the W.C.T.U. women would be willing that the suffragists should institute this sort of a campaign at once. In the meantime, I think the W.C.T.U. will build up ~~the~~ work among the churches, and will do a very much more effective work in the distinctive circles like the Aid Society, Missionary Society, and Minister's Institutes, ^{than we can do.} And, thus, I think a plan could be evolved in which both organizations could work in perfect harmony, and I do hope the National Suffrage ^{Assn} Society will make it possible for the suffragists of South Dakota to hold up their end of the work in the very beginning, and not be handicapped as they were in the beginning of the legislative work, because they had no funds.

Very sincerely yours,

Laura Gregg

Phoenix, Ariz.

March 4th, 1909.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have to tell you the bad news that our bill was defeated in Council this afternoon, by 7 nays to 5 yeas. Two men whom we had depended on voted against us.

Tonight I am undetermined whether or not to bring in the bill in the House. Our friends in the Council advise it, or at least most of them do. I shall not leave this city for a few days, in which I shall decide that matter, after consulting with others. I feel, however, that I ought not to put the National to any expense for what must appear a forlorn hope; therefore I shall pay myself all further expenses of my stay in this city. Of course, the expenses of my return trip will not be greater because I delay it two or three weeks.

Last night I wrote what I thought about Miss Gregg's remaining in this territory. The defeat of our bill confirms this opinion. Unless we do some work, we can hardly hope to win in the Constitutional Convention.

I enclose my votes on the slip. I am going to vote on the Oklahoma matter as Miss Gordon does. She has seen the conditions there later than I have. I do not feel disposed to longer press my own views of Oklahoma up on the Board, though I must continue to think that we ought to stick to one state as long as possible, especially as we have so few Southern and Democratic states where our question is before the people. I trust that both Washington and S. Dakota can supply many of the workers themselves, and I give my vote right now to help S. Dakota with money to go right into the field at once.

Cordially yours,

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.


2
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.,
March 3, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I received your letter this morning just after my letter went to you yesterday in regard to Miss Gregg going to South Dakota. Unless it is imperative that she should go there, I agree with you that the best thing for her to do is to go to Arizona; but everything will depend upon the news which I hear from South Dakota.

It is absolutely useless to undertake work there with those women without some one there who knows more about it to advise and counsel with them. They are perfectly willing to work, but not one of them has ever been in a campaign or ever had anything to do with any real organization,- for the so-called suffrage organization of South Dakota has been practically a name and nothing more -- and never will be so long as Mrs. Pickler is at the head.

You will learn from my Official Board letter, which I sent out yesterday, that I took the bull by the horns and telegraphed them that I was sure the National Board would be willing to assist them financially. I did not, of course, specify how much, and would not until I heard from the Board. I supposed that the vote would be taken next fall, because it says at the next general election; but a letter received from Mrs. Jeffries this morning says "the people of this State will learn much more about suffrage in the next two years." This leads me to think that it may be two years before the vote is taken, but in order to be quite sure of it I have telegraphed the Governor asking him the exact date when the measures is to be voted upon. If it is two years hence, then there will be no reason why Miss Gregg cannot remain in Arizona; but if it is this fall

[Mar. 3, 1909]

it seems to me that either Miss Gregg or somebody else must go to South Dakota at once and start them off right. It would be a great pity to wait until the W.C.T.U. got things started and took the campaign out of the hands of the State workers. In fact, we must be sure that no such blunder as that can possibly be made, and I am not at all sure of it unless somebody goes into the State first and counsels with the women there who seem to be wholly incapable of standing up for themselves, while they are perfectly willing to do any amount of good, hard work.

Miss Gregg seemed to be so successful in winning the confidence of all the contending parties there that I am quite sure she would be able to set the women on their feet without antagonizing the W.C.T.U. If, however, the campaign does not come for two years, it would not be necessary for her to go there until after the National Convention, - at which time I think she should go and remain until after the vote is taken.

It is unfortunate that the Washington Bill has to pass another Legislature, but I am sure that if the election comes in South Dakota this fall and we carry the State, as we simply must, it will be much easier for to pass the Bill a second time through the Washington Legislature.

A letter from Miss Gregg this morning says that she does not think there is any chance of getting anything from the present Legislature, but it is possible they may get a Hearing before the House.

