## Kentucky Equal Rights Association

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Chairman of Congressional Work MRS EDMUND M. POST, Paducah



WHITE STATES, FULL SUFFRAGE; SHADED STATES, PARTIAL SUFFRAGE; DOTTED STATE, PRESIDENTIAL, MUNICIPAL AND PARTIAL COUNTY SUFFRAGE; DARK STATES, NO SUFFRAGE.

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MISS LINDA NEVILLE, Lexington

Sec. Society for Prevention of Blind-

MRS. A. M. HARRISON, Lexington. January 11,1916.

FRANKFORT, KY.,

My dear Mrs. Smith:

On Saturday I mailed you a letter announcing the desireof the new Board to arrange for a Congressional Campaign Conference in each State. The objects of those conferences will be to explain to the workers and to the public just what can be done by the Federal and by the State route. We will want wherever possible to arrange for the organization of a more effective State Congressional Committee and to give instructions as how best to do the Congressional work. We will be prepared to give advice as to the best method of making an organized appeal to Congress for the submission of a Federal Amendment.

As I have not been in close touch with National affairs for some years, I am in doubt as to the attitude of the Southern workers towards the Federal Amendment. Personally I have always strongly believed that it would be the method best adapted to completing our big task. I have always been aware of the difference in the position of the Southern States and those of the Northern States owing to the State Rights Doctrine.

The chief difference between the Congressional Union and the National Association, as I see it, is that the C. U. believe that the Federal Amendment can be submitted now and that there are states enough to ratify it. The Nationalists believe that it would be unfortunate to have it submitted at this time, believing that there are not states enough to ratify it. As to which are right I at this time have no opinion. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the increased organization which ought to have kept pace with the increased sentiment, to know. However, it is good publicity, excellent tactics and useful

Efaul1, 19167 in the long run to concentrate for awhile upon the Federal Amendment. It will nationalize the movement as nothing else can The great weak-ness of the National Association, as many of us have realized for many years, is that there is no real nationalism in doing state work. I would like very much to see the effort made to really pull all the forces of the Nation together in one great movement if it can be accomplished. I do not want to do anything offensive to the South nor anything which alienate our workers in that section of the country who I am sure have troubles enough as it is. In order to make sure that these conferences will be acceptable to you, I am anxious that Southern speakers shall compose the programs. I am quite willing that this shall be true to the exclusion of all other speakers if that is most agreeable to the South. I enclose on another sheet the proposed route for the South. I have not looked up connections in the Railroad Guide to make sure that connections can be made in every case, but I offer it as a tentative plan. I am proposing that these conferences should begin February 21st and continue to March 25th. They could be postponed one week, beginning February 28th and extending to March 31st if you prefer. As speakers I propose Mrs. Valentine, President of the Virginia Association who is well known to all of you and who I understand is extremely popular in the South; Mrs. Somerville of Mississippi; Mrs. Jacobs who is now a member of the National Board; Mrs. T. T. Cotman, of Arkansas. The last named is unknown to you probably. She was present at the National Convention, but you had no opportunity to really get acquainted with her. She came to New York to help in the campaign chiefly to learn how to do it. I consider Mrs. Cotman a great and coming woman. She seemingly is absolutely unselfish, thoroughly devoted to the cause and anxious to do anything and everything which can help it. She is a really eloquent apeaker and the South will surely be proud of such a woman. I am particularly anxious that she should speak

at all these conferences and thus be introduced to the South. She will naturally be of greater value there than in any other part of the country, elthough she would be welcome anywhere.

I am told that Mrs. Eugene Reilley of Charlotte, North Carolins, who is now Vice-president of that State Association, is a fine speaker, and with your consent will be glad to invite her. Mrs. William B. Young of Jacksonville, Fla., is on the General Federation Board and speaks well.

I had hoped that Miss Shaw would be able to address a good many of these Congressional Conferences, but shortly after the Convention she was stricken down with an extremely hard case of grippe which owing to her great fatigue has been difficult to conquer. I am informed by Miss Anthony that she is not yet able to sit up and that they are not giving her mail to her. Miss Anthony further announced that it is her intention to spend the months of February and March in Florida with agent friends. announced that it is her intention to spend the mouths of and March in Florida with some friends. I am therefore hoping that she may be well enough to attend the conferences in Florida. Georgia. South Carolina and possibly Alabama. We cannot ask her yet, but I am sure she will want to do this if she is able. I am

[Jan 11, 1916] willing to attend some of these conferences also, although I do not believe I could attend all. I do not make any claims to being much of a speaker, but I might help in the general instruction concerning the work. In making reply to this letter will you make any other suggestions as to speakers which may occur to you and also tell me which of these I have mentioned you will want in your State. In this connection I would like to mention that I am aware of the existence of the Southern Conference. I asked Miss Gordon of that conference has ever taken any action on the Federal Mmend-ment either for or against, and I learned from her that it had not. You will understand I am sure that these State Conferences in nowise conflict or underout the Southern Conference which is based on an excellent idea. We are making a similar proposal to every state in the Union. I am aware that there are some women in the South who very much disapprove of the Federal Amendment. Among them is Miss Gordon. She has been consistent on this point for many years. When I first knew her she did not like the idea and I find her still of thet way of thinking. I am hoping that even she will be willing to co-operate in making these conferences a great success for the sake of the education they will be to the South. Awaiting your reply which I hope will come soon, I am, Yours cordially. Carrie Chanman Catt President. To Southern Presidents.

417 Camp Street, May 23, 1916. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City. My dear Mrs. Catt: I enclose my reply to the Southern Presidents, occasioned by your letter to them, in which you feel that any division in our appeal will "weaken our strength" and "deopardize our success". As I state in the letter, I regret that you have made a point of stressing this division. Louisiana, as a part of the National, will sign the abstract principle, but I think it highly important that the Democratic Party be made to realize that the distinctively southern woman are going to make their demand along the line of party fealty. I, therefore, regret your stand. We could have made the two appeals without any engendering of feeling. However, I hope that all will end well. I have always disagreed with you in your point of view on the advisability of a national amendment. You have certainly modified your view on many occasions lately, but, nevertheless, I give you credit for integrity of purpose, and I demand for myself a like recognition. Very cordially,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN HONORARY PRESIDENT DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 3RD VICE-PRESIDENT PRESIDENT MRS. JAMES W. MORRISSON MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 719 RUSH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL. 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 1ST AUDITOR 1ST VICE-PRESIDENT TREASURER MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS COLUMBIA, MISSOURI MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. 2ND AUDITOR MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS 2ND VICE-PRESIDENT CORRESPONDING SECRETARY MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK MISS HANNAH J. PATTERSON ALTAMONT ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA. 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS CHAIRMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. 171 MADISON AVENUE MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING PRESIDENT NEW YORK MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK June 27, 1916. READ AT ONCE - IMPORTANT Dear Madam President: Within half an hour after the adjournment of the Democratic Convention in St. Louis the National Board met and declaring an emergency, resolved upon two things: 1. To make a drive on Congress NOW in order to secure a vote on the Federal Amendment if possible and by so doing to test the value and real meaning of the newly-adopted planks; 2. To call the annual convention in summer instead of November as usual. The reason for this decision is as follows: The National Association has been pledged to the support of the Federal Amendment for 26 years. Both dominant parties in their recent conventions gave us suffrage planks, but the Democratic plank frankly relegates the question to States while the Republican plank is interpreted by many to be as strongly for State Rights. If we take no action now, we virtually accept the ultimatum of these parties: "Go get your vote by popular referenda in the States and go without it, if you cannot get it there." If we do nothing to prevent, we shall find our Federal Amendment blocked whichever party controls. The crisis has been created by the two conventions and we must meet it. No other body has the authority to determine big policies except the annual convention. Therefore it must be called to decide the following questions: 1. Shall we accept the advice of the two great parties and abandon the Federal Amendment, confining future activities to the States?

2. Shall we redouble our congressional energies in order to protest against the party judgment; and if so, how?

3. Shall we enter the campaign in an endeavor to pledge all candidates on the Federal Amendment and oppose those who oppose us?

If we wait until after the elections before getting together, we have lost an opportunity which will not return in four years. I am certain that every president will recognize the emergency which demands this sudden call quite as readily as any member of the Board. The Board feel strongly that it is our imperative duty to call this convention at this time. If any criticise because of the unusual procedure, we shall be sustained by the fact that our best judgment demanded the call. On the other hand, should we have failed to call the convention, we feel that suffragists for a generation would have just cause to criticise us for neglect of an obvious opportunity. We feel sure we can trust all the loyal suffrage soldiers to respond to the call.

Among your workers there can surely be found the necessary number to fill up your delegation. I implore you to go to work at once so that you may send to this convention not only a delegation full as to numbers but superior as to quality. We need the sober judgment of the best heads among us in this crisis.

DATE. September 6th to 10th inclusive.

PLACE. Atlantic City; Hall, Nixon Theatre.

VISITORS. We wish to invite many distinguished women in order that our meeting may attract the attention it deserves. In every state there are many women of prominence who because their time is otherwise occupied are not members of our body, or if so, are too inactive in our cause to be valuable as delegates. It is important to interest them in our cause and our campaign. Will you not therefore provide a list of such women from your State who in your judgment are worthy to be invited as visitors to our convention. Let the list come soon. Deans of women in colleges, women professors, and other professional women might be more free to attend a National Convention in summer than at any other time.

REPORTS. The minutes from this convention will surely be required immediately for reference, and in order to provide them in as short a time as possible we have decided to put the reports of the states and all other matter which can be provided in advance into type before the convention. The Suffrage Publishing Company assure us that if we will do this the book may be ready for mailing two weeks after the close of the convention. As we shall have serious and big questions for discussion at this convention, we will not have the state reports presented from the platform.

Instead, we ask you to provide them in writing - each report to cover the period lying between the last report rendered and July 1st, 1916. Every report must be in the hands of Miss Hannah Patterson by July 20th. For those states having a membership in the National Association of 3000 and upward, the space allotted will be 900 words; those having a membership of 1500 to 3000, the space allotted will be 600 words; those having a membership of 500 to 1500, the space allotted will be 300 words; those having a membership less than 500, the space allotted will be 150 words. I am sure you will like this plan when once it has been tried. We have used it in the International Conferences and have never yet failed to have our Proceedings in the mail three weeks from the close of the convention.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION. A careful reading of the constitution informs us that the notice of the convention should be published in three of the leading suffrage periodicals six weeks before the opening of the convention. We are printing the notice of the convention in the News Letter and Woman Voter and will give the full Call with date and place in the Woman's Journal. We note further that amendments to the constitution must be published in three suffrage periodicals not less than six weeks before the opening of the convention. Unless opportunity is given to the Presidents and their boards to present any amendments which they have in mind, some one may feel that her liberty has been curtailed. I therefore beg you to inform your board of officers at once of the coming convention, and say that if any amendments are to be proposed they must be sent to the Board at once.

Further details will follow shortly.

Most fordially Chapman Catt

PRESIDENT

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Further detailes will follow shortly.

Most cordially,

Carrie Chapman Catt,

Lexington, Ky.

June 7th, 1916.

#### XXXXXXXXXXX

My dear Mrs. Catt,

I got home last night from campaigning in Iowa; and found your letter asking me to be one of the speakers at the open-air demonstration in St.Louis on the evening of June I4th. I wired my acceptance; but am writing also, to say that I shall be glad to do any thing you think I can do for the Cause, understanding that I think the Federal Amendment practically impossible.

I expect to arrive in St. Louis on the morning of the 13th, and will communicate with you on my arrival.

Very cordially yours,

#### NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

HONORARY PRESIDENT

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MISS HANNAH J. PATTERSON

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. 171 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK

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MRS. JAMES W. MORRISSON

1ST AUDITOR

MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS ALTAMONT ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Washington, D. C. June 30, 1916.

#### Dear Madam President:-

I dictated a letter to you before leaving New York and directed that it be sent out as soon as I could wire the date of the convention from Atlantic City. We found it impossible to secure a hall during August, so we were forced to accept the first week in September. The letter issued from New York does not read quite sensibly in consequence of this later date. The above explanation will make the reason clear. Let me repeat: the place is Atlantic City, N. J., Nixon Theater; Hotel headquarters, Marlborough-Blenheim; date September 6-10 inclusive.

ACCOMMODATIONS: We shall mail you soon a printed list of hotels with schedule of prices, and will indicate those most desirable. Nearly all hotels are on American plan and the rates do not change with the seasons.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL: - According to the National constitution, the Executive Council must meet previous to the Convention in order to propose new business to the Convention; and after the Convention in order to complete any unfinished business. The pre-Convention meeting has usually been one evening session only. behalf of the Board of Directors I hereby call the Executive Council for an entire day's meeting of three sessions (the first at 10:30 a. m.; the second at 2:30 p. m.; the third at 8 p. m.) at the Marlborough-Blenheim (Headquarters Hotel) on Tuesday, September 5. At the first session, I shall report in my capacity of Chairman of Campaign and Survey Committees and will give a "diagnosis" of the suffrage situation as I see it, after which there will be a general discussion. In the early afternoon we will divide into groups, if approved, and each group will select a State best adapted to immediate campaign work. The report of these groups will be made to the entire Council later in the afternoon. The evening will be devoted to discussion of a possible constructive plan by which to secure greater efficiency.

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CONVENTION PROGRAM: It is further proposed that very early in the Convention a three-cornered discussion to determine the active policy of the Association, shall take place: 1. Shall we drop work on the Federal Amendment? 2. Shall we concentrate on it and drop State work? 3. Shall we continue Federal and State work? When it has been decided what program of activity the National should undertake, we suggest the consideration of the problem next in order, namely, how more effective support of that policy may be secured.

The question of taking part in the Congressional Elections will be presented and discussed in a closed session.

IMPORTANCE OF CONVENTION: When we of the present Board were elected to our posts, we found our duties not only undefined by constitution or other authority, but we discovered a decided difference of opinion as to what they were. We believe we can perform no more useful service for the various State Associations and future Boards than to insist that the program of this National Convention shall make clear: (1) The obligation of the National Board and the States to the Federal Amendment; (2) The obligation and duty of the National Board to state campaigns, and the duty of the State Campaigns to the National Board; (3) The reasons for the existence of a National organization and the interdependence of the States. We feel keenly that future officers must be elected upon a working platform, and held responsible for failure to carry it out. On the other hand the States must recognize their obligation to the National Board and must be held responsible if they in their turn fail in that obligation. We believe it will be necessary to make a considerable readjustment of our affairs in order to secure a smoothly working plan which will correct as far as possible the defects of our present method.

It is obvious that matters of such crucial importance to our organization and our cause should be decided by a Convention of the best heads among us. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that every delegation be full, and that the most earnest suffragists of our country gather in this convention to solve those fateful problems.

ATLANTIC CITY: We feel certain that all would consider a convention in the middle West in early September inadvisable, as workers would be found missing from any city in the vacation period, and the weather might prove unbearable. Atlantic City is always ready for visitors, is always fascinating and agreeable. Tired presidents and workers should plan to remain a couple of weeks and enjoy the restful features. All who can do this will never regret their visit to the most popular of American resorts.

DELEGATES: One president wires and asks how delegates are to be elected. Where the custom has been that the State convention elects delegates to the National Convention and where such State Conventions this year come after the National Convention, it must be recognized that an emergency exists, and delegates may be elected by the Executive Committee of the State.

REPORTS: In my last letter I asked that State Reports for the printed proceedings be sent in by July 20, and that the report year

should close July 1. Since the convention takes place at a later date than was planned when the letter was dictated, the reports need not be sent in before August 15, and the report year may close August 1.

PLANKS: In states where the Republican or Democratic conventions have not been held, no state organization should lose the opportunity to secure a plank from the state parties giving the endorsement of woman suffrage — not merely a plank recommending the submission of our question to the voters, but one endorsing the principle. It will not be difficult now if properly managed, in view of the planks in the two National party platforms. Through this follow up work we shall find the best fruits of our National plank campaigns.

FURTHER LETTERS: More information will follow. If any point troubles you, let us know.

Cordially yours,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

President.

#### NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MISS HANNAH J. PATTERSON 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 171 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

July 25th, 1916.

RECORDING SECRETARY

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1ST AUDITOR

MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

2ND AUDITOR

MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS ALTAMONT ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Miss Laura Clay, Richmond, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

On Friday afternoon, September 8th, at the Atlantic City Convention, the topic will be "How and Where to Drive the Entering Wedges". The sub-topics will be (1) City Charters, (2) Referenda, (3) Legislative Possibilities, (4) Federal Possibilities. Under the last named will come The Elections Bill.

It will be necessary for us to count the minutes at this Convention as there are so many big fundamental questions to be discussed. I want to know how much time you will need to present The Elections Bill and much time you think should be given the floor for discussion of it.

You will remember that I have already told you that I am anxious the Convention should determine whether it wishes to endorse that bill as work for the Congressional Committee to take up or whether it is only a moral support.

Cordially yours,

President.

#### NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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IST AUDITOR

MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER COLUMBIA, MISSOUR

2ND AUDITOR

MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS ALTAMONT ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

HEADQUARTERS

MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.



July 24th, 1916.

Dear Debaters:-

This letter goes to the three leaders and three seconds in the Three-cornered debate. I believe I notified you that it would take place Thursday morning. This has been changed to Wednesday afternoon.

The National Headquarters Committee, with the addition of Mrs. Roessing and Dr. Shaw, held a meeting last week and when the rules for the debate were presented to them, they unanimously objected to one point and that was the provision that the seconds should be given five minutes each at the conclusion of the affirmative presentation, to answer arguments presented by the other two sides. The reason for their objection was that it would cut down the time allotted to the floor for free discussion. These rules have therefore been revised as follows:-

#### RULES FOR THE DEBATE.

Each leader shall present her side in a 10 minuteyaddress, strictly timed, and will be immediately followed by her second in a five minute address. These speeches must be confined to affirmative arguments in behalf of the topic presented. The question will then be thrown open to the Floor for free discussion.

No leader or second will be permitted to speak in the time allotted to the floor unless the is ho one else who demands the right to speak.

When all have been heard or when the house demands that the debate be closed, the leaders will be given 10 additional minutes each in which to answer the arguments presented in behalf of the other two sides? They will not be permitted in these closing speeches to make affirmative arguments.

If the Convention agrees, alternative amendments to the constitution, striking out "appropriate national legislation" or striking out "appropriate state legislation" he put without debate.

Cfuly 24, 1916,

#### RULES FOR THE DEBATE #2.

If both are voted down, the constitution will remain as it is, supporting both measures.

The time limit for the floor discussion will be fixed by the Convention.

The leaders are expected to present their arguments to their seconds, thus giving their seconds an opportunity to prepare their speeches without duplicating the arguments of the leaders.

Coxtially yours Chapeman Catt
President.

July 24, 1916.

Dear Madam President:

THE REASON WHY - It was strictly necessary to call the National Convention at an early date. I mention this because I understand that Miss Thomas sent to the Presidents, a protect from the College League on account of its inability to elect delegates at that time. The Board understand fully that a September convention may inconvenience some of you as a variation from an established rule always does. We would all prefer that the coming meeting be an executive council and conference as Miss Thomas proposed. Such a meeting would undoubtedly have had sufficient authority to determine a political election policy but, before election tactics can be planned, a far more fundamental question must be definitely decided and that is whether the National Association, as a body is really determined to secure the submission of a Federal Amendment. To some of you, there may seem no question on this point but as some States have withheld their co-operation in the past year, it is a question which the Board know must be thoroughly discussed and positively decided before any plans can be made to further a Federal Election campaign.

The Congressional Committee has done magnificent work in Washington and the National Board have supported that Committee with all the power it possesses but if the States are not going to give their support to the full, we shall fall short of success. Our attitude toward the Federal Amendment and toward State campaigns are Constitutional questions and can only be decided at an annual convention regularly called in which the Constitution may be formerly amended. For this reason, the September Convention is made a regular annual convention.

<u>DELEGATES</u> - As I have already written you, Executive Committees always have the power to do business in the interim of conventions and owing to the emergency call of the National Association, you have the right to appoint two delegates in your executive committee.

ELECTIONS - So far as I have learned, no suffragist has objected to the September convention on the ground that it is unnecessary or impractical but several prominent members have expressed anxiety concerning the election of National officers. As some of the Board are unwilling to serve another year, there has been a protest against those officers retiring without having filled out a full year. The critics say that it is bad "To trade horses while crossing a stream", and that a new Board unaccustomed to their regular duties would be that less able to solve the problems which two November campaigns and a proposed political election policy would involve. To these considerations, the Board entirely agree and also that it does seem like chirking the duties they were expected to perform when elected late in December if they escape from those duties in early September. But there are even

more serious questions concerning the election than these.

If it shall be decided at Atlantic City that the National Association shall concentrate with more force upon the Federal Amendment, some of our Board feel keenly that the National Headquarters should be removed to Washington. If this change should be voted, it becomes necessary to find officers who can live in Washington. As a minimum, five officers and preferable more should work at Headquarters. These should be the President, one of more Vice-Presidents, the Corresponding Secretary, the Treasurer, and, preferable, the "ecording Secretary.

We are aware that it will not be an easy matter to readjust our general policy with the full discussion which step so vital ought to arouse and, at the same session, to find an entire new Board prepared to carry out the new plans; yet, the election of Officers MUST take place at the annual convention, according to our Constitution and the new Board MUST take office at the close of the Convention.

The Board, therefore, urge you to consider with all the care possible, the election of Officers with the above possibilities. If there is a woman in your State who, in the judgment of your Board would be suited to kee National work and who can be f freed from you own State work to devote herself to National work, we sufgest that you bring forward her name as a candidate. It should be understood by all, that in the estimation of the present Board, efficient national work cannot be accomplished unless the majority of the Board are located at headquarters and are there giving their time to the duties of the Association. It will be extremely difficult to find women who can leave their own homes and go to Washington, living there at their own expense and who, at the same time, have had experience enough to make their services of value. Yet, the States which have such women must give them up to National service until the ederal Amendment is submitted if that method is to be included in our future policy. We may need to resort to conscription!

Realizing the difficulty of finding a complete Board in the brief time which remains and, taking into consideration the fact that we shall not have filled out the term through which we were originally expected to serve, the present Board, with three exceptions, announce that they are willing to consent to re-election upon one condition; that is, that the next convention shall be held not later than the first of March, 1917, at which time, our places could be supplied by others.

If this suggestion seems to some of you as a brazen bid for office, I beg to assure you that the members of the present Board have, in every case, consented to this announcement against their real wishes. If any place on the Board can be supplied by a woman who can give at least three years of service to the

3

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Efuly 24, 19.16 the next three years. It is my hope that you will be able to bring a suggested candidate for the Presidency to the Atlantic City Convention. I write you in this candid manner because questions are coming in which this letter answers and I believe it the right of our Presidents to have a frank statement from their elected Officers as to what we are willing to do. Cordially yours, Carrie Chapman Catt. President

#### NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

HONORARY PRESIDENT

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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TREASURER MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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171 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 719 BUSINESS W. MORRISSON 719 RUSH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

1ST AUDITOR

MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS ALTAMONT ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

HEADQUARTERS MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

871

July 24, 1916.

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CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

HEADQUARTERS

MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.



July 10th, 1916.

My dear Miss Clay:

In view of the fact that the National Association is accused upon the one hand of not working whole-heartedly for the Federal Amendment and upon the other, of working altogether too vigorously for it, a spirit of unrest and criticism has arisen within our ranks which has led the Board to propose that a three-cornered debate shall be held in Atlantic City early in the convention in order to determine anew the working policy of the Association. The subjects are as follows:

1. Shall work be dropped on the Federal Amendment and efforts confined to State legislation?

2. Shall efforts to secure state campaigns cease and all National activity be concentrated on the Federal Amendment?

3. Shall we continue to work to secure the vote for women by "appropriate national and state legislation".

It is our wish to have each one of these three positions stated clearly without confusion with the other. The plan we propose is as follows:

The Leaders of the three sides will each be given 10 minutes in which to open with an affirmative argument in behalf of their position. Each will be followed by a Second who in 5 minutes will give an affirmative argument. In this first presentation there will be no answering of arguments produced by the other sides. When these six have made their presentation the seconds will be given another 5 minutes in which they will produce no further affirmative argument but confine their speech to replies to the arguments produced by the other two. This will give, as you see, 20 minutes to each side and will fill a little more than an hour with allowances given for time to rise, sit and possible interruptions of applause. The question will then be thrown open to the floor for another hour, after which the leaders will each be given 5 minutes in which to close the debate. In that closing speech of course each leader will reply to the arguments produced against her particular side. It is possible that this closing

Miss Clay -2-7/10/16 speech ought to be made 10 minutes. It will, of course, be made uniform for all speakers, and it will be necessary that a time-keeper shall strictly limit the speeches to the time allowed. The Convention will open on Wednesday morning. The debate will take place on Thesday morning at Nixon's Theatre, Atlantic City. In the afternoon two constitutional amendments- one striking out "appropriate National" - and the other "appropriate State legislation" will be proposed as alternatives so that if the debate leads the convention to the conclusion that we should devote ourselves either to State work alone or to National work alone the constitution will conform to it. I write to ask if you will lead the first question. asking Miss Gordon to be your second. I suggest that you submit to her the arguments which you propose to present in your first speech in order that whe may prepare a speech which will not duplicate yours. We are inviting Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen of Chicago and Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston to take the question in support of concentration on the Federal Amendment, and we are asking Mrs. Raymond Brown and Miss Florence Allen to speak in favor of maintaining the dual policy. Of course I understand that you believe in the Elections Bill, and consequently would not favor dropping all federal work; but as the debate is on the Federal Amendment only, you could state your position and it will not be misunderstood. We shall give a position on the program for the Elections Bill at another time when you will also have another opportunity to set yourself right on that point. I feel keenly, myself, that the National Convention must define its support of the Elections Bill -- It must say whether it expects the National Committee to work for it, or whether it haddits support as a mere moral endorsement. Before the convention is held I am going to secure the papers for which you gave me reference and read them carefully, but if I cannot be convinced that it is wise for the National Association to stand for that Bill I shall oppose its endorsement. Of course you know me well enough to know that this will be a conscientious act in behalf of our Cause as I see it and not any opposition to you for whom I have maintained an unfailing admiration and affection for twenty-six years. Most cordially yours, Carrie Chapman Call CCC-S Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Kentucky.

GENERAL FINANCE COMMITTEE National American Woman Suffrage Association

CHAIRMAN
MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS

MEMBERS AT LARGE Dr. Anna Howard Shaw Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt Miss M. Carey Thomas

STATE MEMBERS

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California— Miss Madeline F. Wills

Connecticut—
Mrs. A. S. G. Taylor
Mrs. Edward B. Whitney
Mrs. William H. Allee

Delaware—
Mrs. John Cranston
Georgia—
Mrs. Hamilton Block
Illinois—
Mrs. George Bass
Mrs. A. C. Bartlett

Mrs. A. C. Bartlett

Kansas—
Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston

Kentucky—
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Louisiana—
Mrs. A. B. Singletary
Mrs. Joe Reid

Mrs. Joe Reid

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Mrs. Janesi Macpherson
Minneotts—
Mrs. Janes Macpherson
Minneotts—
Mrs. Victor P. Troendle
Mississippi—
Mrs. Nelilo N. Somerville
Missouri—
Mrs. Watter McNab Miller
Montana—

Montana— Mrs. Harvey Coit

Mrs. W. E. Hardy Mrs. Draper Smith Mrs. H. C. Sumney

Miss Marguerite Nelson
New York
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New York
Mrs. Charles W. Hoyt
Mrs. Caspar W. Hodgson
Mrs. Elizabeth A. W. Hoag
Mrs. Frances Lagrave Harrison

hio-Miss Mary G. Rice Pennsylvania Miss Anna Harris Snyder Mrs. J. Claude Bedford

Tennessee— Mrs. Guilford Dudley Mrs. Isaac Reese

171 Madison Avenue, New York, August 30, 1916.

Dear Friend:

The largest and most important annual convention ever held by the National American Woman Suffrage Association will meet September 6-10th at Atlantic City.

Equal suffrage has made a great advance in the past year. Decisions at this convention on suffrage activities for the near future will largely determine whether equal suffrage will be won within the next few years. The vital thing for our National Association, after wise decisions on the next steps in suffrage, is to secure funds sufficient to carry adequately to success such plans as shall be made in this great convention. We plan to raise a Million Dollar Fund for 1917.

will you not be one to help us to do this by making a pledge for 1917 at this convention, if you are there as a delegate, alternate or visitor? If you cannot be with us, will you not pledge for the work of the National Association as large an amount as you feel at all able to give, making it payable at any time before September 1917? Success depends upon amoney to finance our work. If you cannot be at the convention, will you not help us by sending your pledge to either one of the undersigned, at the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel, on or before September 8th? Your co-operation will be very heartily appreciated.

Very sincerely yours, Chapman Catt President Emma Vinner Rog

Treasurer

#### The National American Woman Suffrage Association

May we call your attention to the splendid work which the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN May we can your attention to the special work, which he support of that work? We need about \$40,000 in addition to the amount pledged for this year and must depend upon the generous co-operation of our friends. With the increasing prosperity of our country, and with your hearty co-operation it will not be difficult to raise sufficient funds for our enlarging work, even with the special demands made upon our sympathies by the European war and the increase in humanitarian work in our own land.

We urge the friends of suffrage to continue their loyal support. Equal suffrage is fundamental in realizing the Democratic Ideal of an enlightened civilization. This work must go on.

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUPERAGE ASSOCIATION works in the various states and with the Congress of the United States to win the complete enfranchisement of women. The work is directed from the National Headquarters in New York City through:

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  (1) A Department of Pinance—with a Finance Committee covering all the States, and seeking to win financial support for the nation-wide work of the Association.

  (2) A Department of Organization—registering suffrage organizers, instructing them in methods, advising states, supplying organizing help when needed, and co-operating with states in organizing for suffrage along political lines.
- with states in organizing for surrage along postucal lines.

  (3) A Department of Campadons and Surveys—co-operating with the states in campaign as effectively as possible. The states of Iowa, South Dakota and West Virginia are now in campaign, and we urge the friends of Suffrage to make it possible for them to win by sending contributions for these campaigns to the National treasury.

  (4) A CONGRESSIONAL DEPARTMENT—working for a Federal Amendment, maintaining
- headquarters and a lobby at Washington, and co-operating with the state congressional chairmen to secure the enfranchisement of women by the early passage of the Anthony Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
- (5) A Publicity and Press Department—keeping the question of Suffrage constantly before the public. This department sends out information through the Press Associations and Decror the public. In supparations sensitive the moderate and organization of the Mewspaper Syndicates as well as directly to the papers. It publishes the Headquarters News Letter, and issues a Farmers' Bulletin.
- (6) A RESEARCH DEPARTMENT—gathering facts and figures concerning Suffrage. this material there is a constantly increasing demand from students, speakers, and especially from the pres
- (7) A LITERATURE DEPARTMENT—seeking to secure the widest use of suffrage literature and the printing of the most effective literature. This department co-operates with the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., and the aim this year is to double the use of suffrage

It is evident that for efficient work each of these departments must be well supported, and in addition, the National Association must maintain headquarters in New York from which all the work radiates and where suffragists from every state are welcome.

WILL YOU NOT HELP US? Will you not pledge to pay some amount, large or small, to carry

on the work of the National Association? Checks or pledges should be made payable to Emma Winner Rogers, Treasurer, and sent to

Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 25th, 1916.

It was not till I had occasion to refer the second cation of July 25th that I observed you had asked to much time I wished to present the tlections Bill and how long I thought it ought to be discussed.

time to your communication of July 25th that I observed you had asked me a question as to how much time I wished to present the elections Bill at the convention; and how long I thought it ought to be discussed. I know of course that by this time you program is fixed; but Ithank you for the courtesy of asking me; and I wish to make some amends for my inattention.

I shall confine my remarks within a short limit, but I shall hope to ahve from ten to twenty minutes. Of course, I think a long time should be given to its discussion, as the most important National legislation we can have. Possibly by the time of the Convention we shall have more light on what Congress is going to do, and will know better what we had best discuss.

Hoping to see you soon, I am

Very cordially yours,

My dear Mrs. Catt.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance. FOUNDED 1902. President, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 2, West 86th Street, New York, U.S.A. 1st Cor. Secretary, KATHERINE DEXTER McCORMICK, 393. Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. 2nd Cor. Secretary, JANE BRIGODE, 232, Avenue Albert, Brussels, Belgium. 1st Vice-President, MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, LL.D. 2, Gower Street, London, W.C., England. 2nd Vice-President, ANNIE FURUHJELM, M.P., Helsingfors, Finland. 1st Rec. Secretary, CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, M.A., B.Sc., 39, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Scotland. 2nd Rec. Secretary, MARIE STRITT, 17, Reissigerstrasse, Dresden-A., Germany. 3rd Vice-President, ANNA LINDEMANN,
Degerloch, Stuttgart, Germany, 2nd Treasurer, SIGNE BERGMAN, 15, Grevmagnigatan, Stockholm, Sweden. 4th Vice-President, MARGUERITE de WITT de SCHLUMBERGER, 14. Rue Pierre Charron, Paris, France. 1st Treasurer, ADELA STANTON COIT, 30, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W., England. Headquarters Secretary: MARY SHEEPSHANKS. 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, London. Telegrams: Vocorajto. Telephone: 4255 Regent. 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Dear Friend: Syears 25.00 This acknowledges receipt of \$5.00 for 1916
Membership dues in the Alliance. Please accept cordial
thanks for this support of our International Alliance. The
American support is the one influence which is keeping the International movement together at present. I am forwarding the dues to our London office and later you will receive a formal receipt from the treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit. It may take something like eight weeks before the receipt finally reaches you, the delay being due to the present irregular foreign mail service. Cordially and appreciatively, Carrie Chapman Catt Mies Laura Colay 184 n. mice Fr. Dexcigfon Ky. Aug. 14/1916

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN HONORARY PRESIDENT DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK PRESIDENT RECORDING SECRETARY 3RD VICE-PRESIDENT MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

HEADQUARTERS 920 MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 27, 1916

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

My dear Miss Clay:

I am greatly distressed over the evidence which comes to our headquarters of a very general desire to submit state amendments. I feared when both the Democratic and the Republican parties put a State's Rights plank in their platform that this would be the fruit. There was fraud and the rankest variety of it in West Virginia, Iowa and South Dakota. There is no possibility of carrying any state at this time in which the people are not alert enough to ward off the frauds and irregularities which are our chief enemy. In a whisky state like Kentucky it would be impossible to win. There is a movement in Virginia and North Carolina and it comes from the Legislature which to my mind is suspicious. I think the movement comes from the opposition and that it arose from the fact that it leaked out from our Convention that we intended to curtail the number of submissions.

I am unfamiliar with the Legislature of Kentucky, but I fear that any effort to get anything through the Legislature will mean a compromise measure which will be the submission of the whole question to the electorate. The National Association has pledged help already to certain states which vote in 1917 and 1918, and it will be utterly impossible for us to help any other states than these. I therefore beg of you to do your utmost to stave off this submission in Kentucky. The unfortunate thing is that there is a difference of opinion among you concerning the Federal Amendment; if there were not, I should say that the strategy for Kentucky to play would be an insistence upon the Federal Amendment.

Most cordially but hastily yours

CCC-S Dictated but not read by Mrs. Catt arric Chapman Call

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN HONORARY PRESIDENT DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING

HEADQUARTERS

920 MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 12, 1916.

Miss Laura Clay, 289 No. Mill Street, Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay: -

We asked the presidents of the states to send us in a list of women whose names would be an addition to the dignity and standing of the Congressional Committee.

Had I observed that your name was sent in from Kentucky, I would not have asked that an invitation be sent you, because of course I know very well your sentiments in reference to the Federal Amendment. I beg to assure you that whatever happens I shall never doubt your honesty of purpose and I trust that it never will make any difference in our appreciation of the services the other may have rendered to the cause of woman suffrage.

The Unites States Elections Bill seems to me an utterly impossible measure, but I may be mistaken and I will take it up with some of the men and see whether or not they think well of it. I ought to be there now and intended to spend most of December and January in Washington, but as a matter of fact I have only been there one day. There is so much to do that it is difficult to get away from this office where the main part of the work is.

Cordially yours,

President

CCC-BMS

189 N.Mill St., Lexington, Ky. Dec. 2th, 1816.

My dear Mrs. Catt.

Your sircular letterinviting me to become one of the National Congressional Aides to work for the S.B.Anthony Federal Amene ment is just received.

of course, I understand that this invitation is from courtesy, as my belief in the hopelessness of a Federal Amendment is too well known to you to make my declination, which I now send, necessary for any other purpose than courtesy. The action of the Vestern women in rejecting the appeal of the Voman's Party to support indirectly the Federal Amendment in the Presidential election only confirms me in the belief that the Vestern States will not any more than the Southern States ratify that Amendment, even if Congress might finally submit it to their legislatures.

I am taking this opportunity, however, even if it be zeal out of season, to urge the practicability and advisability of adding to your Congressional Committee's work some provision, possibly through a subcommittee, for pushing the United States' Elections Bill. I know that you do not believe in it; but many persons of intelligence do believe in it; and it seems to me to be wise, in a Democratic administration, to have a Congressional measurer which that party's adherents can assist, along the lines of the Democratic National platform, aspecially as it is also in accord with theseof the Republican platform.

In view of the fact that Senator Owen, at St.Louis, offered to press this Bill, and that President Vilson, at Atlantic City, offered to work for woman suffrage, I believe it is missing a great opportunity to fail to accept the valuable services of these two distinguished Democrats by failing to present a measure to which there can

be no party objection.

I will add that if you should any time this winter decide to take action towards forwarding the United States Elections shill, I should be glad to do any thing to help, either at home or in vashington city, that you wish me to do, and at my own expense.

I hope my pronounced difference of opinion on the subject of the Amendment will not lead you to doubt my hearty good-will to you in all your laborious and unselfish efforts for our good Cause. Nobody would be more glad than myself to find that my judgment had misled me in the way to the success of Woman Suffrage. But until my judgment is convinced, I must continue along my present method of action.

very cordially yours,

- Dec 19167 NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN HONORARY PRESIDENT DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 3RD VICE-PRESIDENT MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK RICHMOND, KENTUCKY IST VICE-PRESIDENT TREASURER 1ST AUDITOR MRS. WALTER MCNAB MILLER MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS MISS HELOISE MEYER 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 920 MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 2ND AUDITOR CORRESPONDING SECRETARY MRS. STANLEY MCCORMICK MRS. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS MRS, FRANK J. SHULER 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK ALTAMONT ROAD. BIRMINGHAM, ALA. 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. CHAIRMAN 171 MADISON AVENUE MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING PRESIDENT NEW YORK MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN HEADQUARTERS 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL 920 MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. 139 Miss Laura Clay, Richmond, Kt. dear miss Clay. The National American Woman Suffrage Association desires to extend the membership of its Congressional Committee. That Committee will, in the future, be divided into three sections. An Executive Council consisting of the officers who

- 1. An Executive Council consisting of the officers who have the direction of the Congressional work and which will consist of members who are resident in Washington for lobby work or who go to Washington from time to time to assist in the lobby work.
- 2. State Congressional officers consisting of the State Congressional Chairman and the Chairman of the Congressional Districts of each State. These officers will do the work within the state.
- 3. National Congressional Aides. We are inviting the President or a well known representative of each National organization which has endorsed woman suffrage whether composed of men or women to be members of this section and are adding a list of additional members from each State.

Will you become a member of the National Congressional Aides?

If so, will you be willing upon call to send letters and telegrams to members of Congress from your State to urge action on our Federal Amendment?

Will it be possible for you to go to Washington at any time during the session to assist in the local work? That is not necessary, but might be very desirable.

Are you willing to pay your own expenses for such a trip to Washington in the event you can go?

We shall be very glad to answer any questions which you may wish to ask concerning our Association, our methods or plans before giving your final answers. For your present information I submit the following facts:

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is the only National Suffrage Association in the entire country with the exception of the Congressional Union and its outgrowth, the Woman's Party. Our Association represents fully 95% of the organized suffragists of the country and is a Federation of State Associations.

It is strictly non-partisan and has never swerved in its long history from this position which it believes to be the only safe and sane one. Our main headquarters is in New York. We have a branch headquarters in the city of Washington which we expect to enlarge this year.

Our Association caused the Federal Suffrage Amendment to be introduced in 1875 and it has been pending in Congress from that time to this. For many years the National Association did not concentrate upon this amendment owing to the fact that the sentiment in the states did not warrant such action. We are now concentrating upon that amendment and the main reason for so doing is the fact that frauds and irregularities of various kinds make an honest election at the polls in a referendum well nigh impossible.

It is to render our standing in Washington more dignified and impressive that we are inviting you to become a member of the National Congressional Aides. We are truly near our final victory, but to win we must wage a big campaign and our cause needs your help. Will you give it?

Cordially yours, Carrie Chapman Latt

President

189 N.Mill St., Lexington, My.

Dec.2nd, 1816. - 19/6-

My dear Mrs. Catt.

Yours of the 27th ult. is before me.

The situation in Ky seems to be this: There is talk of calling a special session of the Legislature to consider some tax questions; and the liquor forces appear to be prepating to submit at that called session the prohibition amendment, and to juin urge also the submission of the suffrage amendment. It looks as if they are doing this for the purpose of submitting the amendments at a session where ther is such doubt of the legality of such submissions that the legality would have to be decided in the courts, with the result that the decision would be tied up so long that these amendments could not be submitted at the regular session in 1918, and so would be postponed for some years. The My. Suffragists see in this the hand of our enemies, and I believe there is practical unanaimity in resisting the submission of our amendment at any called session. But the opinion is strong that we should ask a submission in the regular session of 1918, which, is passed, would bring it before the electorate in 1919. If we do not push our amendment in 1918 it leaves the suffragists in Ky. without an issue. You know my position on the Federal amendment. I take no stock in the expectation that 36 states will force a Federal suffrage amendment upon perhaps twelve states which are adverse to conferring upin the Federal government nover over suffrage; and as My. is one of the states where political opinion is strong against such extension of Federal power, you will easily see that to unite the suffrage cause with another political issue on which the opinions of both men and women are pretty firmly fixed would be prectically to cut ourselves off from any effective agitation. All the Congressmen who ran in November were re-elected; so as the large majority from by, are now opposed, that large majority have been sustained in their attitude both for the remainder of the time of this conby their constitutionts.

gress and for the next one. This leaves very little to be done by the advocates of the Federal Amendment till the election of the Congressof 1920. If the Ky. suffragists should decide to quit work for a state amendment and stand only for the Federal Amendment, it would mean practically that we would stap work till about 1920/. In addition, it would give the strongest possible incentive and graund for the formation of The antis, who so far have not troubled us in Ky. We have not allowed them to have an issue, except against the principle of suffrage itself. But if we should allow suffrage and increase of federal power to become one and the same thing they would have an issue which would appeal to the strongest feelings of the people against us., just as it has already done in Alabama, and perhaps in other southern states. In ky.. we are at present proposing to let those who desire to do so do what they can for the S.B.A. Amendment; but to hold steadily to our intention of asking for a sttate amendment in 1918, to be voted on at the general election of 1919. The only work of any kind we can do is to go on with organization. The coming session of Congress may torow new light on the whole suffrage situation, and in three months we can have the help of that light. This will be my position at all times; though I think you know that the larger part of the My. R.R.A. Board are in sympathy with the Federal Amendment; and the past policy of the Asso, may be modified in the future. The president, Mrs. So th, is a Repyblican; and the campaign chairman, and the Congressional Committee chairman, as well as the State member of the N.A. . . A. are all in favot of the Federal amendment. I may say that I voted for all of them cheerfully, believing that their good sense and understanding of the situation in Ky, will prevent them from taking any steps that will give our enemies a political advantage over us such as I have attempted to describe.

Very cordially yours.