

Richmond, Ky.

Sept. 20th, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I returned from Lexington last Monday, after a delightful visit of two days from Miss Gordon, who proceeded on her way Saturday night. I have received three letters from you since I wrote last, and I answer these in turn.

GRASS SEED. I am very much pleased to send you a small package of blue-grass seed by mail. Please look out for it on tomorrow's mail, and let me know if it does not reach you in the proper time. I did not answer that letter from Lexington, as I wished to get some seed grown in my own neighborhood; and yesterday I brought some from the farm with me, and have cleaned them, that is- stripped them from the stems, myself, so that I know they are pure. What I send is enough, to sow on a little lawn of about 150 square yards; it should be sown at once now, as the season is getting late. The ground needs no preparation, as the grass demands a well-packed seed bed. It is very slow in germinating, and will appear in strands almost as fine as a hair. If this does not come up well, I will bring some more with me when I meet you this winter, as it will be too late to sow again this fall. If you have some brush, it will be well to lay it over the seed to protect them a little from the winter.

CONVENTION. Your letter forestalled me in asking when you could give Ky. dates; but it is practically impossible for us to hold out convention at the time you mention, or indeed, any time in October. We have found out best time is in November, between election day and Thanksgiving. We are to have our convention in Madisonville, and I would like to know as soon as you can tell me if you will be able to give us two nights within the time limits I have mentioned. I shall not attempt to fix the dates definitely till I hear from you. I am very glad to hear

2.

you are going to Tennessee. I am really in hopes that the prospect of suffrage in the Southern states, is going to receive an impetus from Miss Gordon's plans.

Newspaper. We did not decide anything definite in Lexington. We all think a Louisville paper is more desirable than a Lexington one; and I came away to consult Mrs. Roark about our prospects in Louisville. We have decided to invite to join us in the enterprise the School Improvement League, which is a project under the management of the Federated W. Clubs which is receiving a great deal of popular support, and the endorsement of the Ky. Educational Society. Mrs. Roark is chairman of the Committee, and I have talked with her, and am now awaiting her advice how to proceed further. If we do not get a Louisville paper, I think we may get the Lexington Herald.

I like your letter to the state presidents very much. I wish you could instill its spirit into our women. The resolutions sent are open to some objections which Miss Gordon discovered, and of which she will write you more fully.

Now that the weather is cooler I hope to be able to do some work which will make Ky.'s record creditable this year, but at present it is not apparent.

Hoping for you a successful tour, I am

Faithfully yours,

ATTACK 14TH AMENDMENT

Georgia Will Test Its Validity in Rate Law Suits.

ATLANTA, Ga., Sept. 11.—The State of Georgia will attack the validity of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in the pending railroad rate litigation that has been instituted in both the State and Federal courts. The State will also make the point that the defendants in the suits have nothing to do with the enforcement of the reduced passenger rates. The two issues will be raised through demurrers now being prepared.

The Central of Georgia Railroad's suit to prevent the enforcement of the new rates is set for hearing September 16, before Judge Newman or some other United States Judge, and that of the Atlanta and West Point has been set for the same date in the Fulton County Superior Court. Although questioned by many, the validity of the Fourteenth Amendment has never been attacked in court. In the pending rate litigation the railroads seek protection of the Federal Government, under the Fourteenth Amendment, alleging that the order of the Georgia Railroad Commission is confiscatory because it denies them equal rights under the law.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio

President, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Swarthmore, Pa.
1st Vice-President at Large, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Swarthmore, Pa.
2nd Vice-President at Large, FLORENCE KELLY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.
MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Swarthmore, Pa., September 12, 1907.

My dear Miss Gordon:

I had this enclosed letter ready to send you at Warren, but the mail had just been brought in and with it your letter written just before you went to Cleveland to paint the town "cerise." I hope you did it up in good style, and that his honor, "Tom", gave you a fine automobile ride before you left town. Am going to send this letter to you in care of Miss Clay, so that you can consult with her in regard to the various resolutions. If you deem it wise to change them, I wish you would do so, because I want to send them out to the various State Presidents in order that they may have them to guide them in framing their resolutions at their State Conventions

It was mighty good to see you and I know that from letters which I have had from Miss Reilly, the office girls have enjoyed you every minute. She said that you would put new life and joy in the whole lot of them, and that work would be a good deal easier from now on, and if your visit has done Mrs. Upton as much good as it has the rest, it certainly paid you well for coming.

I saw the enclosed article in this morning's paper, and, although I will not stand by you in your miserable business, I am very glad to aid and abet you in any way that I can, so I thought I would send the clipping along in the hope that it might be a suggestion to you.

Trusting that you may be able to interest Mrs. Breckinridge in the newspaper venture and that you had good success at Toledo,

I am

Affectionately,

Anna H. Shaw

1125267 BOND

COPY.

Portland, Oregon, Sept. 16, 1907.

Kate M. Gordon,
Cor. Sec. N. A. W. S. A.
1800 Prytania St.,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Miss Gordon,

Many thanks for the copies (as far as they go) of the correspondence between our National President, Anna Shaw, yourself and myself in relation to methods of relaunching our campaign in Oregon. I will call the attention of our honorable member of the National Committee to your "selection" of letters at the first opportunity, and will include those which you found it convenient to exclude from your list.

I am delighted to receive the copies in good shape for release to the press. They all, including those omitted by you, will be more widely read and commented upon by our voters of the Pacific Coast States, and will do our cause more good than the very modest sum of \$2000. refused to Oregon from our National Treasury to assist us in re-launching the Equal Suffrage campaign after it had been stranded by the National method, at a cost to the women of the State and nation of over \$25,000. +

The resort of your Executive Committee to an unwarranted and wholly inexcusable assumption of "dignity" is not an unusual dodge to evade a financial and moral obligation; but is one that acts as a boomerang in its recoil.

Miss Gordon
asks me to
send this

[Sept 16, 1907]

The "Duniway Bull" , which a member of your close corporation boasted, in 1905, that it was coming to Oregon "to take by the horns" is still at large. But, with a flickering hope that your "trust" will yet re-consider its past failures, and, by changing its methods of domination and hurrah into those of compliance and co-operation with the leaders and makers of state campaigns, I shall withhold for the present, from the associated press, the whole of this voluminous correspondence. "We shall see what we shall see."

Meanwhile, I remain, as ever,

Yours for Liberty,

Abigail Scott Duniway.

President W. E. S. A.

* Dr. Henry Waldo Coe asks me to add that the petitions under which your campaign was made were illegal, and would have amounted to nothing if you had won!

A. S. D.

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MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Swarthmore, Pa., October 1st, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:

Your letter arrived this morning accepting the 14th and 15th of November for your State Convention and I am very glad that the dates suit you. I am very glad that you are going to Madisonville. I remember with great pleasure my visit there some time ago, and I shall be glad to go back to that community and enjoy the beautiful great fire which so cheered me on that cold day when I arrived there before.

