

[Enclosure Dec 19, 1906]

Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 29, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter received from Dr. Woods in regard to the condition in Arizona. Under the circumstances, it seems best to have her go right back to Guthrie, for even if the President should say a word to the Governor and prevent his vetoing the bill if it were passed, with such an attitude as he bears toward it, he would see that it never passed. So that the best work that Dr. Woods can do for us at present will be in Oklahoma, at least that's my opinion.

I hope you will all have a very successful year and that our Convention at Chicago may set on foot a system of money raising that will enable us to carry on our cause as we ought and as we must if we are going to succeed. We have got to work in all the states every year and not in one or two states each year, if anything is to be accomplished.

Happy New Year!

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

[Dec 21, 1906]

EXTRACT FROM MRS. BOYER'S LETTER.

Guthrie, Okla .

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Reached here yesterday (Thanksgiving Day) too late to do any real work, so Dr. Woods, Miss Gregg and I talked over affairs. We have agreed that the main things that require immediate work are interviewing delegates, and bring home pressure to bear on them. We pressed Mrs. Carter into service to-day, and she made an appointment with Henshaw, Chm. of Suf. Com. He called at our Headquarters this afternoon and spent about one hour. He is a lawyer from Madill. Rather nice appearing man of about 35 and has a wife and daughter. Of Illinois origin and Quaker ancestry (doesn't look it). Had never given woman suffrage any thought. We could not press him too far. He isn't that kind of a man. Seems disposed to be fair and was not at all flippant or patronizing. Offered to introduce us to the other 14 members of Com. Also to arrange for a hearing with Com. whenever it would suit us best. Probably next week.

I am wondering what you and Mrs. Avery are going to say about Press expenses. Loosen up! Engaged a Stenographer to-day. She starts in on Monday at \$10.00 per week. She is from Kansas City.

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,  
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Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.  
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Chairman Press Committee, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF  
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 21, 1906.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I enclose copies of letters, which I have received from Dr. Woods since she left Oklahoma. I also enclose a copy of my letter to her in reply to a telegram which I received this morning. I didn't think it was wise to wait until we could get you and your opinion before sending the letter, because I didn't know when you would reach Guthrie, since there was some thought of your stopping en route and as it was a great expense to keep Dr. Woods waiting, If she could do no good in Arizona, she certainly was needed in Oklahoma. I thought you would be willing that Mrs. Upton and myself decide in regard to her return. Before I sent my answer to Dr. Woods, I sent it to Mrs. Upton and asked her to forward it if she agreed with me, so that it would be the opinion of two of the Sub-Committee. I hope you will feel that this was all right.

I really don't regret her going, since it was our duty to do the best we could for Arizona and I am more and more convinced that people who are not accustomed to working in suffrage are hardly the wise ones to advise in regard to what should and should not be done in different parts of the country. We talk about the wisdom of local people but I find that the wisdom of local people is pretty poor wisdom, that is unless they are people who are accustomed to working and interviewing men.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

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Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 21, 1906.

My dear Miss Clay:-

Mrs. Upton has been on to Washington and stopped here and Miss Shaw and I went in to Philadelphia and had a whole day of it with her at the hotel. Of course, we talked over many things and among them the question of who should give the Oregon Report at the Convention. It is decided that it should be divided among the following six people:

Dr. Jeffrey-----The Co-operation of the State and National  
Associations in the Conduct of the Campaign.  
Miss Clay-----The Opening of the Campaign  
Miss Chase-----Work in the Field  
Miss Gordon-----The Organization of the Cities  
Miss Lucy Anthony-----Campaign Headquarters  
Mrs. Boyer-----Campaign Press Work

and then Miss Shaw should give a general survey of the campaign. Each of the six speakers above mentioned is to have ten minutes, which would give an hour to the whole thing, exclusive of what the President has to say. Will you be ready with your ten minutes on your topic? Please let me have a line from you so that I may know you received this letter.

How are things moving in Oklahoma according to your views of the case?

Cordially yours,

*Rachel Foster Avery.*

Oct 21, 1906

Extract from Mrs. Biggers' Letter.

Mrs. Bradford says she considers Mr. Owen one of the very strongest men who has ever espoused our cause in this country (meaning our whole country). He is of Indian blood - I think some two or three generations back - and is a thorough gentleman of culture and great ability. He came here Sunday night from his home in the eastern part of the territory by our special request and has devoted his time to our cause ever since until he left for home last night. Mrs. Bradford will write you full particulars as soon as she possibly can - she hopes to be able to do so to-morrow. She and Mr. Owen spent all the time possible during the three days of his stay here (and until eleven P. M. Tues.) preparing a memorial for the convention. It will be about thirty pages size of "Everybody's" and covers our arguments and answers to objections, an extremely valuable thing. There are to be 2,000 copies and - Mr. Owen pays the bill himself. He also paid a man stenographer for twice taking notes and Mrs. Bradford says it cost him \$6.00 for the first time and would be fully as much the second. He is a regular Bull-dog in the ability to hold on until the enemy is defeated. He says we are going to win, and Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Boyer believe him. He knows how to manage men and he is honestly for us.

We had a splendid hearing before the Suffrage Com. Tues. afternoon. For various reasons we were obliged to have our hearing in the convention hall. We had a large attendance of women for a Committee Hearing and the men who naturally drift into the convention hall when the Convention is adjourned gradually gathered around us until we had quite an audience - estimated by others as at least 30 delegates and 45 or 50 other men and lots of women. It made a splendid impression, and lasted two and a half hours. Oh! Miss Shaw, I felt so proud, and so thankful to you for sending us such splendid help. We had our own women in very short talks from various towns near by and from Guthrie, then Mrs. Boyer, Dr. Woods, Mrs. Bradford

[Dec 21, 1906]

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and Mr. Owen. One of the delegates told me he had never heard better speeches in his life than our women made. Those who came in late expressed great regret - and I think honestly - in not having heard all. We are so fortunate in having this splendid man to help us. Even his political enemies say he is the strongest man in the territory. Well I am sure Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Boyer will tell you more than I can along this line.

Dr. Woods left early Wednesday morning. We insisted that she stay for the Hearing, and I am particularly glad we did for she struck a note so one else had - the working women and girls - and she made a deep impression. We are sorry to lose her and would not have telegraphed as we did had not you hinted in your letter that possibly she might stay. It was not I alone, you must always remember, and in all my requests I am but voicing my Staff.

Dec 21, 1906

( COPY )

Holbrook, Arizona, Dec. 14, 1906.

Dear Dr. Shaw:-

I have had my first investigating talks this A. M. and I am not very hopeful. Will you kindly keep my letters as they will be more complete than the final summing up. The first co. is Apache. I met the Council-man from there:- Gentile, age 72, bitterly opposed, a great friend of the Brodies, Republican. He comes in the place of Mr. Jarvis who held on to us so firmly that he enabled us to tie Council. The Mormons are evidently knocked out in Apache.

Holbrook is in the next county of Navajo - I have telegraphed to Snow-Flake for our best friend there. At present it looks bad. The Gentiles say: "Woman Suffrage would ruin us putting us into the hands of the Mormons entirely." The Mormons say: "By the Reed Smoot petition the women of the country especially the temperance women whom we expected to appreciate us showed that they would follow the ministers blindly." Goodness! You cannot blame them either.

This climate is at its best to-day. I ought to stop at Winslow and Flagstaff and see if we have friends there still, before I go on down to Prescott so I may not reach there till Tuesday. I may strike better things further on - and shall try to write you every day.

With best wishes

(signed) Frances Woods.

P. S. - Of course it would be more pleasant to me not to try to work the insurance scheme. I only mentioned it as every one who went to Oregon that I have met since seems to get positively panicky at the thought of our being known as "out-siders".

Dec 21, 1906

( C O P Y )

Ashfork, Dec. 16, 1906.

Dear Dr. Shaw:

I have just had my first good square meal since I left the last Harvey house in New Mexico. I have paid for the regular number at the exorbitant prices that we pay out here but they were evidently never made to eat.

I had almost forgotten how high things were when I was here before but I was reminded sternly this morning when I handed over \$1.00 for a lodging for which I would have paid half that much in Ok.

Well - I have interviewed the third county in the person of our old friend Frank Reid. He was one of my loyal adherents last time, and even now says he will stick to me and "The Cause". He has unfortunately joined the ministry since I was here before, and would not be quite as useful as last time when he was a lawyer and more a man among men. He is opposed to work without more preparation than we could make between now and Jan. 1. He says from everything he can judge the two men from up here would be against us. He did give me a secret, however, which I could use, (though I fear it would be a mean thing to do) by which I think I could hold the house member. This is the first ray of hope that I have seen since I entered the territory. Things may look better, however, in Navajo Co. if I have a favorable reply from our old Mormon friend, Jim Flake.

I also imagine that I know what Mrs. Munds bases her enthusiasm on, the election of Eugenie Brady O'Neil down in Maricopa.

It is jolly interesting looking it all up and I am in my element. As soon as I close this I meet another old standby Mr. Pitts, and shall know if his new wife has spoiled him.



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I hated in some respects to leave Oklahoma - especially because dear Mrs. Biggers seemed to cling to me. I am awfully afraid that we shall make her ill, for she is not overly strong and she has lost weight considerably in the two weeks.

She is certainly one of the finest souls I have ever known.

I shall write to you to-morrow.

Sincerely,

(signed) Frances Woods.

Dec 21, 1906

( COPY )

Prescott, Arizona, Dec. 16, 1906.

Dear Dr. Shaw:

I came in last night to find Mrs. Mund's house full of roomers, so I am obliged to stop here at the hotel. She has not interviewed her men on the subject so to-day we have been trying to see them and find how they stand. There is one - the proprietor of this hotel - who I think would be for us. We have not been able to get his positive promise but he is certainly favorable.

I thought you expected Mrs. Munds to go to Phoenix with me - but she says she could not under any circumstance do such a thing this year. Her baby is only about a year and a half old - and she would be afraid to either take her or leave her.

Mrs. Robinson is in Chicago. So it seems that I go on to Phoenix without any local backing at all and I hardly know what I am to do. There is a Mrs. Eugene Brady O'Neil who was president in Mrs. Catt's time - but who has answered no letters since and who, while we were here last was only a nominal assistance. Her husband is now in the Democratic minority in the Council. Mrs. Munds wrote to him about a week ago asking him if he would champion the bill - and has received no reply.

I told Mrs. Munds that I knew you would feel positively opposed to my going alone to these men in Phoenix. That we must have local backing or give up at the start.. So she has written to Mrs. O'Neil again asking her if she will give the necessary assistance. I hardly see my way at all. Mrs. Munds seems to have had no idea but that the National would come in, take charge, and make our own way alone.

Now, as to the women you see the situation. Mrs. O'Neil was a figure head when Mrs. Catt was here but has never been willing to do any work. Mrs.

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Robinson away, and Mrs. Munds felt sure you understood that she could not possibly leave her home here. Mrs. Sullivan is dead, and it seems to me we would be obliged to look up our women first, then convert our men.

It is a terrible thing to go as near to success as we did and then fail - for the reaction seems to leave our friends without hope or strength for years. Then I find many strong friends of Brodies who seem to feel that loyalty to his demands antagonism to us.

There is just one chance for us it seems to me now. That is for the Republican Council to see that it would be a good thing for the party here for the W. S. bill to be passed and signed. In that case Gov. and Council would work together after it had passed a Democratic house. I shall try to-morrow to find out if there is any hope of rooting this idea in the mind of those for whom it is intended.

There is one more point. There is a strong move being made toward passing antigambling laws, and also toward passing a law for high license and another prohibiting dance women in the saloons. A number of men have been elected on these issues - and one of our old friends here, E. S. Clarke - reasons thus: The friends to our measure would be the friends to the above - but they can carry only a limited number of reform measures. To the above they are already promised, and that he, for one, would resent our stepping in now and overweighting them with our measure.

A week or so in Phoenix (if I can find a local woman to take me about) will clear this up.

Sincerely,

(signed) Frances Woods.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 18, 1906.

Dear Miss Clay:-

As you will be further away than any of the rest of us when you receive the Call and as the time is so short, instead of signing and sending it to me to forward to Mrs. Upton, will you kindly sign and send it directly to her so that she may have it, that is unless you have some serious objection to it and wish to make some specially important change in which case, of course, it would have to come to me.

I am thinking of you to-day in that conference in Memphis and I sincerely hope that something may come out of it, which will be helpful to the Southern work.

I have just read your letter containing a copy of Mrs. Biggers'. I certainly do not think it would be wise for you to attempt to visit these delegates in their homes during the recess if the home is off the direct line of your route to Guthrie and certainly not, if you do not know whether they are at home or not. If you receive any information from Mrs. Biggers at Memphis giving you the assurance that any of these delegates are at home along the direct line of your route to Guthrie, it might be well to stop off, otherwise, I don't think it would be profitable kind of work. In the interim, you could go on to Guthrie and be getting your bearings and learn about the individual men all that it was possible before they return.

Now, it seems to me that they would hardly want people to come to their homes in the vacation time, because they probably will be attending to business and doing up their home work for the weeks that they will be gone again to the Convention and if I were in your place I should want to know positively, first, whether

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the delegate was at home and that the place of his residence was on the line of your route before stopping off. I must confess that personally I should not think it worth while to stop off at all for the purpose of interviewing the delegate, though I might think it was wise to stop off for the purpose of interviewing some of the people in the town where the delegate lives and getting them to influence him. Now, that would be to my mind the best kind of work that could be done in those towns along the line of your route. Even if the delegate was not at home, you might be able to influence the home people. What do you think of that? But, of course, you will use your own judgment in the matter.

Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Avery and I had a splendid conference yesterday and did a lot of work. Have I told you that Miss Chase is to be employed in New Hampshire until after the holidays and then go on, if we think it best, to Indiana to see what she can do up to the time of the National Convention and if Indiana is a promising field, after that to go back and finish organizing the state?

I just received a letter from Miss Gregg, also from a lady in Kansas, who wishes Miss Gregg to go to Kansas and assist in the work there after she is through in Oklahoma. What do you think about the plan of our National people sending Miss Gregg to Kansas? The Kansas people will turn the collections and a per cent of the membership fee toward the payment of Miss Gregg's salary and expenses. Unless there is some special call so that we shall need her for campaign work, I see no objection to her going to Kansas for a time.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 18, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have just received the Call from Miss Blackwell. With one or two little changes I send you each a copy asking you, if you are willing to do so, to sign and return it at once in order that it may appear in the next issue of "Progress", which is published the first of January. Miss Blackwell in her letter very kindly said that if there was any little change which we thought would be better to make in the Call to do so, that she was perfectly willing that it should be cut down or changed in any way. I have taken out a portion of her reference to the work in Oregon, because it had been said a great many times over and the Call seemed rather long. If there are any changes, which you think it is best to make, I hope you will do so immediately, because there is so little time between this and the publication of "Progress" that we will need to attend to it without any delay.

I enclose a portion of a letter received from Mrs. Biggers yesterday, which appears very encouraging. Other letters received from different workers are written in the same vein of hopefulness.

Mrs. Upton came to Philadelphia on Monday on her return trip from Washington. She will herself inform you in regard to the outcome of her visit in that city. Mrs. Avery and I met her in Philadelphia and we spent the day together, going over the program and the work in general and I feel it was a very helpful day and will save us many hours of correspondence. She left at midnight for Warren and I suppose has arrived there by this time. She is very much encouraged at the general outlook of the work and feels that there is a great deal more being done than any of us seem to realize. The greatest difficulty we are meeting just now is in securing speakers for our evening meetings. When a program has to be made every year and each year in different parts of the country and nothing short of the leading people of the

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country will satisfy, it is very difficult for us to fill it with desirable speakers, especially when we have no means even to pay their transportation. I think this is going to be more and more difficult as the years go by and will be one of the problems we will have to meet and solve.

In regard to the fund, which Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are trying to secure, I spent the night at Bryn Mawr with them last week and we went over the situation. They are going to devote their Christmas vacation time to the work of securing further subscriptions. Miss Thomas says it is absolutely useless to write, that she is going personally to see the people whom she expects to contribute as there is no hope of securing money in any other way. They both feel quite hopeful of raising the entire amount, but if they should not succeed in that, at least they will raise a portion of it, but I rather think they are determined to raise it all if possible.

Wishing you all A Merry Christmas, I am

Faithfully yours,

*Anne + John*

181 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 14th, 1906.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have received your several letters, and I send one vote on slip. If I overlook anything important, please set it down to my pre-occupation on account of going to Oklahoma, and vote for me; for which purpose I give you my proxy.

Yesterday I received the enclosed letter from Mrs. Biggers, in which you see she thinks I may employ the recess visiting delegates at their home. I confess this does not seem very promising to me; for their homes are widely distributed, I am an entire stranger, and they may not all go home, so I may not find them, after all. Mrs. Biggers mentions in most of the places local women whom I may ask to accompany me. Today I wrote to her that I would do as she wished as near as possible; and asked her to write again at Peabody Hotel, Memphis, so as to reach me by the 20th, on the evening of which day I shall proceed to Oklahoma and stop or go directly to Guthrie, as may seem best on further instructions. I would be very glad if you would write me what you think about it, to reach me at Memphis or here, as Mrs. Biggers leaves it to my decision.

I like the letter to the English suffragists, so please sign my name.

Very cordially yours,



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Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 10, 1906.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I received a telegram from Mrs. Biggers, saying, as I telegraphed you this afternoon, that she wanted you in Oklahoma. She has sent another telegram, saying that she will give you instructions and that she has written you. Whether she has sent the letter here or directly to you, I do not know, but as you do not leave home until the 16th or 17th for Memphis, if anything comes, I will be able to reach you. I sent Mrs. Biggers your address so that if she wanted to write you herself, she could send directly to your home at Lexington.

Mrs. Biggers seems very emphatic in her desire to keep Dr. Woods as well as the others that are there, but it seems to me that four outsiders with Mrs. Biggers and the state women ought to be quite enough to interview the delegates. You see the work just now in Oklahoma is a good deal like what would be done before a legislative body in getting an amendment submitted and I don't think we have ever yet had more than one or two outside women in any state assisting the state women to get an amendment submitted to the vote of the people, and as this is about the kind of work which is being done in Oklahoma, I think the force in the field is quite sufficient, at least it's all we can pay for. I have been going over the expenses and our income and the money on hand and at the present rate of outgo, we will not have a cent in the treasury by the time the National Convention meets, and then if we have to carry on a campaign in Oklahoma, if they submit the amendment, you see we will have nothing to do it with, and I am opposed to sending any more people there at present, except yourself. We can very readily afford to have you go, since you are about the cheapest

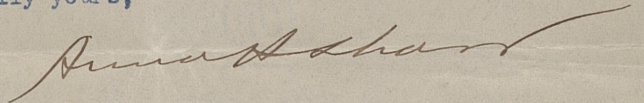
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worker we can get into the field. I am so thankful that you are able to give your time, and I know it would be just as great a pleasure for the others to do so as it is for you, if they only had the means, but I am glad that you not only have the means but the generous disposition and spirit to use them and the willingness to give yourself as well.

I certainly hope the meeting at Memphis will be a good success. I have no doubt that you will be able to keep it pretty well in hand, in fact my fears of Miss Kearney's eccentricity largely vanished when I knew you were to be present at the meeting.

Faithfully yours,



Form No. 168.

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131 C MX BE 9 Paid.

Swartsmore Pa Dec 10 1906

Miss Laura Clay,

191 North Mill St. Lexington Kentucky

Mrs Biggers telegraphs that she wishes you in Oklahoma

Anna H. Shaw. 650P

MONEY TRANSFERRED BY TELEGRAPH.

CABLE OFFICE

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Swarthmore, Pa., Dec . 10, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have just received the following telegram from Mrs. Biggers:  
"We need all here now. Clay also. Woods' presence vitally necessary ", to which I  
have replied, "Absolutely necessary for Woods to go to Arizona immediately. Will  
telegraph Clay."

I had received letters this morning from Oklahoma, in which it  
was stated that they thought it was wise for Miss Gregg to remain in Guthrie to assist  
in the interviewing because she knew many of the people. The statements also said it  
was wise for Dr. Woods to remain because she knew so many politicians. Now, while I  
have no doubt that both Dr. Woods and Miss Gregg can do good work in Guthrie, I think  
that too big a force of outside people will in the end be bad for us and that with  
Mrs. Bradford, Mrs. Boyer, Miss Gregg and Miss Clay we will have a sufficient force  
of outside people, who with Mrs. Biggers and the local women can do all the inter-  
viewing that it is wise to do. Mrs. Biggers has formed a very strong attachment for  
Dr. Woods and likes to have her go with her wherever she goes and while I don't ques-  
tion her good work, I cannot help feeling that it is a great deal wiser to have her  
go to Arizona and I also believe that without her there is quite enough to do our  
legitimate work in Oklahoma. If we had money enough to send a larger corps of people  
there, they might be used in different capacities, but when I look at the monthly  
expenses and the last report received from our Treasurer, I realize that unless some-  
thing happens, we will not be able to pay even the force that we now have on hand by  
the time of the next National Convention. I had no opportunity to consult with the  
other members of the Business Committee before sending this despatch, because if Dr.  
Woods is going to do anything in Arizona, she should be there now, every day's delay

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is just so much lost time to us in the work. I hope that my action in requesting that she shall go will meet with your approval.

I also received a telegram from Mrs. Meredith stating that she was away from home when my letter arrived and that is the reason why she has delayed so long in answering but that it is impossible for her to go to Oklahoma at present. I didn't particularly wish her to go just now. I corresponded with her so that if it seemed necessary to send Mrs. Bradford on to Arizona a little later, then I thought Miss Meredith could go to Oklahoma and it may be that by the time it is necessary for Mrs. Bradford to go to Arizona that Miss Meredith will be free to do some work in Oklahoma if she is needed, though I sincerely trust that by that time she will not be needed.

In a letter received from Dr. Woods this morning, she says: "They are all very sweet about expressing their regret, but of course, that is a woman's belief that she needs all the help she can get, and of course Mrs. Bradford is more valuable here as an object lesson, than I can be.

"My theory is this: If we can get 45 votes promised elsewhere, we can then bargain with the 12 Republicans, get them to caucus and carry their whole number. Get Mr. Asp, Republican leader, - whose name unfortunately begins with A to pass his vote so no one will "catch on" and vote at the last "Yes". This would be a good Republican move, now the thing is to make them see it.

"The rest of us are not so certain of this as I am, and they may convince me I am all wrong. The Republicans are desperate here - and when parties are relatively weak then is our chance. I am more encouraged since Mr. Asp has declared himself for us."

Personally, I haven't any faith in political trades, for the man that trades with you will trade you for something else if he needs to.

Mrs. Boyer writes: "We are hammering away on Committeemen. The Committee Hearing is arranged for Tuesday, 2 P. M. Owens has promised to be here

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Monday or Tuesday. Mrs. Biggers will telegraph him date of Hearing. We will have Mrs. Bailey, Mrs. Laskey, Mrs. Griffith, Mrs. Long and all the women we possibly can get for this Hearing. Mr. Tucker has promised to ask committee for a favorable report; to ask for time in Convention for Hearing, and to vote and do all he can for us.

Asp (biggest Republican) volunteered to vote for us. (he is not on Committee).

Caudill will vote for us.

Hendricks " " " "

Carney " " " "

Cloud " " " "

Cobb " " " " (He is not on Com. however)

Ramsey seems favorable

Littleton " "

Wyatt " "

Rice " "

Hilton favorable.

Henshaw - non-committal

This makes nine Com. members, so far, that we think we can depend on to report the bill out of Committee.

It has been necessary for all of us to do our utmost at the Convention. We get some Guthrie woman to go with each of us, and so we are trying to make time. Dr. Woods does super-excellent work, in approaching delegates and asking for interviews. Miss Gregg plunges courageously into same lines and makes appointments. Mrs. Biggers pulls the Oklahoma pioneer strings; Mrs. Bradford is a marvellous object lesson as a very feminine voter, and I work the housewife and mother racket. We hope Dr. Woods can remain here until Wednesday, at least so as to be present at the Hearing, and help with the Indians, as she has a genius for ferreting out personalities

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of Indian Territory delegates, through her friends in that Territory.

To-day we are all "up on a mountain" for things look quite favorable. If we slump to-morrow, you may get a doleful letter."

Faithfully yours,

*Samuel H. Shaw*

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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OFFICE OF  
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 8, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have many letters from Oklahoma, all containing matter which would be of interest to us if we had an extra stenographer to copy them and you had an extra length of hours in which to read them, and we have neither of these so I am going to give you the gist of what there is in most of them and only copy the parts which I think would be best put in the language of those writing.

MRS. BOYER gives in one of her letters a description of the various men whom she has interviewed, their characteristics, antecedents and so forth. She has written it in her own inimitable fashion and I am sure you would all be amused if you could read her descriptions, but the sum and substance of it is that most of the men who have called upon them who are Southern are more or less sympathetic, their only objections being of a sentimental character. Among the delegates there are nine from Kentucky and if Miss Clay should chance to go to Oklahoma, we will have to hold her responsible for the conversion of the Kentuckians. It seems that the men who came to Oklahoma from different states are forming little <sup>clubs</sup> ~~clubs~~, having banquets and so forth. Judging from the various states from which they come, no matter how many of us might go to Oklahoma to work, they could not throw it in our face that we were outsiders and that they belonged there, for certainly we couldn't be much more outside than they are, and I am mighty thankful that they have no old settlers' sentimental spirit to contend with, - I had rather meet a rattlesnake.

MRS. BIGGERS writes, "We all feel very badly to have Dr. Woods leave. She knows so many people who came to visit the convention and we get a little



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out of each one. It does seem as if Oklahoma is unfortunate in having other states on hand at the same time. There are such a lot of men to see and owing to conditions it takes so much time. We all have engagements with delegates to-night - not each one of course but with two at different places. We try to work the other women in always.

"Thank you so much for the offer you make me but Mr. Biggers' sister is "going to do suffrage work" by keeping house for him now until I can go home so I feel much better about being away. I brought my trunk this time.

"There seems very little change here. We find both friends and enemies and so many will have to be seen again because they are so ignorant of our arguments.

"After talking with our "staff" at Headquarters it seemed to be the opinion that we should have some money here to use in sending for our women where it is necessary for us to pay expenses. We are trying to use those who will pay their own expenses as much as possible and the others as near here as we can get altho' of course we also try to get those best fitted for the work."

Dr. Woods writes, "I shall go to Arizona as you desire, as I think this drawing up process would in no wise be hard upon my health, though you must not expect too much from the trip. If you remember my correspondence on the subject you know that I ~~liked~~ looked on Mrs. Robinson as a dependable woman in Arizona. She was ever ready to work and never failed me when I said something must be done. Mrs. Munds often did. Mrs. Robinson is strong and earnest though often horrid personally. Mrs. Munds has her strong points - the main one is her love of the cause, her fearlessness and her willingness to later acknowledge her mistakes. Mrs. Robinson makes fewer but never goes back on them. Mrs. Munds is at times all right but flightily enthusiastic upon which we cannot depend. I cannot depend on her for she often thought men had promised her when they had simply not contradicted her.

"While I didn't care to come here, now that I have gotten into

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the work, I hate awfully to leave but I think you know where I am needed most. The Arizona job will not be a quickly finished one since these three sets of people must be seen Mormons, Members, Kibby and Tucson people".

Kibby is the governor and there are a good many Mormons in Arizona and they are very antagonistic at women on account of the Smoot petitions. Then Dr. Woods adds the following and I would like your opinion upon it. Personally, it doesn't strike me favorably. I think that while we need to do our work quietly, keeping out of the press as much as possible so as not to stir up the Antis, and saying as little as possible about our work in Arizona until we get a hold there, still I think when we go, it should be directly on our own business and without any entanglements which we might regret afterward.

"Now I have another idea. A man by the name of Johnson has for a long time wished me to do work in Az. for the New York Life. I believe thoroughly in our being quiet in our work. If you think best I will appear in Phoenix to be looking up personal business but in reality do this. If it then seems best for us to have a campaign there, I'll establish an office which appears to be my own and welcome the workers to it. This of course unless he tries to get me to sign some sort of contract which I can not. He has often, since I left there, written asking me to do this work for them.

"If Roosevelt would in truth, in good faith write a letter to or otherwise manage to show Kibby that he would like to see Az. a W. S. state Kibby would do it.

"This is a queer situation down here and I really do not know what is coming out of it. It is "up to" Mrs. Bradford and she is certainly keen. Everything seems to be going pretty well."

Mrs. Boyer says, "Mrs. Biggers arrived in Guthrie to-night (Monday). We are growing alert about interviewing members of the Suffrage Committee. Delegates are difficult to reach. They have been hedged in by all sorts of rules to

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protect them from lobbyists. We have had fine interviews with some of the Committee though. Henshaw, the Chairman, I wrote you about, I think he will vote for us. Mrs. Hauraty (wife of labor delegate) is a zealous suffragist. She said this morning that Williams (delegate) told her that Henshaw is a suffragist.

"Littleton - stayed at our headquarters nearly an hour. Miss Gregg and I "interviewed" him. He was born in Mississippi. Never thought of female suffrage here, but thinks it would be all right. This was 1.30 P.M. At 3 o'clock in came Wyatt, Ramsey (members of Com) McClain (delegate) and back again was Littleton! He wasn't tired of being interviewed. Mrs. Carter was with us. McClain is a wind instrument. He believes, and always has believed (read this pompously) that females should vote on some things.

"We are having a caller - Mrs. Rhodes. She says Asp told her he hoped she would be successful in her pet measure - Equal Suffrage.

"She was in the Convention this afternoon. Says that a bill was introduced asking for Equal Suffrage. She cannot remember who introduced it, but it is number 66. We are wondering if it is a labor bill. Will find out as soon as the newspapers are out. Wonder if it is a move of friends or enemies.

"The all-important thing now is to see the Committee members. They will give us a Committee hearing this week, so we cannot lose any time. As soon as we get at the Committee, Miss Gregg and Dr. Woods will bring the home pressure on them.

"Mrs. Hillerman (State Pres. W.C.T.U.) told me confidentially that Mrs. Woodworth was persona non grata with the W.C.T.U.'s. That about a year ago, she precipitated a row in their State Convention and has been much disliked ever since. That Mrs. W. is endeavoring to secure the Superintendency of the Franchise Dep't, but she will not get it. This is a relief for I feared the irrepressible W. would come to Guthrie to the W.C.T.U. headquarters. So now I trust Mrs. W. is done for. Let's close the chapter.

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"Dr. Woods tells me she is to start for Arizona. She has done good work here in getting hold of delegates and making appointments for interviews. So far, all our Committee members have come to our Headquarters. We have appointments for two to-night.

"This is the statement Mr. Winton made to me. The strongest man in the two territories is Robt. L. Owen. The combination is Owen, Turner, Hopkins and Haskell. The two latter are delegates. Owen and Turner have U. S. Congressional aspirations. The four have made about one and a half millions each in various ways. I told Winton that Owen is an advocate of Woman Suffrage. Winton replied, "If Owens is for you, and will take his stand publicly, your cause is won!"

"Now Owen has given us a letter for publication, and I am holding it, to spring it at an opportune moment. Mrs. Biggers is trying to get Owen to draft our resolution, (Propositions they are called here). If Owen will do this we will have scored one. Also we are trying to get Mrs. Peter Mauraty to come to our rooms and act as hostess. Peter is the John Mitchell of the Southwest. He is vice president of the Convention. He and his wife are suffragists."

CALL - Miss Blackwell says she will write the call and she wrote such a funny letter in connection with it, you would think she was a savage Indian member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention in the fierce expression she makes of a desire to "tomahawk five hundred Antis". The work is looking up in a lively fashion and the press is full of suffrage. I will quote what she says about sending our Call out through the Associated Press: "Aren't they on the warpath in the press just now, though? And they are smart - they are doing it in the form of anonymous despatches through the Associated Press. I will try what I can do with the Call. I wish we could get the Associated Press to send that out!"

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

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OFFICE OF  
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 5, 1906.

My dear Miss Clay:-

It rejoiced me very much to receive your letter this morning stating that you would go to Oklahoma, providing Mrs. Biggers desires it. I immediately wrote Mrs. Biggers telling her of your willingness to go and assuring her that unless she felt it was very important to have a Southern woman there not to ask you to come because it was a great inconvenience as far as your own business and the suffrage work of your state was concerned for you to go, but if she thought it necessary that some Southern woman should be there to use her influence with the delegates that you would give some little time to it.

I consider this a great sacrifice on your part and appreciate it more than I can express to you. Certainly the National Association will pay any additional expense which you may incur in making the trip, and I don't think you can live on as little in Guthrie as at home, because remember you have your own rooms at home and at Guthrie you would have to secure a room.

Just as soon as I hear from Mrs. Biggers, I will let you know. I have told her exactly how you feel in regard to going and that you would always consider that she was to give instructions and that you were to be looked upon as an adviser and helper rather than the head of the work, but that since you had no department of work as Mrs. Boyer has, it would be better for you to be Mrs. Biggers' counselor than any other one of the National workers in Oklahoma, especially as you are a member of the Business Committee. If Mrs. Biggers feels it is important for you to go, I will write out as carefully as I can what the Business Committee has decided

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should be done in Guthrie and, of course, when you get on the field, you will use your own judgment in regard to it, because you will know how impossible it is for any person so far away to know just exactly what should be done under all circumstances.

I have already received word from Mrs. Upton, who is very anxious to have you go if you possibly can. The other members of the Business Committee have not yet had time to reply.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

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Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 4, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have received a letter from Miss Gregg informing me that they have been able to secure more convenient headquarters in Oklahoma than they anticipated, as at first they thought they would have to go a long distance from the centre of things, but you will see from the quotation from Miss Gregg's letter that they have been able to secure headquarters at a very cheap rate and in very convenient location.

When I read what Miss Gregg said about Miss Gordon and the Southern Democrats, the thought occurred to me that it might be possible that Miss Clay would be able to go to Oklahoma for a short time. Of course, it seemed like a good deal to ask of her after all the time she had given to Oregon, but I thought it would do no harm to let her know what Miss Gregg said. Mrs. Boyer has also made similar statements in regard to the character of the Convention and the makeup of the Democracy there - that it is strongly southern in its tendencies - and so I wrote Miss Clay asking her if it would be possible for her to go to Oklahoma and stay for a short time, even if she could only give a month that would perhaps help. I haven't yet heard from her and don't know how the proposition will appeal to her.

Then when Mrs. Grenfel wrote me that she couldn't go to Oklahoma, I told you that I should write to the friend whom Mrs. Meredith had suggested, but just about that time it came over me who this friend was. I could not recall her before but it didn't seem to me from my memory of her that she would be a very strong or efficient helper, and so as the recent election had turned the Democrats in Colorado down, I thought perhaps Mrs. Meredith would not be employed as she expected to be when she thought the Democrats were going to be victorious, so I asked her if it wouldn't be possible under the changed conditions for her to go to Oklahoma. Now,

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if Mrs. Meredith cannot go, of course, we will have to take someone who isn't so strong a woman but I am in hopes that she may go and so I have not written to Mrs. Churchill and will not until I hear from Mrs. Meredith, whom I asked to telegraph me.

Letters just received from Oklahoma say that our friends are getting settled in headquarters and are beginning already to have their interviews with the leading men.

I have just received a letter, forwarded by Miss Blackwell, this morning, a copy of which I enclose. The whole proposition seems to me to be entirely unthinkable as far as our work is concerned, for to hold our Convention in connection with the bi-ennial of the Federation would be simply to swamp it and I don't think it would be at all helpful to the suffrage cause, in fact I think it would be a great injury to our meeting. May could not possibly be a good time for our meeting as it is right in the midst of the closing of the school year and that would preclude any teachers from being present and most parents are busy with their own children at home at that time and getting ready for their summer outings, and even all that aside, the Federation is so large and we comparatively so small that the greatest effect that would be produced would be to show our weakness. Then I think <sup>in the</sup> year that we hold our Convention away from Washington, it should be held in a place where the community would be built up and benefited by it and Boston isn't a centre which could be greatly impressed or benefited, I think, by the presence of the Convention.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*



181 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 3rd, 1906.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am in receipt of your letters of Nov. 30th and Dec. 1st. I answer the last, as that will include most of the first.

