

189 N. Mill , Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 3rd, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw,

Your letter of Dec. 31st, containing a copy of Mrs. Duniway's letter, is received. If the Oregon people have succeeded in getting the legally requisite number of signatures to their petition I am profoundly thankful; for I look upon a vote in Oregon as by far the best chance we have for a victory in 1908. In our section of the country there are really remarkable evidences of the breaking of the power of the liquor element, which was the main cause of our defeat in Oregon. Perhaps the liquor element will not care to take so prominent a stand in a campaign this year. Their elimination would wonderfully increase the chances of our success.

I do not like the form of the vote you have put out; for I do not care at all for the retention of the suffragists of Oregon to our National, if they want to leave us; just as I do not greatly care for that of Kansas. But I do wish the National to assist in the campaign in Oregon, provided it is true that the Oregon Suffragists have secured the legal number of signatures.

I would like to have our Board write to the Oregon Association that upon the proclamation of the Governor, ordering an ~~vote~~ petition on a constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women, the National would contribute the thousand dollars asked for, the money to be expended and accounted for according to the original proposition of the Oregon Association. You know what I thought of this matter last winter; I now think that since Oregon has complied with our former requirement, that it should

show self-help enough to get the petitions, we can not spend a thousand dollars with so great a chance of good returns for it as in Oregon.

If our Board votes to send Oregon the Thousand dollars or some other sum, I shall cheerfully do my part toward raising the money by giving a hundred dollars of it.

I have just received the beautiful leaflet containing the the Report of College Evening of the Baltimore Convention, for which I thank you.

Wishing you a Happy New Year and many returns, I am

Faithfully yours,

I do vote to send \$1000.00 to the Oregon Association for work in that state as soon as the Governor shall proclaim that a constitutional amendment to grant suffrage to women must be voted upon by the electors. I do not vote that this sum shall be paid to Mrs. Dunaway, but to the Oregon Association on the terms and provisions for accounting for its expenditure proposed by its Executive Committee when it first asked for a contribution.

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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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.

Moylan, Pa., January 13th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter just received from Mrs. Keith of California, and ask you what you think of her suggestion?

Mr. Bryan has treated our question in regard to suffrage in too flippant a manner and I think we ought to make him take some sort of a stand, one way or another. I really believe it would be a good thing to have our women all over the country correspond with him, and ask him his position. If you agree with me I will try to set the State Presidents at work. The same is also true of Mr. Taft, and I think we ought to correspond with everyone of the men who are standing for election on any political ticket.

I have a letter from Mr. Oswald Villard, in which he makes this suggestion: "Why could not a Men's Equal Suffrage Club be started here? (New York) I have wanted to suggest this for a long while, but have feared that if I did suggest it the work of organizing would be placed upon my shoulders, and I cannot undertake a single additional responsibility, not even one that requires merely the signature of letters. But it seems to me that the right person could be found, and that a men's club favoring equal suffrage could be formed in this city which would have some excellent names on it, and would be useful organization with which to impress the public and legislatures. It should have a number of vice-presidents and nominal

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dues. I should like to know what you think of this suggestion."

I think as a suggestion it is an excellent one, but the only trouble with it is that the men who would be desirable as leaders of such a club are, like Mr. Villard, absorbed in other things and would be able to give very little attention to it. The man who has leisure to do it, and would be willing to do it, would probably be one who was out with his own political party and not in touch with other men so as to make his influence of very great weight. Still I think, as I have suggested in my reply to Mr. Villard, that if a list of prominent men could be secured in the name of a men's club, to be able to publish the list and to use these names when we needed them would be a very great help, even if they did nothing but simply let their names stand, and I wish such an organization really could be started.

These suggestions which are coming in from all parts of the country reiterate over and over again the things which have been done many years by the National Association, and I think these newer people think they have never been thought of before. This morning I have been reading the minutes of our Association for some years back, and I find that there were two resolutions introduced in 1882, which have been recently suggested as a new movement on the part of our Association. One of these is Resolved "That the State Legislators shall be requested to memorialize Congress upon the submission of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution", and another one adopted that same year had reference to this subject suggested by Mrs. Keith. Resolved, "That we consider the enfranchisement of the women citizens of the United States the paramount political

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question of the hour: therefore

Resolved, That we will by all honorable methods oppose the election of any Presidential candidate who is a known opponent to Woman Suffrage, and we recommend similar action on the part of our State Associations in regard to State and Congressional candidates; and further

Resolved, That the officers of this Association shall communicate with the Presidential nominees of the several political parties and ascertain their exact position upon this subject."

And yet, how many of the women who have recently come into the work, after years of patience and toil, that has made it more or less popular, feeling that if some of these old methods of which they have never heard had only been tried we would have had suffrage 50 years ago, but I am glad for every suggestion and hope they will keep on coming in for it shows an awakened interest when new people are willing even to make suggestions.

In a letter recently received from Mrs. Sperry, of California, she writes as follows:

"I have just come from a meeting of our State Central Committee. We are trying to raise money to organize our State. We want to be all ready for our Legislature next winter. Some of the State Board asked, if the National would give us money, if we raised a like sum here. I told them I did not know. We are trying to keep our headquarters open, hire a woman at \$40.00 per month to do the typewriting etc., How long we shall succeed remains to be seen. Mrs. Coffin is carrying on "The Western Woman" for propoganda work,

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and says we need it. We, the State Board, pay fifteen per month for our part, and Mrs. Keith edits it. Do you get it?

What do you think our attitude in regard to her proposition should be? Personally, I think it ought to depend upon whether or not we are able to get the amendment submitted, in which case, since they have been so splendidly helpful in their own work, and in assisting other states, it is my opinion we ought to give them whatever help we are able at the time.

I have just received a letter from Senator Palmer, of Michigan, in which he says among other things "his interest continues the same in the cause of Woman Suffrage as ever and that he has had 1000 copies of his speech printed and presented to the Michigan Suffrage Association for distribution. If we only had a few more political friends of that stamp our work would be very much easier.

A letter from Mrs. Ballantine says "Governor Curry of New Mexico has not yet arrived in Washington, but I will see him as soon as he comes". She also adds "that it is not thought that the Bill providing for local option in the District of Columbia will be passed by Congress, but the commissioners are to give a public hearing on Thursday the 16th, at which several of the District Suffragists intend to be present to protest against sex discrimination in the bill as it now stands." She says her husband is not well and that they have been obliged to go into the city and will be at the Shoreham four or five weeks.

Will you kindly sign your votes before returning them, as in filing we only know whose they are by judging the handwriting in some cases?

Faithfully,

Ann B. Shaw

Lexington, Ky. Jan. 17th, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw,

I have received your two letters of the 15th, and answer them under heads.

MICHIGAN. I think the account of the meeting quite encouraging. I am not sure nothing can be done, for the trend of public sentiment is turning towards us. I approve of printing Mrs. McCulloch's speech; and will regulate the number of copies by Mrs. Upton's vote on that part. If she does not vote on the number, then I vote on the number you do. I know the speech is good, for it was promptly printed in one of the Lexington papers.

HEARING IN WASHINGTON. Yesterday I heard from Miss Gordon, who explains that Mrs. Kelly has been sick, which has caused a delay. She also writes that she has taken some steps toward having the hearing; so I hope that finally there will be no hitch. I am particularly in favor of a Congressional hearing spoken to by delegates or a committee for that purpose; for our Asso. is wedded to the idea of a hearing, and if we should fail to have one the first time after moving the convention and changing the time of the convention, I fear it will be a matter of serious discouragement to our members. I think that is of more importance than having the speakers or the number of speakers we would like to have. Therefore I shall oppose omitting the hearing, if it is possible to secure one. I do not think a great number are necessary, and I believe a presentation of our question before Congress is desired emphatically by our Association. In answer to your question about my speaking, -I have not heard from Mrs. Avery, but Miss Gordon in her letter asked me to speak for five minutes; and

I will prepare myself to do so.

BUSINESS MEETING. I think it important that Mrs. Upton should be at the Business meeting; and I do not think Miss Hauser can fill her place satisfactorily. If Mrs. Upton cannot spare the time from home to attend both the Hearing and the Business meeting, and I suppose she cannot, I would advise staying in Washington, instead of going to Moylan. While it would be very pleasant to be in your new and hospitable home, yet, as a mere matter of expense, I believe it would be cheaper to pay hotel bills for the few days necessary than the travelling expenses ^{to go to Moylan} for so many of us. In various ways it is perhaps cheaper to travel to Washington than to any other city. Once there, we would lose no further time in travelling if we stayed there for the Business meeting. Mrs. Upton could come to Washington and get home quicker, if recalled, than she possibly could from Moylan. If at the last moment she finds she cannot come even to the Business meeting, then I would suggest that we transact such business and make such plans as we could successfully without her; and then decide upon a time to hold another Business meeting, if we still thought it necessary when we might go to Warren. I do not favor going to Warren, if we can help it; for it is very much out-of-the-way to most of the Business Committee; and would necessarily cause some work and anxiety to Mrs. Upton; probably as much as leaving home for a few days would cause her.

My advice, in short, is to hold the Hearing by all means; to have the Business meeting in Washington immediately after the hearing, even if Mrs. Upton cannot be with the other members. I trust, however, by releasing her from attendance at the Hearing, and by staying in Washington, she can leave home for the shorter time without too much anxiety.

Cordially yours,

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



Moylan, Pa January 14th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

The vote has been returned by the various members of the Business Committee in regard to the sending of money to Mrs. Duniway. ^{See} Members of the committee voted unqualifiedly "No".

Miss Blackwell believes that by sending the \$1,000 the vote in favor of the amendment may be increased and that it will give less cause for criticism if the vote in future is large than if it should fall below the previous vote, and thinks the money might be sent on that account.

Miss Clay qualifies her vote by saying she thinks she is in favor of sending the \$1,000 after the Governor's proclamation has been issued declaring the submission of the amendment.

I have notified Mrs. Duniway of the result of the vote.

Faithfully,

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MARY S. SPERRY,
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Moylan, Pa., January 14th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

As I told you on Saturday I would give you an account of the hearing before the Constitutional Convention in Michigan. I will try to do so as briefly as possible to-day, and will give you some sort of comprehensive idea of the way in which the hearing was planned.

Mrs. Upton and I have been in constant correspondence with Mrs. Arthur, and other members of the Michigan Association, ever since they began the preparation for the hearing before the Convention. We urged upon Mrs. Arthur, as the most important thing to do, to secure as far as possible the co-operation of the different organizations of women. This the Michigan women did, and I believed secured the co-operation of more different organizations in the State, of both men and women, than has ever been secured before, but they went a little farther than this and invited these organizations to send representatives to the hearing, who were not merely invited by the Suffrage Association, but who were authorized by their own organizations to represent them at the hearing. This was done by ten different associations, these associations paying the expenses of their own representative, so that when the hearing was called these ten women were ready to respond and speak for the Suffrage Association, and authorized by their own

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societies to speak for them. They were given from two to five minutes each in which to make their statement, and not one woman over went her time and several of them stopped short of the limit. Every speech that was made was well made. They did not attempt to elaborate but made their simple statement, as authorized by their society, and then stopped.