The bag of grass seed is here and all right, and I feel so much like a farmer getting up at half past five in the morning and starting out to my place and coming back to breakfast so as to be ready to begin the day's work at eight o'clock.

Thanking you so much for the grass seed which I know is going to add so much to the beauty of the home next year, I am

faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw



Oct 23rd 1907

Dear Miss Clay

Your letter followed
me to Plymouth N.H. Hence
the delay in replying. As soon
as I reach Worcester Mass
today I will telegraph you that
the 14th & 15th November are all
right for Ky. I can leave
Nashville any hour as it
is not necessary that I
should remain until the
end of the convention.

I am sorry for the illness
which necessitates a change
of place but Richmond is a
more convenient one for
me so I can get home

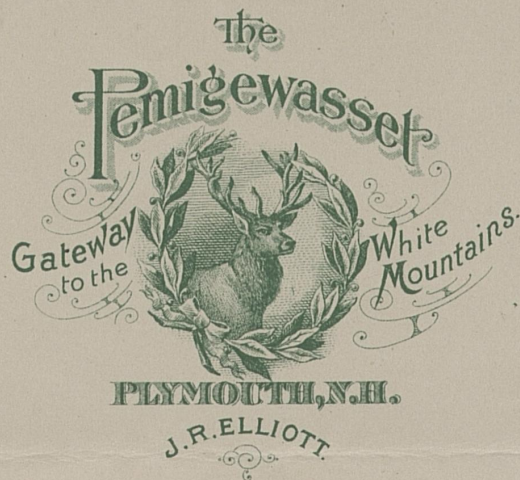
from this corner and earlier.
Then I shall have a chance
to see Mrs Bennett and
her home.

I am wondering if your
Father's beautiful old house
is near Richmond. If it
is and I can have a
chance to see it I would
like to so much. I have
heard so much about
it and its beautiful loca-
tion but I have for a
long time had a desire
to see it.

I hope you may have a
good convention and that
the people will not only
attend locally but that
there will be a good
number of delegates.

I think for the second

[Oct 23, 1907]



address it would be well
to announce as the
subject "Social Heredity"
and if you wish to the
Fate of Republics for the
first night.

I am so glad of the
prospect that Ky may
take one of the papers to
publish. Mrs. Goodens
sickness has prevented
her from doing as much
as she hoped and the respan-
es have not been as en-
couraging as she expected.

The trouble is the lack of
some one to go ahead with

The work of getting it started.
If there was some trained
person who could go to
each town where one is
to be published and without
seeming to lead could put
the people on the right track
it would be a great help.
Trusting that all is well
I am sincerely,

Ann M. Shaw

As your envelope was ad-
dressed to be returned to
Richmond I have sent this
note there.

I have doubtless heard
that Mrs. Upton had a set back
for a few days after her con-
valescence. She is better now
however

at the

Copy

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Oct. 30th, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I return the voting slip with my votes; but as the subject is an important one I wish to make some remarks which I wish filed with my vote.

I am not in favor of the National endorsing a campaign with the word "white" for a qualification. While I am willing personally to aid in such a campaign, I am not willing for the National to endorse it at present. I believe it is very doubtful whether such a qualification will stand the test of the courts for constitutionality. There are some weighty opinions that it will; but until it has been practically decided that it is constitutional, I think it would injure the credit of the National for sound judgment to endorse it. I look upon the campaign for "~~whites~~" "white woman's suffrage" as an experimental venture, which I think it is desirable that Mississippi should make, but which should not ask, nor, at this time, receive, the endorsement of suffragists every where. Personally, I desire to see every fit person endowed with the ballot, as the rightful expression of the inalienable right of self-government. But the ballot carries with it not only the right to govern oneself, but the power to help to govern others. Hence, it will never willingly be conceded by those who now possess it to classes which the ~~governing~~ present owners believe to be dangerous to good government. The Southern people are afraid of negro suffrage, and I do not suppose the generations we shall live to see will outlive that fear. In the meanwhile, I believe the greatest infringements of civil rights are endured by women, both white and black. I think those rights need to be secured

[Oct 30, 1907]

Copy 2.

safeguarded by the ballot in the hands of some classes of women. And as the Southern states are not willing to extend the ballot to negro women, but probably are willing to extend it to white women, in the name of civil rights (such as the right of married women to their wages, to guardianship of their children, etc.), I am in favor of obtaining the right of white women to vote, if I can, even if the negro women will still have to wait awhile for the fit ones among them to vote. I do not think their chances for enfranchisement are delayed by this procedure, but to the contrary. This move may be the speediest for the enfranchisement of all women, north and south.

I note what you mention as the demerits of Miss Kearney as a worker with the legislators; but they would not deter me from assisting in this campaign. For I feel well assured that legislators would not give suffrage to women for the request or persuasions of the most tactful and popular woman on earth, unless they saw political advantage in so doing. I am relying on the wish of the Southern states to establish a safe and permanent basis for white supremacy for success in Mississippi. If the legislators see that in Miss Kearney's proposition I expect them to be glad of the chance; and to support the plan of their cheerful free will. I think whatever the legislature did a constitutional amendment would be hopeless without the endorsement and official sanction of the Democratic party. And with that endorsement, it would be a matter of no importance whether Miss Kearney is tactful or not.

I suppose a vote to aid will not pass our Business Committee; and I trust this question will not be allowed to come up in our National Association or convention at least until the constitutionality of the qualification "white" is conceded.

If, however, the B.C. should vote to aid, I certainly think Miss Gordon should be requested to work with Miss Kearney all along the line.

Copy

[Oct 30, 1907]

3.

With these expalnatory remarks, I enclose my votes. After Miss Kearney has interviewed the legislators, which I understand she is engaged to do as prelôminary work, she may be in possession of new light on the subject, which may make it desirable to consider this subjebt again. In that case, of course I hold my present opinions open to revision.

We arelooking forward with great pleasures to having you with us at the Ky E.R.A. convention on the 14th and 15th of November . I am now in Lexington doing preliminary work; and I shall probably meet Miss Gordon in Louis-ville on her return from Washington, where we shall meet to see what can be done to get a Louisville paper for our Memorial edition.

I congratulate you upon getting into your new home.

Please remember me to Miss Lucy, and believe me

Faithfully yours,

Manchester, N.H., October 25, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of portions of a letter received from Miss Gordon in regard to the Southern work, particularly in Mississippi. Personally, I think Miss Kearney's terms for three months is a most unreasonable and exorbitant one, and that we are not justified in paying it.