I will go to Oklahoma, if the Business Committee thinks it advisable. As a preliminary, however, I think it is important to hear from Mrs. Biggers if my assistance in the capacity you suggest would be acceptable to her. Without her concurrence I would not be willing to go; for I am of the opinion that she should have the main part of the responsibility; in fact, all of it that she is not willing to depute to a representative of the National. With her concurrence, therefore, I am willing to go with such powers of representing the National as the B.C. may choose to give to me.

MEMPHIS MEETING. As the Conference is now definitely called, I think I had better attend it, as Miss Kearney is depending upon me; and moreover I may be able to gather up some valuable help by conferring with other southern women. It would be exceedingly difficult for me to arrange my affairs before the 18th, on which day I must start to Memphis; and I suppose Memphis is on my direct road, so I would lose only the two days I stopped there.

My going will be at a very considerable inconvenience to me, both as to my own business and the suffrage business of my state and local associations. I mention this, not to deter you from asking me to go to Oklahoma; but to assure you that if a more eligible plan occurs to you, you need not hesitate to let me know because you have suggested to me to go.

I know that every mail may bring in news which changes the aspect of the arrangements; just as has been done lately. There other persons whom I think would be more valuable than myself in Oklahoma. But as they do not seem to be available I am willing to go and do the best I can. I insist only that you shall feel perfectly free, as far as I am concerned, in changing your plans at any time; and that Mrs. Biggers shall signify her willingness to accept me as a helper.

You may desire to know now what financial terms I ~~shall~~ go on. I suppose I could live on as little in Guthrie as at home, and I am willing to donate my services. I was going to Memphis at any rate; so the round trip from Memphis to Oklahoma is the only extra expense I would incur. If the treasury is in a condition to pay this I would like to have it paid. Otherwise, I will make that a donation to the Oklahoma campaign.

ARIZONA. I think the suggestions you have made are the best that can be done in that territory. I have thought always we ought to co-operate with Mrs. Munds to the extent of our ability, and certainly what she says makes it appear hopeful of accomplishing something there.

Very cordially yours,

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Swarthmore, Pa., Dec. 1, 1906.

Miss Laura Clay,

Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I have just received a letter from Miss Gregg this morning, which prompts me to write this letter to you and I hope you will answer it just the minute you get it, that is if you are in a position to do so. She says, "I am so glad that Mrs. Bradford will soon be here. It's too bad that Miss Gordon cannot be on the ground to labor with this Convention of Southern Democrats". Now that last clause set me to thinking that it might be possible for you to spend a few weeks in Oklahoma. I think we asked you about it at the Business Committee meeting. You felt then that it was absolutely impossible, but the cold weather has come and the heat of the summer has been cooled off in your body and perhaps you don't feel it is quite so impossible now as you did two months ago. It might not be necessary for you to stay long and a month might be all that it would really be of value for you to give, but we are now in a muddle. As I wrote in my Business Committee letter yesterday, Mrs. Grenfel cannot go and it seems wise to send Dr. Woods at once to Arizona and after she goes there, if it is advisable, to have her followed by Mrs. Bradford.

Mrs. Meredith wrote Mrs. Upton some time ago that she could not go to Oklahoma and recommended Mrs. Churchill, who she said was a delegate to the Convention in Washington a few years ago. I am not positive but I think I remember Mrs. Churchill as the one who gave one of the silliest speeches I have ever heard given from an intelligent woman. I think you were present at the Convention and perhaps

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you will recall the speech. I know we were all very much disappointed at the time, particularly Miss Anthony. She thought that such a speech given by a woman from an enfranchised state was too ridiculous to be listened to. Now, I cannot say positively that Mrs. Churchill is the woman who gave the speech, but I have the impression that she ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup>. I only know this that with the exception of Mrs. Grenfel I was very much disappointed in the actions of all the Colorado women at that Convention.

Now, if Mrs. Bradford is to go away from Oklahoma to Arizona, and I frankly confess to you that Arizona looks much more hopeful to me than Oklahoma does, we will have to have one other Colorado woman there, and if as Miss Gregg says, and as all the others in Oklahoma say, the Convention is largely controlled by Democrats, either Southerners or with Southern sympathies, it does seem to me that to have a woman with Southern sympathies on the field <sup>in addition to the Colorado woman</sup> would be a great help. Now, what do you say about going? Do you think you could go right on from Miss Kearney's meeting in Memphis, or do you think it would be wise for you to go before that time and let her meeting go by default? Now, I am making this suggestion to you before I do to any other member of the Business Committee except Mrs. Avery, because I want to know first what you can do, so that I hope I may have your reply at once.

Then there's another reason why I would like to have you go for a while. I think there is a little friction there among our own women and the question has arisen who shall be the one to give orders after Mrs. Biggers. I have written to Mrs. Biggers that none of our women are to give orders except as directed by her. She answered that there must be someone who can take some of the responsibility. Now it occurred to me that if you went, while you would not in any sense consider yourself the manager of the campaign, you might stand next to Mrs. Biggers and let her authorize you in her absence to take the responsibility of deciding questions. Will you let me know immediately what you think about all this?

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I confess I am in deep water, a thousand miles away from the point of operation with two states like Arizona and Oklahoma on hand and our few workers and very little money. It's enough to drive one distracted. It's all very well for us to talk about the National keeping in the background and the states taking the responsibility and directing the work, but when they positively can't and absolutely won't, then what are we going to do about it?

Faithfully yours,

*Amos H. Shaw*