

COPY

417 Camp Street,

January 25, 1917.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,
National American Woman Suffrage Association.
New York City.

My dear Mrs. Catt:-

In my little visit with you while in New York City, I spoke to you about Oklahoma and my intense interest in the political situation there. While I presume you are in very close touch with local conditions there through the suffragists as well as the influential politicians of the state, I am going to pass along to you some of the information which I receive and if it a repetition of what you already know it may serve as emphasis.

The present suffrage organization of Oklahoma City, which is the one that will have to bear the brunt of any proposed work, is composed of about sixty members, who, with the exception of probably a half dozen, are entirely new to any kind of suffrage work. They are Federated Club women and that amount of training will be an asset.

The Congressional Union, under Miss Calderhead, established headquarters in the Skirvin Hotel. This is a tactical mistake in my judgment. The Lee-Huckins Hotel is the rendezvous of the democratic politicians and workers of the entire state. I do not know to what extent the National means to help Oklahoma in this fight for suffrage, but it will be a distinct point of vantage to have headquarters in the Lee-Huckins, where the democrats congregate.

Mrs. Woodworth writes me that she has sent you a copy of the proposed Concurrent Resolution. This resolution will not be enthusiastically supported by the republicans or by the socialists, but as it is backed by the democratic state organization and it is strong enough to carry any party measure proposed, I think Oklahoma stands a very good chance for equal suffrage especially as Section 2 of the Bill, provides "that it be submitted at a special election." This naturally mitigates the joker in the Initiative and Referendum as adopted by Oklahoma.

From a personal letter received this week, I am going to make some quotations:

"It is an unprecedented situation. The inside ring of the Democratic Party, which controls the steam roller, met the first week in September, and considered the situation as it affected, not the

desires or rights or welfare of the women, but the welfare of the Democratic Party. It was decided that something must be done about suffrage, but it was a hard matter for them to agree upon the way it should be done. They hated so dreadfully to do it; that it was only stern necessity behind them with her hat pin, which forced them to take action. There may be half a dozen democratic manipulators who really want the women to vote, but the others will have to make-believe they have changed their minds, and it is gall and wormwood to have work for what they do not want, and for fear the republicans and socialists will combine and give us the ballot, and get the credit and the thank you vote. * * *

"A good many democrats think that principle and practice should be on speaking-terms at least, and they have been scolding, but have not yet imitated the republicans and formed a progressive Democratic Party. It took us a long time to find out that the Bill had been "cooked up" long beforehand and kept secret. When the legislature convened the new members and those outside the ring began to fix suffrage bills and expected to get the credit of introducing them, for even they did not know that things had already been fixed any more than we did, and when the time came to spring it they were as much surprised as we were.

"They thought they could not get a straight suffrage amendment through another legislature or campaign so they put the grandfather law in with it and some of the democrats think that a good many republicans who are suffragists and also socialists will vote for it because they won't vote against suffrage. However, the democrats can carry the measure alone since they are so largely in a majority, and the leaders will see that the party machine puts on pressure. They want to do this and get all the credit for they see ahead of them the time when they will need the democratic women's vote. * * *

"Some of them think the party politicians can carry the measure without the help of women, in fact I heard that R.S., who is one of the inside ring said "it was bad enough to do the damn thing without having women poking their noses in. They (women) would have to take what we give them' ". * * *

"The democrats would not start this thing and push it as they have unless they meant to see it through, because defeat of any measure they take up is not helping the party. If we had started this suffrage measure, a defeat would not hurt the Democratic Party, but it is their bill and we did not ask a thing of them, and I don't

believe they will dare let it be defeated, for they can do anything they please with their steam-roller. Bob Williams is bitterly opposed to woman suffrage, but I don't believe he dares to fight this measure, in fact I think it is put in the form of a resolution so that he cannot veto it, so he will probably let it go through for the sake of the party, but it is a bitter pill for him to swallow. Both he and Durant (the House whip) want to go to Washington, and in that event the woman's vote is to be reckoned with. The democrats are getting ready to caucus on the bill now."