\$200. for a month like December with a holiday week and two weeks in January even including her expenses seems quite enough. I would not hesitate as far as the \$200.00 is concerned if I considered her the right woman to interview the legislators. She has one qualification and that is that she is a Mississippian, but she has neither tact nor discretion and I have been told by Mississippi women that she antagonizes the men of the South- that her fight for prohibition and her charge in a Methodist church in the presence of its Pastor, that the Methodist Bishop was responsible for the failure to pass the bill has practically shut the churches against her.

If Miss Gordon could be with her in the interviewing business, all might be well, but without her or some equally level headed woman I fear for the result. In this I do not wish to be understood as undervaluing Miss Kearney's ability, as a lecturer. In that she is fine and I enjoy listening to her. Her weakness is in her personal work. Still I should be glad to have this attempt made in Mississippi if Miss Gordon or Miss Clay can be at the Legislature with Miss Kearney.

In regard to the National contributing money to carry on a campaign for white women suffrage, I do not think that is a question the National Board can decide. It is a question for the Association to vote upon, and until the Association votes upon it, I do not think the National Officers can make an appropriation for that purpose. Individual suffragists may, and the Southern women have the same right as have any other States to ask for any form of suffrage they may elect, but as a National Board I do not think we can do so without the authority of the Association.

Oct 25, 1907

I have great sympathy with Miss Gordon and the other Southern women in their struggle and the obstacles which are in their way, and regret that it is impossible for me conscientiously to advocate the measure they suggest, I submit a vote in accordance with the wishes of Miss Gordon.

I expect to arrive home on October 30th, and will go directly to my new home, so please address me there.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Sims,

Sent out by Private Secretary
Moylan, Penna. Oct. 28, 1907.

Moylan,

Parris.

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MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Warren,
Swarthmore, Pa.,

Nov. 5, 1907.



Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have received the replies from all of the members of the Business Committee, except Mrs. Sperry, to votes sent out on Oct. 25th, and as I leave home to-morrow to attend Conventions in several states, including, W. Va. Kentucky, and Tennessee, I thought I would not wait any longer for Mrs. Sperry's reply, since the majority have voted in such a manner, that whatever her reply should be, it would not change the result. The votes of Miss Gordon and Mrs. Upton were verbally received given me when I went to Washington on Nov. 1st, to consult with Mrs. Upton and Miss Gordon in regard to the work.

Miss Gay expresses in her letter, the opinion of those of us who have voted against the National working in the interest of white woman suffrage, when she says:

"I am not in favor of the National endorsing a campaign with the word "White" for a qualification. While I am willing personally to aid in such a campaign, I am not willing for the National to endorse it at present. I believe it is very doubtful whether such a qualification will stand the test of the courts for constitutionality. There are some weighty opinions that it will; but until it has been practically decided that it is constitutional, I think it would injure the credit of the National for sound judgment to endorse it. I look upon the campaign for "white woman's suffrage" as an experimental venture, which I think it is desirable that Mississippi should make, but which should not ask, nor, at this time, receive the endorsement of suffragists every where. Personally, I desire to see every fit person endowed with the ballot, as the rightful expression of the inalienable right of self-government. But the ballot carries with it, not only the right to govern oneself, but the power to help to govern others. Hence, it will never willingly be conceded by those who now possess it to classes which the present owners believe to be dangerous to good government. The Southern people are afraid of negro suffrage, and I do not suppose the generations we shall live to see, will outlive that fear. In the meanwhile, I believe the greatest infringements of civil rights are endured by women, both white and black. I think these rights need to be secured and safeguarded by the ballot in the hands of some classes of women. And as the Southern States are not willing to extend the ballot to negro women, but probably are willing to extend it to white women, in the name of civil rights (part...)"

[Nov 5, 1907]

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married women to their wages, to guardianship of their children, etc.) I am in favor of obtaining the right of white women to vote, if I can, even if the negro women will still have to wait awhile for the fit ones among them to vote. I do not think their chances for enfranchisement are delayed by this procedure, but to the contrary. This move may be the speediest for the enfranchisement of all women, north and south.

I have quoted at length from Miss Clay's letter, because I feel that as a Southern woman she has seen the condition quite clearly, and at the same time appreciates the embarrassment which the National Association would labor under if the officers enforced suffrage with the qualification of color. Aside from that I am very sure, that an attempt to do so, at the present time, would disrupt the National Association, and as the attempt to secure white woman suffrage is only an experiment, and we are not at all sure the Southern women will grant it quicker than do the Northern men grant full suffrage. I think before the question is agitated in the National body, the attempt to carry there should first be made in one of the Southern States, and Mississippi seems at this time to be a very favorable State, and even though the National Association should not vote money, toward this end, individual persons have expressed a willingness to do so, to supply all the necessary funds if reasonable salaries are paid to the workers. If Miss Kearney demands a price which is beyond anything we have ever paid to organizers, then her employment ought not to be encouraged. It maybe true that she can earn \$1000. in 3 mos. in Nebraska, or any other State, but that is the work of a lecturer, and we cannot afford to pay lecturer's price for organizer's work, and while we cannot expect Miss Kearney to give up an opportunity to do lecturing for organizer's work, then she ought to do her lecturing and let the Association employ an organization at organizer's price, but, of course, if the Association does not pay Miss Kearney it is nothing to us, what price is paid to her, except that I think the money distributed for the purpose of the work in Mississippi, would better be sent to Miss Gordon or Miss Clay, if they are to assist Miss Kearney in legislative work. Miss Kearney as a financier is absolutely impossible.

[Nov 5, 1907]

-3-

I this morning received a letter from Miss Chase, who is in a miserable state of health when I was in New Hampshire, attending her State Convention, and she states the Doctor says that she must stop for a time, and I have advised her by all means, ^{to do so,} Her condition is the result of fatigue, and continued campaign work for several years.

I expect to return home on the 17th of Nov. In case you desire to reach me before that time, you send all communications to my home, at Moylan, or if you prefer in c/o National W.C.T.U., at Nashville, Tenn.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

I am sorry to send you such a poor copy but my carbon paper is exhausted and I am rushing to get these letters off before I leave home.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

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

Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.
DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.

Chairman Press Committee, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Moylean, Pa. November 30th, 1907

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

I have just returned to my lovely new home after the weary wanderings of months. In fact I may say since the Convention in Portland in '95, I have not known a week of continuous rest at home; and while I do not expect to rest now, for I am determined to find some way to arouse the Suffragists into activity, still I do think I shall be at home much of the time for the next three months and to give my best thought to plans for the work is a relief and joy to me.