After each of these representatives of the various organizations were through then Mrs. Cullough discussed the Laws of Michigan as related to women, for just one half hour, which was the time allowed her, and she also kept within the limit. Her speech was splendid and made a very good impression. Then at just nine o'clock I began and was told to speak one hour, and I also stopped on the minute of ten. I have been told that my speech also made a good impression, and I confess that it was one of the very few times when I felt I was doing good work; in fact, I can count upon the fingers of one hand all the speeches I ever made in my life with which I have been satisfied, and this is one of them, but the occasion was one which should have made me do her best.

When the hearing first began there were very few members of the Convention present in the room. Nearly all the members of the committee were present, and they were the worst bored lot of looking men you ever saw. The Chairman leaned back in his seat as if he expected to be compelled to endure it, but he did not know if it was possible. After three of the representatives of other societies had spoken a man who had a cigar in his mouth took it out; another member who had his feet up took them down, the Chairman began to take notice, and by the time Mrs. Mc Cullough had commenced her speech the members of the Convention began to flock in and stood

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up since their seat had previously been occupied by others, which I tried to prevent in every way. One of the papers stated that when I was speaking the men came in from all over the building, even the Governor came over from his office and stood in the rear of the room. We were told that fully three-fourths of the members of the Constitutional Convention were present, and the Chairman of our Committee told Mrs. Arthur and the rest of us, in the presence of many of the delegates to the Convention, all of whom re-echoed his words, that it was the best planned and best conducted hearing, with the best statements of the case under discussion of any hearing which had been held during the entire three months of the Constitutional Convention, and prominent men on both sides of reform questions, told us the same thing, and even the newspapers which gave the most scanty and twaddled report of the hearing stated that the hearing made a very great impression upon the Constitutional Convention.

In opening the discussion Mrs. Arthur, President of the Michigan Suffrage Association, stated that they had presented petitions from associations and individuals amounting to 222,000; of these 175,000 were women.

I was so impressed with the whole hearing and the method of it that I am fully convinced that the best thing we can do for our next Congressional hearing, two years hence, is to have the same sort of one. First secure the co-operation of every possible organization in the country, then get up a tremendous petition and secure from these various organizations a representative, authorized by the society itself, to unite with us in making our plea for our

Jan 14, 1908

hearing before Congress. I think we could at least get one hundred different associations to co-operate with us. We could get two minute speeches from each one of them and make such an impression as he have never made before, and I wish, when we come together in our next Business Committee meeting, we might work this plan out, and start immediately to put it into operation.

While I do not believe the Michigan women will get anything, or much of anything,--they may get bond suffrage, but by securing the co-operation of these different societies and having them make the demand themselves in the name of their society, through their own representatives, they have done more for suffrage in the State of Michigan than they could do through regular little suffrage work in ten years, and I think the same would be true of the National if we would go at it with a well digested plan. We could use the Thomas fund for this purpose and make such a rousing campaign, and bind to us such a splendid lot of people that we would do at least ten years work in one. I hope you will think the plan over and let us thrash it out carefully when we come together in our business meeting this winter.

Mrs. Arthur was not elected to the Presidency of Michigan until this Fall. There was practically no organization in the State, and she and perhaps a half dozen women have done all that has been done, and it shows what splendid work women can do if they really try. Of course, I do not think all this work has been done the last three months. It is the gathering up of the patient, in season and out of season, toil of twenty-five or thirty years but it was wisely gathered up.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

[Jan 4, 1908]

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

December 31, 1907.

Q. Is it your wish to send \$1,000 to Mrs. Dunaway for work in Oregon and thereby retain the Oregon Association auxiliary to the National?

No. Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Upton, Sperry.

Miss Clay votes "No" on the proposition as stated in the vote, but adds "I do vote to send \$1,000 to the Oregon Association for work in that state as soon as the Governor shall proclaim that a constitutional amendment to grant suffrage to women must be voted upon by the electors. I do not vote that this sum shall be paid to Mrs. Dunaway, but to the Oregon Association on the terms and provisions for accounting for its expenditure proposed by its Executive Committee when it first asked for a contribution."

Miss Blackwell votes "No" on the proposition as stated, but adds that she believes it would be wise to send the \$1,000 in the hope of making the vote larger in future, as if the vote falls off it will leave room for adverse criticism.

Enclosure Feb 10, 1908

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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



Moylan, Pa., February 11th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter received this morning from Mrs. Salentine, and I think the work should be begun in New Mexico immediately, *if* we have so favorable an advocate as Governor Curry claims to be, because undoubtedly there will be an effort made to get New Mexico in as a State in the next Congress, and if we can only get suffrage there before it comes in it would be a good thing, while I must confess I would be more scared to have it than not to have it, still I believe we ought to try for it. The character of the population of New Mexico is a rather risky one, because of the large number of Mexicans and half breeds. nevertheless, I believe we ought to take suffrage wherever we can get it and this is the very best chance, and if the President will only be true to his profession and do a little something for us with his rough rider Governor, I am very sure we could secure New Mexico. My greatest fear is Senator Foraker, whose influence is tremendous in that territory. He and some of his allies own it and he is bitterly opposed to us, but it may be the old chap is so disgruntled with the administration that he would not try to do anything to prevent our getting suffrage, especially if he thought it would injure the administration. However, what shall be done with New Mexico? The only woman who went there before and who really thinks she knows something

Feb 11, 1908

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about the situation is Mrs. Bradford, of Colorado. I think that Dr. Woods also went to New Mexico, but as she is ill shall we immediately correspond with Mrs. Bradford and have her begin the campaign there? *or would you prefer Mrs. Bayer.*

The Business Committee meeting will follow immediately after the hearing and as Mrs. Upton thinks she can come to Hopton, it will be better to have it here, and I wish each member of the Business Committee to prepare a list of the subjects which she would like to have discussed so that we can arrange the programme of the Committee Meeting in such a way that the questions which are of importance to Mrs. Upton, and upon which we need her advice and counsel, can come during the time that she is able to be with us, then if we need to continue the meeting after she is obliged to go we can take up other points; but I wish each member of the committee would come prepared with her list of subjects, so as to consume as little time as possible.

I have written the State Presidents the date of the hearing and asked those who are in Washington to meet the Business Committee at the Shoreham on the night of the 2nd. There was not time to consult the Business Committee, but as we had previously decided to have an informal meeting with the Presidents who chanced to be in Washington, I thought it better to send word at once as the date has been postponed so long.

I leave this evening for West Virginia to speak before their Legislature in behalf of the Constitutional Amendment. It seems like a useless trip but the women of the State feel they are inexperienced and are desirous that I should be with them.

Faithfully,

Auna N. Shaw

(COPY)

Shoreham Hotel,

Washington, Feb. 10, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

Miss Gillett and I called upon Governor Curry of New Mexico this morning. He told us that he would take great pleasure in signing any bill giving the suffrage to women that might be passed, and added that he had always favored it and would vote for woman suffrage should the opportunity ever come to him--in short he expressed himself in the strongest possible way as being a friend to our cause. This is a good beginning and I hope the campaign in New Mexico will be commenced at once.

I also saw Senator Clay of the Woman Suffrage Committee and Congressman Jenkins of the Judiciary, and they agreed upon March 3rd as the date of the joint hearing. Senator Clay promised to secure a room large enough to hold seventy or eighty women.

I think that by exerting a little pressure we may be able to get a report written but as both chairmen are opposed it is likely to be an adverse one. Even so, it is something to have the question discussed.

Hoping to see you before very long, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Katharine Reed Valentine.

Katharine Reed Valentine

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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



Moylan, Pa., February 8th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

As heirs of Mary S. Anthony we have devoted a portion of her estate to the publishing of the Third and final volume of the Life and Works of Susan B. Anthony.

In doing this we have carried out what we believe would have been the wish of Mary S. Anthony. We have been fortunate in being able to secure for the work Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, than whom no one could possibly be a more perfect biographer of Susan B. Anthony.

The book is now in the publisher's hands and we desire to present 1,000 copies to the National American Suffrage Association on the condition that the money accruing from the sale of these books shall be placed in a fund, to be known as the Mary S. Anthony Campaign Fund, to be used at the discretion of the general officers of the National Association for Woman Suffrage Campaigns.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw
Mary S. Anthony

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

Moylan, Pa., February 18th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

From time to time on receipt of a majority of votes on any question I have informed you as to the result but have not given you any tabulated statement of the vote for some time. I am now going to give you a tabulated list of the various votes which I have received, as you may wish to keep the list. Again I wish to urge upon you to sign your vote before returning it.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

[Feb 18, 1908]

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUR FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
FEBRUARY 8th, 1908.

Do you vote to accept the gift of 1000 copies of
the Third Volume of the Life and Works of Susan B. Anthony,
on the conditions specified by the heirs of Mary S. Anthony?

Yes - Unanimously.

Feb 18, 1908

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

FEBRUARY 1st, 1908.

1. Are you in favor of contributing \$50.00 toward the mass meeting in New York, under the direction of the Inter-Urban Suffrage Association?

Yes - Shaw, Avery, Gordon, Blackwell, Upton, Clay, Sperry.

No - Kelley.

Miss Shaw and Miss Gordon do not approve of the request, but think it best to grant it.

2. Are you in favor of contributing toward the expenses of an organizer for the College League? If so, what amount are you willing to allow?

Unanimously in favor but differ as to amount. Mrs. Avery says at the rate of \$75.00 per month, Mrs. Kelley \$500.00 on condition that the College League pays an equal amount to make a salary of \$1,000 for the College year, otherwise nothing. Miss Blackwell \$100.00 to start with, Mrs. Upton \$100.00, Mrs. Sperry all that we can afford. Miss Shaw's amount depending on the length of time and quality of service.

3. Is it your desire that the Business Committee, formally through the President and Secretary, question the Presidential aspirants of all political parties as to their standing on Woman Suffrage? Are you in favor of urging states, locals and individuals to do likewise.

Yes - Unanimously.

Feb 18, 1908

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
JANUARY 15th, 1908.

1. Do you vote to pay the expenses of Mrs. Mc Culloch in attending the Michigan Constitutional Convention in Lansing, January 8th?

Yes - Unanimously.

2. Are you in favor of paying for the publication of Mrs. Mc Culloch's address for the Michigan women? If so, do you vote to publish 5000 at a cost of \$40.00, or 10,000 at a cost of \$56.00?

Yes - Unanimously.

Feb 18 1908

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

JANUARY 11, 1908.

1. Shall we offer to entertain the speakers in Washington?

Yes - Shaw, Avery, Kelley, Gordon, Blackwell, Clay, Sperry.

No, not generally, Mrs. Upton.

Mrs. Kelley adds "and travelling expenses". Miss Gordon adds where necessary and asks the District League to secure entertainment.

2. Shall we meet the Convention before the hearing and have a preliminary meeting, and meet with the representatives of the States in the evening?

Yes - Unanimous

3. Shall we accept Mrs. Funck's invitation to hold a public meeting in Baltimore?

No - Unanimous

Feb 18, 1908

RESULT OF VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
DECEMBER 11th, 1907.

1. Are you in favor of sending \$50.00 a month to the State of Washington up to the amount of \$250.00 on the conditions named in my letter of December 11th?
Yes - Shaw, Avery, Clay, Upton, Sperry.
Mrs. Kelley, Miss Gordon and Miss Blackwell not voting.
2. Are you in favor of holding an Executive Committee meeting in connection with the hearing in Washington?
Yes - Unanimously, if a sufficient number are present.
3. Are you in favor of holding a public meeting on the evening of the day of the hearing in Washington?
No - Shaw, Avery, Sperry,
Yes - Blackwell, Upton.
Indifferent, Clay.
Miss Gordon and Mrs. Kelley not voting.
4. Are you in favor of corresponding with the officers of the local clubs in Kansas, asking them if they desire to continue the connection of the State Association with the National, since the action of withdrawing from the national is considered by some illegal?
Yes - Shaw, Avery, Blackwell, Sperry.
No - Clay.
Undecided, Mrs. Upton
Miss Gordon and Mrs. Kelley not voting.
Afterwards decided not to make the attempt at present.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio

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Swarthmore, Pa.

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Auditors: LAURA CLAY, 189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

MARY S. SPERRY,

2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., February 19th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I am enclosing a copy of a portion of a letter received to-day from Mrs. Keith on which I want to ask your opinion because it may be that similar letters will be received, and I would like to be advised as to whether or not my advice is correct. There was a time when we were afraid of being endorsed by little political parties who are always ready to endorse us in the hope that we can help them, and when they get strong they turn us down as quickly as either the Democrats or Republicans. This has been the case with the Populists when they were strong in South Dakota, and in Kansas when the Prohibitionists have grown in strength and the Socialists as well, and it is said that being endorsed by small political parties larger political organizations refuse to endorse us. Personally I think that argument had some weight formerly, but I do not any longer think that it counts. We are asking all sorts of societies and organizations to endorse us and therefore I cannot see why we should not ask even weak political parties to do so when we make them no pledge in return. My advice to Mrs. Keith is to accept this invitation if she feels that she can, and I shall also urge other women who are appointed delegates to other political parties to do the same thing. If we get the cigar makers and the miners and all sorts of men to stand for us I do not see why it is not

Feb 19, 1908

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just as well to get all sorts of political parties, whether they are strong or weak. We know very well that neither the Republican or Democratic parties will do so, but since the Republican administration is becoming largely Populist, under the leadership of the present President, it may be that the Populists will fuse with the Republicans at the next election and if we get them to endorse us that would be a good thing.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Copy of Mrs. Keith's letter.

I have had a "proposal" or offer from the Chairman of the State Committee "Peoples Party" (Populist) to be appointed one of the twenty delegates from California to the St. Louis National Convention, April 2nd. He says he was much pleased at some of my remarks on Equal Suffrage printed in the San Francisco Star, a weekly, and if I could not go, I could send my proxy and state my views. Do you think it would be a good idea to get women of different states to have themselves appointed in the same way?--then try and get a Suffrage Plank and then in June and July when the Republicans and Democrats have their Conventions, they might be encouraged to follow suit. Especially if the Populists should fuse with any of the other parties, it might work well for us. Their platform as stated does not seem so very radical. In Colorado they helped get the vote for women.

I should like to know what you think of the matter. Let the women get appointed also as many as possible to the Democratic and Republican Conventions. I think the men seem ready to have them and there will be a few anyway.

Berkeley, February 13th, 1908.

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



Moylan, Pa., February 15th, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay:-

Your letter in regard to New Mexico is at hand and I am very glad that you feel as you do in regard to the work there, for I am greatly impressed that it is our duty to do everything we can to win this territory, and with such a friendly attitude, as the Governor seems to have toward us, it seems that now is the best time. None of the other members of the Business Committee have answered in regard to this matter, but probably there has not been time. I would like to have the plan thought out as definitely as may be, so that there will be no time lost after we meet in our Business meeting. In fact, I do not think we ought to wait until the time of our Business Committee before we do anything. If I had my own way about it I would send somebody there before night to start the work immediately. The delays in getting answers from some members of the Business Committee makes our work very difficult, because most propositions have to be put out two or three different times and a month or two elapses and nothing has been done, and with work like this it should be done immediately. Therefore, all the more I appreciate your careful thought of what it is best to do in New Mexico and your immediate reply.

I perfectly agree with you as to the different qualifications of Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Boyer. Mrs. Bradfords is a bril-

Feb 15, 1908

Miss Clay, 2--

liant woman, impulsive and loyal, but to my mind Mrs. Boyer is the steady, tireless, hard-working, to be depended upon person, who will not make any blunders through impulsiveness, at least, even though she may make some in judgment, as we all do at times. The only trouble with Mrs. Boyer is her great expense. She is the most expensive worker we have ever had. I do not think it is any intention to use the National money simply because it is not her own, as I think she uses her own money in just the same way. She is not a wise spender.

I appreciate your sending me the correspondence between yourself and Mrs. Coe. Mrs. Duniway, in a most insulting letter to Lucy, which she expected Lucy would show to me, made the statement that you were adjusting matters to her satisfaction, and I wondered just what you were doing. Of course, as this is a personal matter it is entirely your own affair and one in which no one else has the right to interfere. While, of course, I question its wisdom I do not question your splendid spirit of loyalty to the Cause which has led you to make this sacrifice in its behalf. My best wishes for it is that there may be a splendid victory in Oregon so that you may feel repaid.

I trust that we will all meet at the Shoreham, as early as possible, on Monday the 2nd of March, and see what we can plan. I am very fearful of our hearing on account of its being put off so late. We are going to lose some of our speakers. Mrs. Kelley on account of March 3rd being the date of the annual meeting of her own Society in New York, and Mrs. Ballentine sails for Europe on

[Feb 15, 1906]

Miss Clay, 3--

on February 22nd, so that it will behoove us all to be on hand, with very elastic speeches which may be drawn out to fill in any vacancy made by the absence of others.

I have a very round about letter from a woman by name of Mrs. Mary M. Whayne, 1351 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky., in which she states that your club is studying the achievements of women and she wants some information in regard to men poaching upon women's preserves by inventing machinery, etc. It is strange how round about things come to us sometimes. Mrs. Whayne's letter was sent first to Mrs. Mary I Wood, Portsmouth, N.H., Chairman of the Bureau of Information of the Federation of Clubs, she sent it to Alice Blackwell and Alice Blackwell sent it to me. I am going to answer the lady and give her some references. It is a good thing to have womens clubs studying these questions and I am going to give her a list of good books that will help her and at the same time direct her attention to our work. I gave you her name as it may be of use to you some time.

With sincere regards, I am,

Faithfully,



Lexington, Ky.

Febr. 13th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am deeply interested in what you write of the situation in New Mexico, and I am heartily in favor of going to work there at once.

I am in a quandary what opinion to express as to whom should be sent. I mean, as between Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Boyer. I consider Miss Woods out of the question, as she is sick, and I would prefer either of the others, anyway, as better suited to that particular field. Mrs. Bradley told me that New Mexico would be led by a boss; and there would be no use trying to get suffrage except through his influence. What you write corroborates this opinion. She said, further, that she knew that boss, and believed she had influence with him, or could get influence. Therefore, that would be well for having her. She is a Western woman, a good speaker and has a knowledge of practical politics, in the good sense. Those are her advantages. On the other hand, Mrs. Boyer is certainly less apt to get excited and do or say indiscreet things. She is a woman of great industry, of resources, of general intelligence, and of gentle and tactful manners. Quite capable, also, of making a public speech, when necessary, which commands respect and attention. Besides that, I suppose Mrs. Boyer is disposed to remain in the employ of the National, while we never can tell whether or not Mrs. Bradford will be ready to go when she is called for. If the decision of this were left to me, I believe I would have a talk with Mrs. Boyer, and plainly ask her if she felt equal to the situation and willing to undertake the commission. If so, I really believe

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she would be very valuable there. If she did not feel in herself confidence to undertake the task, but was merely willing to go if she were asked to do so, I would prefer to send Mrs. Bradford, who has perfect confidence in her own ability to cope with the situation. For I feel there would be an injurious loss of time to send some one who had to learn everything of the situation before she took important steps. I am sure some degree of self-confidence would be very necessary in such a field. I shall gladly vote to send either of these workers, for I think work ought to be done in the remaining territories.

I note what you say about the time of the Hearing, and shall plan to be at the Shoreham before Monday evening.

I am wondering if you would be interested in a correspondence I have had with Mrs. Henry W. Coe, of Oregon. In case you should hear of it from some of your Oregon correspondents, I think I will send you a copy of the two letters I have written. Of course, I wrote as an individual, and even took pains, as I remember, not to write on National paper.

I enclose copies.

Cordially yours,

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2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., March 19, 1908.

Miss Laura Clay,
919 West Franklin Street,
Richmond, Va.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I have just received the enclosed letter, forwarded by Mrs. Catt, and I have written Mrs. Mc Cormack, giving her your name and telling her that you were visiting in Richmond, and that I was sure you would be glad to aid her in any way you could in organizing a club. I do hope it is not too late to reach you by the 21st, and yet I fear it may be. Even if you should not get the letter in time to be at their meeting, perhaps you can call on Mrs. Mc Cormack and be of assistance to her. I have forwarded some literature, but I fear that too will be too late to be of benefit to her.

Faithfully,

A. S. S.

to present needless antagonism.
Personal agitation will do much,
but most of all instruction in the
do. of the International Social
has pamphlets for distribution
we should be grateful for a
few. If you have not the pamphlets,
would you kindly spare the time
to let us know how we could obtain
from a local Association. My main
for instance, information as to
methods employed to win suffrage
& the effect of suffrage upon
the working woman's condition
and the general welfare of
the state & civic politics
etc. Mrs. Reblinger is not the
Chairman who is presented by a
private group, but one who will

Sept 9th
1908

ONE WEST MAIN STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt.

Dear Madam:

It is not that all movements
in behalf of mortals begin in
a small way against great odds,
I should hesitate to trouble
you in this matter.

Salvage East, upon my duties
and my invitation a small
number of representative women
gathered in the drawing room
to consider whether enough
interest might not be felt

to make it possible to organize a suffrage movement in
Richmond. All these women were, nevertheless speaking, con-
servative, but personally, thoughtful and prepared to face
truth & a, to them, new character. Several of them were, in
the matter of conviction, from suffragists & many years studying
Lore & their own husbands who believed in women's suffrage.
There was no formal organization, but a temporary chairman
elected to appoint a committee for the purpose of obtaining
literature with regard to the history of the movement and
the effect of women's suffrage in the States of America
and in other countries where the ballot has been attained.
All seemed earnestly desirous of informing themselves prior
to the next meeting on the 21st of March. This is perhaps
the 2nd most conservative State in the Union, though the
women of Virginia made courageous & unflinching claims to
during & after the two wars that desolated her. We realize
that it will be necessary to move with great diplomacy

to Mrs M. S. Olyer
& sincerely

Mar 9, 1908

ONE WEST MAIN STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Cary M. Tomack

Mrs Cary M. Tomack

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MARY S. SPERRY,

2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

*Enclose this copy I am
a lawyer*
Moylan, Pa., March 17, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose you copy of a letter which I have just received from the woman lawyer in New York, who sent the brief which I had copied and gave to some of you when you were here attending the Business Committee Meeting. Her husband is a lawyer and a judge and I presume in preparing these suggestions she consults with him. Of course, I do not feel that it would be possible for us to carry out the suggestion in this letter, but since she has taken the pains to prepare it and send it to us I felt it was my duty to submit it to you. *If women tried to vote for any one it would better be one of the men candidates.* When I saw Mrs. Hinck writing up the bill on that she had been thinking of running for the Legislature in New York, and it seems now that she is really going to carry out her suggestion. Mrs. Hinck is nothing if not constitutional, and always must work alone. She cannot bear to not be the one who leads, and I suppose that fact had led her to call a Convention in Seneca Falls, N. Y. for July 12th, to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the suffrage movement. She has done this without consulting, as far as I know, any suffrage organization, or asking their cooperation. I have not heard from her directly in regard to it; I only saw a notice of it in last Sunday's paper.

In a letter received from Mrs. Upton, she brings forward a point which it is necessary for us to settle at once, and that is the basis of representation for the Buffalo Convention. You will

Mar 17, 1908

Business Committee....2.

all recognize the need of uniformity in the basis of representation and that the delegations from all the states must be settled either by the numbers for which they have paid prior to the National Convention, or on the dues received by the first of January, 1908, because if some paid on the basis of 1907 and some on the basis of 1908 it would create confusion. The number of the delegates should be determined either by one year or the other, and as our National Convention in October takes the place of the one which we ordinarily hold in February, it seems to me the basis of representation should be that of the dues paid for 1907, even if some of the states should hold their convention prior to the National Convention in Buffalo. I would like to have you express your opinion in order that Mrs. Upton may know what to tell the different states which are writing her upon this subject.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

P.S. Mrs. Harper is writing the memorial and I expect it very soon. She called on Senator Owen before she left Washington and got his idea of what it should contain, and is now writing it in New York.

Mrs. Boyer has written me that she will be at our house this morning, enroute here to prepare at once to go to Oklahoma, as she thinks the work would better be begun very soon.

ahs

E. M. 17, 1908

C O P Y .

New York, March 14, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

What do you think of this proposition: Have a woman in every state where suffrage does not obtain run for member of congress, and have women in that state try to vote for her. The constitution (Federal) expressly states that members of congress shall be elected by the people, and nowhere is the obnoxious word "male" mentioned.

To my mind there can be but one conclusion to arrive at as to our right to the franchise. We have always had it, and any attempt to deprive us of the exercise of the right is and was unconstitutional. Harriet Stanton Blatch will run for the assembly in our state this year and we will, if necessary, take the case to the U. S. Supreme Court. I think, however, it wiser to choose the other office, i. e., congress, and make a concerted movement throughout the U. S. This will serve to emphasize our determination to press the question and our insistence upon a recognition of our rights.

Lovingly and Faithfully yours,

Harriette M. Johnston-Wood.

My suggestion implies, of course, the taking of each and every case to the U. S. Supreme Court for decision in case they are denied the right to vote and to be a candidate.

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Moylan, Pa., March 9, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I hope you reached your destination without any trouble and that you found your trunk there all right. I am very glad you could come to us and that we could have our Business Meeting in Moylan. I am also glad that you were able to speak at the hearing for you made a splendid point and made it well.

I am enclosing a copy of the legal brief prepared by Mrs. Johnston-Wood, and I hope that when you study it over, if you find any helpful suggestions in it, you will not only inform me but I wish you would write a note of thanks to Mrs. Johnston-Wood. Her address is 43 Wall Street, New York City.

Trusting that all is well with you, I am,

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Note to Mrs. Johnston Wood Mar. 13,

Copy of Mrs Johnston-Wards legal brief Mar 9, 1908

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.- Sec. 1, (Federal Constitution) provides that "all persons born or naturalized in the U.S., and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the U.S. and of the states wherein they reside", and that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U.S.; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws".

Under the common law of England the right of suffrage was a franchise attached to the freehold, and women as well as men were "freeholders". As far back as William the Conqueror, women were enrolled among the inhabitants as "householders", who were "burgesses" or voters. Down to the 17th century women voted for members of Parliament, and in the earlier centuries sat in the councils of the State and Church as members. The right of women to the franchise was verified many times by the courts.

The common law of England was brought to the New England by the Colonists in 1620. The word "male" was not found in any of the constitutions of the Original Thirteen States. Voters were designated as persons, freeholders, inhabitants, freemen, and following English precedent, women voted. New York was the first state to narrow her constitution by inserting the word male (1778).

Political rights are not lost by non-use.

The whole idea of our original government-- that before 1776-- was that only those who paid taxes should vote-- those who helped to support the government. They were the freemen---out of whose body x x the public officers, particularly the legislative council and assembly, were to be chosen.

The right of suffrage, in a democratic form of government, can be restricted only by the consent of a majority of those who already possess it.

"The elective franchise is a right which the law protects and enforces as jealously as it does property in chattels or lands. It matters not by what name it is designated - the right to vote, the elective franchise, or the privilege of the elective franchise; the person who under the constitution x x x is entitled to it, has a property in it which the law maintains and vindicates as vigorously as it does any right of any kind which men may have and enjoy. The rules of law which guard against deprivation or injury, the rights of persons in corporeal properties, are alike and equally applicable to the elective franchise, and alike and equally guard persons invested with it against deprivation of or injury to it. To the same extent that persons cannot be deprived of their lands and chattels, or rights and franchises, of any kind, otherwise than 'by due process of law', it is also true that 'without due process of law', they cannot be deprived or divested of the maniments which evidence and establish their titles and rights, such as deeds, bills of sale, bonds, promissory notes, and the like; and the certificate of registration and the right to vote may be properly included in the category." State v. Staten, 6 Coldw. (Tenn.) 233

[Mar 9, 1908]

Any law which has the effect of disfranchising a person to whom the constitution gives the right to vote is unconstitutional.

Atty.-Gen. v. St. Clair County 11 Mich. 63
Atty.-Gen. v. Detroit, 78 Mich. 545

In *Grandall v. Nevada*, 6 Wallace, 35-44, some of the civil rights of citizens of the U.S. are defined, and among them is "the right to share the offices of the government; to engage in administering its functions", etc.

Every person recognized by society as being sui juris should participate in the ballot. "If any class is deprived of representation the advantages aimed at in the institution are lost, so far as this class is concerned. Indeed, there may be even more danger that the special needs of a such a class will be neglected and its special interests sacrificed, by a legislature representing other classes exclusively, than there would be under a despotism; since a despot has less motive than an assembly representing only a portion of the community for dividing unequally any natural concern that he may feel for the interests of those whom he governs. Elements of Politics, by Henry Sidgwick.

Definition of the word "privilege": "To exempt from burdens or liabilities to which others are subject; to invest with peculiar rights or prerogatives; a peculiar benefit, favor or advantage; a right of immunity not enjoyed by all; a special right or power conferred on or possessed by one or more individuals in derogation of the general right.

It is frequently urged that the franchise is a privilege and not a right. Class legislation is unconstitutional, under Fourteenth Amendment. See *Merchant v. Penn.R.R.Co.* 153 U.S. 380.

Judge Cooley in his work on the Law and Jurisprudence of England and America, in speaking of the Fourteenth Amendment, says:

"It puts life, liberty and property upon precisely the same footing of security; it binds them each and all indissolubly together; it places each and all of these primordial rights under theegis and protection of the national government. By this provision they are each and all adopted as national rights. Under the Fifth Amendment they are each protected from invasion by Congress or the Federal Government. By the Fourteenth Amendment they are each protected from invasion by State Legislature, or by the people of the states in any form in which they may attempt to exercise political power. If these rights are not safe and secure, it is because, and only because, of the essential infirmities of the constitutional limitations of the most peremptory character. This we cannot admit. The Fourteenth Amendment, in the most impressive and solemn form, places life, liberty, contracts and property, and also equality before the law, among the fundamental and indestructable rights of all the people of the United States.

Equality is justice, and justice is giving to equal persons equal things.

Regulations impairing the right of suffrage as fixed by the Constitution, being in effect restrictions on the right itself, are unconstitutional and void. 67 Fed. Rep. 815.

Mar 9, 1903

The phrase "privileges and immunities" which occurs in Art. IV sec. 2 of the U.S. Constitution, and in the Fourteenth Amendment, was taken from Art. IV of the Articles of Confederation, which provided that "the free inhabitants of each of these states, - paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states."

Immunity from discrimination for certain reasons, in the right to exercise a political privilege, is a property right, (classified among civil rights).

Exemption from discrimination in the enjoyment of the elective franchise is a constitutional right.

The 14th amendment secures equality of right.

Equality of privilege is the constitutional right of all citizens. Mr. Justice Field in re Ah Tong, 3 Sawy. (U.S.) 157.

Beovier's Law Dictionary thus defines "citizen":

"In AMERICAN LAW. One who, under the constitution and laws of the United States, has a right to vote for representatives in Congress, and other public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people. Any white person born in the U.S., or naturalized person born out of the same, who has not lost his right as such, - including men, women and children.

One of the sovereign people. A constituent member of the sovereignty, synonymous with the people. 19 How. 404.
x x Native citizens may fill any office."

The equal protection clause (14th Amendment) as prohibitive of class or partial legislation.-- Under the 14th amendment, discriminating or partial legislation, favoring or discriminating against particular persons or classes, or particular persons of the same class, is prohibited. And it has been said, equality of protection implies not only equal accessibility to the courts for the prevention or redress of wrongs and the enforcement of rights, - but equal exemption with others of the same class from charges or burdens of every kind."

Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, p. 78.

(Indians are denied citizenship, hence not taxed. Why women.)

STATE LAWS DISCRIMINATING AGAINST CLASSES OR PERSONS PROHIBITED.
15 citations at p. 78 Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law.

A LAW WHICH WOULD DISCRIMINATE INJURIOUSLY against one portion of the citizens, abridging equal civil or political privileges or which would afford less protection to life, liberty or property, to one class than another, would clearly violate the constitution of the U.S. as amended. *Donnell v. State*, 48 Misc. 678; 12 Am. Rep. 375.

LEGISLATION GENERAL AND EQUAL IN TERMS, BUT UNEQUAL IN DESIGN OR OPERATION.- Though a law be not discriminating in terms, yet if it is applied or administered by public authority so as practically to make unjust discriminations between persons similarly circumstanced in law, in matters affecting their substantial rights, the law will be held invalid as being, in operation, such a denial of equal protection as is within the prohibition of the Constitution.
Six citations at p. 79 Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law.

If the intent of the law was that it should affect a certain class with unequal harshness, - which object is accomplished, - the law is void. Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law at p. 79.

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Moylan, Pa., March 26, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter which Senator Beveridge wrote Mrs. Harper. Before she left Washington she tried to see him but was unable to do so, and so she wrote him a letter, telling him that she greatly regretted that he was not present at the hearing, and as that one hearing was the only thing the Senate Committee did during the year, she thought that the members ought to take the trouble to be present and at least show the petitioners that much courtesy. She also asked him if he would not bring in a minority report if Senator Clay brought in a majority report, but you see he shirks that responsibility on the plea that he has a great deal to do. I think we will have to bring more outside pressure before the hearing the next time in order that we may be sure of some sort of consideration.

I have received answers from nearly all the members of the Business Committee in regard to the contribution to Iowa to carry on its legal test, and so far, all who have written have been in favor. In her first letter, Rev. Eleanor Gordon stated the limit would be \$600., but in a letter sent later from Miss Ballantyne, the lawyer, she said she thought they could bring the limit within \$400. and that if the National would donate \$400. she would pledge to raise the rest. So I wrote them that the National would pledge \$400. towards carrying on the case if Mrs. McCulloch advises us that it is one which the National can properly champion.

May 26, 1908

Business Committee...2

I received a telegram from Mrs. Park, saying it would be impossible for her to go to Massachusetts in May to follow up the work of Miss Adams in the colleges. I greatly regret this, as Miss Thomas was very anxious to have her do so. I do not know her reason but presume she will inform me when I receive a letter from her.

I have also heard from Mrs. Day, who says she will accept our offer to assist in the work of Maine this spring for two months. I asked her to give me an estimate of what she would do it for, as she is not to work continuously, but she declines to do so, and asks how much we will offer. Now, as we do not know how much work she will do, it seems to me it is impossible for us to set a definite price. At least, I do not know any definite price to set and would be glad of a suggestion.

Mrs. Boyer called here on her way home from Washington, and I suppose is to be with Mrs. Union to-day, on her way to Oklahoma. The work which she suggested as being necessary to be done in Oklahoma is, to my mind, practically impossible under the circumstances. It would require, at least, an organization as perfect as the Republican or Democratic organization, and as many thousands of dollars as we have hundreds, to carry it out, and certainly could not be done in the length of time between now and June. Just how it is possible for one woman with no organization and no local workers to carry on such an elaborate campaign is beyond my comprehension. Immediately after the Business Committee Meeting I wrote Mrs. Biggers, because Senator Owen distinctly stated in reply to my question, that Oklahoma women should do the questioning of candidates and not an outsider. I immediately wrote Mrs. Biggers, asking her if there were any Oklahoma women who, either for love or money, could be gotten to do that kind of work, and a letter from her to-day says she does not

Mar 26, 1908

Business Committee...3.

know of a single woman. She presumes that there are able women in the state; women who would do the work, but she does not know them. As Mrs. Boyer tried for at least nine months, or, at least, I suppose she tried for nine months, as she was requested to do so, and Miss Gregg for about two years, and Mrs. Biggers for about three years to get local women in Oklahoma to work and have failed, just why we should expect Mrs. Boyer to find them now any more than she did a year ago I do not know. However, the vote was to send her to do this work. She has been notified of the vote of the Committee and she is on her way. From what she stated here, I should judge that she calculated the expense would be at least \$300. a month or more, and she even suggested that it might be necessary to employ men to go out into the field to work for the election of the candidates who were favorable to us. Since Oklahoma is as large as New England, the number of men required for that service would be many, and men are not working for love, so that there seems to be no limit to the expense which the undertaking seems to carry with it, and with an empty treasury facing us I think we have gotten ourselves into rather a peculiar position unless some plan can be devised by which money can be raised to carry on the work.

A letter received from Miss Chase in reply to mine stating that the Business Committee had voted that she should work in New Hampshire and Vermont during the spring and summer months whenever she was able, states that later on she may be able to do a little work, perhaps a month in each state before the National Convention, but at present and for a few months to come she will not be able to do anything.

A letter from Miss Gordon a few days since enclosed a copy of the appeal of the President to the Governors in regard to

[Mar 26, 1908]

Business Committee...4.

the Governors' Convention in May, and she asked if it would not be wise to importune the President for a hearing before the Convention, and suggested that if I thought it was expedient that I submit a vote, but you will all remember that I did submit a vote on this question several weeks ago, and the returns were unanimously in favor of making an effort to get before these Governors, and I did not consider it necessary to submit another vote, especially as the time is so limited, and if we are to do anything it must be done at once, so I wrote Miss Gordon of the last vote, which was in favor, and told her to go ahead and write her letter to the President and see what would come of it.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

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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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.



Moylan, Pa.,

April 15, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have just received the first letter from Mrs. Boyer since she reached Oklahoma. In my letter she enclosed a copy of one which she sent to Mrs. Upton and I am making copies of it for the members of the Business Committee, because I believe you will all like to know the conditions as Mrs. Boyer found them when she arrived in the state, and what the prospects for the future are as Mrs. Boyer sees them.

I leave to-morrow for my southern trip and do not expect to return until about the 8th of May. Any communications in regard to Oklahoma must be sent to Mrs. Upton, as she will have all correspondence with Mrs. Boyer in regard to the work there.

This morning's mail brings a letter from Mrs. Felloy, enclosing her vote in regard to the money raised by Mrs. Leines for the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, and she votes "No" on each one of the three votes, and gives, what seems to me, the correct reason why the money should not be used in the Interurban work, viz., "I do not see how money raised for the Anthony Memorial Fund can be casually used by a local undertaking".

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

[APR 3, 1908]

C O P Y .

Chicago, March 30, 1908.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw,

Moynan, Pennsylvania.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

Your letter soliciting my advice concerning the Coggeshall case in Iowa, asks two questions; should the National American Woman Suffrage Association help financially, and is there sufficient prospect of success to warrant your sending me to Des Moines to assist in the Supreme Court argument?

As to the first, I believe the National ought to help financially. Iowa has been a loyal and generous part of the National American Woman Suffrage Association for many years, and has given money to help the cause in other States. Whether the issue is clearly joined or not, the women are now in it, and the average layman doubtless believes that women's right to vote is involved. So the largest demonstration possible should be made; the best arguments for the justice of woman suffrage should be skillfully sandwiched in between the legal points, so that newspaper readers, court attaches and all who may read or hear the argument may be induced to believe that women ought to vote whether the law so provides or not. It is one kind of propaganda which, because of its local and immediate application, will interest Iowans more than a campaign in Maine for full suffrage.

The women in Des Moines ought to attend by thousands every time the smallest move is made in the case. The result will be that more newspapers will note that women want to vote. The address needs advertising enough to lose her diamonds occasionally, and so does our cause need advertising, and whether we gain or lose, the Iowa women should be helped to make this case a great means of publicity.

As to the general policy of getting into law suits involving women's right to vote under any woman suffrage law, we should hesitate before inaugurating a test case. If women are voting in many cities without question each added year of voting makes it less probable that a Supreme Court would declare a suffrage law unconstitutional. Supreme Court judges read papers and imbibe the spirit of the times, and the longer we can wait before a test case comes, the nearer right the decision will be.

But if women do not inaugurate the proceedings and their votes are refused on a matter clearly within the law, and refused so prominently that other cities would probably in the future follow the example of the refusing city, then the women have the fight forced upon them.

Is the Coggeshall case such an one, and has the method been used which is best fitted to secure a decision squarely on point as to the constitutionality of the law allowing women to vote upon "the question of issuing any bonds" etc. Sec. 1131

The discussion of this matter brings me into the realm of the second question. You asked whether the National American Woman Suffrage Association should send me to Des Moines to assist in the Supreme Court work.

I think you would better not send me. Miss Grace Ballantyne, their attorney, has their confidence, and will probably do all in her power to make a splendid presentation of her case. As a member of the Des Moines bar, she could, if in doubt, go to the oldest and most experienced Des Moines lawyer for gratuitous help. Even from this distance, if she will send me her brief, I will be glad to go

DAK-3, 1908

-2-

over it gratuitously, giving this much to Iowa, and if I can make suggestions will do so. One other reason why I would not care to appear publicly, as an attorney in the case, is because I do not think this the best method in which to bring up the question.

As the Business Committee was not asked last July when the present suit was begun, it may now be a waste of time to suggest any other method. But the Statute, Sec. 4924 and Sec. 4928 provides fines and imprisonment in County jail for those who forcibly prevent electors from voting and for a judge of election who refuses the vote of a person legally qualified. Such a proceeding would bring up the single issue whether the person refused was legally qualified to vote at such election, and be unmixed with any other question. A civil suit for damages would also bring up the single question.

In the Coggeshall case there are several other issues involved, the decision of any one of which would settle the question in controversy (whether or not the city officials may issue certain bonds) and leave untouched the question of women's eligibility to vote at this election. Even should the Judges of the Supreme Court believe that this was an election at which women should have been allowed to vote, the Judges might well waive the question, because only three tried to vote, and their votes one way or the other could not affect the result. The Judges might well waive the question of the 19000 women who staid at home for there is no showing as to how they would have voted and so no evidence that the absence of their votes changed the possible majority.

So I think we will probably secure no decision on the woman question. If the women for some other reason are able to prevent the issue of the bonds, they will succeed technically but the main object of their suit will not have been accomplished.

Before closing I ought frankly to say that I do not believe that the election on the question "Shall the City of Des Moines erect a new City Hall at a cost not exceeding \$350,000." as provided by Chapter 34 of the laws of the 32nd General Assembly, is an election at which women may legally vote in Iowa. It is an entirely different matter from voting "on the question of issuing any bonds for municipal or school purposes, and for the purpose of borrowing money, or on the question of increasing the tax levy", as provided by Sec. 1131 of the Iowa Code.

If the Legislature had the power to grant women the right to vote on these matters in Sec. 1131, it had also the power, the legal power, to take away this privilege in whole or in part and vest in Mayor and City Council the right to issue bonds and make tax levy, without any election at all, as it does in Chap. 34, of the laws of the 32nd General Assembly, 1907.

It may be that the Legislature intended to take many of these questions about which women were empowered to vote, away from the voters, men and women, and vest them in officers of certain public or municipal corporations, for the Legislature in 1907, in Chap. 42, gave Park Boards such power in certain cases; in Chap. 36, gave the city such power for bridge construction; in Chap. 93, gave Supervisors such power for preservation of United States levees; in Sec. 2, Chap. 152, School Boards such power in connection with funding bonds, and in Chap. 34, gave the city such power in relation to City Hall erection. All these laws were passed several years after the law allowing women to vote and so in part thus far diminishes whatever rights of voting women received from Section 1131 of the Code.

Voteless Helpless women may well take up the Scripture refrain: The Legislature gave, The Legislature hath taken away, Blessed (?) be the name of the Legislature. I enclose a carbon copy of this letter, which you may send to the President of the Iowa Suffrage Association, if you desire. (Signed) Catharine Waugh Mc Culloch.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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



Moylan, Pa., April 3, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose a copy of a letter received yesterday from Mrs. Mc Culloch, in regard to the Iowa law suit. I think she has taken a very sensible view of the situation, and I have followed her instructions and sent a copy of her letter to the President of the Iowa State Association.

I think, however, we ought to make a rule to be followed in the future in regard to legal cases, and that the Business Committee should decide whether we will help all kinds of cases which the states take up, or only a certain class, because I believe that from now on the different states will be inclined to try all sorts of legal tests, as that seems to be the fashion just now, and in order that we may not give offense to the different states which may take up legal cases which are not exactly in our line, I think that we should specify that the National cannot assist in any state in a legal test except where that test involves the right of women to vote.

It seems that the Iowa test does not really take up the main question; that is, if Mrs. Mc Culloch has pointed out the present status of the legal test in Iowa.

I wish you would give me your opinion in regard to this and let us settle the attitude of the National in regard to legal tests, so that whenever demand comes for our assistance we may have something definite to state to the different states.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

Vote sent out from the President's office .

c April 11, 1908

March 31. 1908.

For

1. How long a time shall Mrs. Boyer plan to remain in Oklahoma?

For the time decided on at Moylan B.C. Meeting.

2. Are you in favor of Mrs. Boyer curtailing the press work in Oklahoma?
If so, how much?

I am in favor of her curtailing it within the bounds of what she do herself, with the help of her clerk.

3. Shall Mrs. Boyer engage in the usual picnic work, which heretofore has been considered very important in Oklahoma?

Only so far as she can do it herself or with the help of voluntary assistance.

4. Shall she under all circumstances use two cent stamps?

She should be left to her own judgment about that.

5. Shall she work for the election of candidates who are favorable and secure others to assist her in working for their election?

Yes, as far as she can do so with expediency .

6. Shall she work to defeat those who are opposed?

Not if she thinks it unwise.

7. Shall we borrow money to pay the Oklahoma bills?

I await further information.

8. Are you willing to sign a note with the other members of the Business Committee upon which money shall be borrowed for this purpose?

I await further information.

Laura Clay.

April 11th, 1908.

Lexington.

c Apr 11, 1908

Copy of letter to Miss Shaw,

Lexington, Ky. April 11th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

As I wrote to you day before yesterday, I was delayed in my return home several days. I had written to the postmaster not to forward my letters any more; so when I reached here I had a number of letters apart from a large collection of second class mail. I supposed these were all the letters; so I was startled to find this morning among the newspapers your letter of March 31st, which I would have desired to answer promptly, as I have decided views on the Oklahoma campaign, and would wish to have my vote counted in the final decision.

I think I can support my vote best by reviewing the reasons why I want an Oklahoma campaign to go on; and in writing this I shall answer the points in Mrs. Upton's letter of March 29th as well as those in your letter.

1st. What ought to be the work of the N.A.W.S.A? In my view it should embrace some positive work to achieve woman suffrage; by that I mean something in addition to the continued effort to create public sentiment. I think there is already sufficient sentiment to uphold our cause before the people if we could get the politicians to allow the free expression of the people. Such positive work as I speak of is included only in campaigns, or renewed attempts to have interpretations of the courts in our favor. One or the other of these courses, or both, must be included in the work of the N.A.W.S.A, or it is bound not to satisfy the expectations and wishes of the multitude of suffragists who want something more than another sixty years of speech-making and distribution of literature and the usual routine of the organization.

We took some initial steps (at Hoyle) looking to the expediency of reviving attempts to win our cause in the courts; but until we enter positively upon that course I think we are bound to continue campaign work where it is possible. Mrs. Upton remarks that the legislative conditions in Oklahoma are not unusual, since our hopes of the Initiative and Referendum have failed. That is true; but it is also true that the legislative conditions are as good as in any other state, while we have conditions in Oklahoma which exist in no other state. For years we have appropriated a considerable sum to campaigns in several states. In every case recently we have failed in the first effort, and have consequently lost some of the educational effect of our expenditure because we could not continue the campaign to a second trial. Now we have worked for years in Oklahoma, and the work culminated in a convention campaign which was acknowledged by all to be creditable, and which resulted in bringing to our assistance some very powerful political helpers; and in proving to the average politician that adherence to our cause would not injure the prospects of any politician. All the educational work we have done has laid the foundations well in public opinion. If we discredit the work done in Oklahoma as without practical value, why do we have such work done in any state? What is the use of it anywhere? I believe it is useful everywhere; and we ought to have such campaigns just as often as opportunity offers and our means allow. I believe we lose cumulative effect by changing the state where we work; and if we are to have campaign work done every year I think it is wisest to continue it in the same state till we win victory. I know of no other state except Oregon where we can help in any real campaign except in Oklahoma. It is true we are creating that campaign ourselves. It is also true that we would have to create a campaign in some other state, if we did campaign work at all this year.

Mrs. Upton says some other states have the advantage of organization ten times as strong. Now I do not feel that the four states where we have won give us perfect precedent to proceed, but certainly one

[April, 1908]

conspicuous feature in these states is that they were without strong organizations of the kind Mrs. Upton refers to. I do not wish to dogmatize, but it does seem to point to the fact that other elements of success are needed beyond a strong organization among the suffragists. Some of these we have in Oklahoma. One is- The disorganization of our bitterest enemy,- the liquor dealers. You heard me express in Washington my conviction that it was our only organized and consistent enemy. You remember the appeal in Oregon to the 2000 retail dealers ~~taxing~~ (by the Wholesale Liquor Dealers Association) to bring 25 voters each to the polls to defeat us. Prohibition has scattered this organization in Oklahoma. It may not have stopped the illicit sale of liquor, but it certainly has stopped hundreds of saloons from being the little political centres of communities, to which the Liquor Traffic could issue its commands. None of these ex-saloon keepers is going to work without some hope of financial returns, and for twenty-one years this is hopeless; and in the meantime the organization which they constituted is broken up. I do not know that we ever before had this condition in our favor.

We have many of the politicians already on the watch for the coming women vote, which the foresighted see must come soon. The Republicans showed their willingness to bid for this vote in the Convention; and our strong ally, Senator Owen, openly spoke of the policy of the Democrats to bid for it. In Mr. Owen, pronouncedly a politician and an ambitious and influential one, we have a political force working for us, which Mrs. Upton mentions is unprecedented; one that I believe is necessary to our success anywhere.

Oklahoma is such a new state that it does not resent outside workers in the state; and until home women are prepared in much greater numbers to take the lead, I suppose we are all agreed that state pride and prejudice is a most vexatious difficulty to our work. The home women are not qualified to do it; and the home men are not willing that others shall do it. We ought not to overlook this temporary abeyance of state feeling as an element in our favor. It is even now true that Mr. Owen preferred home women to do the work; but I was pleased to notice that his mother several times spoke of Mrs. Boyer as an Oklahoma woman; and so far a very short residence entitles a person to be so called.

The attitude of the Labor leaders, and some other local strength are other factors in our favor.

Having explained why I am anxious to continue our work in Oklahoma, I will write more fully than can be expressed in a vote my view of other points mentioned in the letters.

1st. I understood the vote at Moylan to say that Mrs. Boyer should stay until the end of the next legislature; or as much of that time as events should point to be desirable. I suppose the exact time cannot be fixed until we see how things turn out.

2nd. I understood that Mrs. Boyer's expenses were to be limited to \$160.00 a month for her salary, the salary of a clerk, if she decided one to be necessary, and for desk room. I do not see from your or Mrs. Upton's letter that this limitation was explained to Mrs. Boyer. My idea was that she should do what work she could, after having been instructed what the limitations of expense were. We know that we cannot afford any such campaign as might be designed by a very active brain, such as Mrs. Boyer's. I think she ought to question the candidates, as agreed upon; look after the cause in New Mexico; do what newspaper work as she can with no other paid assistance except the clerk mentioned; and not to branch out into any new line except under the specific instructions of the Business Committee. Now her plans are far more ambitious, I suppose, than what I have outlined. While wider plans would be fine, if we could pay for them, I think the work Mrs. Boyer could do by herself, with the help of a stenographer, would be splendidly worth while, even though her suggestions were so much cut down; just as I think a single organizer can do good work in a state, though

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3.

we all believe a series of conventions would be vastly more effective, if we could pay for them. Of course, Mrs. Boyer's personal expenses, her postage, and some other incidentals must be allowed for; but when she once understands that her plans must not include the expectation of other hired workers these will be limited by the definite scope of her work.

3rd. I have not understood that picnic work has ever been done in Oklahoma. It has been recommended, but never done to any great extent. By the time Mrs. Boyer lets us know what she can do by herself it will be time to say whether we judge it best to employ workers for the picnics. I would say at present Mrs. Boyer should not plan for any which she can not do herself, or with voluntary helpers.

4th. I believe we can trust Mrs. Boyer's judgment about the stamps more wisely than we can lay down instructions.

5th. Certainly, she should do what she can for the election of candidates who are favorable. I understand she thinks to work against those who are unfavorable would be suicidal. If she thinks so, I would not advise her doing so. She is a woman with a head on her shoulders, and cannot be directed like an automaton.

6th. Answered above.