I wish I had time to tell you of the wonderful Hearing in Boston and Albany. When staid old Boston overflows the Statehouse, and some of the descendants of the Back Bay aristocrats stand on the stone steps and make speeches; cultivated young women who have never before opened their lips in public, and even standing on chairs in Boston Common and addressing the crowds, you may know that Boston is aroused at last. I cannot describe the spirit of it. It was not loud or vociferous or excitable, but that deep dead-in-earnest consecration which makes people go to the

3--L.C.

[Mar. 3, 1909]

stake for a principle. It was something wonderful, and I shall never forget it. If the women were like that all over the country, nothing under the sun could keep us longer from our enfranchisement. There is to be a big mass meeting in Tremont Temple on the 15th at which I am going to speak, for they are determined to crystallize the results of that Hearing into active service.

If it is possible to leave Miss Gregg in Arizona, we will do it.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Anna H. Shaw

*I have not yet heard from So Hunkala
as to the time of the vote there.*

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Moylan, Pa.,

March 5, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

A letter from the Governor of South Dakota, a copy of which I enclose, states the same thing which we are hearing from all sides,- that if we are to win there, there has got to be a lot of work done, and unless some one starts their women right there will be such antagonism among them that we will lose control of the campaign entirely.

While it is true that Mrs. Fitch, Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower can work harmoniously, it is also true that they are not the state officers,- that Mrs. Pickler, Mrs. Jeffries and Mrs. Simmons and others are the state officers. Mrs. Fitch is the Vice-President, but Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower are not officers at all. Now, there is such antagonism between Mrs. Pickler, Mrs. Simmons, Mrs. Jeffries and Mrs. Fitch, who are the officers, that I am very sure that unless some outside person is there to harmonize matters, there will be a great blunder made,- and there is no one who can do it as well as Miss Gregg. Notwithstanding the necessity of work in Arizona, I do feel that Miss Gregg should go to South Dakota and start this campaign right. If we let it slip out of our hands in the beginning into the hands of the W.C.T.U., there will be continual antagonisms arising throughout the whole campaign, which will endanger the ~~campaign~~ measure. You will see from his letter the Governor does not think we are going to have an easy victory there.

Supposing the Statehood Bill should carry in the special session of Congress,- all that could be done in Arizona would be to try to get

[Mar. 5, 1909]

the right kind of delegates elected, and that can be done only by the local people,- certainly one outsider would not have much influence; and since we have the submission of the amendment in South Dakota, it seems to me we should do everything we can do to put it on its feet, and if either one or the other ought to wait it ought to be Arizona.

It seems to me if we could not pass the measure through the Legislature this winter, there would be very little hope of trying to get woman suffrage in the new Constitution; and I am sure we will be able to keep the objectionable clause out (that was in the Oklahoma Constitution) through influence at Washington. In fact, Senator Beveridge almost promised as much to Mrs. Avery.

You, of course, know very well that women cannot go to work in a state who have no official authority when the officers of the state are opposed to them. (South Dakota) I have written them, begging them to elect a new President, and from what Miss Gregg writes me, I have urged them to elect Mrs. Pettigrew who can go out into the field and work,- who is a woman of attractive presence and conciliatory manners. It is absolutely impossible to leave South Dakota at this juncture without some National representative to start the work there, and I know of no one else whom we can get to go except Miss Gregg. Since the vote is not to be taken until 1910, there would not be so much need of any one going at present if it were not for the unsettled and disorganized conditions there.

Faithfully,

Dic.
Encl.

Anna H. Shaw

Phoenix, Ariz.

March 6th, 1909.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have received your letter expressing your anxiety about S. Dakota, and your wish that Miss Gregg should go there at once if the Dakotans desire her. I received a letter from Miss Gregg herself, in which she expressed the greatest anxiety about S. Da., and thought the National ought to do every thing possible, and that she thought her best field now was there. Therefore, I shall vote that Miss Gregg be sent to S. Da. if she is requested by the S. Dakotans. Since statehood seems indefinitely postponed I shall not so greatly regret that she cannot organize here now. It will be better to do so immediately before statehood, so that the women will be stirred up to work by the hope of immediate results. The Campaign Committee decided to try to bring our bill in the Lower House; so Mrs. O'Neill and I went yesterday and saw the two members we thought best qualified to bring it in, - Mr. Woolf and Mr. De Souza. They doubted whether it would do any good, in face of the defeat in the Council. They thought the members would be out on record by their vote on a bill already introduced to allow women who can vote on school questions to vote in local option elections. However, they said they would confer with friends and introduce our bill if they received encouragement. We have not had time to receive their decision. I shall stay till Tuesday, and longer if our bill is introduced, or if I can organize thoroughly in this city. I hope what I have done will help the women to do more for themselves; but it is doubtful.

Now as to S. Dakota. I have already written that my vote would be to help that campaign liberally with money, so I am very much pleased that you telegraphed at once to that effect. All

Also, that you asked that the suffrage officers should formulate campaign plans at once. I shall vote for Mrs. Avery to be our National representative if we decide to have one. But I am firmly of the opinion that the campaign would have a much greater chance of success if the National took no part in the direction of it. The people there did very well, with the very little assistance Miss Gregg gave. You observe that I say the people, for I want to emphasize the help the men gave. I believe if we do not interfere with the management at all the women can and will get their men to help them; and I believe the help of men is very necessary to success. If we put some one in the management the women will be diffident about asking to have our manager overruled by some of their advisers; and men will not like to submit their experienced political judgment to the opinion of a politically inexperienced woman, however much they may respect her abilities. For this and other reasons which you have heard from me before, I earnestly hope we shall not find it necessary to supply S. Dakota with a manager. Let us do what we can to supply speakers, who shall be under the direction of their manager, and as much money as we can raise. As far as I know, every state where the National has had the management the women have been most ungratefully critical and discontented. Let us learn a lesson; and this time confide the management to themselves. We can do this with the greater safety since some of their successful politicians are taking a hand. If they lose, at least the National will not lose prestige along with their defeat. And why should we suppose we can manage better than the home women and men?

I trust it will not be decided to supply a manager; but rather that Mrs. Avery or some one else well qualified should stop on the way to Seattle and confer with those people about a home manager, and what they expect from the National and what we can afford to promise.

Cordially yours,

Page 2 is
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Meylan, Pa.,
April 7, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I had hoped to go away leaving South Dakota calm and peaceful, but the storm is on again. When the conference of the State officers closed at Mrs. Pickler's home everything seemed to be serene. Mrs. Pettigrew was made Chairman of the Campaign Committee and was to submit a vote to the Campaign Committee and the State Officers jointly before taking any particular action aside from that which was decided upon at the conference.

Miss Gregg started for Sioux Falls, but on the way stopped at Madison where the State W.C.T.U. Executive was in session. Mrs. Pettigrew, as Chairman of the Campaign Committee of the State Suffrage Association, went there also, as did Miss Bower. Mrs. Pettigrew, as Chairman, asked for a conference with the Executive Committee of the W.C.T.U. and at that conference asked for co-operation of the W.C.T.U. in the work of the campaign. The Executive of the W.C.T.U. withdrew and consulted, and then presented its ultimatum. It was that they would co-operate with the State Suffrage Association on condition that the State Suffrage Association would allow the W.C.T.U. to name the Chairman of the Campaign Committee; that the W.C.T.U. should be allowed to locate the State Headquarters, and that when the State Suffrage Association met for its ~~Nation~~ annual meeting at Huron in July (in the hope that some of our National Officers ^{would} ~~would~~ stop there on their way home from Seattle) the W.C.T.U. should dictate who should vote in that Convention; that it ^{sh}ould not be a delegate Convention but a mass Convention, and everybody who paid a membership fee should be entitled to vote. Of course, the W. C. T. U. knew when it made these conditions that they were absolutely impossible, - that the Suffrage Association could not accept them, for it ^{would} simply be obliterating the Suffrage Association entirely as an organization, and the W.C.T.U.

[Apr 7, 1909]

my answer. Of course I could not do that, but I did write them this; that so long as the old Association remained in existence and was a member of the National Association, the National could not recognize a new society in the State, but that there was no necessity for ^{the} organization of a new society since at the conference at Mrs. Pickler's home, at which nearly all the members of the State Board were present, it was decided that Mrs. Pettigrew should be the Chairman of the Campaign Committee; that she should submit votes to both the Executive and Campaign Committees jointly; that nothing further was needed. Mrs. Pickler was only one of the State Officers, and her vote amounted to nothing more than that of any other officer, and that Mrs. Pettigrew should be controlled entirely by the majority vote of the joint Committees, and that no matter what Mrs. Pickler might say she had no authority in the matter unless she was sustained by a majority of her Board. This would keep the old Association in control, and the National could recognize Mrs. Pettigrew as the manager of the campaign and conduct its correspondence through her.

Miss Gregg says that Mrs. Pettigrew is a level headed, calm and very gentle mannered woman, and by far the best fitted to be the Chairman of the Campaign Committee of any woman in the State Suffrage Association.

As I leave on Saturday, I will not have time to get your replies as to whether you think I gave the right advice or not; so I will ask you to send them to Mrs. Avery, and if a majority of the Board think that some other plan of action would be better then Mrs. Avery can communicate with the South Dakota people. My only hope was to keep the State Society intact; to let the old officers go on with the work, ignoring Mrs. Pickler if necessary, and keep out of the press anything which savored a split in the State Suffrage Association. Miss Gregg has gone to Pierre and I have urged her to call upon the Governor and state clearly the case as it is, and consult with him and with Mrs. Johnson, the President of the State Federation of Clubs. Under existing conditions,

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I feel it is absolutely necessary to get the co-operation of the State Federation, and Miss Gregg says that Mrs. Johnson would do the work for \$75. a month and her expenses. A majority of the Official Board have voted to pay Mrs. Johnson \$75. a month salary because of her relation to the club movement in the State and because she can do a work for the Suffrage Association which no other South Dakota woman can do, but in addition to the \$75. she wants her traveling expenses. She thinks she can get entertainment at the homes of the club women. I wrote Miss Gregg I feared the Board would not feel that it could do this under existing conditions, and Miss Gregg writes that it would be better to have Mrs. Johnson than anybody else, and that Miss Bower has now left the State on account of the action of the W.C.T.U. I really think she was a little afraid of splitting with them. She has gone to Chicago. Miss Gregg thinks we could take the money we were going to pay for Miss Bower's salary and let it apply on Mrs. Johnson's traveling expenses. I do not know how you will all feel about this, but I hope you will let Mrs. Avery know at once. In the mean time, I have told Miss Gregg that if the Official Board does not feel that the National ought to pay anything more than the \$75. a month to Mrs. Johnson that I personally would pay \$25. a month until the National Convention toward her traveling expenses. Of course, if the Official Board feels that we can pay her traveling expenses in addition to the \$75. a month, then I will not pay the \$25. myself; but if the Board does not feel that it can do so then I will pay the \$25.,- though I must confess I really don't want to, but I feel it is imperative that we should have the co-operation of Mrs. Johnson.

I am enclosing the result of the vote sent out from this office in regard to the work in Oklahoma.

Faithfully,

Dic.

Encl.

Anna H. Shaw
 I hope you will have a successful series of meetings for Mrs. Puffer, and that we may all meet in Chicago on June 25th

Apr 7, 1909

Result of vote sent out from President's Office March 19, 1909.

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Please vote as to whether or not you desire to continue the work in Oklahoma according to Mrs. Boyer's and Mrs. Bigger's plans:

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

Miss Blackwell first voted no and afterwards changed to yes.

Miss Gordon voted no, but wishes to go on record that she thinks it would be a good political move, but is obliged to vote no on account of the campaigns in South Dakota and Washington needing all the funds available.

Miss Clay duplicates Miss Gordon's vote.

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Vote to pay Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower \$50. per month each unanimous.

All heard from agree to pay Mrs. Johnson, the President of the State Federation of Clubs \$75. per month, making an exception to the regular price of \$50. to state workers because of her position in the Federation. Miss Clay suggests raising the \$ difference between \$50. and \$75. in some other way than in taking it from the National Treasury so as to keep a uniform price of \$50.

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 Prytanla 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, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
THE HONORARY PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Moylan, Pa ., April 5, 1909 .

My dear Miss Clay:-

I received your letter of April 2nd and the one to the Business Committee, which came this morning. I think you are perfectly right in saying that what we need to do is to influence the voters and the legislators through political action. I have never doubted that, but my only point of difference with you is that I haven't the least particle of faith in the promises and pledges of men who go to the legislature, either before they are elected or afterward. We have been trying for about sixty years to make them see that the party that grants suffrage to women will be benefitted by it, just as the Democratic party has been by the Labor vote and the Republican party by the Negro vote, provided they were permitted to cast it, and any man of any common sense whatever knows that is true; at the same time, there is a party in power to-day that they are sure of, that furnishes them money, that elects or defeats their candidates and that controls their conditions, and a bird in the hand is worth a good deal more than one in the bush, particularly to political candidates. I should be glad enough if we had power to either elect or defeat these men. A great effort was made in California to influence the vote of the Labor men in the legislature this but the winter, notwithstanding that National Labor Association and the State Association unanimously passed a suffrage resolution, only one of all the Labor men in the legislature voted for us; every other one voted against us, and the California women did everything in their power to get the Labor officials throughout the state to bring their influence to bear upon these men and they accomplished about as much as the blowing of a zephyr from the sunny south. Nevertheless, I agree with you, if we can do it, it is the thing to do, but until some regular organized body of men take up

[Am. S. 1909]

our cause and work for it, we will have about as much influence in politics as we have to-day, which is absolutely none whatever. If we could arouse all the women to work as the temperance women are working we could do something, but our women will not work that way, and as you yourself have said, it is even impossible to get them to take a petition and ask anybody to sign it. It would not be impossible to get the Temperance women to take a petition.

I shall be glad of any influence whatever that can be brought to bear upon these people, but I must frankly confess to you that I see no indication either in your letter or anything you have suggested which assures us that we either have or may obtain any such influence under existing conditions. My only hope is that if we keep on influencing other bodies all we can, getting them to pledge, whether their pledge means anything or not, and keep ourselves in the press until some turn of the wheel of revolution or evolution makes some political body of men see the advantage of our co-operation, and then as soon as they do we will get there. In the meantime I believe in working to get there and my idea now is that we have got to work with the Labor organizations of women as well as men, and I am deeply interested in any movement which will bring this to pass.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

*I hope you will
find Miss Purfield
helpful.*

Lexington, Ky. Apr. 6th, 1909.

Mrs. Kate H. Biggers,

Marlow, Okla.

My dear Mrs. Biggers,

Your letter of Mar. 27th was sent to Phoenix and then returned to me here, I having left Phoenix on the 19th. I am exceedingly interested in the work in Oklahoma and wish very much that the National Board would continue its assistance to that campaign. I fear though that the majority vote would be against it. I have not yet received a copy of the vote from Miss Shaw but I presume you have heard from her by this time. I got a letter from Mrs. Boyer which was also sent to Arizona and then returned here. I should have answered it, but I received it too late for an answer to reach her in Oklahoma according to the plan she described, and I do not know her eastern address. You know our question is submitted to the voters in South Dakota and in Washington and the assistance the National will have to give to those two campaigns make it much harder to induce the Board to vote to assist in Oklahoma. I wish very much you would let me hear what you finally decide to do in Oklahoma. As the only southern state in which we have ever carried on a prolonged campaign I consider it of particular importance.

We had no success in Arizona. We tried to get a bill through the legislature and failed; and Miss Gregg, whom I had hoped could be left there to do some organizing, was sent to South Dakota where it seemed to

2.

be necessary to have her to start the campaign. If Arizona is admitted to statehood next winter I wish very much for the National to do some organizing and then to carry on a campaign of pledging the candidates for the Constitutional Convention before election. Though your campaign in Oklahoma was not successful yet I believe pledging candidates before election is the best method we have yet tried.

Our National organizer, Miss Penfield, has been in Kentucky several days and is coming to Lexington to-day to work in this city and surrounding towns for about a week. She is to be my guest and of course I shall be very much occupied this week. If Mrs. Boyer is still with you please give her my regards and tell her that I greatly appreciated her letter and will answer it at a later time.

It takes me so long to hear the Oklahoma news through the National Headquarters that I hope that you will write to me on receipt of this, even if it be but a few lines. You may depend upon my interest and upon my doing anything that is practicable to assist if you should have decided to carry on the campaign.

Hoping to hear from you on receipt of this, I am always

Sincerely your friend,

Dict.

Lexington, Ky. Apr. 2, 1909.

Reverend Anna Howard Shaw,

Moylan, Pa.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Your letter of Mar. 30th with Miss Greggs enclosed was received yesterday. I have considered the points you make in your letter as carefully as I can. I am much pleased with the results of Miss Gregg's conference. I trust Mrs. Pettigrew's appointment as chairman will remove from our Board the difficult question of sending in a manager of the campaign. I have feared, as you know from my previous letters, as an occasion of trouble with the political feeling of the state. I do not attribute the objection of the local workers to state pride, as you seem to consider it; but a recognition of the feeling of the voters, who are the ones we and they have to consider. I have never been in any state where any sort of interference with political affairs from outsiders was not regarded with extreme jealousy. I consider it a sign of promise that the women are at last arousing themselves to see this patent fact and to regulate their conduct accordingly.

Now as to the quandary about the employment of Mrs. Johnson. I believe your decision is wise to offer a uniform price of fifty dollars to all the local workers. But recognizing as we all do the importance of having the President of the Women's Clubs in the field for us I have been turning over in my mind how we could meet the difficulty if we cannot get her on these terms. It has occurred to me that you might set these prices

2.

as the limit of what the National can do until the convention in Seattle, which is only three full months ahead, and perhaps the local could arrange all these things for that limited time. That period is a logical one for our Board to set and gives us an appropriate time for changing any terms that we might feel necessary to do. But in order to insure that we shall not lose Mrs. Johnson I suggest that you might say that while this will be the rule of the Board as to what it will pay out of the General Treasury yet our Board might raise something by special donations for particular cases if deemed absolutely necessary by the Campaign Committee. Or, you might attain the same object by saying that in addition to these salaries on an established rule the Board will allow a certain sum (say about two hundred or three hundred dollars) which the Campaign Committee can use at its discretion. Perhaps neither of these suggestions will meet with your approval, and as the time is short and I feel equally with you the importance of securing Mrs. Johnson I will accede to any plan of meeting the difficulty you may think desirable, and therefore you need not wait to hear from me again; but count my vote as a duplicate of yours upon this point.

I cannot but feel some degree of uneasiness about the future action of the minority portion of the Conference. As I understand it represented principally the W. C. T. U. who were the real originators of the suffrage bill. I know there are many women who cannot hold out against a strong opposition in a conference, and therefore may seem to yield while they really have no intention of conceding the main points. Unless the matter is handled with great tact I anticipate the possibility that this faction will throw themselves more into the schemes which the W. C. T. U. may formulate rather than up-hold the plans of the Campaign Committee. Had you not better warn Miss Gregg to look out for something of this kind? As the

E Apr 2, 1909

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W. C. T. U. is so strong in South Dakota and has made up its mind to have a suffrage campaign I do not believe that we can divert them from their purpose. And I also think it is improbable that they consent to subordinate themselves to the direction of our Campaign Committee.

Just at this point I have received your letter of Mar. 31st in which you tell me that you have charged the women to keep on the best terms with the temperance men; so no doubt you have had in mind very much the same view that I have been trying to express. I believe that this attitude on the side of our workers that if the temperance people do not allow us to be in the lead at least they will carry on their campaign in perfect fraternal feeling with us. I would not be surprised if, after all, this would not be the most advantageous attitude for us. Because, if we do not attempt to ~~eliminate~~ their distinctive work from the campaign, the temperance people cannot say that we caused them to lose the state, as they did charge the suffragists in California.

I note what you say about the futility of pledging candidates before their election. I take a different view from you and at a future time I intend to elaborate it. But I know now that you are too anxious about the situation in South Dakota to be able to give attention to anything else. I will therefore defer this to another time.

Very cordially yours,

Diet.

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., June 10, 1909.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I have read with great care your report of the Arizona work and it seems to be very comprehensive. There is, however, nothing we can do in connection with it until we meet in Seattle. I very much fear that there be a great dearth of contributions for the work during the coming year. The fact of it all is the eastern women are getting very tired of giving money to spend in western campaigns; not only that but with the aroused interest in the work in the eastern states they are feeling that they want all of their money at home, and there is growing up a feeling of jealousy against contributing to the National instead of to the State work; so I think we are going to have a very hard time to raise the necessary money for the campaigns in either Washington or South Dakota.

The attitude of the women in South Dakota has disgusted many people who might otherwise have given, and, although I do not say it to people outside of our Committee, I am quite sure that the money I would have given if I had had it when the Bill passed last winter, with the feeling that I had of the possibility of its being carried, I would not now give; for it almost seems to me that the chances they did have they have lost by their jealousies and quarrels. There has never been a state, to my mind, where there has been more chance of success than in South Dakota this year. Every condition was most favorable, not because of the particular ability of the women but because of the attitude of the leading men. But all of this will have to be discussed when we meet on the way to Seattle, and, alas!

2--L.C.

[June 10, 1909]

when we arrive in that city we will probably get into the midst of a worse muddle than ever, especially as Mrs. Hutton has paid the expenses of Mrs. Duniway to Spokane in order to have her assistance in making trouble. What she will not be able to think of it will be difficult for anybody else to try. I never started for a National Convention more heart sick in my life, but I hope when the time comes to start I will feel more cheerful. The mail for the last three or four days has been anything but encouraging.

Trusting that you are in good health and spirits, I am

Faithfully,

Anna N. Shaw