The workers need to be aroused as never before, for while we think our cause is progressing and general belief in the principles taking hold of the people at large, it is due more to the constant educational work which has been going on through the press from the National Headquarters, and by the work of the Officers of the Association rather than through the activities of the State and local societies. At least this is the conclusion to which I have arrived after visiting the several State Conventions and hearing from others in various sections of the country, which I have not actually visited this year; and while there are a few notable exceptions, if we are to hold our organizations, the States and local societies as well as individual suffragists must be spurred into activity.

There is no denying it, suffragists are not alive and ready to combat the enemy on every occasion which arises, as are other organizations in defence of their position. There never was a time when there were so many opportunities for aggressive work as at the present time, and it seems to me it is our duty to arouse our people to some sort of aggressive method of work.

Nov. 20, 1907

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I think the fault is largely due to the policy of the National Association as we reverse the way of every other society of which I have any knowledge. Other Associations make the locals and States serve and build up the National, while we make the National serve the locals and States, until they have come to depend upon us so much, that they, with rare exceptions, can do nothing without our help, and even then they accept our assistance grudgingly and criticize and blame us for every failure.

They want the money the National raises but are unable to spend it judiciously. They are continually clamoring that we shall employ local speakers and then when it is too late to effect anything and we have shown our willingness to do so, they fail to be able to find local people who can or will do the work. Take Oklahoma - to save our lives we could not find a woman in the State who can or will take up and carry on the work, or even hold together that which we have gathered and built up for them at a tremendous expense. Never has there been so much money put into a State or so much work done by our best workers in the preparation for a campaign and never have we been more at a loss to secure local willingness to hold fast to what has been accomplished, or to carry on the work over in the most modest manner. There seems to be a feeling throughout the States, as well as among some of our National officers which I do not share, that one cause of our stationary membership is due to our methods of organization and various plans are suggested, none of which seem to me either desirable or remedial. Instead of feeling discouraged because our clubs do not hold together, I am amazed that with so little thought and with scarcely any oversight whatever, they live at all, for they do show what could be done with even a little real care-taking work, and I believe the time has come when we must insist upon some better plan of co-operation between the State and the National, whenever the National furnishes either organizers or money to carry on the organization work in any State.

I have one or two plans to suggest which I hope may be helpful, and next week I will send out a letter containing them, asking your advice and in the hope

Nov 20, 1904

that they may be acceptable to you or that they may suggest some thought which will enable you to advise better plans.

The one particular purpose for which I am writing this letter is to ask a vote upon the following request of Mrs. Upton's. Are you in favor of Miss Gregg's going to Indiana when she is through with her work in Nebraska, and remaining there until March, when Mrs. Upton desires her for work in the State of Ohio for three months, the National to pay one half of her salary and the State the other half and her travelling expenses? It seems to me that this will be an excellent line of work for Miss Gregg. Mrs. Upton tells me that there are a number of splendid young women in Indiana and she believes it could be officered now as perhaps it might never be if the work is delayed, and since we began the work there a year ago, it is, according to my judgment, the best thing we can do to keep it going until we leave a permanent organization. I am particularly in favor of Miss Gregg or somebody else going to Ohio as I think the time has come when a larger organization should be developed in that State. There is no reason why the suffrage organization should not increase as well as the W. C. T. U., and last year Ohio gained over its losses eight thousand in the temperance society. This was done by systematic house to house work, which I will explain in my next letter to the Business Committee, when I lay certain suggestions of Mrs. Kelly's, Mrs. Avery's and my own before you.

Faithfully,

Anna W. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

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Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.
MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Moylan, Pa., December 31st, 1907.

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

I enclose a copy of Mrs. Daniway's letter received through Mrs. Upton yesterday. It seems that according to her statement, she paid the dues of the forty-eight members of the Oregon State society out of her own pocket. I wonder what is the matter with that long list of millionaires she has on the back of her paper. The bribe of \$1000.00 to retain these forty-eight people who are struggling to escape from us and are held only by her strenuous efforts seems a rather steep price to put upon Oregon people. What reply shall I return to the lady? I herein submit a vote.

I think the Kansas situation suggested to Mrs. Daniway this method of scaring money out of the National. I think it would not be a bad plan, if we only had the time to do it, to estimate the amount of money which has been contributed by Eastern women and the proportion of it which has been expended in Western work, to show these Western women that although nine-tenths of the money raised for organization and campaign work has been raised in the East, probably nine-tenths of it has been expended in the West, and that the West is under very great obligation to the loyal support and sympathy of the Eastern women. Something ought to open their eyes to the folly of their antagonism, although I ought not to say "their" antagonism, for it is really confined to a few women who are so aggressive that they are able to stir up discontent, while the loyal

Dec 31, 1907

--2--

women are content to stand by and look on and see things go wrong without doing anything because they hate trouble. I wish people could realize the best way to escape trouble is simply to take a stand and keep it - not aggressively but quietly.

However, I am ready to send your reply to Mrs. Duniway if you think such a letter deserves one.

Faithfully,

As Mr. Coes actively ^{on the financial situation} would require the time of a stenographer two days to copy I have other uses for mine and so have not done so

c. Dec. 31, 1907

C O P Y

Portland, Ore., Dec. 19th, 1907.

My dear Mrs. Upton:

Your favor of recent date enclosing receipt for \$4.90 advanced by myself as dues from the few members of our State Association who remain affiliated with the National Association under present conditions, is hereby acknowledged with thanks.

Enclosed is a pathological analysis of such "brain storms" as create panics, so like unto those to which I have all my life objected during a State Equal Suffrage campaign, that I most earnestly request every member of your board to read it thoroughly and study it carefully.

I do not request this on my own behalf but for the sake of our common cause. I ask it because Dr. Coe's argument is the very best reason I can offer for my life long objection to the creation of a National "brain storm" such as invariably follows a National Hurrah and defeats a State-created suffrage campaign. The deposi-
tors in our case are the voters; and a run on the bank by the opposition creates a "brain storm" that creates the panic that insures defeat.

When our State committee (the National's affiliation with the W. C. T. U.'s elements and a couple of "Duniway Phobiaists" having been eliminated) unanimously agreed upon our plan of campaign and submitted it to your committee for cooperation, all believed except myself that your committee would be glad to accede to our

Dec 31, 1902

--2--

terms for cooperation, in our way, after you had originally failed in yours, but the refusal of your Board to comply with our conditions so disgruntled every experienced suffragists that it has only been by the "skin of our teeth" that we could hold on to the National autonomy at all.

But it is not yet too late for the National committee to amend its blunders by acceding to our original proposition; though we shall not now need but \$1,000 - a few men of Oregon having contributed or agreed to contribute all the rest. But if your committee prefers, ^{to cast aside} in this emergency, the only state that is to have a ghost of a show for a campaign for years to come - so be it. This breach has not been of our beginning, and we shall not hold ourselves responsible if it spreads to other states besides Kansas.