7th. In regard to money, I do not think you are definite enough in your statements. I understood Mrs. Upton to say that all the pledges made, amounting to \$25000/00 were good; that the portion coming this year was about half; and I think we left several thousands dollars for this campaign work. I remember very distinctly I said I would not press something I wished to say about helping Oregon because I saw we could not help there and work in Oklahoma also. Also, that we ought not to vote for other work which would interfere with what we had already voted for Oklahoma. I do not very clearly understand your meaning in saying "There is no definite plan by which we expected more soon". Does that mean that the money pledged will not come in soon enough to pay these expenses; or that we voted to expend more money than we had in sight? I would like to have a clear understanding about this before I give a final answer to Vote No. 7 and Vote No. 8. The vote should state for how long the money would have to be borrowed and what were the expectations of the source of repayment. As soon as I hear from you on these points, I shall answer at once. In the meanwhile, I will only say that I am willing to help as far as I can to make the funds available for the work in Oklahoma voted by the Business Committee in Maylan. I am not willing to start into a campaign on lines laid out by Mrs. Boyer of which the expense is not definitely stated. I have been somewhat surprised that neither you nor Mrs. Upton mentioned that you had told Mrs. Boyer that the Business Committee had not voted to employ any help except herself and a clerk for such time as she deemed necessary.

Please let me hear on these points at once. Also, let me have Mrs. Boyer's present address. Also, have I missed a letter telling us what Mrs. McCulloch's views are regarding the possible opening of a United States Constitutional question?

Hoping my letter will not reach you too late to be counted in the final vote, I am

Cordially yours,

Laura Clay.

Miss Shaw has sent the result of the vote, in which my votes are counted as I wrote on the voting slip.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

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2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.



Moylan, Pa., April 13, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I received your letter this morning, and hasten to reply, as far as possible, to some of your questions. I thank you for stating as definitely as you did your reasons for desiring the continuation of the work in Oklahoma. They are the first reasons that have been given me by those who have voted in favor of it and I am very glad of having an opportunity of seeing it somewhat from your standpoint, although I frankly confess, they do not appeal to me as being sufficient to warrant our expenditure in the state or to insure any definite results under existing circumstances, for as I look the various states over, to my mind, Oklahoma is one of the most unpromising. In the face of so complete and utter defeat in the Constitutional Convention, with Mr. Owen on the ground fighting for us, with Henraty and the Labor organizations assisting, and many other prominent and leading statesmen on hand ready and willing to work for us, and with the large force we had in the state at the time and the work which had been done previously by our National organizers; with so complete and utter a failure to secure anything under such circumstances, I cannot see any hope of securing anything now, when we know our bitterest enemy is the Governor of the state; that the entire political machinery of the dominant political party is in his hands, with Mr. Owen in Washington; with not a single woman in the state willing to work gratuitously or for pay; with no state organization willing to maintain and support and back up Mrs. Boyer in her work,

Miss Clay...2.

it seems to me a most hopeless situation. My view of the temperance situation is exactly opposite from your's; that the temperance people by reason of the recent vote for Prohibition will have more work on hand to maintain their position than they would have had to secure it, and that we can expect nothing at their hands. The leader of the Anti-Saloon League betrayed us and voted against us before and I do not see why we should expect the temperance people to help us now. However, my view of the situation is exactly opposite to your's and I can see no reason for expecting any kind of definite results, but since the majority of the Business Committee voted for Mrs. Boyer to go to Oklahoma, I do not see what we can do except to stand by that vote. However, as the vote stood four to three, and the vote now of Mrs. Sperry is with the three, it makes it as it stands now, a tie vote, but when the action was taken it was not a tie vote and I do not think that Mrs. Sperry's vote at this late time can count, since Mrs. Boyer is already in the field.

I do not think the conditions which prevailed in the states where women already vote at the time when suffrage was secured to them is anything by which to guide us now. Conditions have so changed and public sentiment has been so aroused on our question that antagonisms which exist to-day did not then exist, and I agree with you that we should push campaigns in states where we have already begun them if there is any reasonable hope of accomplishing anything, but I do not believe in pushing them in such a state as Oklahoma, where it seems to me that one's wildest dream could hardly hope for any results under present circumstances, with only one poor woman in a state and she an outsider without any guarantee of help of any sort within the state itself. Personally, I do not think it is the duty of the National Association to create campaigns. I do think

2 Apr 13, 1908

Miss Clay...3.

it would have been out duty to have gone to Michigan after the women there had created their campaign and secured outside cooperation. To my mind, Michigan offers ten times the advantages and hopes which Oklahoma offers, but all this is past, and now it is not a question of what Oklahoma offers or does not offer, but how shall we carry out the majority vote of the Committee.

The opinion of what should be done in Oklahoma is so different among even the four members who voted for the campaign that scarcely any two of them agree. Your plan and Miss Gordon's is widely separated, because she wants so much done and you seem to be content with so little. To carry out the plan laid down by Miss Gordon would take a large number of people and a vast amount of money and the plan of Miss Gordon seems to be Mrs. Boyer's plan, and Mrs. Upton wrote you and all other members of the Committee what Mrs. Boyer's plan was, and that it would cost at least \$500.00 a month to carry it out. You speak of Mrs. Boyer's salary of \$100.00 a month and the stenographer and headquarters at \$60.00. This does not include Mrs. Boyer's personal expenses, which will probably run up to about \$50.00 a month, beside travelling expenses; nor does it count the incidental expenses of the headquarters, which, if she carries on the newspaper work, will probably amount to something like \$40.00 a month more. Even the work you suggest for Mrs. Boyer cannot possibly take less than \$250.00 a month, and then Mrs. Boyer will not be doing at all what she wants done. Take for instance the question of stamps, there are 593 newspapers in the state. If she sends out a weekly statement to these newspapers, one cent stamps would make it cost about \$6.00 a week; two cent stamps in the neighborhood of \$12.00 a week, making in the month somewhere in the neighborhood of \$48.00 to \$50.00. You say, "Leave it to Mrs. Boyer's judgment". Mrs.

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Boyer's judgment is always the most expensive, which would mean two cent stamps always. This is merely for newspaper work. Then there is all the stationery, the rent of the typewriter, the mimeograph and the dozen and one other little items which are always to be found in every one of Mrs. Boyer's bills.

You state in regard to the money, I am not definite enough in my statement. I did not make any definite statement in regard to the money because Mrs. Upton's letter contained all the statement I considered was necessary on that point. She stated there was not money enough in the treasury to do even a small part of the work, and although you understood her to say, as we all did, that the \$25,000. pledged at Chicago was good, she also stated that it was not yet paid in. Now, neither she, nor I, nor anyone else can tell when it will be paid in, and when you ask us to state definitely for how long we shall borrow the money, we can no more tell than you. We will have to borrow it until other money comes in. Now when that other money will come in I have not, personally, the least idea, and when I said "there is no definite plan by which we expect more money soon" you ask, does that mean that the money pledged will not come in soon enough to pay these expenses, or that we voted to spend more money than we had in sight. We certainly did vote to spend more money than we had in sight when we voted to send Mrs. Boyer to Oklahoma for an indefinite length of time. Mrs. Upton definitely stated how much we had in the treasury, which was not enough to carry on the regular business of the Association for over a month. Now, neither she nor I can tell when the pledges will be paid. She thinks they are good, but that, of course, does not say when those who made them will pay them. She told the Business Committee that she would have to tell Mrs. Boyer that she would have to wait for her pay be-

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cause there was not money enough in the treasury to pay her, so when I wrote Mrs. Boyer about going to Oklahoma I told her definitely that she might have to wait for her pay, but it seems that when she got to Warren, she told Mrs. Upton that she could not wait for her pay. She should have told her that before starting, because I gave her the information before she left Washington. Money will have to be borrowed on our notes, nor can I tell you where the expectation of the source of repayment is, other than Mrs. Upton informed us all, that she thought the money pledged at Chicago was good; now that is the only source of repayment of which I have any present knowledge.

You state you are surprised that neither Mrs. Upton nor I mentioned that we told Mrs. Boyer that the Business Committee had voted ^{not} to employ any help except herself and a clerk for such time as she deemed necessary. I did not enter into details in informing Mrs. Boyer of the action of the Business Committee, for the reason that as Mrs. Upton would have to have all future correspondence with her I did not think it was wise for two people to make statements in connection with the work, which might confuse Mrs. Boyer and ultimately lead to a misunderstanding, and all I did was to inform her of the vote of the Business Committee, asking her to go to Oklahoma, and to inform her that there was very little money in the treasury and that she might have to wait for her pay, but I told her that all future correspondence in regard to detail would be carried on by Mrs. Upton. Now, knowing Mrs. Upton as well as I do, I cannot for a moment assume that she would not exactly state to Mrs. Boyer what the Committee voted for her to do, and so I do not doubt but that she told her she could have no other assistance except the clerk, as voted by the Business Committee.

Mrs. Boyer's present address is Oklahoma City.

Miss Clay...6.

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I have not yet heard from Mrs. McCulloch as to her view in regard to the opening of the United States constitutional question. The informing of Mrs. McCulloch on this point was left to the Corresponding Secretary, and probably she has been in correspondence with her on the subject. I only corresponded with her in regard to the Des Moines matter.

Your letter has reached me in time for a final vote on the Oklahoma matter, as Mrs. Sperry's vote only arrived to-day, and Miss Gordon's has not yet been received.

Faithfully,

Amos A. Shaw

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.

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.



Moylan, Pa., April 13, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I enclose the result of the votes which have been returned since the Business Committee Meeting, and you will observe, in regard to the Oklahoma work, they are in such variety of opinion that it is almost impossible to know how to be guided by ^{them} ~~it~~. Miss Gordon is the only member of the Business Committee whose vote has not yet been received. I greatly regret it, as I wanted to send you the result before leaving home for my tour in the south. I expect to leave home on Thursday and shall probably not return until the 8th or 9th of May. In that time I shall visit and speak in Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, and perhaps Georgia and Virginia.

You will see the confusing and varying opinions upon the vote. If the members of the Business Committee are able to make out any definite results which could be called the vote of the majority, it is more than I can do, and as I am leaving for the south almost immediately it will be impossible for me to send out another vote, and as far as I can judge from this vote, the majority of the members of the Committee have voted not to borrow any money. Since at the Business Committee Meeting Mrs. Upton informed the Business Committee that there was no money in the Treasury with which to carry on this campaign, and still the majority present voted to carry it on, and that Mrs. Boyer should be immediately sent to Oklahoma, and, acting upon the vote, Mrs. Boyer was instructed to go and is now in the field, the question arises, since there is no money in the treasury

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Business Committee...2.

to carry on the campaign, and since the members of the Committee have voted not to borrow the money, it is, in common parlance, up to the members of the Business Committee to decide how the bills shall be paid. Mrs. Upton stated at the time of the Business Committee Meeting that she thought the \$25,000. pledged at Chicago was all practically good. I presume she is still of that opinion, but when it will be paid is another point, and Mrs. Boyer has no money to advance in carrying on the work; consequently, something will have to be done to meet present expenses, and I presume the Treasurer will be very glad to receive any suggestions from members of the Business Committee ^{that} they are able to give her on this point.

Faithfully,

Samuel Shaw

Lexington, Ky.

April 11th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

As I wrote to you day before yesterday, I was delayed in my return home several days. I had written to the postmaster not to forward my letters any more; so when I reached here I had a number of letters apart from a large collection of second class mail. I supposed these were all the letters; so I was startled to find ^{this morning} among the newspapers your letter of March 31st, which I would have desired to answer promptly, as I have decided views on the Oklahoma campaign, and would wish to have my vote counted in the final decision.

I think I can support my vote best by reviewing the reasons why I want an Oklahoma campaign to go on; and in writing this I shall answer the points in Mrs. Upton's letter of March 29th as well as those in your letter.

1st. What ought to be the work of the N.A.W.S.A? In my view it should embrace some positive work to ^{ac} achieve woman suffrage; by that I mean something in addition to the continued effort to create public sentiment. I think there is already sufficient sentiment to uphold our cause before the people if we could get the politicians to allow the free expression of the voice of the people. Such positive work as I speak of is included only in campaigns; or renewed attempts to have interpretations of the courses in our favor. One or the other of these courses, or both, must be included in the work of the N.A.W.S.A., or it is bound not to satisfy the expectations and wishes of the multitude of suffragists who want something more than another sixty years of spechmaking and distribution of literature and the usual routine of the organization.

We took some initial steps looking to the expediency of reviving attempts to win our cause in the courts; but until we enter positively upon that course I think we are bound to continue campaign work where it is possible. Mrs. Upton remarks that the legislative conditions in Oklahoma are not unusual; since our hopes of the Initiative and Referendum have failed. That is true; but it is also true that the legislative conditions are as good as in any other state, while we have conditions in Oklahoma which exist in ^{no} other state. For years we have appropriated a considerable sum to campaigns in several states. In every case recently we have failed in the first effort, and have consequently lost some of the educational effect of our expenditure because we could not continue the campaign to a second trial. Now we have worked for years in Oklahoma, and the work culminated in a convention campaign which was acknowledged by all to be creditable, and which resulted in bringing to our assistance some very powerful political helpers; and in proving to the average politician that adherence to our cause would not injure the prospects of any politician. All the educational work we have done has laid the foundations well in public opinion. If we discredit the work done in Oklahoma as without practical value, why do we have such work done in any state? What is the use of it anywhere? I believe it is useful everywhere; and we ought to have such campaigns just as often as opportunity offers and our means allow. I believe we lose cumulative effect by changing the state where we work; and if we are to have campaign work done every year, I think it is wisest to continue it in the same state till we win victory. I know of ^{other} no state except Oregon where we can help in any real campaign except in Oklahoma. It is true, we are creating that campaign ourselves. It is also ~~true~~ true that we would have to create a campaign in some other state, if we did campaign work at all this year.

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Mrs. Upton says some other states have the advantage of organization ten times as strong. Now I do not feel that the four states where we have won give us perfect precedents how to proceed, but certainly one conspicuous feature in those states is that they were without strong organizations of the kind Mrs. Upton refers to. I do not wish to dogmatize, but it does seem to point to the fact that other elements of success are needed beyond a strong organization among the suffragists. Some of these we have in Oklahoma. One is - The disorganization of our bitterest enemy, - the liquor dealers. You heard me express in Washington my conviction that it was our only organized and consistent enemy. You remember the appeal of the Liquor Dealers in Oregon to the 2000 retail dealers to bring 25 voters each to the polls to defeat us. Prohibition has scattered this organization in Oklahoma. It may not have stopped the illicit sale of liquor, but it certainly has stopped hundreds of saloons from being the little political centres of communities, to which the Liquor Traffic could issue its commands. None of these ex-saloon keepers is going to work without some hope of financial returns, and for twenty-one years this is hopeless; and in the meanwhile the organization which they constituted is broken up. I do not know that we ever before had this condition in our favor.

We have many of the politicians already on the watch for the coming woman vote, which the farsighted see must come soon. The Republicans showed their willingness to bid for this vote in the Convention; and our strong ally, Mr. Owen, openly spoke of the policy of the Democrats to bid for it. In Mr. Owen, pronouncedly a politician and an ambitious and influential one, we have a political force working for us, which Mrs. Upton mentions is unprecedented; one that I believe is necessary to our success anywhere.

Oklahoma is such a new state that it does not resent outside workers in the state; and until home women are prepared in much greater numbers to take the lead, I suppose we are all agreed that state pride and prejudice is a

most vexatious difficulty to our work. The home women are not qualified to do it; and the home men are not willing that others should do it. We ought not to overlook this temporary abeyance of state feeling as an element in our favor. It is even now true that Mr. Owen preferred home women to do the work; but I was pleased to notice that his mother several times spoke of Mrs. Boyer as an Oklahoma woman; and so far a very short residence entitles a person to be so called.

The attitude of the Labor leaders and some other local strength are other factors in our favor.

Having explained why I am anxious to continue our work in Oklahoma, I will write more fully than can be expressed in a vote my view of other points mentioned in the letters.

1. I understood the vote at Moylan to say that Mrs. Boyer should stay until the end of the next legislature; or as much of that time as events should point to be desirable. I suppose the exact time cannot be fixed until we see how things turn out.

2. I understood that Mrs. Boyer's expenses were to be limited to \$160.00 for her salary, the salary of a clerk, if she decided one to be necessary, and for desk room. I do not see from your or Mrs. Upton's letter that this limitation was explained to Mrs. Boyer. My idea was that she should do what work she could, after having been instructed what the limitations of expense were. We know that we can not afford any such campaign as might be designed by a very active brain, such as Mrs. Boyer's. I think she ought to question the candidates, as agreed upon, look after the cause in New Mexico; do what newspaper work as she can do with no other paid assistance except the clerk mentioned; and not to branch out into any new line except under the specific instructions of the B.C. Now her plans are far more ambitious, I suppose, than what I have outlined. While wider plans would be fine, if we could pay for them, I think

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the work Mrs. Boyer could do by herself, with the help of a stenographer, would be splendidly worth while, even though her suggestions were so much cut down; just as I think a single organizer can do good work in a state, though we all believe a series of conventions would be vastly more effective, if we could pay for them. Of course, Mrs. Boyer's personal expenses, her postage and some other incidentals must be allowed for; but when she once understands that her plans must not include the expectation of other hired workers these will ^{be} limited by the definite scope of her work.

3. I have not understood that picnic work has ever been done in Oklahoma. It has been recommended, but never done to any great extent. By the time Mrs. Boyer lets us know what she can do by herself it will be time to say whether we judge it best to employ workers for the picnics. I would say at present Mrs. Boyer should not plan for any which she can not do herself, or with voluntary helpers.

4. I believe we can trust Mrs. Boyer's judgment about the stamps more wisely than we can lay down directions.

5. Certainly, she should do what she can for the election of candidates who are favorable. I understand she thinks to work against those who are unfavorable would be suicidal. If she thinks so, I would not advise her doing so. She is a woman with a head on her shoulders, and cannot be directed like an automaton.

6. Answered above.

7. In regard to money, I do not think you are definite enough in your statements. I understood Mrs. Upton to say all the pledges made, amounting to \$25000 were good; that the portion coming this year was about half; and I think we left several thousand dollars of that for this campaign work. I remember very distinctly I said I would not press something I wished to say about helping Oregon because I saw we could not help there and work in Oklahoma also. Also, that we ought not to vote for other work which would

terfere with what we had already voted for Oklahoma. I do not very clearly understand your meaning in saying "There is no defined plan by which we expected more soon." Does that mean that the money pledged will not come in soon enough to pay these expenses; or that we voted to expend more money than we had in sight? I would like to have a clear understanding about this before I give a final answer to Vote No.7 and Vote No.8. The vote should state for how long the money would have to be borrowed and what were the expectations of the source of repayment. As soon as I hear from you on these points, I shall answer at once. In the meanwhile, I will only say that I am willing to help as far as I can to make the funds available for the work in Oklahoma voted by the B.C. in Moylan. I am not willing to start into a campaign on lines laid out by Mrs. Boyer of which the expense is not definitely stated. I have been somewhat surprised that neither Mrs. Upton nor you mentioned that you had told Mrs. Boyer that the Business Committee had not voted to employ any help except herself and a clerk for such time as she deemed necessary.

Please let me hear on these points at once. Also, let me have Mrs. Boyer's present address. Also, have I missed a letter telling us what Mrs. McCulloch's views are regarding the possible opening of a U.S. Constitutional question.

Hoping my letter will not reach you too late to be counted in the final vote, I am

Cordially yours,

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky.

April 9th, 1908.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I reached home from Virginia last evening, having delayed my return for more than a week, on account of the condition of the railroads, caused by the great floods. I did not think my prompt return demanded the risk of encountering a landslide in the Virginia mountains. I have a good many little things to look after, so I shall not write now about several things I might like to do; but will send my vote on the slip you enclose.

I met with the Richmond suffragists, of whom you wrote to me. I find they are very desirable people to take up our work; but so entirely unused to organization that I did not succeed in getting them to organize, though they say they will try to do so after awhile. Mrs. Cary McCormack is the sister of the authoress, Miss Ellen Glasgow, who has written "The Battle Ground", "The Call of the Blood" and several other very popular novels. I attended the meeting of which you wrote, and spoke formally to about twenty ladies, intelligent and of good standing. Then Mrs. McCormack invited me to tea, where I met about a dozen ladies, among whom was Miss Mary Johnston, author of "To Have and to Hold". I do not know whether these literary lights are very good for practical work; but as they command large audiences in a way I am always glad to have them on our side; and I was assured I made an impression favorable for our side. They were particularly interested in the bearing of woman suffrage on the interests of working women; and in the English suffragettes.

I shall write again, when I have more time.

Cordially yours,

Yes.

I am not in favor of considering it a gift to the Memorial Fund; or as a gift from the National to New York Headquarters.

No.

I think we ought not to give to Headquarters anywhere where there is not a campaign on hand or in the near future.

I believe we have all on our hands that we can pay for in the Oklahoma Campaign; and I desire our financial help to be very sparingly given, except in the way of the services of the organizers whom we have engaged. Of course, we may give their services, as we have them engaged; or would like to keep them engaged, in appreciation of their value to us as permanent workers. As we have no money in sight which we did not appropriate at the Moylan Business Meeting, except the Thomas-Garrett fund, I believe we ought to explain frankly, on such applications as this, that we have no money unengaged except that Thomas-Garrett fund; and that we cannot donate anything unless it could properly come out of that fund, which such an application as could not do.