The writer is an ardent republican, and there is a paragraph in her personal letter to me that gives me much concern:

"Mrs. L. and I are the legislative committee, and we are letting them (the democrats) strictly *alone* after the things they have said, and because they did not want us to have anything to say *about* the framing of the measure I do not see how they can ask us to work in a campaign. We are all ready to tell them that we do not mean to work for a measure that we had no hand in framing".

Since the decision of the Supreme Court relative to the unconstitutionality of the grandfather clause of the states of Oklahoma and Maryland (and I think every southern constitution is unconstitutional), Oklahoma is proposing her new electorate law. Whether the propositions are accepted or not remains to be passed upon when the law is submitted, but the point is that it is an EQUAL SUFFRAGE BILL.

It is imperative that, in this crisis, there should be some woman to advise and consult with those who are pushing the campaign. I earnestly wish you could have a conference with the leaders who have it within their hands to make equal suffrage come to pass. It is not a bill for democratic women only, but it is a bill enfranchising the women of Oklahoma on equal terms with men.

Unless there is some effort made especially in the rural districts to show to the voters that women want suffrage, not even party pressure will get out a full vote. At a conference some idea should be obtained as to what part the democratic leaders wish the women to assume in the campaign. Otherwise the impression will be that this suffrage is being forced on unwilling women. I can understand the disinclination of the socialist woman and of the republican woman if she is ardently partisan, to work for the bill, but like working for presidential suffrage it is a question of taking what we can get, not what we want.

From its importance as one of the cotton growing states Oklahoma's influence on Texas is vast.

In a letter from a present member of the Corporation Commission he says, in reference to the Concurrent Resolution, "it seems to meet with very general favor even among the democrats who heretofore were opposed to woman suffrage." I think, probably, you may remember this commissioner. He was former Senator Campbell Russell, and he has never wavered in his allegiance to all woman suffrage measures.

It is only natural that I should feel anxiety about Oklahoma, and I do hope the National will extend all possible help, and while it seems superfluous to make this plea to you it relieves my soul to do so. The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is putting a special emphasis on its press work for Oklahoma. We have a large list of Oklahoma papers and are much gratified at the amount of space they give us.

Remember me to Miss Hay. My train was very late in reaching Washington on my return to New Orleans and I found there was not time enough to visit the new headquarters in the Capital City. However, I was glad to have had a visit with you and remember with much appreciation your hospitality.

If you and Miss Hay are members of the General Federation Council, which convenes in New Orleans in April, I shall hope to be able to return some of your courtesies. If I hear anything further regarding Oklahoma which has any importance or significance, I will write it to you.

Very cordially yours.

P.S. An enclosing copy of HARLOW'S WEEKLY, which contains a little sketch of one period of work in Oklahoma. I do not know who wrote this article, but I think much of it came from the former secretary-treasurer of the Federation of Labor. In the main the write-up is correct, though not comprehensive.

February 5, 1917.

To Members of the Executive Council:

Our nation may be on the brink of war. To those who live in the interior, war may seem a long way off, but in the East where public buildings, water works, forts, etc. are now under military guard, and where some of the regiments of the National Guard have been called to duty, it comes as a sad realization that our country is facing a far more serious crisis than most of us have ever known. A few days may determine whether our people are to be drawn into war at once, or whether the break can be patched up and the more tragic consequences postponed or even averted.

If the worst comes, very serious problems confront us. Our work would unquestionably come to a temporary standstill. How shall we dispose of our headquarters, our workers, our plans? How shall we hold our organization and resources meanwhile, so that our movement will not lose its prestige and place among the political issues of our country? These are questions we must not leave to answer themselves. If we are not "the hammer our cause will be the anvil".