As I am overwhelmed with correspondence and it is storming too hard to make it prudent for me to visit a typewriter (I am not physically able to run my own) I must trust you (dear Mrs. Upton) to make copies of this letter with that part of Dr. Coe's address which fits our case, and send it to each member of your financial committee.

I hold no personal resentment against any of them - having risen entirely above it all.

The leading members of our committee are preparing to visit the Capitol, Jan. 15th with the largest petition ever yet collected for any referendum vote in the State.

You can (or ought) readily to see that it is well worth the National Association's while to continue its autonomy with us, which it can only do by quietly assisting us to evade, or avoid another "brain storm" or physiological panic. Our only present danger lies in an effort to skim the cream from an only state now pregnant with a pending amendment by attempting to secure funds as the expense of success.

Hurriedly and cordially, yours ever de'bertly

(Signed) (Abigail Scott Duniway.

P.S. Kindly return this scrawl or a copy and oblige. A.S.D.

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 27th, 1907.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have read carefully the proposed constitution for the College Equal Suffrage League; and I have no objections to it. I wish that in the professional schools whose graduates are eligible to membership, schools in good standing of Domestic Science had been specifically mentioned. Perhaps they are included generally, but I would like them to be mentioned by name.

In the proposed plan of work, I see nothing which would be objectional to a state association. It would be very objectionable if any sort of legislative work was to be undertaken by them. Of course, any society has a right to undertake legislative work; but I conceive it would be a great disadvantage for two so-called suffrage associations to undertake legislative work unless they co-operated under one official head. It would be practically impossible for the average legislator to understand that there were two independent societies; and the impression would be made that there was antagonism of some sort in the ranks.

I see nothing to which I would object as president of Ky. E. R. A. to having introduced into Kentucky. If the question is put to vote, I would have to submit it to my Ex. Com., so this is only an expression of my own judgment.

I wish you a happy Christmas and New Year.

Cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio

President, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Moylan, Pa.

1st Vice President at Large, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Swarthmore, Pa.

2nd Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

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Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.
MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa.,

December 23rd, 1907.

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

I enclose herewith a copy of Miss Thomas's plan for the College Leagues. I should like to know your opinion of it.

The days of 1907 are drawing to a close and as I look back over them, I wonder if the results have paid for all the work and money we have put into our cause, and yet I realize there is no way of estimating what part of the work has been of real value and what part has been useless. I wish I could have done more and I wish still more that I had the wisdom to know what it is best to do in the future. I do not want to grow conservative but I cannot believe there is any better way than steady persistence - here a little and there a little - in season and out of season - until some signal occasion arises.

These anniversary days mark not only the rapid flight of time but they accentuate the losses which have come to us as the ordinary days of our working life do not.

I send to you one and all my sincere gratitude for your patient helpfulness and my earnest prayer that some way may open to us so that 1908 may be a memorable year.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Dec 23, 1907

Draft of

GENERAL CONSTITUTION

of the

NATIONAL EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF COLLEGE AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

2 Dec 23, 1907

FOUNDATION

The National Equal Suffrage League of College and Professional Women, also known as the College Equal Suffrage League, was founded in Boston in the year 1900 by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, a graduate of Radcliffe College, and other college women who had come to believe it their duty to take a positive stand in favor of woman suffrage and to press this important question on the attention of college and professional women in the United States.

Woman suffrage is no longer a matter of theory. Full woman suffrage is now in successful operation in four of the forty-seven states of the United States (in Wyoming since 1869, in Colorado since 1893, and in Utah and Idaho since 1896); in all but one of the five States of the Australian Commonwealth (women in Victoria exercising municipal and national, but not state suffrage); in New Zealand; in the Isle of Man; and in Finland. Municipal suffrage has been in successful operation in the state of Kansas since ; In England and Wales since 1869; in Scotland since 1881; in Ireland since 1898; in of the Provinces of Canada; and in Sweden, Norway and Iceland for tax-paying women. It is no longer a question of whether or not women shall vote, but whether American women shall be the last of English-speaking women to receive the franchise.

ORGANIZATION

It is intended to form a branch of the College Equal Suffrage League in each of the states of the Union, and chapters in the women's colleges and women's departments of coeducational colleges situated in each state. Branches have already been organized in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and in the District

Dec. 23, 1907

--2--

of Columbia, and college chapters have been organized in Bryn Mawr College, the University of Chicago, and the University of Minnesota. Active efforts are now being made to organize other branches and chapters.

The general interests of the League will be in the hands of a Council, which will meet annually in connection with the Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Council shall consist of one representative from each of the state branches, elected by the members of the branch to serve for four years, and of a President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, elected at large by members of the Council to serve also for four years..

MEMBERSHIP

The following women only are eligible to active membership:- graduates of colleges of liberal arts, or of the scientific departments of colleges or universities, or of technical schools of high standing; graduates of professional schools in good standing of law, medicine, theology, architecture, electrical and mechanical engineering; women who have studied in college for at least one year and taken examinations in the regular (not special) course of a college in good standing; and women who are members of the governing boards or teaching staff of colleges of liberal arts, scientific departments of colleges and universities, technical schools of high standing, and professional schools in good standing as above, during their tenure of office.

Each state branch shall have the privilege of electing as associate sustaining members, women not eligible to active membership who have so identified themselves with educational and suffrage move-

Dec. 23, 1907

--3--

ments as to entitle them, in the opinion of the branch, to such recognition. Associate members shall not be entitled to vote.

DUES

The annual dues of members of state branches shall be fixed by the constitution of each branch, and the annual dues of each member of a college chapter shall be twenty-five (25) cents, it being, however, understood that ten (10) cents for each active member shall be paid over to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Council of the League on the first of each January, the same to be paid over by her to the Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in order that each active branch member shall be entitled to membership in the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

PLAN OF WORK

It is the object of the National Equal Suffrage League of College and Professional Women to endeavor to change the opinion of college and professional women on the subject of equal suffrage. After such women are convinced of the importance of suffrage for woman it is expected that they will ally themselves with the woman suffrage associations of their own state and engage in active work. For this reason it is believed that the organization of college and professional women will not in any way weaken, but will greatly strengthen the suffrage organization of the individual states.

Every state branch and every college chapter shall hold at least two meetings a year, and as far as possible shall arrange for one general address on the subject of woman suffrage, and one annual meeting, to be held in the spring of each year, which shall whenever possible, be attended by a member of the Council. In the

Dec 23, 1907

--4--

case of college chapters it is hoped that in addition to these two meetings it may be possible to arrange for a third meeting devoted to a debate on the subject of woman suffrage, a play on the subject, or another address.

A very important part of the work of the League would seem to be the collection, publication, and dissemination of accurate and statistical information and arguments on the subject of equal suffrage which are calculated to convince college women. Every member of the League is urged to keep this important object constantly in mind, and whenever possible, subscriptions should be obtained for this specific purpose.

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MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., December 19th, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:

I agree with you perfectly in regard to the Kansas situation. After more deliberate thought I had come to the same conclusion which you did - that it was best not to do anything that would in any way create any hard feeling toward the National in the State; but I do feel it is best to let the presidents of the so-called clubs in the State know exactly what our reply to the Kansas women is. So I have revised Mrs. Rice's letter in accordance with your suggestions and a few more of my own, and am sending a copy of it with a little note to the presidents of the clubs, stating we feel it is due them that they should know what the attitude of the National had been in regard to the action of the Kansas State society.

How rapidly time is going! Here it is almost Christmas and it seems to me that I have not had a chance to turn around once! Soon it will be time for our hearing in Washington. Before then I have to go to Michigan to speak at their Constitutional Convention.

I have not been able to learn yet from Mrs. Kelley the date of the hearing in Washington. I am very anxious to know it because it is impossible to ask people to speak unless they know when they are to speak and can tell whether they can make any arrangements or not, so that I am getting pretty anxious over it. Both Mrs. Upton and I have written Mrs. Kelley several times and I think she must be away from home because she is usually very prompt in her replies.

Hoping you may have a happy Christmas, I am

Sincerely yours,

Anna H. Shaw

Dec. 13th, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw,

In answer to letter of November 29th: I do not know of any one likely to be in Europe at the time of the meeting in Rotterdam.

/DEC. 10. COLLEGE-BRED ORGANIZER. IF we can find a Kentucky woman for the work we want, I should do all I can to have our state take her, and be thankful for the chance. For two successive conventions we have voted to employ a Field Secretary, the whole of the year, or as much thereof as we could pay for. But we consider it a requisite that she shall be a Kentucky woman; for, be it known to you, that we are going to ask for a Constitutional amendment this winter, and while it is uncertain when we shall get it passed, we think we should be prepared for a campaign. For that purpose we need trained workers in our state. We have looked for a suitable woman; but so far have had no applicants. As many Kentucky girls study in colleges of other states it is possible you might find one for us. As your letter asks a prompt reply, I can promise and speak only for myself. As I am determined to continue a search for a Ky. woman for field secretary, I would not, in fact, could not, promise to make an effort to train a woman from another state for suffrage work in other states, even with the liberal assistance you promise. But I would promise to do my best, if you should find a Kentucky woman. If you find any suitable candidate from another state, however, I should feel bound to submit your proposition to my executive committee; and your liberal offer might lead them to desire to take her. In that case, I would feel bound to do my best to help. Therefore, keep on the lookout for such a woman, and let me know the result. I think the idea an excellent one. I should not confine it to college-bred women, as I think less education would make

sometimes a valuable organizer. I wish very much we could afford to put in training that Miss Rose Bowers of South Dakota, so as to be prepared with a home worker when that state is ready for a campaign.

Miss Gordon writes encouragingly about the prospect of getting a good orief supporting her contentien about the 15th Amendment. I received a letter from Mrs. McCulloch yesterday, in which she says she thinks Miss Gordon's contention is tenable. The thought of getting woman suffrage, however, to maintain white supremacy is bitter to her.

LETTER OF DEC. 11TH. This is answered by my votes, except in regard to asking for a hearing before the meeting of Governors. Yes, I think it could be well to ask for such a hearing, if Mrs. Balantine will take it in hand. Otherwise, I think it would not pay for the work and expense. As I understand, Mrs. Balantine is in or near Washington.

Faithfully yours,

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

Dec. 13th, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw,

I have several letters from you which are to be answered, which I now do under heads of dates.

Dec. 9th. When I received this letter yesterday my first impulse was to write that we ought to try to keep the Kansas Asso. auxiliary by some such means as you suggest. Fortunately, I was so busy that I could not write at once; and sober second thought wholly reverses my first impulse. I believe it would be best for us to content ourselves with the letter you had written to Mrs. Rice, which I return, with some erasures of passages which might prove irritating, and thereby injure opportunity for reconsideration of the withdrawal. I am unwilling for the National to take any steps to try to hold the Kansas Asso. While it may be true that the women assembled did not act strictly according to law, yet it seems they were the only women sufficiently interested to attend a convention at all. IN these circumstances I think it would only develop weakness to call on those who did not show interest enough to attend to call a new convention to resist the action of that convention. Particularly, I think we have more important use for Miss Gregg than to send her to a state to take part in a factional fight. There are many states where a similar amount of work would build up an auxiliary which would do more good than the Kansas one. If ever we have the Union so thoroughly organized that it only needs Kansas to make it truly a National Association, then it would be time to send some one to get an auxiliary there. In the meantime, it may be that the Kansas women, if left to follow their own way, may really do some good state work. As Kan

sas is a state where the women have an appreciable amount of political power, it may be wise for them to work on an entirely new plan. If we can get another state, as President Roosevelt advises, our fight would be about over. In the meantime, let us avoid all contention, for truly "the beginning of strife is like the letting out of water".

NATIONAL COLLEGE SUFFRAGE LEAGUE. I am glad to say that I can heartily agree with Miss Thomas' idea. As you know, I have fully come around to the conviction that our cause needs numbers; that the work of clubs does not help enough to repay the wearing labor of trying to keep them up where there is not enough of the club spirit to make them a pleasure to the members; that the State work and the work of propaganda can be as well or better done by skilled committees of a few; that while the state societies may like to have the help of every suffragist, that is by no means synonymous with getting it, for they will give it or not entirely as they please. Therefore, I am entirely in accord with Miss Thomas,- that it is better to take what we can get than to lose all by trying to get something not attainable. I am glad to know that Colorado investigation will be satisfactorily conducted. I answer other letters on another sheet.

Faithfully yours,

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MARY S. SPERRY,

2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., December 11th, 1907.

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

You will remember that last year we voted to pay to the State Society of Washington \$50.00 a month for a few months, while Mrs. De Voe organized the State. She has done excellent work and Mrs. Avery, who visited Washington this summer, feels that it was money very profitably invested. While there was some talk this fall of trying to publish a Woman's edition of various newspapers, the Washington State Society responded more readily than almost any other and at the time asked, if they would agree to pay back the money when the paper was published, if we would advance them \$250 toward the work in their State, and this we agreed to do. The indications now are that the newspaper will be given up, this year at least, and the Washington people have been depending upon this money. Now the question arises as to what we shall do about it. I should suggest that we send them \$50.00 a month until the \$250 have been paid over to them, with the understanding that when they undertake either the newspaper or anything else which they may get up in their State to raise money for the Memorial Fund, that they shall refund this money to the National Association. I think this will encourage them to do some work and especially to get up some sort of entertainment in their local clubs which will enable them to raise some money. After they have raised the money if we see fit to let them keep it

[Dec. 11, 1901]

--2--

for their State work, we could do so, but I really think they would be more likely to raise it if we should advance the money on these conditions. I will send a vote in this letter upon this subject.

Now is the time for us to decide in regard to the advisability of holding a public meeting in Washington at the time of our hearing. We are hoping that a number of States will send delegates, and if they do, that we shall have enough members present to hold a very creditable Executive meeting, and it is Mrs. Upton's advice that we should do so and I am sure that we will all agree to it - the thought being that the delegates should use the forenoon of the day of the hearing, or the evening before, in calling on their various members of Congress and Senators, then that we shall have our hearing at noon, and in the afternoon hold an Executive session and in the evening a public meeting. This will make a pretty full day of course, but it will use the time of the delegates in Washington to a very good advantage and they will feel that they are getting something out of it. I hope that you will reply to these questions immediately so that we can have it announced in January PROGRESS, and that may induce some of the States to send delegates to Washington who would not otherwise do so. The day following the Convention, we hope the Business Committee will come immediately to our home, and there we can hold a good Business Committee meeting without feeling in a hurry, because there is a lot of work to be done at that time to plan for the next Convention which will be an unusually hard one to prepare for. Then we shall also have to plan about the International in Holland, and as Mrs. Avery and I expect to be in Holland, we want to get our part of the work in connection with the Convention pretty well under way before we start, so I hope that the Busi-

Dec 11, 1907

--3--

ness Committee meeting will be one in which we can look over the whole situation carefully and plan for the future definitely so as to make the greatest possible success at our Convention.

We shall also have to plan as to how the Memorial money is to be raised, and there will be a great deal of work to be done. I am so glad that we can have you here at our home and feel quite sure that we can at least make you comfortable, and then it will be such a joy for us to have you in our home and to have you see what a beautiful, restful place we have, or rather will have.

As you have seen in the papers, there is to be a Convention of Governors in Washington to meet with Mr. Roosevelt on some matters which he - strange to say - feels that he would like to consult upon with them. It has been suggested by Mrs. Boyer that we try to get a hearing before that conference. Of course there will be no possibility of it but do you think it is worth while to make the attempt, and if so, shall we put it into the hands of Mrs. Balantine, who says she is ready to do interviewing in Washington, or anything of that sort, whenever she can?

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

A note from Mrs. Harper says that Mrs. Catt's mother has passed away.

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MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., December 10th, 1907.

My dear Miss Clay:

Mrs. Kelley is very anxious that we should try to get some young college women into our field work, and thinks if we offer them a good fair salary, such as they could earn in some other work, they would be willing to take up suffrage work. We certainly need to be breaking in some new women to do our organization work. We are practically forced back on Miss Gregg at the present time. *words* Dr. Miller is evidently out of the field and Miss Chase is still not able to go out this winter, so that it really leaves us only Miss Gregg, and we have got to get some other young women broken into our organization work. Mrs. Kelley's plan is that we employ young women by the year, send her into one state and give her a certain amount of work which we expect her to do. For instance that we expect her to secure 1000 members during the year, who shall pay the regular fee of ~~ten cents~~, decided upon by the State; That we pay her a salary of \$1000.00, for she says that no college woman will go out for less salary than that: - that is with the intention of making it her life work, as there are so many avenues open now to college bred women. The National will pay \$500 and the State to pay the other \$500 and the local travelling expenses. The state of course can have the dues which she collects for the purpose of paying its share of expen-

Dec. 10, 1907

--2--

ses and whatever other money she may raise during her trip. Miss Gordon feels that you would be willing to take such a woman in your State and set her to work. Now then, if we can find a woman, and we would much prefer that she should be a college graduate of Kentucky or some other middle western State - if we could find such a one would you be willing to take her for a year and just let her see what she is made of and what she can do? What do you think of this plan? Mrs. Kelley and Mrs. Avery urge it and Miss Gordon agrees with it, and so do I provided we can get any young woman to do the work.

I received a note from Miss Gordon this morning telling of your being at the conference in Mississippi and I am very glad that you were able to go. It certainly will inspire Miss Gordon, who needs a little encouragement because she feels that most of us do not stand with her in her position on this question; and then you supported her I think in managing Miss Kearney and the Mississippi work. Miss Gordon really thinks that the Governor of Mississippi will be a help. Personally I have very little faith in it, but I do believe that anybody who has as strong convictions as Miss Gordon has ought to be allowed freedom and encouragement to carry them out and see what there is in them, and if there is really anything to be gotten out of them she ought to have a good fair chance to test them.

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed my stay in Richmond, not only during the Convention but the entertainment which was tendered me by Miss Burnham and the particularly pleasant visit I had there. It was exceedingly kind of her and made my stay a very restful one.

With sincere regards,

Anna H. Shaw

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MARY S. SPERRY,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Moylan, Pa., December 10th, 1907.

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

This morning's mail brings me a letter from the Rev. Olympia Brown which throws a light upon the Kansas situation. You will remember that Mrs. Rice said in her letter that Mrs. Monroe felt that the old workers were turned down and that the interest of the Convention was centered around those immediately in power. I remember at Chicago that Mrs. Monroe, after she was denied the use of the platform most of the time, hob-nobbed with the Reverend Olympia Brown and Mrs. Colby. This morning's letter from Mrs. Brown states that my letter awaited her when she returned from a tour of Kansas. Evidently the Kansas secession and the whole attitude of that group of women is the result of Olympia's tour of Kansas and this explains the whole matter. Now then, we must gather it up and straighten it out again and I think that it would be worth while to use Miss Gregg's time for a short season for just that purpose.

Please reply immediately as to your opinion on the subject.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

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MARY S. SPERRY,

2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., December 9th, 1907.

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Upton in which she says that Mrs. Thurston has written Mrs. Catt deploring the action of the Kansas Association, stating that she thinks it was not legally done, because no notice was served on any of the Clubs. If this is true that puts an altogether different phase on the whole Kansas movement, and our attitude toward the Association should be a very different one from what it would have been had the action been a legal one. It seems to me the best thing to do now is to get into correspondence with as many of the local clubs as possible and see if they will not call another State Convention and elect a new set of officers and continue the State society in its affiliation with the National Association. It seems to me it would be very unreasonable for us to allow a State Association to slip out of the National in this loose sort of fashion through the action of a few women who are practically new in the work; and if we can get Mrs. Thurston and a few others of the older women to agree to hold the old society steadfast and remain in the Association, paying no attention whatever to the seceding company, I think it would be a good plan; and if it were necessary in order to help them to do so, I should suggest sending Miss Gregg to Kansas to look after the bringing together of the few of the older clubs of the State. The way in which it could be done would be for the president of one of the older clubs to write

[Dec 9, 1907]

--2--

a letter to all of the older clubs in the state, protesting against the action of the few people who met in the name of the State society, and asking them to meet to elect officers and continue the old society in its affiliation with the National. Now what is your advice in this matter?

Personally I do not care so much for the going out of Kansas society because it really did not amount to so much. It is only its effect on the other State Associations and the beginning of the breeding of dissatisfaction in the States, and I think it should be shut off now by simply gathering up the loyal Kansas Clubs and going on with the Association. That would be the best thing we could do and the best way out of the difficulty.

Yesterday Mrs. Avery and I lunched with Miss Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr, and Miss Garrett. We made an appointment in order to discuss the formation of a National College Suffrage League, as there seems to be some misunderstanding in regard to it on the part of the state presidents and I wanted to know exactly Miss Thomas's attitude upon the subject.

Miss Thomas feels that College women as a body will never take hold of active suffrage work in the way which women in the past and in our own society are doing now. In fact she says she does not think we can expect them to do the active work of the Association. The most she hopes for through the formation of these college leagues is to get the college woman educated in and interested in educating other people in suffrage along suffrage lines. Let them hold one or two meetings a year and an annual Convention in connection with the National Convention; let them pay ten cents a member to the National Association and become affiliated with it, but not to be asked to be-

Dec. 9, 1907

come affiliated with the State Societies. She thinks that Leagues of Alumnae should be formed in all large cities and that Chapters should be formed in Colleges.

The difficulty with some of our State presidents is that they want the College Leagues or Chapters to become immediately connected with the State Association and work through that. Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are both opposed to that and think it will prevent the organization of college women Nationally. I feel that they have over-estimated the danger along this line, but I also feel that since it is their plan and since the work in colleges has taken a practical shape largely through the work and interest of Miss Thomas, that whatever her plan may be we should fall in with it. She will put a great deal of thought into it, will prepare literature for it and in many ways be exceedingly helpful, but if we do not agree to her plan, I fear we may lose her splendid influence and help in the future.

She is going to do another good thing for us in addition to what she has already done. You know we had some fear of the result of the investigation in Colorado - that is we feared the woman who had undertaken the statistical work, not being interested in suffrage might not give us a fair show. Miss Thomas's sister or neiece - I have forgotten which - is Secretary of the New York College Women's League, and before this document is printed it is to be sent to Miss Thomas and she is to revise it - that is she ^{will see} that there is nothing objectionable and which would injure our work, put into it.

This has lifted a mighty load from my shoulders because while the stories which have been told in regard to the young women who has been gathering the statistics, have not all agreed, I was

Dec 9, 1907

fearful that on the whole the report might not be what we had hoped or what the young women themselves had expected, but now I think there is no longer any danger.

Will you let me know at once whether you think we ought to stir up the Kansas women and keep the society within the National Association, as it can easily be done if we do it at once but if we delay, it would be impossible.

Faithfully,

Ann H. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Moynan, Pa. December 3rd, 19

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

A few days since I received a newspaper clipping stating that Kansas had seceded from the National Association, and asked Mrs. Upton if she had any definite information, and this morning's mail brought her BUSINESS COMMITTEE letter, with a copy of Mrs. Rice's letter. I remember at the National Convention that Mrs. Monroe was one of those women who desire a great deal of attention. She wanted to talk on many other subjects besides suffrage, and I think was introduced as fraternal delegate from some sort of society and talked about three times the length of time which was allowed. In fact she occupied a good deal more time than many of the State presidents who had been working all year. She seems to complain that some of the old workers were forced out, but I do not see why that should apply particularly to her, as the Chicago Convention was the first National Convention she ever attended; and certainly if the newspaper reports of the number of people attending the Kansas State Convention are correct, seven delegates for a State Convention would not indicate that a tremendous amount of work had been done. However, the question now is what shall we do about it.

When I was at the National W. C. T. U. Convention at Nashville, some of the Kansas Women asked me what could be done in Kansas for suffrage, and said it was absolutely impossible to do anything as

Dec. 3, 1907

--2--

long as Mrs. Rice was president. It seems, now, however, that Mrs. Rice is no longer president. It may be that Mrs. Monroe will do better work and be more acceptable to the women. I judge not, however, from what I saw of her in Chicago. She appeared to be a woman anxious for notice and attention and seemed to think she deserved it by "Divine Right". Of course if the present society has withdrawn from the National Association, there is nothing wrong in another society being organized which would be loyal to the National and auxiliary; so that if any company of women in the State desire to organize such an Association, there could be nothing urged against it. I do not think, however, that it would be a good plan for the National Association to urge anything of this sort just yet until we see what is the outcome of the present movement in the State. It may be that they will get over their little "tiff" at not having the recognition they feel they deserve and will come back again into the Association if nothing is said or done about it. I think, however, since Mrs. Rice, as retiring president, has sent this somewhat unofficial and garbled notice of the withdrawal, that it is our duty to recognize it officially and as president of the Association, I will do so if you desire it. I will enclose a copy of what I think would be perhaps the best way to notice the matter, if we notice it at all, and if you have no objection I will send it.

This attitude on the part of a State is rather amusing, for what is the National Association but a combination of the States, and if anything goes wrong at the National Convention it is simply the States that make it go wrong because there is nobody else there to do anything; and if they do not like what has been done they can find their remedy in themselves and change it. This act on the part of Kansas does not disturb me very much because Kansas has been a sort

Dec. 3, 1907

of thorn in the flesh for a long time. They have never agreed among themselves; there has been a constant division between the Populists and the Republicans and the Prohibitionists; It would be a good plan to let them swarm by themselves for a while until they can agree or until something comes up when the National feels that to work in Kansas would be desirable.

There has not been as much of this sort of feeling on the part of the different States as I had expected, for now that the work is becoming more popular and the Association has more money with which to work, it is more natural to expect that there will continually spring up on every hand persons who feel within themselves perfectly able to manage and control the work and who feel a little offended when other people do not have the same estimate of their ability that they have themselves. My feeling in regard to Kansas is that this action on their part lifts one load from our shoulders because Kansas certainly was a tangled proposition while Mrs. Rice was president, and I judge from the tone of her letter that she is as much offended at the local people for removing her from the presidency as she is with the National Association because it did not give her more attention. Her claim that she originated the plan of interviewing the legislators and others before their election is somewhat amusing. If she will read the History of Woman Suffrage she will find that plan was originated in the neighborhood of fifty or sixty years ago by women who had tried almost everything that the new workers suggested and found them to be in some cases helpful and in other cases as useless as most of our plans are. But all we want of any State is work and if a State feels that it can do better by itself, then I am sure that we ought to be glad if they will only work, no matter whether it is alone or in company with others.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw