

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
EVANSTON, ILLS.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 PRYTANIA STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MARY WARE DENNETT,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

RECORDING SECRETARY, ELLA S. STEWART,
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLS.

TREASURER, JESSIE ASHLEY,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,
LEXINGTON, KY.
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, IDA HUSTED HARPER,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

AFFILIATED SOCIETY
THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

September 27, 1910.

Dear Member of Official Board:

I am submitting to you a copy of a letter just received from Mrs. Thorp, of Britton, South Dakota. I have had one or two other letters along similar lines.

Of course I do not believe that either one thousand or five thousand dollars will save South Dakota. Nothing will save it without the women and men of the state do some work themselves, but I am submitting this copy to you in order that you may instruct me what to say to the newspaper women. Of course we all know that newspaper work is greatly needed, but at the same time it is pretty late in the day for South Dakota to realize it.

You will be interested to know that the Federation of Labor in Oklahoma was urging Mr. Mitchell to go to Oklahoma in the interest of the Suffrage Amendment in the Constitution. Mrs. Biggers, Mrs. Boyer, and others, wrote Mr. Mitchell urging him to go, and, at Mrs. Boyer's request, I also wrote to him. I am sorry to say that I have just received a reply from Mr. Mitchell in which he says that he would be happy to go if he was so situated that he could, but it is impossible.

I will have a long letter in a day or two to write you about Arizona, but cannot do it now.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw
per M.D.

Sept. 27, 1910

(C O P Y)

Britton, S. D.
September 24, 1910

My dear Miss Shaw

More and more it is impressed upon me that a few big contributions to the campaign, say from \$1,000 upwards, would ensure its success. The newspapers as a rule, seem to have agreed upon a policy of silence editorially, for what reason I cannot quite figure out. Probably, however, not much interested in it, and think better to stay upon the fence, until they see how it is going. There really appears to be no organized or active opposition. Of course, the liquor men we know are opposed, but they have a campaign of their own on hand (county option) and as I think there has been great discretion used by the women all over the state, even by the W. C. T. U. to avoid all reference to the saloon question in their plea for suffrage, they are not making certainly any open fight upon the measure. Now, then, what are our obstacles? First and foremost, as I wrote you yesterday, unenlightenment of the voters. There should be begun at once a campaign thru the newspapers, which will have to be paid for. Our Press Supt. has been indefatigable in endeavoring to get Suffrage matters into the newspapers without charge; has succeeded in part, but only in small part. I have managed my own county, thru personal acquaintance and business and social "pull". Have every paper going in the county, some from the very beginning of the campaign, but I think mine is the only county where this is the case. But we need money and need it bad to get from now on into every every leading paper in the state. The leading paper in each county ought to have a Suffrage article from now until the 8th of November. Secondly,-- literature; a leaflet, with a sample ballot, with a finger pointing to the amendment and the words "vote yes" (such as the liquor men have out for their anti co option campaign) ought to go to every voter in the state, except such as are known to be irreconcilably opposed (such men as the saloon-keepers and other vicious classes). This ought to be sent out by local workers who could ascertain the character of the men, but there is not enough interest to get it done without pay and what is more to the point, there is not money to pay to have it done.

Dr. Aylesworth's words, "With \$2,000 I would guarantee to carry this state for the amendment" haunts me, and I cannot believe but that if the leaders of the work in the National were convinced of this, the money would be raised some way. I am taking care of my own county, as I pledged at the Sioux Falls Convention. It has not cost the State Committee a penny. I will hand it over with a good majority for the amendment. I am needed here until the end, but I will say this: If the money can be forthcoming to pay the newspapers and Mrs. Fitch desires my assistance, I will go to her (at Hurley) as I do not think she could leave home, and together we could begin a newspaper campaign. There

Sept 27, 1910

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is no doubt but that we could ^{gain} ~~obtain~~ access to all the papers by paying for space, and I presume we could get it in many cases at reduced rates. I am an old newspaper writer. Have been a member of the Nat'l Press Woman's Ass'n, Washington, for years and feel fully competent to make up matter for the newspapers.

Think this over, my dear Miss Shaw, get corroboration of my statements from Miss Penfield, who, I feel sure, will agree with me, or from Dr. Aylesworth, and see if you cannot in some way raise us a fund that will make victory possible, not for the sake of the women in South Dakota, many of whom do not deserve it, not for the sake of Dakota alone, but for the great uplift it would give our cause all over the world.

Hastily, but ardently yours for the cause

(Signed) Chestina S. Thorp.

I see that I have written rather incoherently, but you will understand meaning. Have been interrupted.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

September 26, 1910.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

I am enclosing copies of a letter received from Mrs. Hartshorn a few days ago; also a copy of the letter to which she refers written by Miss Ellis Meredith in response to a request from Mrs. Hartshorn to write an article in regard to the Denver elections. You will see that Mrs. Hartshorn contemplates paying for writing the various leaflets, and that she says a fund of several thousand dollars should be in hand before the work is begun.

In response to my inquiry as to the attitude of the Board upon Mrs. Hartshorn's proposition, think I have heard from all the members. There is a unanimous agreement, first, that the names of local societies shall not be put upon our literature, or upon the National stationery. We all agree that if the Chicago society is willing to pay for the publication of one of the leaflets, we will be very glad to accept its generous offer, as we would that of any other society, and we hope that other societies will follow its example and help to pay for the publication of literature which they particularly approve. There is also unanimous agreement that while Mrs. Hartshorn's plan is an admirable one for study courses, university extension work, and for local clubs which desire to establish courses of study, that it is not exactly the kind of literature which we need for general and popular propaganda, and, while it is desirable to have Mrs. Hartshorn's series in the literature department of the National Association,

9/26/10.

provided we can afford it, the first business of the Association is the publication of literature for which there is present demand. Our appropriation for literature will scarcely cover that demand without leaving any margin for the publication of this additional series of several thousand dollars which Mrs. Hartshorn requires for pamphlets, though certain leaflets in her group could be well adapted to present needs. This is as far as I am able to glean from the various replies which have been received. Miss Blackwell has taken very great pains to elaborate her reply and to show the peculiar advantages of certain classes of literature. We have on hand leaflets which cover many of the points suggested in Miss Blackwell's letter, but other points are still unprovided for. Before writing the definite opinion of the National Board to Mrs. Hartshorn, I have made this very general statement to you so that if you should differ from it I would like to have you say so, or, if I have misunderstood your letters, you can correct me. Miss Blackwell's very careful letter I think covers the whole situation.

In regard to the Cargill contract. There seems to be but one opinion, and that is, that Mrs. McCulloch should draw up a contract which she thinks would protect the National Association from any infringement of its rights by the Company. Miss Clay, I think, comes more nearly expressing my own views upon this affair than any one else. She is afraid of it - so am I. I am afraid that some sort of advantage will be taken of our consent to have our names put upon a portion of these things that in some way or another we may be held responsible for others that will be produced without our approval, even though our names may not be on them. While it is the vote of the Board that it would be a good thing if we could get such a firm to take up our material and

9/25/10

advertise it for us, and give us a share of the profits, every member having agreed to it, except Miss Clay, I feel that it should not be done without a very strong contract, and, since the majority of the Board have voted in favor of doing it, I am going to ask Mrs. McCulloch, as Legal Advisor, to draw up such a contract. Mrs. McCulloch has the contract which Mr. Smith drew up for the Company, so that she will know what his propositions are and make her counter propositions, if there are to be any, and I am writing Mr. Smith to that effect.

There is a unanimous vote in favor of publishing Mr. Shafroth's article, and it has also been suggested by Miss Clay that we send the magazine containing the article to the Democratic members of the Constitutional Convention. Mrs. McCulloch also makes a good suggestion, and that is, that we get as many Democratic editorials as possible in strong Democratic papers and send marked copies of them to the Democratic members of the Constitutional Convention. If there are any other suggestions, we will be very glad to have them.

Mrs. McCulloch incurred a bill of fifty dollars for stenographic work for the National American Woman Suffrage Association during the summer which she has paid. Do you vote to reimburse her?