Women not connected with any particular movement are calling meetings in order to pass pointless resolutions of the promised service of women if required. The big question presents itself, shall suffragists do the "war work" which they will undoubtedly want to do with other groups newly formed, thus running the risk of disintegrating our organizations or shall we use our headquarters and our machinery for really helpful constructive aid to our nation? The answer to these questions must be given now.

Because this unexpected turn of public affairs creates an unprecedented condition, the majority of the National Board avails itself of the provision of the constitution which permits the call of the Executive Council on a two weeks notice. I therefore issue this call to all Elected Officers, all Presidents, all Auxiliaries, all State Members, (all auxiliaries which pay dues on a membership of 1500 or more are entitled to a member in addition to the President), all Chairmen Standing and Special Committees to meet in Washington at the Headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, February 23-25 inclusive, as per inclosed program. In issuing this call

Each state is urged to send its State Congressional Chairmen to this meeting.

[Feb 5, 1917]

we are not unmindful that the date falls in the midst of several legislative campaigns. Nor are we forgetful of the protest made by Western members that so many Eastern meetings of the Association puts a heavier burden of expense upon them; but the seat of our Government is here. Our offer of help if made at all must be made here. I think you will realize that the meeting would lose much of its effect and usefulness if held elsewhere.

Even though the press should indicate that the present crisis has passed, the meeting must and will be held, as other matters of imperative importance await adjustment. Several States have sought referenda in direct opposition to the rule adopted at Atlantic City. The Executive Council, not the Directors must decide whether the National owes any duty to these States. Certain questions concerning the Federal work in the next Congress should be decided by the Council, not the Board. Of course, the new developments preclude any vote on our amendment this session.

Last September an emergency convention was held and no one who has studied the effect of that meeting has doubted the existence of the emergency nor the wisdom of the call for the unusual date.

An emergency far more critical has now arisen. The future success of our movement depends upon right action being taken now. This can only be done at a full meeting with a representative present from every State. I beg each President to come herself if possible; if not, to send her best helper. If the President or proxy feels that she cannot afford the expense, her organization should pay its cost. To come is her duty. Auxiliaryship in the National Association carries responsibility with it, and this is a time when prompt response to the National call should be considered obligatory.

Anticipating the pleasure of seeing you soon, I am,

Yours cordially,

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Feb 19 1973

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

To be held in Washington, Feb. 23-25 inclusive.

INFORMATION.

PLACE OF MEETING: Headquarters, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue.

LUNCHEONS: A free buffet luncheon will be served at Headquarters to the Council on Friday and Saturday.

ACCOMMODATIONS: As the hotels are crowded at all times promises of accommodations have been secured at high class boarding houses ranging from \$2.50 to \$5.00, exclusive of luncheon.

ARRANGEMENTS: Write or telegraph Miss Ruth White, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, what accommodations you prefer and the date, train, time of arrival; also most important, how long you will remain. If time permits, Miss White will reply, giving you your assignment. If possible, you will be met. If you fail to receive your assignment and are not met, telephone from the station to the Headquarters (North 2218) and you will be told where to go. If you prefer a hotel, efforts will be made to find accommodations for you.

PROGRAM.

The National Board will hold an informal reception at 8 o'clock p. m., February 22nd, to members of the Executive Council, at the Headquarters.

Friday, February 23.

- 10 a. m. - Executive session of the Council.
 - Survey of Federal and State Campaigns - Mrs. Catt
 - Report Washington Committee- Mrs. Miller.
 - Mrs. Park
 - Mrs. Gardener
 - Mrs. Rogers
 - Financial Report
 - Report Leslie Estate.

1 p.m. Free luncheon served to the Executive Council.

2.30 p.m. What policy shall be adopted and what assistance given to pending state campaigns?
What policy shall be adopted for future federal work.
General discussion.

Saturday, February 24.

10 a.m.
The National Crisis and Women's responsibility toward it- Mrs. Catt.
What can the National and its auxiliaries do?
Proposals of plans. Free discussion.

1 p.m. Free buffet lunch served to Executive Council.

2.30 Continued discussion.

8 p.m. Reception .

Sunday, February 25.

3.30 p.m. Meeting Poli's Theatre.

It is proposed to present our plan publicly to the government and to ask Secretary of War Baker to accept our offer. with appropriate speeches and patriotic music. This plan will depend upon developments meanwhile.

8 p.m. Informal reception at Headquarters.

April 3, 1917.

Mrs. Carrie C. Catt,
171 Madison Ave.,
New York City.

My Dear Mrs. Catt:-

I have just reached home this morning, as I went to Richmond, Va., to see my sister for a few days. I found among the letters awaiting me one from Mrs. Mary E. Ringrose, 2618 Sacramento St./? San Francisco, Cal. You remember that she is the lady who has worked very successfully among Catholics in the west. I never heard anything except good reports of her work and I believe her to be a very loyal Sugfragist. She has said to me that she would like to work in New York during the campaign and that she would like to have me to write to you my opinion of her work which I am now doing. She says, "I receive no salary, just expenses paid".

I want to thank you for the very delightful stay I have had in your hospitable home. I thoroughly enjoyed it, and I feel much encouraged by all the news I collected and by seeing the business-like aspect of the headquarters.

Please remember me to Miss Hay and believe me

Very cordially yours,

C O P Y

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
171 Madison Ave.,
New York

April 9, 1917.

To the Presidents:

The expected has come; our country is at war. According to the preliminary plan, the National Council of Women called a meeting of all national women's organizations, including the twenty-seven which are members of the National Council and a few others which are not. Among them are the Federation of Clubs, the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The meeting was held in Washington, April 3rd, and resulted in the formation of a National Central Committee of the National Council of Women. A smaller executive committee was formed of which Mrs. Philip North Moore of St. Louis was the unanimous choice as chairman. A headquarters has been established in the Union Trust Building in Washington. This National Committee was instructed to appoint a temporary chairman of each state at the earliest possible moment and it was suggested that where possible, they should be the presidents of the Federation of Women's Clubs. This organization was chosen to lead because it is neutral upon most controversial questions.

This temporary state chairman will be urged by Mrs. Moore to call a conference of presidents of all women's state organizations at the earliest possible moment. They will form a committee similar to the national committee and will elect a permanent chairman in each and a smaller executive committee. This committee in turn will appoint a temporary chairman in each city and town of the state and this local chairman will be instructed to call together at once, the presidents of all the women's organizations in the town. A permanent chairman will then be elected and a smaller executive committee.

Mrs. Moore will have prepared a card of registration and this card will be sent to the presidents of each of the national organizations composing the National Central Committee. They in turn will have these cards printed and will make the registration of their own organizations. A careful classification of the women who are able to go away from home as volunteer or paid workers and those who are able to work at home only, will be made. The kind of things which can be done at home will be determined and the local committees will be so informed.

Each national organization will attempt to secure the registration of its own membership. It is probable that by the time the plan for this nation-wide registration of women seeps down to the local groups, the cards will have reached some local organizations before the town committee is organized. Any organization of women which receives the explanation of the general plan, may consider itself authorized to proceed with the town organization, providing it does not attempt to assume the leadership in the matter. The registration for home work will not be passed out of the town, but should be kept in card directory fashion, so that the local women may be called upon for various duties when the time arises. The cards signed by those women who are able to go away from home as volunteer or paid workers, will be forwarded to the National Central Committee in order that they may assign the women to the positions they are prepared to fill.

You will receive a call from the temporary chairman of your state appointed by Mrs. Moore soon. I beg of you to attend this meeting and to help in organizing the work in your state. Suffragists will surely do their part.

Two months ago the Women's League for National Service was organized in New York. It proceeded with vigor to secure the registration, when possible, of all national organizations under its leadership. They have appointed a chairman in several states and these chairmen are attempting to secure the registration of state organization.

I do not wish to impugn the motive of this organization, nor question its sincerity nor ability of itself appointed leadership, but the fact that the anti-suffragists are very devoted to that organization and that they have such unlimited means that they are willing to defray extravagant expenses in several cities, has greatly aroused the suspicion of many persons.

Here in New York City where it was organized and where the leaders live, neither the Federation of Clubs nor the Woman's Suffrage Party, the two largest organizations of women, will register with them. I am writing this in confidence to you as several presidents have written me to inquire about this body. My advice is not to fight this League for Women's Service, but to steer clear of them. They will help, let them do so.

The National Central Committee of the Council of Women is a democratic body, federating existing organizations, and will certainly reach every crossroads. Its leadership is democratic and it can be replaced in local groups, state or nation, if inefficiency develops. When the emergency committee was called by Mrs. Moore, the National League for Women's Service was invited to be represented there. It neither replied nor attended the meeting. On the contrary, it held a meeting in another hotel at the same hour. They claimed at that meeting to have 115 groups. The federation of the organizations under the Council of Women must easily have many thousands of groups. My advice is to stick to the democratic National Central Committee.

I am sending a longer letter to the Woman's Journal which doubtless will get in print next week. It will contain more details of work to be done and I beg of you to read it as a part of this communication.

Perhaps you will ask if this means that we are to drop suffrage work. By no means. Let me repeat what I have said in my last letter to you. In my judgment, we have the chance of a lifetime to get our measure through, and concentration must be directed toward the Federal Amendment. It is possible however to appoint committees to do the work of these new departments. Many women who do not know how to do the usual suffrage work or find it irksome, will be glad to take hold of these new departments.

War is a tragedy which most people in the United States sincerely regret. It however becomes our duty to waste no time in vain regret, but to ease the situation as much as possible by each doing her own share of public service in this hour of our great need.

Will you not at once get out a letter to your local leagues and inform them of the general plan. Later you can send the cards for registration to them.

Cordially,

(Signed) Carrie Chapman Catt

PRESIDENT

Frankfort, Ky. May 3, 1917.

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

The following is a copy of a letter just received from Mrs. Catt. Please write me what you think we will be able to do in this matter. I think it imperative that Kentucky send the \$10.00 requested. Do you feel that you can contribute or secure any contribution for the fund for the hospital and relief work?

If you feel that you can possibly ask any of your friends to telegraph President Wilson, asking him to appoint Mr. Frederick C. Howe of New York an extra member of the Commission to Russia will you please do so.

If you feel that it will be possible for you to secure any contributions toward this fund or have any telegrams sent will you please notify me?

Very cordially yours,

Christine Drapley Smith

Mrs. Catt's letter is as follows:

April 28, 1917.

My dear Madam President:

We are all heart sick over the appointment of Elihu Root as head of the Commission to Russia. He knows all the law which dead men have written into the books, but he has no sympathy with any yet to be written. We therefore hope to get a man on the Commission who will stand for real democracy and for woman suffrage. We have selected Frederick C. Howe of New York, Commissioner of Immigration. He can and will go if appointed.

It is wise not to make this a suffrage move. Will you AT ONCE get in touch with influential persons of liberal thought in your State and beg them to write and telegraph the President to appoint Mr. Howe, who is a Democrat, as an extra member. He received his present appointment from Mr. Wilson and is therefore an acceptable personality.

More, we want to send by Mr. Howe some money to Dr. Schischkina Yavein, President of the Russian Suffrage Association. Our ambition is to send her \$1000 for her suffrage campaign, \$3000 for the hospital for wounded of which she is the head and which is supported by Russian suffragists. We are anxious to be able to announce that every state in the Union has contributed to this fund. We are asking 20 states to send \$10 each; 20 to send \$25 each and 8 states to send \$50 each. This will make \$1100 if all respond. This will all go to the Russian suffrage campaign. You will ask at once whether this money will be taken from your 10%. No. More, if all the states do not pay their pledges, the National will have to borrow money to complete its year. But many persons will contribute to such funds, who will not to regular work. If munitions are made in your State try to get contributions from the contractors for the hospital and for the general relief to be disbursed by the Russian Red Cross.

We believe suffrage in Russia is the best boost possible to suffrage here, and that money from American suffragists to Russian Suffragists sent with the Commission will be a splendid antidote to Root reaction. Let us hear at once what you can do. Send the money on. We shall return it if we are unable to get a respectable amount.

For the suffrage fund we ask your State to contribute \$10. For the hospital and relief funds do your best.

Cordially yours,

Carrie Chapman Catt

President

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

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PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
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CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

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PRESIDENT
MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN

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HEADQUARTERS
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.



November 13, 1917.

To Congressional Chairmen:

Copy to Presidents

The glad news has reached you that New York has won. I wonder if you realize that New York has as many members of Congress as all the full suffrage states put together, and then three more. Of course New York will give our movements a tremendous impetus. In my judgment, if our work is done as well as it should be, the Federal Amendment should pass in 1918 and it should be ratified in time for every woman in the country to vote for President in 1920. That result means organized effort and no slacking in every Congressional district in the land.

From time to time we have reminded you of the program which we have hoped to have carried out concerning the congressional campaign. I write now about one particular point. It was our hope that in every state, delegations either with or without publicity, as the women of the state thought wisest, would visit every congressman and every senator, presenting to them a goodly sized petition from men and from women, asking him to support and to push the Federal Amendment. We have received such fragmentary reports from the states, that it did not seem wise to print the leaflet "Perhaps" which we promised you for presentation to the congressmen at that time. Instead we will present you with these enclosed leaflets and flag flier. These are not very impressive in appearance but will do for the moment. We will supply you with enough of these for each Congressman and Senator which you may present in person or send through the mails with a letter, if in some instances your deputation has already made its visit.

In these visits to the congressmen, it is necessary to remind them of a few points.

(1) All over the world the suffrage is being extended to women by ACTS OF PARLIAMENT. (2) We are fighting for Democracy. Great Britain, Canada, Russia and France have pledged

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to enfranchise their women because they too are fighting for Democracy. (3) The women of this country are going to do their utmost to loyally support the country in its time of stress, but there rankles deep in millions of their souls the grievance that while they are called upon to make tremendous sacrifices for Democracy abroad, they are denied it at home. (4) Other lands have granted suffrage as a war measure; we ask the same consideration. Why? Because after the war tremendous problems will be treated in the political campaigns of our country. Among them are the industrial adjustments made necessary by the loss of many men, women having taken their places; morals; infant mortality, immoral diseases; and perhaps greatest of all, the question of how to secure an enduring peace for the world.

If your petitions have fallen down in any district, I beg of you nevertheless to get a deputation of the most representative women and men and after having made an appointment with the congressman, to see that your hearing takes place.

I think the congressman will like it best if you do not give too much publicity before hand. Let the announcement be made AFTERWARDS as a piece of news. Do not fail to do that however as men are very sensitive when it comes to the question of winning or losing votes and they know that suffrage now commands a considerable political following. Go to the favorable ones as well as those opposed or noncommittal. Make it clear that you come to thank them for their previous help and ask their efforts to secure the immediate passage of the amendment.

There will be some districts in which you have little or no organization. In that event it would be advisable to send an officer for the purpose of organizing the delegation. An organizer could go ahead and do the work provided the officer came to lead the delegation. I beg of you to do your utmost to see that every Congressman and every Senator is visited.

Please let me know whether we can rely upon your visit to every Senator and Congressman and what plans you have made. I am writing to your president the plans for the hearings in Washington before your entire delegation.

Cordially yours,

Carrie Chapman Catt
President