Miss Penfield is kept busy in South Dakota by Mrs. Fairbanks, who writes encouragingly of her work. Mrs. Fairbanks also says Mrs. Craigie is doing good work with the clergy, and there seems to be a little more activity throughout the state.

Faithfully yours,

Encls.

Anna H. Shaw

Sept 26, 1910

6 035 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Ills
September 12th, 1910

Rev. Anna H. Shaw
505 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Miss Shaw:

I enclose a copy of a letter from Mrs. Meredith. The contents are suggestive and indicate the high character of the plan which I have submitted to the Finance Board. It is likely ~~to have~~ That a considerable proportion of the pamphlets that I propose to issue will have to be paid for. But as I have remarked before, the day when a sporadic and abortive literature can be very effective, is past. University Extension, lectures and courses of study, accompanied as they have been by a wide demand for historical subjects, have set a standard that the suffrage movement will have to meet. You can readily estimate the cost of a hundred pamphlets issued under the conditions suggested in Mrs. Meredith's letter. The necessary conclusion is that a fund of several thousand dollars should be secured before the work is really begun. You will agree with me that I cannot afford to use my plan unless I am reasonably sure that it will be carried out.

Of course the disposal of the pamphlets will have to be put on a broad business basis. In that case it is to be hoped that over and above the amount necessary for reprinting from plates and for paying for office work incident to the handling of the literature some profit will accrue.

It is hardly necessary to draw attention again to the point that the printing will have to be done in Chicago. Otherwise, I could not oversee it properly.

The amount of work that I have said I would do will be enormous. It may be that I am doing my family a grave injustice. But with engagements to lecture in different parts of the country I could face the requirements of family interests with some slight equanimity. To be sure the reputation of editing such a series would in the long run make some restitution for the time I had spent in this branch of suffrage work. It was merely a matter of kindly forethought for the Political Equality League to emphasize the fact that the editor's name as well as the author's must appear on each pamphlet. In these two ways I shall look for some return for my labor.

In putting out the revised edition of Eminent Opinions, I will make changes in its appearance that will add to its attractiveness, at least so editors here in Chicago think. Will the Secretary please inform me at what date it will be necessary for the revised edition to be out of press?

I am looking daily for the report of the vote of the Finance Board.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Myra Strawn Hartshorn

P.S. There is no immediate demand for German and Scandinavian literature leaflets or flyers outside of S.D. Dakota.

Sept 26, 1910

Sept. 8, 1910

Dear Mrs. Hartshorn:

Your first letter should have had an answer sooner, but between sickness in my family, and the stress of a special election, the first the commission has had to conduct, I have had no time for anything.

The National Association would not expect me to make a dozen or so speeches for nothing, yet the matter you wish compiled would take as much time. Moreover, after having furnished you with such a pamphlet, it would be practically impossible for me to sell articles covering the same subject to any magazine, and I have no means of making a living save by writing. No magazine would offer less than \$150 for such an article as you outline, nor would I write it for less. I simply can't afford to do so.

Recently I consented to do a certain amount of editorial work for the Woman's Journal; this is gratuitous. All the time we have demands upon us here, letters to write, explanations to make, etc., etc., and these things we do, but I don't feel that the National Association should expect professional women to give services of this kind wholly without remuneration. Their speakers, organizers and other employees do not do it. There is no reason why we should.

Mr. William McLeod Raine has written an article for the Twentieth Century, November issue, I think, that covers some of these points. You might get leave to re-print that; Mr. Flower is a good suffragist.

I am sorry to seem disobliging, but I simply can't afford to do this work for nothing.

Sincerely,
(Signed) Ellis Meredith.

3325 Decatur St., Denver.

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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

September 23rd 1910

Dear Member of Official Board

Herewith please find copies of a letter just received from Mrs. Ellicott, president of the Equal Suffrage League, the largest group of suffragists of Baltimore; also a copy of the resolutions which were sent to her by the Executive Board of the Maryland State Woman Suffrage Association, expelling Mrs. Ellicott's society, the Equal Suffrage League, from the State Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Ellicott evidently wishes to remain in the State society because she is eager to be a member of the National Association, and, if she is expelled from the State, will be permanently excluded from the National. As you will see in the resolutions, there is no just reason given for the expulsion, as the constitution of most states does not demand that each local club shall follow the wishes of the State society.

Mrs. Ellicott's society, on account of the negro question, believed that municipal suffrage could be secured for the women of Baltimore on an education and tax paying basis, and the club (which is larger than the State society) petitioned the legislature for this particular measure, while the State society, through its Executive, petitioned for full suffrage. This is the ground for antagonism between the two. The second complaint against the Equal Suffrage League - "That it assisted other suffrage clubs which are not members of the State Association" - this to me is one of the most absurd excuses possible. In fact, the whole reason for the expulsion seems unreasonable. Here the Maryland people exclude from their society one thousand members which takes them out of the National Association. Have we any rights which can prevent this state from depleting our National body by so large a group of women?

I judge from the letters that this action was taken by the Executive Committee, without consulting the expelled group or without their being present at the time the action was taken.

Sept 23, 1903

Official Board, --- #2.

My own opinion in regard to the matter is that the Ellicott group, which is the most influential and progressive body, has the largest number of members, and the only way by which the so-called Funck faction can obtain control of the State is by putting these other people out before the election at their next State meeting.

Mrs. Dennett, Miss Ashley and I have consulted together in regard to the matter, and have decided to send the statement to the Official Board so as to give you time to look it over, and in the meantime to send a letter to the Maryland Society stating that complaint has been made by the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore City, and asking them for a copy of the State Constitution and the reasons for the expulsion of this group of women; also cautioning them that if this action is illegally taken on their part, that whatever they do will be illegal, if the expelled group of people take it up, as I think they will. I am also writing to Mrs. Ellicott, asking for copies of her local society's constitution and a statement of the facts as to whether or not her society was represented in the Executive meeting or had a hearing before the time of their expulsion, and if they have paid dues this year. I am not doing this in any legal way; simply in the form of friendly advice to try and keep the society together.

If it is possible for one group of people to put out a great body of active suffragists, as is this particular branch in Maryland, I feel that the sooner our constitution is amended so that we may take such groups into the National Association, the better. This is an exaggerated case of the Washington movement, which was done for exactly the same reason, the only difference being that the group of people expelled in Maryland are among the very best and most influential women in the city and state.

As soon as I receive copies of the constitutions, and a reply from Mrs. Ellicott, I will let you know what is done, and I hope you will advise as to what further action, we, as a National Association, can take in the matter.

Faithfully

Anna H. Shaw

AHS/MEB

(C O P Y)

Sept 23, 1910

To the President and Officers and
Directors of the National Woman
Suffrage Association.

Ladies:

On behalf of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, I appeal from the action of the State Board, as shown in the enclosed resolution, and ask that the National Board take such action as will support us as a State League for the following reasons:

1st. Although the charges made in these resolutions, if true, would not be a cause of expulsion and could be easily re-adjusted by conference, - as a matter of fact, they are entirely untrue, - the State Association has never been ignored by our League, and constant, though unsuccessful efforts have been made to cooperate with it since our League was formed. The Equal Suffrage League has not formed any auxiliary clubs in Maryland, although its members endeavor to popularize suffrage whenever they can.

2nd. In view of the approaching annual State Meeting within a month, the large number of delegates from our club will have no vote unless this matter is cleared up promptly, and as we certainly would appeal and demand our representation, unpleasant publicity will injure the cause.

We therefore ask if the State Association has a right to expel a club which pays the dues and whose chief fault seems to be extreme activity in the cause of woman suffrage.

I do not hesitate to say that I regard it of the utmost importance to the cause of suffrage that the situation in Maryland should not suffer the disgrace of forcing a powerful league into isolation from state and national interest. We number nearly 1,000 members and have planned an active winter of development. We have the full confidence of the community and are in a position to influence not only a conservative state but the south from which we frequently are appealed to for counsel.

Moreover, although not having at hand a copy of the National or State Constitution, I feel morally certain that the State Board has no right to dismiss us from the organization and I challenge their action.

Prompt response is necessary to ensure our representation at state elections, and therefore we will be greatly indebted for a speedy reply.

Very truly yours

(Signed) Elizabeth King Ellicott,

Pres. Equal Suffrage League.

(C O P Y)

Sept 28, 1910

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Woman Suffrage Association of Maryland, held at No. 51 1/2 Park Avenue, Baltimore City, June 18, 1910, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore has since its organization manifested no interest in, or desire to fulfil any of the obligations of a local club to the State Association, and has ignored the rights of the said State Association and has assumed the prerogatives of the said Association. And,

WHEREAS, the said Equal Suffrage League is interested in and is assisting clubs organized in the interest of Woman Suffrage in Maryland, said clubs not affiliated with nor auxiliary to the aforesaid State Association,

RESOLVED, that the said Equal Suffrage League shall be from the date herein named and heretofore specified, no longer a recognized part of the said State Association.

RESOLVED, that the members of the Executive Committee present at the meeting herein specified shall sign these resolutions and that the said resolutions be sent to the Secretary of the Equal Suffrage League.

(Signed)

Emma Maddox Funck, President
Julia F. Abbott, Vice-President
Mary Badders Holton, Treasurer
Etta H. Maddox, Cor. Secretary
Gertrude R. Dove (per Annie Melvin) Auditor
Mary Badders Holton, Member Nat'l Ex. Com.
E. Maddox Funck, (Per Mrs. Edward S. Dauson)
Pres. Balto. City W. S. C.
Anna S. Abbott, Pres. Balto Co. W.S.C.
Laura Augusta Edwards, Chairman Press Work
Edna A. Beveridge, Chairman of Education
Etta H. Maddox, Chairman of Legislation
A. M. V. Davenport, Chairman of Resolutions
Mary E. Peach, Chairman Church Work
Mary Young Taylor, Chairman Papers & Lit.
Ethel B. Warfield, President Junior Club.

SELECTIONS FROM REPORTS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZERS.

SOUTH DAKOTA:

(Mrs. Minnie E. Sheldon, Headquarters Secretary, to Mrs. Dennett, September 12th.)

Report for month from Aug. 13-Sept. 13

One six-page Bulletin; 150 copies sent out.
Letters for month, 4,800.
Attended four Executive Board meetings.
Visited two clubs out of town to awaken interest.
Nine organizers and workers in the field.
Open air meetings are still in vogue and are doing good.
Aiming to have speakers at all fairs.

The Local Club served dinner and supper Roosevelt Day, September 3rd. About \$40.00 realized which went to meet office expenses. I got out circular letters to be given to the voters that day. Mrs. Henrietta C. Lyman of Madison, Wisconsin, and Miss Bower were here and talked on the street, besides giving away literature. Five hundred of these letters were sent to Salem for the Fair; 3,000 sent to State Fair. These letters are a personal appeal to voters.

Dr. Aylesworth has started on his route again; will be at the State Fair Woman's Day to speak. Afterwards to go on to the Hills and remain there thru October.

Mrs. Craigie will also be at Huron. Much work is planned for there and I am just about to leave ~~for~~ to meet the workers.

The Executive Board here comprised of Mrs. H. E. Hendricks, Mrs. L. C. Campbell, Mrs. K. Zetlitz, Mrs. K. L. Stickney and Mrs. W. Hildahl have certainly stood by this work nobly and for the Campaign as it was planned in the beginning; they have done and are still doing good work.

A great deal of literature has been sent out to the clubs this month.

(Dr. Aylesworth to Miss Shaw, September 16th.)

Mrs. Sheldon has just informed me that you have telegraphed your intention to speak for us at the close of the campaign. I fully believe this will mean the success of the amendment.

The campaign is gathering momentum. The State workers are still "joined together". When I came last

Richmond, Ky.

Sept. 18th, 1910.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have been so exercised by the proposition of the Cargill Co. agent that I had to defer my answer. I have now made up my mind on the several votes you have asked in your recent letters.

(1) I vote No to the Cargill proposition. Except for the advertisement in the Journal I do not anticipate any financial results worth consideration. I see that we are on very ticklish ground to endorse the mutilated U.S. seal; and I am wholly opposed to running any risks of getting out sensational cards and posters in our campaign states. Senator Roddie's behavior in Oklahoma warns us that we have unscrupulous enemies who will take every advantage of any mistake of ours, and would probably not be above forgeries of cards, etc. I think the endorsement of any publications not directly under our charge is too delicate a matter for us to risk. Therefore I vote No.

(2) I think the practical reasons given by Mrs. Den-nett are so weighty that I have to vote No to Mrs. Hartshorne's proposition as it is now presented. But I wish we could have a modified form which would enable us to benefit by the really admirable outline she has drawn. As it is very elaborate and not likely

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to be put into execution quickly anyway. I wish we might invite some more practicable proposal.

(3) I vote Yes to helping to keep Mr. Aylesworth in S. Dakota.

I have not yet heard of what has become of Miss Penfield.

Very cordially yours.

Richmond, Ky.

Sept. 17th, 1910.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I vote Yes to the proposition to have Gov. Shafroth's speech published as described in your letter.

I further propose that we should buy enough of that issue of the Magazine to send through the mails at once to each of the Democratic delegates elect. It would probably be read more surely from the magazine itself, and would be a suitable recognition of the good will of the magazine.

Though I admire Sen. Owen's oratory very much I do not advise asking him to go to Arizona and address the convention. The Arizonans are tremblingly afraid to do anything which might prejudice the confirmation of their constitution; and you know the constitution of Oklahoma is very much disapproved by the powers that be. When I was in Arizona I found that Oklahoma was not much regarded as an example. Why not ask Shafroth himself, or ex-Gov. Adams?

Yours in haste,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



September 14/1910

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

DEAR MEMBER OF THE OFFICIAL BOARD:-

As you doubtless saw by the newspapers of yesterday evening or this morning, the majority of the delegates elected to the Arizona Constitutional Convention are Democratic. Therefore every precious bit of Democratic influence we can bring to bear upon that convention the better, and one of the best things I know from a Democratic source is Governor Shafroth's speech which was published in the Democratic Monthly, one of the leading magazines of the Democratic party. If this could be brought out immediately by the National Association and put into the hands of the members of the Arizona Constitutional Convention, it might have a good deal of influence, and I have had an offer from a lady to let it come out under the name of the National Association, published in the style of our own leaflets, and the bill will be paid. She will agree to pay for 5,000 provided she can have the disposal of 1,000. If we do not accept her offer immediately she is going to bring it out on her own account, and I think it would be much better to have it printed under our auspices and with the name of the Democratic magazine on it, because that would add to its importance in the Democratic circles. We must also get an endorsement from Senator Owen and get him to use his influence in getting this measure before the Constitu-

Sept 14, 1910

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH,
EVANSTON, ILLS.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 PRYTANIA STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MARY WARE DENNETT,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

RECORDING SECRETARY, ELLA S. STEWART,
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLS.

TREASURER, JESSIE ASHLEY,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,
LEXINGTON, KY.
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, IDA HUSTED HARPER,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

AFFILIATED SOCIETY
THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

tional convention. In fact we must bring to bear on the Democrats all the strength we possibly can. I wish we could get Owen to go and speak before the Constitutional convention. Will you reply immediately stating whether you are willing to have this speech of Governor Shafroth's published by the National Association?

I forgot to say that we have the consent of the magazine to republish it.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK

September 14th 1910

Dear Member of the Official Board

You have received Mrs. Dennett's letter, in answer to Mrs. Hartshorn's plan of preparing a series of leaflets and publishing them, etc. I have purposely not said anything of her plan to you, as I wished to ^{hear} first from members of the Official Board, since Mrs. Hartshorn sent her letter directly to each one. I have heard only from Mrs. Dennett, Miss Gordon and Miss Ashley, whose opinion so far as expressed, coincides with mine.

Mrs. Hartshorn has shown that a great deal of care and elaboration has gone into her work, and if our object is to prepare a course of study for clubs or University Extension work, it is admirably planned; but as literature to satisfy our needs, or for the purposes of park, street, and public meetings, fairs, etc., with the intention of converting people, it is practically useless. A pamphlet of from 24 to 32 pages long would scarcely be read by one of us; I am quite sure it would not be read by me, let alone by a busy or indifferent man or woman.

It has not, so far, been the province of the Literature Committee to decide upon the literature we, as an Association, must publish, and we be bound to publish that and nothing else. My understanding of the duties of that Committee is to pass judgment upon literature submitted to it and to prepare leaflets, if they should chance to be able to write them, which are good and practical for the purposes of our Association.

No one who knows anything about the Literature Department and its demands, could, for a moment, conceive of a plan such as is suggested by Mrs. Hartshorn. The Headquarters must be untrammelled, and those who manage the Literature Department must not be bound by red tape in such a way as to prevent quick action and the exercise of practical judgment, and the only place in which this can be done is at Headquarters. In fact, to my mind, there is not a single suggestion made by

[Sept 14, 1910]

Official Board, --- #2.

the Chairman of the Literature Committee which is practical for our work. It is alright from an educational standpoint, but she is greatly in error when she says we are past the time of needing literature for propaganda. These plans would involve us in endless complications if attempted, - in fact, it would make our Literature Department a storehouse for uncalled-for pamphlets, a large supply of which we already have on hand. After a leaflet has been printed, the Headquarters Secretary alone, or the person managing the literature, knows anything about its practical value, as far as the workers are concerned, and she should be able to use her discretion as the number of any one set of leaflets to be published. In responding to the demands, she knows more of the needs of the department than a Literature Committee scattered about the country, or than any member of the Official Board possibly can. If the Secretary in charge of the Headquarters cannot control the printing and output of the literature, it certainly can never be made a practical part of our National work.

I think it is time for us to define, as a Board, the scope of the work of the Literature Committee, so that it may be guided as to what its duties and activities really are.

The proposition of the Equal Franchise League of Chicago is, to my mind, unthinkable. To put the name of a single local club on the National stationery would call forth just protest and create confusion. If they have any desire for a leaflet which they wish the National Association to publish, they can submit it to the judgment of the National Literature Committee, and if they so advised, let it be published as the others are, the Chicago club agreeing to take a number as other clubs do. Too many Headquarters and too many points of correspondence is not only expensive but confusing, and the value of Headquarters is in the fact that people may become acquainted with a definite point from which all official correspondence is directed, and to which they can appeal for assistance. To date our literature would be a blunder which has been recognized by our Official Board, in some time since requesting that no date should be put on. To hand out literature at a meeting with a date of even several months past, is like handing out old copies of a newspaper. No matter how good the material is with an old date, it is thrown aside.

Please let me hear from you immediately, as Mrs. Harts-horn will naturally want to know exactly what is expected of her, as will also Mrs. Dennett.

Faithfully

Anna H. Shaw

AHS/MOB

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AFFILIATED

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK



September 12, 1910

Dear Member of the Official Board:

The question now comes up as to whether or not the National Board will be responsible for Mr. Aylesworth's salary and expenses in the state of South Dakota longer than the two months previously agreed upon. Mr. Aylesworth has gone back into the state and it seems to me, if it is possible for us to do so, it would be wise to keep him there until the end of the campaign. Are you in favor of this?

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

xxxxxxxxxxxxx Richmond, Ky.

Sept. 12th, 1910.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am glad to get your letter of Sept. 4th, and to know that you can give us the 14th and 15th of November for our State E.R.A. convention at Covington. I must hear from the local women before I give a positive answer that we can take those dates; but I believe they will be convenient for the Covington suffragists.

Now in regard to your going to S. Dakota: I do not feel competent to advise you; but I do not think it is your duty to go. I am growing in the conviction that the National should give its efforts to creating sentiment until a state agrees to submit a constitutional amendment; but when once the question comes before the voters the politicians will certainly take a hand in the decision, and in dealing with them I am very confident that only the people within the state can rightly meet them. Even now, though I think the women in charge are wholly incompetent, I am in hopes that our friends in politics may yet take hold and pull our amendment through, just as they pulled our bill through the Legislature after our forces had completely failed. They will either disregard the S. Dakota suffrage management, or make terms with them which suit the politicians; and if affairs take that turn I think it better for the National not to have any conspicuous place in the campaign, as perhaps men might take an interest when only their own state's women were concerned who would not do so if they had to consider the plans and wishes of the National. Of course, you might speak in the campaign without giving

it an official aspect, though I think that might be difficult. But real-
ly I think the time when what is called creating sentiment has passed, and
the question is now one of practical politics there, and in that game I
do not think your presence would be either pleasant to you or very prof-
itable to the campaign. However, I am not set in this last view, and
would not have thought of expressing it if you had not asked my opinion.
But I certainly do not think it your duty to go, unless for good reasons
you are convinced that it is worth the sacrifice on your part.

Very sincerely yours,

Sept 4, 1910 ✓

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Member National Council of Women

Honorary Presidents { ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 250 West 94th Street, New York
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
2008 American Tract Society Building, New York

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA H. SHAW
4104 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON
Warren, Ohio

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON
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Auditors { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.
MARY J. COGGESHALL
554 Seventh Street, Des Moines, Iowa

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 2008 AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY BUILDING, N. Y.

Office of Vice-President, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sept 4

My dear Miss Clay

This is some very old paper but my friends have it as a standing joke that the stronger my friendships are the older paper I was in corresponding with them

I simply cannot bear to destroy a bit of paper.

Now in regard to my speaking at your State Convention, I think I can plan it all right for the dates you suggest. That is if you take the 14th & 15th November.

I speak for Mrs. Starrant at the Ill. State Convention on the 11th and I can easily

reach you for the 14th.

I fear I cannot visit you
the 15th & 16th because
I speak at Richmond Va
at their state convention
on the 17th. So if you set
your dates for the 14th,
15th & 16th now I will be with
you W. V.

They are urging me to go
to So Dakota but I frankly
confess I cannot see
that it is my duty to
make a great effort to go
to speak for them when
they have literally thrown
away their chance and
there is no hope at all.
And especially when
they send out of the state

Sept 4, 1910

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an unreasonable ground
so good a worker as Miss
Pamfield.

What do you think, does
it appeal to you as my
duty to go?

Mrs. Cagney is going so she
writes me. She says they
have agreed to pay her
expenses. I wonder

where they expect to
get the money for it?

She does not seem to
me to be just the one
for a campaign. Though
she may succeed. It is

difficult to tell who will
and who will not make
a success of work

Hoping to see you in
Nov and that you may
have as good a campaign
won as you did last
year. Faithfully

Amatt Shorn

I wish you were going
to have your meeting in
Lexington the year as
I met such a splendid
lot of women and the
vast coming home from
there.

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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

September 2, 1910.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

I am enclosing returns of the various votes which have been sent out to date.

May I beg that the members of the Board vote upon the Vote Slips sent out and not include their vote in the midst of the letter, it makes it impossible to file the votes and keep a correct record of what transpires.

Miss Clay has offered to contribute \$100.00 towards the expenses of the English Women to Oklahoma, if they are sent there. I have asked Mrs. Biggers if she would like to have them. By the way, one of the young women is not an English woman, but an American, a teacher from Hartford, Conn., a spirited worker. I have met her personally and have never seen in this country a young woman of more earnestness and zeal. Mrs. Page writes: (from Mass.) that she wrote to Mrs. Fawcett of the National Woman Suffrage Society of England, asking if she could advise Massachusetts to engage Miss Gardner as an organizer? Mrs. Fawcett replied that she could and she would consider it a great loss if Miss Gardner left them. She also writes: "I have seen Miss Gardner and she is about thirty years of age, full of zeal and business-like. Mrs. Fitzgerald, who has been working in close touch with her, reports that she works very well.

Mrs. Page also says of Miss Pierson, that she has been exceptionally fine in her work at Hartford, having given both time and money to the cause.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Enclosure.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

Sept, 2, 1910

Dear member of the Official Board:

I am sending you a copy of a plan to enter a vote of protest against one of the most iniquitous clauses which has been introduced into what seems to be a beneficial Bill. This clause is practically an enslavement of the women and carries with it one of the worst features of the so-called licensing of prostitution.

It may seem to some of the members of the Official Board that this is a State measure and should be taken up by state people only, but other states are sending protests, because they feel that if this bill is accepted in a state like New York without protest, it will be taken up in other states as similar efforts are being made at the present time in many states. This might bring the question within the pale of national interest, so that a protest from our National Association would be legitimate.

If you are in favor of making this protest, will you reply by return mail as the printer is holding up the document until the 8th, for our reply.

I am inclosing a copy of Miss Dock's letter, so that you may see how she feels in regard to it.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

October 26, 1910.

Dear Member of the Official Board,

Before this letter reaches you I will be well into my work in South Dakota, and I presume, judging from my route I shall be too busy to write you again before the campaign is over. The importunities which came from the South Dakota women, and the assurance from Mr. Aylesworth that this wish was general, and most important, made me decide to do so, and I started from Philadelphia, Sunday October 23, and will begin speaking at Sioux Falls, on the 25th.

PRESS BUREAU. An important problem for us to decide is the successor of Mrs. Harper in the Press Bureau. She has promised me that she will remain until we come to a decision.

FINANCE. The question of funds is of greatest importance, and unless the suffragists respond better than they have, we will close our campaigns several thousands of dollars in debt, and a worse than empty treasury. We are hoping that the Finance Committee will devise a plan by means of which we may raise some funds. We need funds to liquidate our obligations immediately. One hope that we have is though the New York State Suffrage Fair, as the committee having that in charge has given us permission to have a National booth, by means of which we hope to raise some money. But this fair does not occur until January. I hope that it may receive help from States other than New York.

OFFICIAL BOARD MEETING. Another important question is whether we should have an official board meeting, this Fall, and when. It is a question whether in the state of our treasury we are warranted in holding it, and whether the exigencies of the work demand it. If it is thought best, then it would seem to me that as Miss Gordon is to be in New York late in November, that would be the best time and place. Please let me know your opinion concerning this.

MARYLAND. I wrote you of the trouble in Maryland. As the excluded and disfranchised group appealed to the National, I thought it was best to write the Maryland Association and the excluded branch begging them to appoint a committee from each association to have a meeting and try to harmonize by arbitration their difficulties. The excluded women appointed a committee and wrote Mrs. Funk asking her committee to meet them. Mrs. Funk's people refused to appoint a committee or to receive the others.

Then I wrote to Mrs. Funk as President, of Maryland, asking her to send us a copy of their State constitution and a list of the charges against the excluded group. I received an official communication from the State Secretary saying they refused to send a copy of their constitution, or to give us a list of the charges against the other people. It seems to me that when a large group of people is excluded from an association, a group larger than the association which has excluded them, and of which they have been a part, and paid their dues, and they have understood that they are a part of the National Association, with right of representation in the National Convention, then it seems to me that it is the business of the National Association, if a State disfranchises one thousand members of the National, and we have a right to seek that justice

Oct 26, 1909

-2-

shall be done the excluded people. I have not answered Mrs. Funcks letter of refusal, but I have written to Mrs. Ellicott saying that her association should attend the State Convention, insist on a pro rata representation and a voice in its deliberations; refuse to leave the convention and sit throughout its session. Then to make a formal protest to the National for redress. This high handed disfranchisement of groups who may be opposed to those in power, simply to keep themselves in power, as was also done in Seattle, must be stopped. I am going to propose an amendment to the National Constitution which I hope will make such disfranchisement impossible. Meantime I would like your advice on the subject.

Miss Penfield. Where shall Miss Penfield work after the South Dakota campaign? We have engaged her for a year. Shall I ask the various States whether they wish to employ her?

Dr. Aylesworth. Dr. Aylesworth wishes to know whether the National wishes to retain his services. Personally I feel that he is a great help in our work, but I am opposed to assuming a dollar of expense for which we are not already obligated.

Note. A note signed at the request of the Official Board, on October 1, 1909, by myself as President, and Mrs. Potter as Secretary, became due October 1 of this year, with no funds to pay it. What is to be done? Shall Mrs. Dennett and I renew it?

Communications and mail. All mail should be addressed to me at headquarters, and Mrs. Dennett will attend to it, with the exception of letters which I should have at once, and they should be addressed to me in care of Mrs. Nettie Sheldon, Woman Suffrage Headquarters, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, up to November 9.

Next National Convention. We have no invitation for our next annual convention. What steps shall be taken regarding it?

Here is hoping for VICTORY somewhere:

Faithfully,

Anna W. Shaw.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

October 18, 1910.

Dear Member of the Official Board,

For some time you have had in your hands the resignation of Mrs. Harper, as Chairman of the Press Committee, to go into effect November first, and the question arises as to our future action.

At the time of the National Convention Mrs. Belmont stated that if Mrs. Harper resigned she would reduce her subscription by the amount of Mrs. Harpers salary, but I have hopes that she will allow at least a portion of it to continue; I will however see her on Friday and consult with her as to what financial aid she will give us.

For the immediate present, while the political campaigns are on I doubt whether the newspapers will give us much space anyway, and Miss Reilley is able to take care of the syndicate work. Mrs. Harper has been helping her to get hold of that part of the press work and she seems to be managing it very well indeed.

In the meantime will each member of the Board write me her best suggestions as to what and how and by whom the Press Department shall be conducted, and whom you wish to nominate for chairman.

I leave for South Dakota on Saturday the 23rd, arriving at Sioux Falls on the following Tuesday, where I begin my route of fourteen cities, speaking fourteen consecutive dates before election.

On my return trip I speak at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Elgin, Illinois, Covington Kentucky, Richmond and Norfolk Virginia, arriving in New York November 19, speaking in that city on the 20th.

Oct 18, 1910

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I have just spoken at Louisville, Kentucky, and have attended the Ohio and New York State Conventions. It is a pity that State Conventions must be held so far apart, and such dates as to consume so much time, and expense in attending them. How I wish this "cruel war were over".

Letters from leaders in England express themselves as being much discouraged over the situation there, and viewing it from my standpoint last Summer I could not see that they had a shred of hope from this Parliament, but if nothing is done in Parliament, the suffragists are planning to be heard from, and in no uncertain voice. ~~xxxxxxx xixkary~~ If we have no victory this fall, and they have none I fear it will mean discouragement for both countries.

Miss Gregg thinks Arizona is hopeless, and she is apt to be very enthusiastic, this is a bad omen. She makes a very good suggestion I think, saying that if we could send them some money with which to secure the attendance of a number of local women at appear at a Hearing at the Constitutional Convention, it would do more good than to bring outside people. I had written asking what she thought the Colorado women could do to help, and that was her reply. What can we promise her? She also wants literature.

Mrs. Pickler as Vice President of the W.C.T.U. of South Dakota, has sent to us asking for literature, and money for automobiles with which to carry it to the voters. At this late day they have decided to district their counties.

The young English woman who is there, is very much distressed at the indifference of the women and the lack of enthusiasm and interest. We are sending more literature to South Dakota, they need it so much. O how we need money to further the many ways opened to us; but when so many who send donations send on her own responsibility, outside of the National Treasury, instead of helping the National Association to pay the bills which the Association has ordered, what can we do? What can be done to get money to pay the expenses of the National Association?

I am sorry to have to go West at this time, but feel that I must do what I can to help carry the Amendment, and encourage the women to do their best work.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw.

Geneseo, N. Y., October 15, 1910

Miss Laura Clay,

Richmond, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

I had a very interesting meeting in Louisville and hope some good was accomplished. While there I was entertained by a lady whose sister, a Miss Smith, told of the organization of a club in her town. Miss Smith evidently has ambitions to speak and be an organizer. She has prepared a speech which she ^{outlined to me} ~~told me of~~. I know how difficult it is to speak to one or two persons and that it is a most embarrassing thing. I am sure it would be an impossible thing for me to get up and make a committed speech to two people and put in sufficient ^{new} ~~feeling~~ into it; but Miss Smith did succeed in doing that. Of course her speech sounded committed and ^{recited} ~~sighted~~, but I do not think it would sound so if it was given before a larger number of people. She evidently would like to organize. Now, of course, I know nothing more about her than I saw in her home; she seems a very nice person and seems a very enthusiastic and loyal person to her suffrage. I am wondering if she would not be a woman whom you are looking for to organize in your state, and I speak of this now as she is going to the Convention, and if you do not know her very well you could have an eye on her and see what you thought about her.

I see by the papers ^{Mrs} Beauchamp has been refused to be allowed to have her name on the ticket because she did not apply within the thirty days limit. I am sorry for this for I should have liked to have had the case tested. I hope, however, that your ladies will be elected to the school board at Lexington.

I think I told you of the Lexington women whom I met on the boat coming home and that one of them planned a meeting for me. They were about the nicest people on the boat and I did ~~not~~ enjoy them so much. They were all enthusiastic suffragists.

If all goes well I will be with you on the morning of the 14th as I will probably come to Covington on the night train from Chicago. I have written to Mrs. Giltner in regard to entertainment. I hope you may have a successful Convention.

Oct 15, 1910.

Miss Laura Clay...2

The sentiment certainly seems to be growing in Kentucky very rapidly. I think the work of the Federation last year to secure school suffrage did a great deal of good.

Faithfully yours,

Anna D. Shaw

Richmond, Ky.

Oct. 8th, 1910.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I returned a few days ago from Covington, having been attending the W.C.T.U. Convention in Newport. We have decided on Tuesday and Wednesday for the regular business of the convention, though we expect you for the 14th and 15th of November. The delegates are invited to come on Monday so as to hear your first address, but it is such a long distance for some of them, and we really have so much business always that we thought it best not to put the regular convention work on till Tuesday. I hope you will be able to be with us all that day, as well as to meet many of them socially on Monday. Mrs. Mary E. Giltner is Chairman of the Entertainment Committee. You have her address, - 1554 Madison Avenue, Covington.

Have you seen that Mrs. Frances E. Beauchamp is running for Congress on the Prohibition ticket for the Seventh Congressional district? If you can, say something about it in Louisville. Also, two Lexington ladies, Mrs. Wickliffe Preston and Miss Neville are running for the School Board, with good chances of success. This is part of the effort of the Fed. of Woman's Clubs for School Suffrage in Ky.

My machine is so far from the gas light that I may be making many mistakes; but I must get this off to catch you in Louisville, where I hope you will have a very successful meeting.

Hoping nothing will go amiss with our plans and that I shall certainly see you Nov. 14th and 15th, I am

Very cordially yours,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

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PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

October 6, 1910.

Miss Laura Clay
Richmond, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

I hope that you can take the 14th and 15th of November, because it would be impossible for me to be with you on the 16th, as I speak in Richmond, Va., on the 17th at their State convention. I can be with you on the 14th and 15th for two days, but if you decide to hold your meeting on the 15th and 16th I could only be with you one day, - the 15th. I have written this to Mrs. Giltner. I shall be very glad to be with you as much as possible during the time of your convention.

On the 11th of this month I speak in Louisville, Ky. for the Suffrage Society there. It is a good deal out of my way to go there, but as I would not have time to stop on my way back home from the West, I have to make this special trip or not go at all. I thought it was good work to open the season at Louisville, and I will try to advertise the State convention at that meeting and do what I can to urge a goodly number to attend.

I suppose Miss Gordon is in Oklahoma by this time.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw
per M. J. McC

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

Shaw Nov. 25

November 23, 1910.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

An informal conference of the members of the Official Board who were in Chicago on November 13, 1910, was held in the room of Miss Shaw at the Palmer House, Mrs. McCulloch, Miss Gordon and Mrs. Stewart were present.

1. Among the subjects discussed was the situation in Maryland, and communications from various people were read, particularly a large number from the expelled Political Equality League of Baltimore. Miss Shaw stated that she had written to the expelled club, also to Mrs. Funck, urging them to call a committee from each section to consult and, if possible, bring about a harmonious settlement of their difficulties. Miss Shaw also stated that she had asked the State officers to send to the National Board a copy of the State Constitution, and the grounds upon which they had expelled a large club of nearly one thousand members. The State Association declined to appoint a committee for conference with the expelled members, and the expelled members very readily complied with the request and appointed such a committee. The State Association, through its Corresponding Secretary, notified the National President that they declined to send a copy of their Constitution to the Official Board, or to state upon what grounds these members had been expelled.

[Nov. 23, 1910]

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It was the opinion of the members of the Board in Chicago that Miss Shaw should write to the members of the expelled League, whose officers had stated that they would go to the Convention and present their delegates and, if refused, would leave the hall and appeal to the National. Our advice was that, if the State Convention declined to seat the delegates from the Equal Franchise League of Baltimore, and refused the Society any recognition in the Convention, the Treasurer of the League should send to the National Treasurer its dues of ten cents per member to the National Association, and that the National Treasurer would hold such dues until the National Convention, when both sides of the controversy would be given an opportunity to lay their case before the Executive Committee for final decision; and that, in the meantime, the National will not refuse to recognise them as regular auxiliary members of the National Association.

2. Some weeks since a vote was sent out by the National President to the members of the Official Board, asking them to express their choice of the time and place for holding the next National Convention. Only one member of the Official Board replied, and she suggested Detroit, or Cleveland.

At this informal meeting it was the unanimous opinion that, as we had been North and West and South that it would be advisable to have the National Convention in a central location, and it was suggested that if the Kentucky people invited us, Louisville would be a very desirable place.

The following day I went to Kentucky and laid the matter before Miss Clay, who seemed very willing and ready to co-operate provided Louisville was willing to co-operate in having the Convention there. At the State Convention a resolution was presented by a leading Louisville lady, and seconded

Nov 23, 1910

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by another, that the Kentucky Equal Rights Society cordially invite the National Association to hold its annual meeting in April in Louisville. This was unanimously carried by the Convention and the invitation extended through me. The State Association agrees to furnish a hall for the place of meeting and the entertainment of the officers at some hotel. This very generous offer was freely made, and I stated that the National would make no further demand upon the State; if anything more was done by them it would be wholly voluntary on their part, provided the invitation was accepted by the National Association.

3. It was also advised that Miss Gordon be authorized to write to Mr. Roosevelt, reminding him of his advice to the Committee who waited upon him, to get another State, and now that Washington has been carried, to ask him what could be done to utilize his advice in the future so as to be helpful.

4. It was suggested that pressure be made upon the insurgent Congressmen and Senators to secure their support to some suffrage measure, and that, if a party was organized, to see if it would not be possible to secure a woman's suffrage plank as one of the party dogmas.

5. It was also advised that the Press Department remain for the present under Miss Reilly's management, until we can find some person who has the necessary qualifications to do the specific writing which is necessary for any different kind of work from that which Miss Reilly is able to accomplish.

6. Miss Penfield. It was agreed to permit Illinois to retain Miss Penfield for a month in the State, the National paying the salary and Illinois the expenses, until we can correspond with some other Society who would perhaps, in addition to paying expenses, pay either a whole or a part of the salary, unless the National Association decided upon some definite work of a National character which it desires her to carry through.

[Nov 23, 1910]

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7. Miss Gregg. I was advised to ask Miss Gregg not to leave Arizona until the last hope of accomplishing something with the Constitution Convention has been abandoned, she was then to report the status of the Arizona Convention, and, as she has had no vacation all last summer, to ask her to go to Kansas, her home, for a short time to look over the situation in Kansas, and to see if the time had not come when Kansas could be roused to demand full suffrage and the State thoroughly worked up towards that end. It seems to us that, having had Municipal suffrage so long, it ought to be possible to carry Kansas through.

These were the subjects discussed which, of course, were not officially acted upon, as the meeting was in no sense official, but as there were at least four members present, and as I was going on to Miss Clay's Convention and Miss Gordon was coming to New York, and we could there meet Miss Anthony and Mrs. Dennett, and there was so little money in the Treasury, it does not seem advisable to hold a business meeting at present, we thought that we could get the opinion of the members upon these and other subjects. I am going to ask the members to vote upon these different measures.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

November 21, 1910.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I have just reached home and find the usual number of letters waiting to answer and I shall get them off one at a time as rapidly as possible. The first one I opened this morning was from Miss Blackwell, copy of which I enclose.

With our campaigns on hand and the present need of funds to pay the expenses which we have incurred because of them, and the small amount of money in our Treasury, it seems to me that we can hardly open such a subscription here; but we can state that, if anybody wishes to send money to the English Suffrage movement, we would be very willing to forward it. But they get thousands of dollars to our hundreds, and our own women throughout the country have contributed very little towards the expenses of the National Association in carrying on the campaigns in the West. I shall, however, await your vote upon this question before doing anything further in regard to it.

Some time since Mrs. Avery stated that she would like to have Miss Penfield in the State of Pennsylvania after she was through in South Dakota, and so I wrote her in regard to it, but she stated that there was to be a change of administration in Pennsylvania and that she thought there would not be sufficient funds to warrant them in securing her services. As we are

[Nov 21, 1910]

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under contract with Miss Penfield, and knowing that something must be done, on my way here through Chicago I asked Mrs. Stewart if Illinois could not take her for a time and they very gladly took her provided the National paid the salary Illinois would pay her expenses. This seemed much better than keeping her on expenses until we could make different arrangements. New York State would take her on the same terms, but I have received a letter from Baltimore asking for a month of Miss Penfield's time, and I judge they would be willing to pay her salary also, although the letter does not definitely state. If they would, of course we would gladly accept their offer. Have you any better suggestions to make as to the use of Miss Penfield's time?

In regard to Miss Gregg, we wrote her to remain in Arizona until there was no further hope of getting anything from the Constitutional Convention, and in the meantime we would consult with the Board as to whether she should continue to remain in Arizona or go somewhere else. Of course her remaining will depend entirely upon what the prospects are of doing anything further in Arizona. If we intend to keep on with the campaign then she had better remain, but if a campaign seems hopeless there then she had better do something else, and I have suggested that she go to her home in Kansas and look the situation over in Kansas and see what her chances are of a good State organization. It does seem to me that the time has come when Kansas ought to make a strike, its constitution is favorable and everything seems alright except for the unwillingness of the women to take hold of the work. Are you in favor of stirring up Kansas and just standing by the stuff there until we get something. I would also like to know what your opinion is in regard to continuing work in Oklahoma and South Dakota. I will send you a special letter in regard to South Dakota after I have been here for a few days and got some of the other matter off and tell you what I think should be done.

[Nov. 21, 1910]

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On my way home from South Dakota I stopped in Chicago and, fortunately, Miss Gordon was there at the same time and on Sunday afternoon we had an Official Board meeting with Miss Gordon, Mrs. McCulloch and Miss Stewart and went over as much of the business as we could in the afternoon. Of course four were not a quorum, but I took the notes of the business to Kentucky, where I went to speak for Miss Clay at her State Convention, and got her vote on several of them and she concurred with them all, and I will submit to the remaining members of the Board a vote upon each of the propositions discussed.

I am happy to say that I have reached home in splendid physical condition and, when I get a chance to rest up a little, I shall be in better trim than I have been for several years. I think another victory such as we had in Washington would make us all young again.

Faithfully yours,

Luna H. Shaw.

DMO 8 1910

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SWARTHMORE, PA.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK

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HEADQUARTERS SECRETARY, MARY GRAY PECK.

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THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY

PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 505 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK

Seward Falls
So Waketta
Nov 8th
1910

My dear Miss Clay

This is the eventful day and what the outcome will be I do not know. But I have not had the faintest hope of success since I came into the state. However I took dinner with Mr Ogdenworth last night and he felt sure we would win. So there it is and only tomorrow will we know.

The question now is what will we do with Miss Fairfield. We are under obligations to keep her long. I met the Officers Board about the same time ago but have heard only from Mrs McCulloch who simply says let her go cheap to the state which want her. But she does not name any state which does want her.

In the Officers Board meeting at Washington Mrs Avery said Penn would like to have her when she left So Waki. I asked Mr Bennett to confer with Mrs Avery about it and last night I received a telegram from Mrs Avery saying they would like her but cautious about it. Now I have been wondering if you did

not want to meet her for a while in Ky. Of
course if Arizona decides on submitting W. &
in a separate clause and we have a campaign
on our hands there, as a Southern woman she
might be very helpful, but in the meantime
we are paying her salary and should keep her
at work. If you cannot answer before
your state convention will you be thinking
of it and let me know as soon as possible
so that I can tell her what to do.

I wish the Board had given me instructions
at once so as to save time.

Joe had a splendid meeting here last night
one of the best so far, except Sunday night
at Mitchell.

I go to Mrs Lumber in Carington. I
am looking forward with great joy to being
back East again.

May heaven grant us victory somewhere
today.

Faithfully,

Amatt Shaw

I speak at Milwaukee the 10th and at the Ill.
State Supp. Convention at Elgin the 11th & 12th
and leave Chicago Sunday night for Corvallis
arriving in the morning in Corvallis. Via Penn
R. R. I will try to leave the ham and let Mrs
Lumber know.

Lexington, Ky. Nov. 8th, 1910.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I answer your letter of Oct. 26th under its heads. PRESS BUREAU. I feel grateful to Mrs. Harper for retaining the place till we can fill it. If we have a Board meeting I think we ought to defer a decision till it meets. If we have none, I am waiting for nominations from others of the Board who know more about the Press work. OFFICIAL BOARD MEETING. If we have one, I think when Miss Gordon can be present, and in New York, would be the time and place. At present, I do not see a pressing need of a meeting. If the Convention does not come till the fall of 1911 I think a meeting some time earlier in the year of 1911 would be preferable to now.

MARYLAND. I think the situation in Maryland needs very gentle handling. As the National is proposing to the states to amend the constitution along the lines of payment of dues and consequent membership, I think we ought to leave this till we hear from the states how they think the constitution should be amended. For myself, I think we ought to amend it to bring it as nearly as possible to similarity to the organization of political parties. If their organization and rules should be taken for a precedent, it seems to me the best way to decide between these factions would be as such political differences are decided. The precedent of political parties will probably command more concurrence from the factions than any decision the Board could come to, unassisted by such

precedent, as we have none of our own which is at all satisfactory. Why should this difference be settled at once? If both factions pay dues to the National it will leave it possible to decide it after time has been given for better feeling to prevail; and at any rate till the Board meets. If either faction objects to paying dues whilst the question remains open, perhaps we could vote that the Treasurer should leave her books open for this state till the dissension is quieted.

MISS PENFIELD. I think she should be offered to the states which wish to employ her.

DR. AXLESWORTH. I do not see how it is possible for us to undertake to engage the services of any more persons. Will he not allow his name to stand as one of our organizers, just as Miss Chase does, without our giving him employment at this time? That would be what I would like in the present stringency of our finances.

NOTE. I cannot recall anything about the note, so cannot express an opinion.

NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION. I have suggestions to make at present.

Very sincerely yours,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

December 19th. 1910.

Miss Laura Clay,
189 North Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

At a meeting of the Advisory Committee this week we discussed several questions pertaining to our methods of organization and took up some of our financial difficulties and problems and particularly The Woman's Journal.

I do not think the Journal can be managed any more cheaply than it is at present, and I do feel that every one is doing the very best she can to push it and make it successful. But we might as well face the fact that it is impossible for us to raise the money to meet the expenses. Then we are receiving a great many complaints from subscribers that the Journal does not come regularly, that they have tried to have their addresses correct but it is not apparently done, and we feel that something should be done in regard to securing responsible persons on the office force and to make such changes as will put in charge women who are business women, even though we have to pay them a little more for their work, rather than those who do the work cheaply and are incompetent.

It was recommended by the Advisory Committee that a Committee composed of Mrs. Bennett, Miss Ashley and Mrs. Page go to Boston, look over the situation with Miss Blackwell and Miss Ryan, and that such changes be made in the office force as shall ensure satisfaction to our subscribers and more accuracy in the work. If we are going to run the Journal on business principals we have got to take into consideration the fact that we must have business people to manage it, or else it will be absolutely useless to try to continue to publish the paper.

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Responses are not coming in for contributions to help pay our indebtedness as they ought. And the question arises -What are we going to do about it? The difficulty is that those who have formerly given the largest sums of money have given their money this year directly to the people in the States where the campaigns are pending rather than through the National Treasury, and that has laid upon the officers the responsibility of carrying on the campaign and being deprived of the money to do it with.

I wish some of you could make some suggestion as to what can be done to meet the deficiency. There would be no trouble whatever in securing the money to carry on the regular work of the Association, but it is impossible for two or three people to raise all the money to carry on campaigns, The Woman's Journal, and other additional expenses.

I have heard only from Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. McCulloch in reply to the place for holding the National Convention since sending out Mrs. Dennett's and Miss Ashley's letter. I wish you would please respond to these questions quicker, because it is important that they should be settled. Both Mrs. McCulloch and Mrs. Stewart feel that it would not be well to hold the Convention in Chicago this coming year and prefer Louisville still. To meet the difficulties raised by Mrs. Dennett and Miss Ashley, I would much prefer Boston to Chicago or New York, if we make a change at all, but I am still of the opinion that it is better for us to go to Louisville.

And now comes the question as to the time of holding the Convention. There seems to me to be several objections to holding it in April, that brings the annual Convention, where the enthusiasm is gathered up for the year's work, at the end of the year rather than at the beginning and it was for this reason that a few years ago we voted at the Annual Convention to hold our meetings in the latter part of October rather than in the winter or spring, mainly because then we would have the Convention enthusiasm to take back home and to start in the new suffrage year's work. I think this is of very great importance, unless there is some good reason for changing the date. If I understood correctly, the Kentucky invitation would be good for October as well as April, that it would not make any material difference to them whether the Convention were held in the fall or in the spring.

Another reason why I think it would be well to hold it in the fall is because I think that in several of the States we might get our new plan of organization started and working a little bit so as to know whether or not it is feasible to recommend it to the States generally and to push it. And another reason is our exceedingly low treasury, and the probabilities are that through the winter the States will be using their

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own money so much that we will not get much money given us to carry on a Convention in the Spring, perhaps we will not in the fall either.

Then another important thing will be the fact that we will know by that time whether Mrs. Belmont will continue the generous support of the Headquarters in New York, or whether we shall have to change our Headquarters to some other City, while in the spring we will not know so much about it.

Then again the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, secured by Miss Thomas, extends only over another year, and in the fall we can place that matter before the people because it is its last year, and there will be no year to look forward to and, therefore, something will have to be done to substitute a fund for the one which will be exhausted. And another thing which makes me anxious to postpone the Convention is the fact that Miss Thomas leaves to-day for Egypt and that the College League would not be so well represented in the spring as in the fall when she will be able to give us such a good College term and bring its members to the Convention. They would not otherwise come if she were not here to push it and be there herself.

It may be that many of these reasons may appeal to you as being reasons why we should have the Convention in the Spring, but I would like to have your answer just as early as you can to enclosed vote, because, if we are to have a Convention in April and are to have any amendments to the Constitution, they have got to be put into the Journal immediately and the notice to go out at once. If, however, it is to be held in the fall there will be plenty of time.

Wishing you a happy Christmas season,

I am,

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

President.

RESULT OF VOTES SENT OUT BY THE PRESIDENT
DECEMBER 19th. 1910.

1. Are you in favor of a Committee to visit the Journal office and consult with the business manager in regard to the management of the office?

YES. Miss Shaw, Mrs. Dennett, Miss Ashley, Miss Blackwell.
Yes on condition that 1st. Miss Blackwell's consent is secured, and 2nd. that such Committee be not one named by Advisory Committee, but be made up of one party chosen by National, another chosen by Miss Blackwell or Miss Ryan and the third some one perfectly satisfactory to both National and the Journal. (Miss Gordon)

NO. Mrs. Stewart :- Miss Ryan's plans seem very good to me. It takes time to work up business. I think it might be arranged by correspondence. Do not see what those two members of Board can do in person that they could not do otherwise.

Mrs. McCulloch :- I am voting against having that Committee go to Boston to investigate the Woman's Journal office because I never knew that they had any experience in newspaper work and because as Mrs. Dennett and Miss Ashley both voted against our adoption of the Journal, it would be a matter of embarrassment to both them and Miss Blackwell. Then too, Miss Ryan's letter of last week shows she is making the very changes you want made.

Miss Clay. I think all that is necessary can be done by correspondence. I suggest if, notwithstanding a Committee is sent the expenses be charged to some other department than the Woman's Journal.

2. Where are you in favor of holding the Convention of 1911?

LOUISVILLE. Miss Shaw, Miss Gordon, Miss Clay, Mrs. Stewart, Miss Blackwell.

BOSTON - if it wants it - Mrs. Dennett.

3. Do you favor finally accepting the invitation from Kentucky to hold the Convention in Louisville?

YES. Miss Shaw, Miss Gordon, Miss Clay, Mrs. Stewart, Miss Blackwell.

If there is no better alternative - Mrs. Dennett.

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4. At what time of the year shall it be held, the latter part of
April or the latter part of October?

OCTOBER. Miss Shaw, Miss Gordon, Miss Clay, Mrs. Dennett,
Miss Ashley,

APRIL Mrs. Stewart, Miss Blackwell. Mrs. Mc Culloch.

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,
EVANSTON, ILLS.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT, KATE M. GORDON,
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6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, IDA HUSTED HARPER,
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

AUXILIARIES

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE
PRESIDENT, MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

AFFILIATED SOCIETY
THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

December 1st, 1910.

My dear State President:-

On my return from the Campaign in South Dakota I found a communication purporting to be a resolution passed by the Convention of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association on October 25th, 1910. The statement that a copy was sent to each officer of the National Association, and to each State Association prompts me to reply, although we are so busy in the active work of the new year that there is little time for anything which does not require active up-building service.

It is to be regretted that the Minnesota State Convention was not more correctly informed in regard to the action which took place at the National Convention, before sending its resolution; had it been it would not have made the misstatements which appear in the document which lies before me.

First permit me to call your attention to these several points of misstatement of facts and to show that the motion referred to as having been made by "a member from the floor" was in itself wholly out of order. The lady stated that she arose to a question of privilege and then proceeded to make a motion to bring up a special order of business.

1. To make a motion to bring up a special business is not a question of privilege.

2. The motion, which was not a question of privilege, was made in the midst of the correction of the minutes when a motion upon a point recording an incident which occurred at a public meeting of the previous day was under discussion.

3. The matter contained in the official minutes did not pertain to the subject under discussion, as stated by the Minnesota resolution, and it was distinctly pointed out at the time by the Chair that the question under discussion was whether or not a record should be made of a subject injected before an address at a public meeting the previous day, especially when the speaker stated that it was out of order and should not be presented at that meeting. The subject matter was not under discussion, the only point at issue

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was whether or not a minute should be made of the incident. The Chair distinctly stated that the question had to do only with the record and not with the subject matter, and that there was nothing to prevent any member bringing the subject up at the proper time, but not while the minutes of the previous meeting were being corrected and adopted.

4. The meeting at which the discussion in regard to the adoption of the minutes took place was not a purely business meeting of the Association but at a public meeting of the Convention to which the general public had been previously invited.

5. While it may, under certain circumstances, be true that a particular action of the Official Board Meeting held five months previously might affect a question before a business session of the Convention, it could not be true that it could affect the question of recording an incident which occurred five months later, especially upon a point which the person who made it did not demand action, and which was not acted upon by the Convention at the time.

6. The Chair ruled that the minutes of the Official Board did not belong to a convention; but she stated later, in response to a question from the floor, that a report upon any action of the Official Board may be called for by a majority voted at a business session of the Convention.

The ruling was made by the Chair at a public meeting of the Convention in Washington, in accordance with her best judgment of correct parliamentary procedure. If, however, any Delegate dissented from the Chair, it was her privilege and her duty to appeal from the Chair to the Convention. No such appeal was taken. The fact that the President of the Minnesota Suffrage Association and her delegates were all present, and none of them made an appeal lays the onus of the failure upon them, since they felt the ruling was wrong, and not upon the Chair who ruled according to her belief of what was and is correct.

The President expects to preside at the next session of the National Convention and as at the last and at all previous Conventions over which she has had the honor of presiding, she intends to follow, as far as she understands it, correct parliamentary procedure, and she begs the members of the Convention, that if, in their judgment, her rulings are incorrect, they will act up to their privilege and their duty to both the Chair and the Association, and at the time take their appeal to the Convention. This is the only correct and loyal action of Delegates to any Convention, and if any member fails of her duty she must hold herself, and not the Chair, responsible for her failure to act.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw