

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

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

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

OFFICE OF
THE SECOND AUDITOR

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Portland Oregon. Jan. 20th 1906.

Dear Mrs Upton;

We find the accounts of the Treasurer correct with the exception of these minor corrections. In the account of Mrs Woodworth we find an error in her account of May. 13th of \$ 1.00 overpaid . also one Dec. 21st. of \$50.00 and on Dec. 29th of \$58.35 and in General order of President \$ 13.00 more. No. 23 of Dr Wood April 10th error in her account of 35 cents overpaid.

In April 17th Miss Chase 's account No. 35 ^{under} overpaid \$1.00.

No 32 for Miss Laughlin Dec. 30th an error in General Order Pres. ^{having been paid} part in settlement in Portland.

In Miss Greggs account no order for \$150.00 and \$400.00 Oregon Campaign Committee. Dec. 14th and 19th.

Office Expense General Headquarters, in January excess of \$1.00 in General order. We herewith inclose you with this report , one to be filed by you when our Treasurer makes the necessary corrections, so that the books will be found correct..

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

April 18/1906

Dear Miss Clay:-

I am sure you ought to feel pretty well set up after you read this letter.

Yesterday, at the Political Equality Club meeting, Miss Phoebe Sutliff presided. Of course you know she has the most intense admiration for you, and when the program was announced we were all surprised to find that Miss White (the young woman whom you influenced to join the club) was to give the paper of the afternoon. When she arose I was very much pleased to hear her say that she was a member of the club and that she felt it an honor. Her subject was "Hungarian Music". You know she is Dean of the Dana Institute. Then Miss Sutliff talked about Hungary. I told the club I was so glad Miss White had given this paper, because she was your convert. Whenever your name is mentioned in the Club all the faces brighten, as they like you so much, and they voted to have me write you and say that they miss you, that they wish you good luck in Oregon, and that since I told them Miss White was your convert they felt they were indebted to you for the program of the afternoon. We had a very nice little jolly about it all, and I am writing you in this way in consequence.

I am very anxious about the Oregon campaign, but am not worrying about it at all. It seems to be my duty to gather the money, and that is all I can do, except to cheer you fellows up a little, and often I say to the girls in the office "I wonder

[Apr. 18, 1906]

if Miss Clay remembers how she used to say to us "Cheer up, cheer up, the worst is yet to come."

Of course you know how nice our office is now, because you used to come to the Library, but it is so much nicer as Headquarters than as a Library, because we have no divisions of books and all that sort of thing, and have all the light and air from the three sides. Now the park is beginning to get green, the dandelions are just starting, the old squirrels have new families, and, altogether, if we had time to look out of the window we would enjoy it. As it is, we have to take the word of the passers by, or my Father who does enjoy his North window so much.

I suppose Miss Shaw or some of the rest of them told you that Mr. Upton was taken suddenly with inflammatory rheumatism the day I returned from Rochester, and for four weeks was not out of bed at all. He is now on crutches, and is doing very well. The Doctor was very much afraid he would have a stiff knee, but it seems that this is not to be. He often speaks of you, and wonders if you are coming back. In fact, we all talk of when Miss Clay will be at Headquarters.

Miss Shaw says you are standing by her so splendidly in the work out there, and of course I knew you would. I had very frequent letters from Miss Gregg prior to Miss Shaw's going, and I used to ask her why she did not consult you more, that you were my chief reliance when you were in the office here.

Well, hoping that all will come out right in the campaign, and assuring you of my greatest respect and love, I am

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

P.S.- All the girls in the office would send love if I stopped them in their work to tell them I was writing you. They so often speak of you.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

April 30/1906

Dear Miss Clay:-

I was so happy to get your personal letter. I have always said that I did value your judgment so highly, and I do more since reading this letter than ever before.

I feel, too, that the Business Committee had some share of blame in the arrangement of the Oregon work, but you see the thing goes back to Miss Hay and that old fight. It is perfectly wonderful how long and how far-reaching dishonesty and lying goes. When Miss Gregg worked for Mrs. Catt she had those funny kind of flopping times, and Mrs. Catt told me that once when she was out in the field with her she took to her bed, would not come out of her room, and did the funniest kind of things, and I just could not understand it. Later I talked with Miss Moore, who was in the field with Miss Gregg as Manager, and she said that Miss Gregg was horribly treated by Miss Hay; one day she heard Miss Hay telling Mrs. Catt that Miss Gregg would have to leave, that she would not have her any longer. Miss Moore did not know what this meant, but I thought it was because Miss Hay was jealous of Miss Gregg and wanted to make it hard for her. This fact and several others led me to think that Miss Gregg was a very competent person and had been misunderstood. So, when the Oregon campaign was on, and Miss Gregg was asked to take charge, I said in my heart: "Now we will give Miss Gregg full swing; she shall have all the money and all the help and everything she can have; and then we will see whether she

Apr. 30, 1906

--2--

is really a person of great executive ability or not." I realized all the time that there was a doubt about it, but I did think the chances were in her favor.

Miss Gregg wrote me very freely from the beginning, and when things were going wrong and she was beginning to have trouble I would say in my letters "What does Miss Clay think about this?" Often I told her that you were the greatest comfort to me at Headquarters, and that I always felt after consulting you as though I had somebody back of me, and I was so glad she had, and all that sort of thing; but she never replied to this until just before the Baltimore Convention, when she wrote and said she was having a rather hard time, that she was not getting the help from you and Dr. Jeffreys which she expected; and I wrote and asked her what she meant. She replied that you both antagonized her, and did not help her in her work. I then wrote her that I did not understand what in the world she meant by that, for I knew you would not antagonize her in any way. About that time Miss Shaw took hold of the situation, and I have had nothing to do with it since.

I cannot understand how she would dare go there as an employe of the Business Committee, and then not listen to one of the members of the Committee who was there. I say I do not know how she dare do it, and then if she dare I do not see why she would want to, for I cannot imagine anybody wanting to take responsibility alone. I cannot do it, and never could. I think your summary of the case is just right: "She is a good, honest, faithful worker, but is not equal to so big a task as a campaign.

I have just re-read the part of your letter in regard to Miss Gregg, and I think it is the queerest thing that she did not heed your request for the conference in regard to the ministers.

[Apr. 30, 1906]

I have also read carefully what you say about Miss Laughlin. I felt perfectly awful about it. Mr. Upton said a long time ago that it was utterly foolish for us to have her in our work as an organizer. He said she might have a brilliant^t mind and be good for making speeches before large audiences, before congressmen, and all that, but we ought not to have that sort of woman in the field. I saw an exhibition of her temper at Columbus a few years ago when she and I spoke before the Judiciary Committee there. When I spoke in the most simple way the Committee cheered and cheered, and when I finished the Chairman asked me to talk a little longer, and Miss Laughlin said she could; but the Chairman said "No, it was Mrs. Upton I asked for". She was perfectly furious, and that did seem so funny to me, and yet I tried to reason that it was all right from her standpoint.

You need not think for one moment that there will be anybody in the Association who will not know that whatever you say is true and that whatever you say you have said is true, for I do not believe there is another woman in the Association who stands more undeniably for truth and is more thoroughly understood by the rank and file of the suffragists than are you.

Yes, Miss Gregg certainly makes friends wherever she goes, and she is sweet of temper naturally.

You know so many people thought that Mrs. Catt's ill health and apparent estrangement from the Business Committee were due to Miss Hay's mesmeric influence over her, and I have sometimes wondered if this was not true in the case of Miss Laughlin and Miss Gregg. When you say that "her self-conceit is colossal and her aggressiveness^v greatly impairs her usefulness" you have summed up the truth in one sentence.

There never was anything so funny as my feeling toward

[Apr. 30, 1906]

--4--

Mrs. Woodworth. When Miss Gregg first employed her she sent a letter into the office, and I took the most ardent dislike to her. I was ashamed to think I could dislike anybody from just having read her letter, and I argued with myself until I put that all aside. However, when I was working hard trying to raise money, and doing everything I could for the Oregon campaign---I had told Miss Gregg to have Mrs. Woodworth send her bills and had sent the money to Miss Gregg for Mrs. Woodworth, when Miss Gregg somehow did not seem to grasp the financial situation and had neglected to forward the same to Mrs. Woodworth---I received a letter from Mrs. Woodworth in which she assumed the air of a person of great responsibility, at the same time making it appear that I was of no account in the Association, and she finished by saying: "If you knew the necessity for funds here in the Oregon campaign you would be more careful about sending the money on time." You know me well enough to know that I never talk back or get angry, but there was something about that which was too aggravating for anything, and I simply wrote her that maybe I did know something about the financial situation in Oregon since I was raising every cracking cent that was going into the State.

Well, if all this fuss did not hurt us as to the outcome it would be kind of funny.

Nearly every letter Miss Shaw writes she says you were so much help to her during the time of the Conference and stood by her so splendidly that she cannot help being thankful.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

May 19, 1906.

Dear Miss Blackwell,

You know there was always something so funny about people in New England saying gosh or anything like that. You know just how airy you all are. You think you are intellectually and morally and every other way better than we are. So when you do break over and say anything out of the way have it is very funny. I had lots of fun in my own soul at the expense of you conceited New Englanders, but at the same time I have to admit that you are a mighty nice lot even if you have certain funny ways. Now I have just laughed out loud at a letter I have had from Mrs. Mead. We have strained every nerve in an effort to get a little additional money for Oregon and finally framed a letter and then mimeographed a copy of that letter which the Antis got out and sent it around, and somehow the fact that the Antis were saying such things has stirred even New England's blood, and Mrs. Mead replies immediately, sending \$5 00, and says, "I do not hope for great success after reading of this new unexpected opposition, but I do hope we shall "squeak through". Now is not squeak through the funniest thing you ever heard anybody say and isn't it especially funny when you think of Mrs. Mead, with her serious look and her angular form, saying it?

By the way, we are grinding out stuff for the Woman's Journal at such a rate that I find they have lots for other parts of the paper. So if you do not want me to send so much you must say so. I thought it might help you a little to have us send from this end. However, you know and I hope the folks at Headquarters know that they can always throw out anything

May 19, 1906

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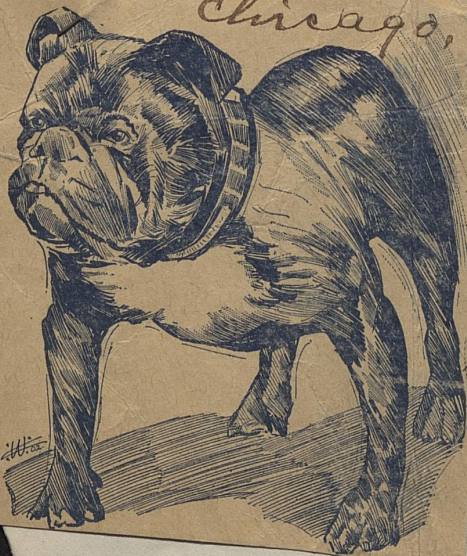
they do not want. More stuff comes here all the time than we can use. I mean now chatty stuff.

If you should be writing to Miss Clay, please send her this picture. If she is in Portland, give it to her. I do not know what her address is. Tell her I have just received it from the women who are working in the Chicago charter. I suppose it is their emblem, and since it is Miss Clay's emblem too, I want her to know of it. You know she once said to me that she used to think it was strange that a bulldog, after he had set his jaws into another dog, did not let go. But she says she knows now why he does not let go; "it is because he can't let go."

Very truly yours,

Harriet Taylor Lupton

From
Mrs. S. G. Woodard
Chicago, Ill.



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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

June 6/1906

Dear Miss Clay:-

I am sending one letter to Oregon and another to Kentucky, as I am not sure just where you will be .

I have just had a telegram from Miss Shaw saying the returns are not all in, and that the fate of the amendment is not known, but she adds that she is going to start for home on Friday, and I did not know whether you would all be coming or not.

I note what you say about the settlement of the Bruce estate, and that you have \$1900. in cash, or rather that your attorney has. Now it just happens that I know of two good mortgages, one for \$1100.00 and the other for \$2000.00. If you care to have me put the \$1900.00 into a mortgage, here in Warren, which I consider very good, 6%, payable semi-annually, I can get the \$100. somewhere else to make up the \$2,000. Let me know in regard to this as soon as possible, because I do not know as the man can wait.

I think your judgment in regard to selling the lot is good, but of course, as I am not on the scene, and not at all acquainted in Lexington, I do not feel that my judgment is worth a cent.

No, I would not think it at all advisable to build. If an emergency should arise and you would want to have the money to use it would be hard to dispose of the house. That is always the way.

Love ngly yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

June 7 HTU.-R.

It is 4 days after the voting & we have yet no word from Oregon. I have just telegraphed Miss Shaw to let us have the particulars

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

June 9 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee;-

Now that the Oregon Campaign is out of the way, it is necessary for us to take some action in regard to several matters, especially since Miss Shaw and Miss Gordon are going to Europe, and since most of you, Mrs. Kelley excepted, have had your minds on Oregon entirely and have been unable, for that reason, to know what was going on in the general work. I am hoping that Miss Shaw will stop at Headquarters on her way home, if only for a few hours, but as I know she has several engagements between her leaving Oregon and sailing for Europe, I fear she cannot. I do not know either whether she will have time to get out any letters to you. In replying to this letter, however, you better reply to her and not to me and, for safety, those replies better go to her Philadelphia address.

PROGRESS. You will remember at Baltimore when the question of making Progress a monthly came up that immediately there seemed to be a controversy between the press work and Progress. The members of the convention after the vote, said that they did not realize that the voting to continue the press work threw Progress off the track, and the thought of our constituency has been ever since in favor of having Progress monthly. We are receiving subscriptions all the time to Progress. Some people send 10¢ and some send 25¢. In writing letters to people, we ask them whether they wish Progress made a monthly at 25¢ a year in order to get a census of people. Now never, before the Oregon Campaign, did I realize how handicapped we were without a mouth-piece with which to speak. Oregon was so far away from Boston that it took some little time for Miss Blackwell to get into communication with her paper, but the minute she did, we began to receive contributions from people who were led to give from her articles. Now if we could have had a paper going out with all the news which came to us directly and indirectly from the Oregon Campaign, we would have gotten more money, we would have interested people in the cause and we would have strengthened our Association largely. I have felt rather dubious about pushing Progress because of the splendid unselfish position which Miss Blackwell has taken all along in regard to this. I do not know whether the issuing of Progress would hurt the Woman's Journal or not, but I do know that there is not one woman in a hundred who would calmly consider the good of the cause and the Association when she felt so sure that another publication would hurt the paper which her mother had established and which her mother dearly loved. However, I am more convinced than ever that Progress should become a monthly and that it should be the mouth-piece of the Association. In answering different letters in regard to its publication, I have said that if it became a monthly, it would not be before the 1st. of September. Now then, before Miss Gordon and Miss Shaw go to Europe, it ought to be settled whether we are going to have it for a monthly or not. Of course the question of money enters in and since we will not have any money from the Garrett-Thomas fund, even if they raise it, before November, it is necessary for us to think about the money for this. We have made a calculation on it and we find that it would not be possible to make Progress pay for itself in twelve numbers the first year because, in the first place we would not be able to get the advertising in a new pub-

June 9, 1906

#280

lication; and in the second place, we would not have the subscription list as large as we should and it will take a good deal of money to raise that subscription list. I have said repeatedly that I never would take on any more work in the office. I have felt that I do a great deal and it is constant, everlasting, day after day sort of plodding work which gets to be very monotonous in time and very wearing on nerves and in it there is not the incentive to work and to have ones spirits kept up that there is in the other kind of work which most of you do. Then, too, as the years go on, and the machinery becomes complicated, I realize that it would be harder and harder for anyone else to take up the work and that therefore there are probably many years work ahead of me, and that does not make me feel like shouldering any more. However, so anxious am I for the future of the work that Elizabeth has agreed with me that if we could have one additional clerk, we would try to edit and have the business management of the Progress for a year. At the end of that time, we could make some other arrangements. I would only do this, however, on condition that Progress should become a mouth-piece of the Association and not be a paper for propoganda, as it has been. I think the idea of issuing Progress, as we have issued it, was a very good one, but I do not think it is as practical as many people do, and I think we should have done far better work if we had had the other kind of a paper. Please give this matter your earliest attention.

PRESS WORK The last two or three years you know our correspondence with Mrs. Babcock about the press work. At Baltimore it was decided to have the press work come to Headquarters if we could find anybody to do it. In the meantime, Mrs. Babcock has been doing it but I consider that she is doing it in a very desultory way. I think the woman is worn out with house work and the cares and worries which she has had, and she is only keeping the work now because we can not get anybody else. So we must not let it drift along. In fact, she told me before she went to Baltimore that she would not take it any longer; and then when we could not change it very well, to Headquarters, because we had none to manage it, she said she would take it until after the Oregon Campaign, and so she has sort of dangled along. I would not mind at all letting it run this way for a year or two because I have written to many National Associations to find out whether they had an organ or press work and I find that in most cases they have one or the other but not both. But we are paying so much money for the services we are getting at the present time and money is going to be so hard with us that I hate to waste it that way. However, I do not see anything else we can do but to let it go on as it is. I hope Miss Shaw will put out a vote in regard to this before she leaves. I am not willing to take the responsibility in her absence of making any changes at all in the press work.

DIRECT MEMBERS. While you have been busy in the Campaign, I have been thinking of many things which we must do and have made a list for July, August and September. Among these is the question of direct members. If we do not show up at the Chicago Convention with a goodly list of direct members, it will work to our disadvantage and we will have made assertions in getting the Constitution amended which we cannot prove. A queer state of affairs confronts us. We do not want to interfere with any State organization. Therefore we do not want to solicit National members in States like New York, Nebraska, &c. What we do want to do is to solicit memberships in States like Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, Montana, &c. Now then, we cannot solicit memberships unless we have someone on the ground to do it. Of course we cannot write letters from Headquarters, but these circular letters are very

[June 9, 1906]

#3BC

expensive both in clerk hire and stamps, and we do not accomplish very much with them. We have been talking for sometime about hiring someone to look after these memberships. It has seemed to me that we might try this scheme of paying the person a certain per cent. of the amount she collects for the collections. This would not cost as much as to put an organizer in a field and I would like very much to try that during these summer months if there is no objection. This is a matter which you ought to consider very carefully. Although the matter was left to me because it belonged to the Treasurer's business, still I want your written opinion in regard to it before I proceed with my plan.

I am wondering if Miss Gordon has done anything about the membership in the enfranchised states, and whether we could work this plan in the enfranchised states or not. She really is the Chairman of that Committee and she ought to do it, because she has thought out her own way. The two will not conflict at all.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. You have had communications from me from time to time in regard to the work of Miss Gillette for the Congressional Committee. She is very much in earnest about it and would like so much to see us somewhere, somehow in consultation in regard to it. I had hoped that we might get together in Chicago after the Oregon Campaign, but Miss Shaw said that was impractical, because the people who had been in the field were so tired that it would be worse than a Committee meeting after a hard convention. What shall we do then in regard to Miss Gillette? Shall we wait until you are all home from Europe and then will we have a Business Committee meeting. If I could assure her that we would have a Business Committee meeting in the early fall, she of course could wait until then, but if not, what shall be done? If the entire Business Committee is not going to consider this matter, it should go to the Committee on National Legislation, I should think, which consists of Kelley, Gordon and Jeffreys. Now of course Dr. Jeffreys cannot come east for any kind of conference; Miss Gordon will be away. Are you willing therefore to have Mrs. Kelley see Miss Gillette and lay out the plans with her? Of course that would be the cheapest way and it is right in Mrs. Kelley's line.

OKLAHOMA As the quorum will be broken during the summer, and as the things for Oklahoma have been done largely from headquarters, it would be natural for me to have to decide some things in regard to Oklahoma in case occasion presented. Now I am not willing to do this. The Business Committee must leave positive written instructions for all sorts of occasions. At this writing it looks as if the Foraker Amendment would be adopted by Congress. This is what I expected when the bill went to conference, but as no one ever knows what will be the outcome of a conference committee, we are not at all sure that this is true. I do not know whether you have all kept track of the matter or not, but the Territorial Bill provided, with the Foraker Amendment, for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one State under the name of Oklahoma; and sends the question of joint statehood to the people of Arizona and New Mexico to be voted upon by them before the Territories are admitted. In other words, that Oklahoma is to come in at this session of Congress and that Arizona will not come in until the next session or maybe until the following Congress. In one sense this is good for us because it only gives us Oklahoma to deal with. In another sense, it might make a campaign in Arizona, I mean now a small campaign, a wise move. I do not know how the majority of you feel about the Oklahoma business, but I know that two of the members think there is not a possibility of hope in that Territory.

Those two people have said many times to me that Oregon was the hopeful

[June 9, 1906]

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field and that ~~Oregon~~ Oklahoma was absolutely hopeless. Now then several years ago Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay went into Oklahoma Territory and did some organizing work. If I remember rightly, that was a very expensive campaign, one of the most expensive that we ever had, for the length of time. I am not sure about this, but I remember my feeling that we had put in a good deal of money without any result whatever, because we did not have any committees or organizations left there. You will remember Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay did most of the work themselves. Now when Miss Clegg went into the Territory, we were inclined to let her have her way in regard to money and many other things and, if I remember rightly, we have already put into the organization of Oklahoma nearly \$5000.00 aside from Mrs. Catt's work. I could look this up and give you exact figures, but time is precious and I do not think it is necessary. Now then, all the workers in Oregon are tired out and none of them I think would feel like taking hold of an Oklahoma Campaign provided we decided to have one. Dr. Woods was hurt in a railroad accident and has been in the hospital for several weeks during the winter, and has now finished her work in Oklahoma and gone back to the hospital for a little treatment. If there should be work there this summer it would not be possible for her to do it and she has said repeatedly that she was too nervous and not capable of managing a campaign provided we had one. The questions for us to decide in regard to Oklahoma are these. In case the bill passes and a constitutional convention is called for the fall, shall we attempt to have Committees formed and work done prior to that constitutional convention? In other words, shall the National work in Oklahoma during the summer? If so, who is to do the work, what is to be the compensation and how many workers are we to put there? I think the Oklahoma women, Mrs. Biggers and some of them seem to have developed into very strong workers, interested, faithful and capable, would be very much disappointed if we did not do this preliminary work. However, that must not influence us any except that when we have developed women who can lead in a certain way, we ought not to put onto them burdens which are too large for them to bear. Now in case there is no one to do this preliminary work, what kind of work are we going to do for the constitutional convention? Are we going to interview the members to that convention as soon as they are elected or are we going to interview them before they are elected because I understand that in many cases they are already chosen; or are we going to wait until the constitutional convention assembles and then send some eloquent woman to talk to them publicly and to interview them singly? Now in case we do not do either one of these things and yet the constitutional convention will allow our amendment to go before the people with the other amendments to be voted upon, are we going to put up an active campaign in Oklahoma or are we going to consider it hopeless and just do enough work to satisfy the Oklahoma women.

REQUESTS For a long time I have been thinking that we were neglecting a very important department of our work by not getting people to make wills in our favor while they were ~~already~~ middle aged. I notice that as people grow older they are not so apt to make wills in favor of organizations like ours. They are apt to put off doing so; ~~even~~ when they want to because everything seems an effort as strength declines, and very often they are influenced by the family or friends who are not in favor of suffrage. I have seen ~~this~~ thousands of dollars get away from us because we did not nail it when we could and yet it was such a delicate matter for any of us to do that none of us could do it. I remember particularly in the case of Miss Lippincott. I saw her in New Jersey two years ago and she was such an ardent suffragist. She was also very peculiar. She asked me to go to her house for a little visit and, although I felt I could not stay away from home, I made up

[June 9, 1906]

#5BC

my mind that I would go in order to talk to her about her will. But something happened at the last, she had to change her time for me, or it was not convenient, and I did not get there. Now it turns out that she intended to make her will but put it off and at the last when she could not talk coherently, she tried to make them understand how much she wanted to leave for suffrage. I then reasoned the matter out and I concluded that no one person could take this work to herself, but someone person could be chairman of a Committee and the people she knew she could approach and the rest of us must approach the people we know and she could have an oversight of this matter. Elizabeth has suggested that maybe Miss Mary Anthony could do this work and I am wondering what you think of that. She writes a good letter, and as you know, she has made her will in our favor and it might be an easier thing for her to do than for some others. Each one of us has certain friends who might be inclined to give money and we could each work at our own, but Miss Mary has a special chance I think because she is Miss Susan's sister and because she herself has given her money. For instance, I do not think it would be out of the way at all for her to give to a woman, like Mrs. Springer for instance, and tell her that she had left her property to the Suffrage Association and that she never could do the work that her sister did for the Association, but she felt as if she could find out what provision some of the older workers had made for our Association in their wills. The only objection I can see to Miss Mary is that she is pessimistic, and somehow I notice that people who are not optimistic cannot get money with the same facility as people who are ~~not~~. While speaking along this line, I might mention to you that Mrs. Catt and I have talked over the question of bequests for a long time, and I told her about this scheme of mine, and she had one somewhat like it but it varied in that this money was to be left for the National Suffrage Association, but in the hands of Trustees who were to perpetuate themselves. Of course this is not anything which is to be settled before the quorum is broken, but I notice we lose a great many things by delay and personally I would like to have something done so that I could work on it through the summer.

ANTHONY MEMORIAL Miss Anthony was hardly laid away before all sorts of schemes were sent into our office for memorials to her. A certain set of men in Ohio wrote me that they wanted to raise money for a monument to be put into the square in Warren to perpetuate her memory because the Headquarters were here, and of course I hated to discourage them, but I knew they never could succeed. I finally told them they never could get money enough for a monument and then they thought it would be nice to put a bronze tablet on the Court House in which building the Headquarters are located. I have not discouraged them in regard to this although I think they could not succeed. Then there are, I think, six different organizations throughout the United States trying to get money for a statue to be placed in Marble Hall in Washington. Most of these have written me, asking me to become a member of the Committee and two of them I think have asked me to be Treasurer of their Association. Miss Shaw and I talked this matter over when I saw her last and we agreed that we would not endorse any movement of this kind at all ~~see-~~ until after the Oregon Campaign, when we could get together and talk the matter over calmly. I therefore have written these people that nothing would be done until after the Oregon Campaign and they are holding up their business until they hear from us. Of course the thing which is most bothersome on this line is the National Council of Women. Mrs. Sewall got a resolution through the National Council for this very purpose and I think I have never been more tried in regard to anything than this.

[June 9, 1906]

#6BC.

In the beginning she wanted to have the Adelaide Johnson bust put into the Capitol, and then you could easily see that no one was going to give anything to this memorial except the suffragists themselves. It did seem as if she should have consulted us before she made herself Chairman of a Committee for soliciting funds for this purpose. Anyway that is the hardest thing we have to fight against. However, there is a very active Association in Pittsburg for this very purpose. It is headed by one of the women who was at the National Convention, Matilda Orr Hayes, and if I remember rightly, she was not very acceptable to the Pennsylvania people. I do not think I can hold off these folks much longer.

JULY PROGRESS. In making the plans for the editing of Progress until fall, we decided that the July number should be an Oregon number, and several times in our letters to the workers in Oregon, we have referred to the fact that the folks in the field must furnish the copy for this Progress. I think we have spoken to both Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Boyer in regard to it. I think Mrs. Boyer has said that she would furnish the copy. I am not sure about this, but before the quorum is broken, those of you who were in Oregon must decide who shall edit the July Progress, which is to be an Oregon number, and what that number shall contain. Of course the mechanical part of it we will do as we always have done, but we have no way of knowing what ought to go into that number.

CHICAGO CONVENTION The dates for the Chicago Convention have not been fixed. Are you willing to let the Chicago people fix them, or do you want to leave with me certain dates and let me confer with them in regard to them. The dates ought to be chosen before our fall conventions. There seems to be great activity in the middle west in regard to this convention and delegates will be appointed at the fall conventions and they will want to know the dates early.

I wish I could see you all and talk over the Oregon question. All but Mrs. Kelley and myself were in the thick of the fight and of course I worked at it nearly every day. It was hard for me because I have always known what was going on and it was impossible for me to know. The people in Oregon were especially good to write me and particularly Miss Shaw and I appreciate it, but still of course I did not know the real ins and outs. However, I must tell you that, although that fight was going on and that was the biggest part of the work, at the time, yet through that whole fight every day brought encouraging things to our office. People who have never worked were sending in suggestions. Clubs were sending in word that they had new members. People were giving money saying that it was all they could possibly give, but if we had to have more they would try to raise it somehow; and people who had never before given anything were sending money. It did seem as if the Oregon Campaign, coupled with the loss of Miss Anthony, gave us an impetus which we have never had anywhere anyhow. Of course it was awful to lose it after having hoped so, but at the same time, it was splendid to have been able to put up such a fight.

Loyally yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

Miss Andrews, to whom I have been dictating this, suggests that this is not a Business Committee letter, but a Business Committee meeting.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, Susan B. Anthony,
17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

June 9/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Having just dictated endless pages to you, I am now beginning another letter. I have simply let things go until you would have time to consider them, and now we must consider.

MISS EDDY: You all remember of course that Miss Eddy painted a picture of Miss Anthony on her eightieth birthday, with children laying roses in her lap. She has had this hung in several prominent places, and we all thought it a beautiful thing, although most too artistic for some of us, as it did not show Miss Anthony's vigor. However, I believe it has received a good deal of very just praise. Miss Eddy has written to Mrs. Catt, Miss Mary Anthony and myself, offering to sell this picture for the benefit of the suffrage association, provided it can be hung in a prominent place; in other words, Miss Eddy is willing to give us the money, but feels that the picture ought not to find its way to some garret and lost sight of. In view of the fact of the generosity of Miss Eddy's mother, and the daughter's continued generosity, it seems to me that even if the picture were not creditable we ought to make some arrangements in regard to its sale. We ought to do this for Miss Eddy's sake, and also for the money we will get from the sale. I am to-day writing Miss Eddy, in reply to her letters to me, telling her that I am submitting the matter to you. Neither Miss Mary Anthony nor I have offered any suggestions to Miss Eddy about the management of this sale, but Mrs. Catt sent me a copy of her letter to Miss Eddy, and Miss Eddy did the same thing. Mrs. Catt suggests

June 9, 1906

--2--

in her letter that Miss Eddy undoubtedly wants this picture hung in one of the art galleries in New York, and of course prefers the Metropolitan; she further says that it is becoming harder and harder to get things into the Metropolitan, and does not know whether or not we could do this, but thinks that if Miss Eddy cares to have the picture hung in some one of the hotels in New York City where women hold their meetings the matter could be arranged for. She closes her letter by suggesting that if this meets Miss Eddy's approval to let her know, and she will see what can be done.

The thing for us to decide is whether we are willing to assist Miss Eddy in the sale of the picture, and of course that means whether we are willing to ask the suffragists to pay a certain amount for this picture and turn the same into the suffrage association after we have learned which gallery will take it and after Miss Eddy is satisfied with our selection. It seems to me this is a matter which the Business Committee ~~and~~ as a whole cannot settle; I believe we could get around it better by delegating some person either in New York, Philadelphia or Washington to take it up with Miss Eddy. Of course we can ask for contributions for that purpose if we have to, and I suppose we will have to do that, but the management of the hanging, the sale, and all that, will have to be done by someone in those cities, and by someone who has time to do it. Does this seem right to you? If so, who shall that person be?

HISTORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES: When Miss Reilly came to us two months ago it seemed to both Miss Hauser and myself that we ought to make her valuable services tell along some one particular line, aside from the general work which she was to do. We therefore suggested to her that she take charge of the selling of the History of Woman Suffrage and the Life & Work of Susan B. Anthony, together with the distribution of the National Minutes among the libraries in

June 9, 1906

the United States. We then turned the matter over to her, and we think we have been very successful so far. We wrote at first to one hundred different libraries, and later sent out a few more letters, asking if they would like to have us send them a file of the Minutes from 1900 to 1906 inclusive, they to pay express charges.

You know Miss Anthony tried this for years, and they usually refused to accept them; then several years ago I tried it, with very little success, and was never able to get them to pay the express charges, but things seemed to be ripe in that direction, as well as in others, and we have now placed the Minutes in more than seventy of the largest libraries in this country, as well as many Universities and colleges, all paying the express charges themselves, and some asking to be placed on our list for future reports. Isn't that good? Then I find that on May 4 we received our first order for a set of the History, and now, in just a few days over a month, we have sold \$146.00 worth, and are negotiating for others.

This has encouraged me very much, because if we can sell the majority of these books soon it will give us a goodly fund, it will circulate our matter, and we will have done that which Miss Anthony so longed to have us do.

CONVENTION DATES: There is not a single department of our work in which there does not seem to be new life and vim. It is fairly startling when one stops to consider it. If we had pushed our convention dates a little harder (but we could not because of the Oregon money letters) we would have had more to report in that direction; but as it is, when we did not get resolutions in State and National organizations we got discussions, either directly or indirectly, with good results.

Mrs. Stockwell appeared before the Federation of Woman's Clubs in St. Paul. (Although at the time I did feel that it was too

June 9, 1906

--4--

bad Miss Shaw could not go, and that Mrs. Stockwell was not a strong enough woman to represent us). We have had dozens of letters from people who attended the convention, saying how well she did, how cordially she was received, etc., so we feel that after all it was the best we could do. She went as a fraternal delegate, and of course under the circumstances of the Adams-Kelley letter there was no pressure brought to bear to pass a resolution. Mrs. Stockwell will also attend, or attend to, the meeting of the ladies of the G.A.R., which will be held in August.

Dr. Banks of Detroit was asked to go before the Nurses' Association Alumnae of the United States, which is being held at this time in Detroit. We have had no report as yet.

Hala Hammond Butt will take our resolutions to the National Editorial Association which meets in Minneapolis this month.

Mrs. Blankenburg was our representative at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and although they refused to receive a regular delegate, owing to certain rules, they told us how to proceed in order to get our question before the meeting; they suggested that Mrs. Blankenburg remain in the audience as much as possible and when certain discussions came up she should join in; she did this splendidly by asking Mrs. Kelley why there was not a man in each State who could do what Judge Lindsay did for Colorado. Then of course Mrs. Kelley held forth at considerable length on the woman's vote, the teachers, etc.. Everybody said it was splendid.

The United Mine Workers of America, in session at Indianapolis, endorsed the resolution of the American Federation of Labor, and in their Minutes printed our letter to Mr. Mitchell.

I have reported to you the reception which Mrs. Blankenburg had at the National Municipal League Convention at Atlantic City

June 9, 1906

--5--

where she was allowed twenty minutes to open a Round Table discussion and was very well received.

On May 3 the Delaware G.A.R. State Encampment passed a resolution for us. On May 22 the Illinois Congress of Mothers at Springfield passed a resolution endorsing the efforts of the Parents Clubs in Cook County and other women's organizations to secure the municipal ballot for women in the Chicago elections. Eva Munson Smith of Illinois managed this.

The State Federation of Labor, in session in Iowa, discussed the question of woman suffrage, and the resolution was adopted. A member of the Federation, who has always been opposed to suffrage, said that he had always been opposed, but he understood that in the State of Colorado, where women vote, they receive the same wage as men. He added: "If this is so, then for God's sake let us all be woman suffragists."

Rev. Jeannette Ferris is to go before the Letter Carriers' Convention in Michigan on the 25th of June.

The Boston Cigar Makers listened to an address from Mrs. Parke the last of April, and passed a resolution endorsing woman suffrage. Dr. Ethel Hurd will address the State Federation of Labor at Stillwater, Minn., on June 11.

Mrs. Louisa Werth, on May 25, went before the W.C.T.U. of St. Louis, presented the Adams-Kelley Resolution, and it was passed with one dissenting voice. She also went before the Letter Carriers Convention of Missouri, put in her resolution, and there was a big discussion and a great time. Of course the Missouri Letter Carriers would vote against such a resolution; but the secretary of the association, having attended the National Convention in Portland, is in favor of woman suffrage.

[June 9, 1906]

Dr. Woods spoke before the G. A. R. and the W. R. C. in Oklahoma City, and the next day the W.R.C. passed our resolution. Mrs. Ada Watson of El Reno made arrangements for this meeting, and deserves much credit for her management.

In April Mrs. Andrews of Nebraska spoke before the Missionary District Society, and the Resolution was adopted, both by the Home and the Foreign societies, without a dissenting voice. The Ministerial Association of Sandusky County, Ohio, has adopted a resolution favorable to woman suffrage.

The Prohibition Convention of May 23 adopted a woman suffrage resolution. This, however, was not engineered from the National Headquarters.

The State Federation of Labor, of ~~Wheeling~~ ^{at Wheeling} W. Va., endorsed woman suffrage in their convention of May 8. Mrs. M. Anna Hall and Mrs. Fanny Wheat addressed the convention.

MRS. McCULLOCH: The Chicago women are working magnificently, and Mrs. McCulloch is in her glory. She says, however, that she still has to stay closely at home, because her baby seems to be opposed to any food except the natural. She has sent a suggestion here in regard to municipal suffrage work throughout the United States, and it is a magnificent plan. She says she hasn't gotten it fully thought out yet. Of course, like most other things, the work connected therewith is to be done at Headquarters. As soon as she has crystalized the plan she will let me have it, and I will then submit it to you. Like everything else, of course this takes money, but it is too good to be turned down. Possibly Miss Shaw may see her on her way through Chicago.

Faithfully yours

HTU.-R.

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

June 11/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have a most pitiful letter from Dr. Woods, who is back in Rapid City, S.D. She did not have to stay in the hospital as long as she expected, and is ready for a rest. I say it is a pitiful letter because she feels so badly over the defeat in Oregon. She says that if she lives a hundred years she will never forget how dreadfully she felt when they brought her the word that Governor Brod^g of Arizona had vetoed the bill, and she says that of course was not nearly as bad for her as the Oregon defeat is for you, but one thing is that you were all together, while she was almost alone. It is a very tender letter.

Cordially yours

HTU.-R.

Harriet Taylor Upton

Honorary President—
ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY
President—MRS. HENRY WALDO COE
387 12th St., Portland
Vice-President at Large—
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375 E. 12th St., N., Portland
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Suite 18 Selling-Hirsch Bldg., Portland
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227½ Stark St., Portland
Treasurer—MRS. ABBIE C. FRENCH
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Auditors { DR. MARY TOMPSON
428 Sixth St., Hillsboro
MRS. IMOGENE BATH
MRS. JULIA A. LAWTON
First St., Portland

Oregon Equal Suffrage Association

Representing the National American Woman Suffrage

President—REV. ANNA H. SHAW

Recording Secretary—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Corresponding Secretary—KATE M. GORDON

Chairman Press Work

MRS. IDA PORTER BOYER

Auditors { LAURA CLAY
DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS
Lock Box 390, Portland

1st Vice-President—
MRS. C. M. CARTWRIGHT
215 7th St., Portland
2nd Vice-President—
MRS. CLARA WALDO
Macleay, Marion County
3rd Vice-President—
MRS. EMMA GALLOWAY
McMinnville, Yamhill County
4th Vice-President—
MISS IDA MAXWELL
Halsey, Linn County
5th Vice-President—
MRS. EVA EMERY DYE
Oregon City, Clackamas County
6th Vice-Pres.—MRS. MINERVA H. EATON
Union, Union County
7th Vice-Pres.—MRS. ROSE M. SKENCK
Toledo, Lincoln County
8th Vice-Pres.—PROF. HELEN CRAWFORD
Corvallis, Benton County

State Headquarters 410, 411 and 412 Stearns Bldg., 6th and Morrison Sts.



Portland, Oregon,

1906.

No answer needed.

Dear State President:

By the Initiative and Referendum law of Oregon, an amendment to the constitution must be submitted when eight per cent. of the voters petition for it. To secure the submission of a suffrage amendment, it required signatures of 7,429 registered voters. Miss Laura Clay remained in Portland after the National Suffrage Convention in July, 1905, to aid the Oregon women, and the work of securing the needed signatures was immediately begun. The petition was filed with the Secretary of State on December 13. It contained 9,985 signatures. With the petition was filed the official argument. Headquarters were opened in Portland with Miss Laura Gregg in charge. Campaign Committees were organized throughout the State by Mrs. Uaruk, Mrs. Harford, Mrs. DeVoe, Miss Mary N. Chase, Miss Gail Laughlin, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, Mr. and Mrs. Irons, Miss Mary O. Douthit, Mrs. Julia L. Woodward, Miss Laura Clay, Mrs. Despain, Rev. J. Everett Hill, Rev. Mr. Dewese, Miss Laura Gregg, Mrs. Philanda Spencer and others. It was the unanimous verdict wherever these speakers went, that they did excellent work, and though many of them were unknown to the National officers when the campaign began, not one word of complaint has been heard as to the service rendered by those in the field. Despite the awful catastrophe which San Francisco endured, California was unselfish in her calamity, and bravely sent her contribution to aid the women in her sister State of Oregon. Mrs. Mary S. Sperry and her daughter, Dr. Sperry arrived at Headquarters several weeks before the close of the campaign, and worked indefatigably in sending out literature to voters.

Space forbids the enumeration of the self-sacrificing women of Portland who gave their time and labor in the mailing of leaflets and other duties at Headquarters. The Treasurer, Mrs. Abbie C. French, was ever-constant; Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway wrote personal letters to her influential friends, as did also Dr. Annice Jeffrey Myers; Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe, in addition to her other duties, raised a sum of money by personal solicitation; Mrs. Frank, Mrs. Himes, Mrs. Payntz and a host of local women did effective duty in sending out printed matter.

The amendment was endorsed by the State Federation of Women's Clubs, The State Federation of Labor, the State Grange,

June 13/1907

The State W. C. T. U., the Socialist party, the Sacajawea Association, the National Letter Carriers' Convention in session at Portland, the Democratic party of Multnomah County, the Socialist party of Marion County, the Federated Trades Council of Portland, the Women's Union Label League, and various other organizations.

Of the 230 newspapers of Oregon only seven were openly antagonistic. A few were neutral; the majority gave space in their columns and advocated the movement editorially. The splendid support given by the Oregon newspapers has never been equalled in any other state. In February it was announced that the Anti-Suffrage Association would furnish plate matter gratuitously to all the newspapers in Oregon that would take it. Notwithstanding this and similar offers, the press of the State, with a few exceptions, declined to accept. Later, the Anti-Suffrage Association paid for the insertion of their matter in a number of papers, but these same papers often printed side by side with the paid articles of the Anti-Suffrage articles advocating the amendment. In several instances, the check accompanying the anti-suffrage matter was returned by editors. Two leading dailies of Portland, the Journal and Telegram, opened their columns to a discussion of the question and gave much space to communications on both sides. Mrs. Jan Forrester took charge of the press work in November, and was re-inforced by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell during the last month of the campaign.

In March, Miss Kate M. Gordon began the holding of parlor meetings in Portland and vicinity, and continued this work with much acceptance up to the close of the campaign, holding on an average three meetings daily.

In April the National President arrived and took charge of the work at Headquarters, and of the National workers in the campaign, besides addressing many meetings in Portland and other cities.

One of the early circular letters sent out by the opposition emanated from the Knights of the Royal Arch, a liquor organization. This was followed by a circular letter bearing the names of three society women of Portland and addressed to the business men of Portland. It declared that with the initiative and referendum, woman suffrage would lead to much "bad legislation", and would injure the business interests of Oregon. Next came a protest signed chiefly by representatives of Portland, this was printed in the dailies of the city. A few days after the appearance of the protest, the Liquor Dealers circulated a letter. The text of the above, together with the replies, is published in "Progress".

Never in the history of campaigns has there been attempted the vulgar and indecent method practiced by our opponents in the wholesale distribution of a scurrilous card bearing the picture of a woman's undergarment purporting to be a petticoat. This indelicacy was promoted by Wallace M'Camant, the husband of the treasurer of the Oregon Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

On election day women suffragists were stationed at nearly

June 14, 1906

--2--

every poll in the city of Portland and wherever possible throughout the precincts of the State. They distributed little cards bearing the request "Vote for the Equal Suffrage Amendment." Many of our women also volunteered as watchers during the night. The universal comment was that there has never been so quiet and orderly an election, and the credit for it was given to the presence of women at the polls.

Oregon appreciates the interest shown by the women all over our country who so generously contributed to the expenses of the campaign and cheered by their words as well as by more substantial means. The courage of Oregon women is undaunted. They have already commenced the circulation of a petition for signatures, asking for the submission of an amendment at the next election, and the new campaign is inaugurated. They will build on the sentiment now won, - a splendid foundation for the future, and Oregon trusts that the National will again lend its aid when the time demands assistance.

Anna H. Shaw
(per B.)

June 14, 1906.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

June 18 /1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, under date of June 5, in writing me about the Anthony Memorial, calls attention to the fact that she was one of the Committee of Investigation in the matter of the Johnson bust, and she will not be in favor of having it placed in the Capitol.

She wants something larger and better, and is going to stick for that in the Council. So we may be comforted. She sometimes talks rather loudly, and does not always act according to her talk, but at the sametime I think she will probably hold to this. In her letters she also says that she stopped in Rochester while in the East, and adds:

"I think the suffragists ought to buy the Anthony home, of course Miss Mary reserving the right to remain in the house during her lifetime; but after her death the house should be kept as a place of pilgrimage and inspiration for the younger women. I do not know how Miss Mary would feel about it, but if I had the money I would be very willing to buy it for the future as a memorial of Miss Anthony; and if Miss Mary will consent I will try as soon as possible to make a donation for it. It could be kept up by the Association. The big memorial, with a \$20,000 statue of Miss Anthony in the Capitol at Washington, and with whatever money can be raised to go into the suffrage work, would be a magnificent memorial; and that is what I would stand for as president of the Council. But this little home of Miss Mary's could be a side issue."

A week or more ago I wrote you two long letters, but not knowing the addresses of the different workers could not send them all out until a day or two ago. I am so besieged about the Anthony memorials that I hope you will all give that question your earliest attention. I do not know under whose direction this question will come, but I want instructions as to answering letters which come to me.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Philadelphia June 20, 1906.

Dear Members of the Business Committee:-

I wonder if home ever seemed as dear to you as mine did to me when I crossed its threshold after all these weary months of labor and hope deferred? I suppose mine has seemed as dear to me before, but somehow or another to-day I just feel as if it never had. It was so good to get home and yet I can only stay three days, when I have to go to New York to sail for Europe.

We tried very hard to delay the sailing for ten days or two weeks because I wanted very much to go to Warren for a meeting with Mrs. Upton before I left but that was impossible, as they could not make any change in the sailing for us, and as our tickets were paid for, we feel that we must go, and so, if all is well, we sail at 6 o'clock on Saturday morning on the Pretoria of the Hamburg-American Line. The trip will require eleven days before we reach Hamburg. We go directly from Hamburg to Hildersheim, Germany, spend three weeks with Mrs. Avery in absolute rest before going to the International Suffrage Alliance at Copenhagen. After that I have no definite plan but there will be about two weeks after the close of the alliance before we sail for home on the Oceana September 4th. I hope in the meantime not only to be able to gather myself together again, but to be thinking out some definite plan of hopefulness and work. I shall have quite a length of time with Mrs. Avery to discuss work and plans with her, and from what she writes to me, she seems to be fully alive with the desire to start in to the Suffrage work again, and I am sure we will all be delighted when she does, for she was a power in the past, but I think she will be a greater one now.

I need not try to say anything more about the Oregon Campaign. Miss Blackwell has in the woman's journal about all there is to say in regard to it. The forces against us were mighty and we made a splendid fight. I do not pretend to say that we made no mistakes nor that we would not do anything differently if we had to do it over again. We probably would, for we learned much; but taking everything into consideration I think we did splendidly. I had no idea of taking charge of the work of the campaign. I never had done such a thing. Whenever I had been in previous campaigns I had always been in the field and never had had charge of the office work, but when I arrived and without a day's notice, was compelled to take part in the work right when the heat of it was beginning to come, with no one to tell me what had been done and what was planned, without being able to secure any information, it was a very difficult undertaking, and if it had not been for the loyalty and the splendid help of the members of the business committee, who were on the ground and that also of Mrs. Boyer, and the other friends, I am very sure it could not have been done, but everybody felt she was doing her best, and she was. I think too much praise cannot be given to Mrs. Clay, Mrs. Blackwell, Miss Gordon, Dr. Jeffrey, Mrs. Boyer, Miss Mary Anthony and Miss Lucy.

I had not intended to have Lucy go to Oregon, but when I found conditions as they were, it was absolutely necessary, and although she was not physically able to do so, yet she came and did three good women's work all the time she was there. She was simply splendid and got more contributions towards the work than we had had in all the previous months of the Campaign, and now that it is all over, I can simply say this, that while we did not win, I do not think that either the time nor the money was lost. I think more was accomplished with the same amount of money by that Campaign, than would have been accomplished with the same

June 20, 1906

-2-

amount of money if expended in ten different states in the same number of years, and the work paid, it paid not only in what it accomplished for suffrage, but in the education which we all received to fit us to do better work in other campaigns. We now know exactly who our friends are and who our enemies are, and that is a good thing, for some of the people we have supposed to be our friends, when we were able to put our eyes on what they did in watching the count, proved to be as great enemies as those who really posed as enemies. We learned that we could trust no one politically and could take the word of no one, and that we must attend to our own business our selves if it was to be done.

Now, there are many things that you ought to know about the Campaign, but it would be useless to attempt to write them in a letter, and we will have to wait until after I return home in the Fall, when I hope we may have a business committee meeting just as soon as possible.

There are a few things however which we must settle immediately and as I will not be here long enough to receive replies I wish you would send them to Mrs. Upton, as she will be the one who will probably have to carry them into effect. The First is:-

OKLAHOMA I am writing Mrs. Biggers that the first thing to be done in Oklahoma is immediately, as soon as possible, for the Oklahoma Women to interview the delegates elect and those to be elected to the Constitutional Convention. This work should be done by Oklahoma women. The feeling of State rights is growing in this country, and they resent anything like outside interference, and I think since so much money has been expended by the National Association in organizing a territory it is now the duty of the women, who are organized, to interview these members and see how they stand on the Suffrage question, and whether or not they will vote to put a suffrage clause in the Constitution, and submit it with the other parts of the Constitution when the Constitution of the State is adopted. I have asked her also to urge them to stir their men people up and see that the men are nominated, are Suffrage men. This to my mind is of the greatest importance and it ought to be done by the Oklahoma women without any outside help. The suggestion made by some one, I do not know who, that we should send two people there during the next months, I do not think is wise, because the heat in July and August in Oklahoma is so intense that nobody can do anything. I do not think it would be possible to earn 50 cents per day at any kind of work during those two months. Then, the people whom they wish to meet and influence, would be away from the State, because they do not stay there during the heat of the Summer. They could not get a handful outside to come in to a meeting and if they did come in, they would be so sweltering that they would not hear one word you would say. I would not have them spend \$1. on meetings nor upon outside people going into the state during July and August. Now, this is my personal opinion, if you differ let Mrs. Upton know, and if the majority think it is best to send some one to the State, of course I will acquiesce, but I will feel sure it is a useless waste of money, as well as not a wise course to pursue.

Then when the Constitutional Convention meets we must have two good workers there from the States where women already vote and I would suggest the name of Mrs. C.C. Bradford, who did such splendid work for us in Oregon. I could not have asked better services of Mrs. Bradford than she gave. She was willing to work, worked cheerfully, and was very helpful in it. There is only one criticism I could make of Mrs. Bradford, and wish somebody knew just how to approach her. She is very careless about her dress; things are not pinned together straight and she looks rather slack. Now that in one of our workers you know is a great failing, and yet I do not feel at liberty to say a word to Mrs. Bradford about it, but if you think it would be wise to write to Mrs. Grenfeld and ask her to make some suggestions to Mrs. Bradford, I think it might be a good plan, still I do not know just what to suggest.

Then I think we should try to get Mrs. Grenfeld to leave her school and go down there for a while. I think Mrs. Grenfeld and Mrs. Bradford would be just the ones to go. Mrs. Grenfeld is so dignified, that she would be able to

[June 20, 1906]

-3-

control conditions very largely, and add very much to Mrs. Bradford's eloquence, as well as her enthusiasm.

MISS ELLIS MEREDITH, seemed very much hurt that she was not engaged for the Oregon work, but I must frankly confess that I think Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Grenfeld would be much better in the Oklahoma Convention than any one of the women from Colorado of whom I can think at the present time. If any of you wish to suggest other names do so. I will submit a vote in regard to these two persons.

First, whether we will leave the interviewing of the members elect to the Constitutional Convention to the Oklahoma people alone, and secondly: ask whom you would recommend as the two delegates who should go before the convention. The advisability of getting Colorado women there over any of the other states, is that they are so near to Oklahoma and the comparatively small amount of money it would cost to get them there, as well as their ability as speakers.

Now this will probably consume the time until after I return in the Fall when it will be time enough for us to decide what we shall do, provided they submit a Suffrage Clause to the vote of the men. If the Suffrage clause is included in the Constitution, I should have a good hard fight for it, but if it is set aside outside of the Constitution as an additional amendment, I do not think it would be worth while making a very hard fight, but I do think it would be our duty to make something of a Campaign.

Conditions in Oklahoma to my mind are almost hopeless, although some others do not think so, but there is a strong southern element there, and although there are very few negroes, comparatively, you cannot make them believe that every woman would not be a negroe if she voted. . . Then they dont want the women on account of the temperance, and they are very strong against temperance, and then, they are not educated. Somehow or another, we have the opinion that people are educated. Now, there is a great deal of loose kind of education, it is not crystallized education it does not mean anything. There is no other ^{method} on earth upon which men talk so foolishly and so absolutely senselessly as they do on the Woman's Suffrage movement. You may make as eloquent addresses as you please, show that the underlying principles of democracy demand it, that the Government needs it, that women need it, that it is absolutely impossible for the women tellers to get along without it; you may make all kinds of good strong arguments, and when you are through, they will come and grasp your hand, and admit everything you have said, that it is right, that it is just, that it is a fair thing, that it is a good thing, and yet some fool man will pipe up and say "but dont you think women would neglect their homes"? then the whole heart goes out of you, and you wonder of the addled pates of the human beings we call men will ever be able to grasp a principal, as a principal, and hold on to it. I never have been so disgusted in my life, as I have in this whole ~~campaign~~ Campaign and a man said to me just before I left, a man who is not a suffrage man, I have just come from the street where they have been discussing woman's suffrage amendment, and I did not know that men could be such fools until I heard them talking the fool stuff they do about woman's suffrage. I say, I think we have got to do some kind of education, the people will be armed before-hand with the answers to the foolish objections which will be brought forward by the opponents, and to that end I am going to make what seems to me a life and death preposition for future work, and one upon which I think more than upon all the speaking and campaign work that we will be able to do, namely:-

PROGRESS. The thing we have needed in this Campaign more than anything else was some means by which we could reach the people with an answer to the arguments which the opponents could afford to pay to have sent out, but which we could not afford to meet. Before that is done we should have an organ which we could send out into a community where we are intending to have a campaign months ahead of the Campaign itself. If two years ago we had secured a list of the names of the country

June 20, 1906

-4-

people in Oregon, the people who do not take papers, the people who live in the back woods, and who are glad of any reading matter that comes to them, particularly of the character of a newspaper, and our organ should be a newspaper carrying to the people not only Suffrage news but other news fresh, terse and to the point, if we could have gotten the people acquainted with our work through an organ issued once in two weeks for a year, then issued weekly the year that the Campaign opened, and kept it going until the end of the Campaign, we would have ^{saved} several thousands of dollars and we would have had an educated constituency in the field. The utter ignorance of even our own people who were organized, who joined our campaign committees, their inability to know how to work, how to do anything, how even to get a petition around, how to meet people, how to answer the commonest little objections, they were stampeded by a word, and if they had had a year's fortification of good sound doctrine, they would have been able to have done half of our work for us; then what was more they would have been acquainted with us and we would have been acquainted with them so that when we attempted to arrange meetings they would do it for us and we would not have had to resort to the W.C.T.U.; for as a matter of fact the very best meetings that were worked up of the small order of meetings, were always worked up by the W.C.T.U. in Oregon but though we blamed them for their attitude in some respects they were the ones we had to depend on for help. Now this is not wise, because it brings our question before the people as a temperance question, and while most of us are temperance people, still we cannot afford to carry on two issues at the same time in the State of Oregon. ^{W.C.T.U.} We should in our next Campaign unite with the anti-saloon league and make our fight. That will depend however very much upon conditions which have yet to arise, but as an organization we ought to be helping our own people to help us as suffragists when we need help. Now, my idea is this, and I am going to state frankly just how I feel in regard to the "Press" work. Our press work as at present carried on is an absolute failure. It is the biggest waste of money, one which we have no right to do, notwithstanding the vote at Baltimore; the women did not know what they were voting about, they do not understand the present conditions of the "Press" work. I am not saying that Mrs. Babcock ^{more} has not in the past been substantially paid, but I do not say that personally I would not vote out of my own pocket \$10. per month for the kind of press work she is doing. It is costing us over \$100. per month and that \$100. put into "Progress" would do more for us 100 times over than it is doing for us in the kind of press work that is being done at the present time and at Baltimore it was only ~~for the first~~ ^{as} I understood it, that Mrs. Babcock should continue the press only until the close of the Oregon Campaign and I for one am in favor of stopping it now. I shall feel that every dollar that is put into it after this month is money used as it ought not to be used, and as the people who gave it would not have it used, if they knew just exactly how the work was being done. There was a time when that kind of work was useful, but that time has not existed for the last three years. It may be that in some two or three states it is useful, but can the National afford to pay over \$100. per month ^{for} the Press work in such states as Massachusetts, and New York, states which ought to be abundantly able to take care of their own Press work? The matter which is sent out from our Press chairman is used very little and if Progress were printed once a month or once in two weeks, much better matter could be sent out at very much less expense right from the head-quarters where it would be fresh and new, not a month or two or six months old. Now, I do not feel that the question of the Woman's Journal should be considered, and when I say that I know Miss Blackwell will not feel that I have any prejudice nor anything of the sort. It is only that I do not think the National Association is justified in not having an organ of its own which it can push and does push under existing conditions. Mrs. Bayer whose excellent newspaper work in Oregon was manifested in ~~her~~ ^{the} attitude ^{of} the papers toward our question all over the State, is in the fullest accord with me in this matter. She believes that if we could have had "Progress" published in Oregon once a week ahead this last year, the result would have been very different from what it was, and while I do not pretend for a moment to prophecy that we would have carried the day even with

June 20, 1906

-5-

"Progress" published weekly, still I do feel that we would have had an educated constituency and not a host of people who were willing to be helpful and yet who were wholly ignorant of our subject and how to deal with it. Why, I was astonished that intelligent men and women were almost put to flight by the simplest little oppositions. I believe that "Progress" should be issued at least once in two weeks, beginning with September, that the extra copies over and above the subscriptions allowed by the Government to go through the post office should be sent to the people in the outlying districts in Oklahoma and Oregon. We have a list in Oregon which could be readily furnished and it would be no difficult matter for the Oklahoma people to secure one. I do not mean to send to everybody in the State, but to certain people in each community, a group of people who would use it judiciously and educate themselves through it to do good helpful work.

ADDITIONAL CLERK. Mrs. Upton in her letter to the Business Committee suggested that if "Progress" is to be published *monthly*, they would need an additional clerk at the head-quarters. Now, I do not agree with that proposition. I think they need something more than a clerk, and that something more is Mrs. Boyer. This year's experience has taught Mrs. Boyer a great deal, but she had a great deal of hard level-headed common sense to begin on, and she has developed into a wonderfully fine worker. I shall never be satisfied until I see her in head-quarters relieving Mrs. Upton and Elizabeth of much of the burden of the work of the head-quarters. Now, what Mrs. Upton needs is not a clerk simply to do clerical work, but a head like Mrs. Boyer's to do the thinking work as well, and I am heartily in favor of employing Mrs. Boyer just as soon as she is willing to go to head-quarters and take charge with Miss Hauser and Mrs. Upton of the Publication of "Progress" at least once a month up to the next National Convention, and after that I further urge that it be published twice a month; that Progress shall not be merely a paper for propaganda, but the mouth-piece of the association! There is propaganda enough loose if it were only nailed, if the people knew how to use it, how to apply the principles, they accept them in a loose sort of fashion but they do not know how to use them. I am in the fullest accord with the sentence expressed by Mrs. Kelly at our last business committee meeting "I would not give 12 cents a year let alone \$1200. or \$1400 for the kind of press work which is being done at the present time. It is out-grown and useless and I for one vote to have it cease with the beginning of July.

DIRECT MEMBERS In regard to direct members I would like to say that I do not think it is very important that we should push it this year. Let us gather up a member wherever we can here and there. If we get 100 or 200 during the year that means \$100. or \$200. more than we would have gotten without them. In regard to the assertion that we got the constitution amended because we could get a lot of direct members being used against us if our list should not come up this year; I think it would perfectly absurd to expect it to come up under existing conditions the way we are working in all different directions. I think if we get 10 members that we would not otherwise have gotten it was worth changing the constitution, but the ten is not the important thing, it means that we have tied ten persons to our *organization* and interested them at least \$1. worth in our work and it would have been worth changing the Constitution if there had only been one such person. I do not consider it advisable to employ a person to go about getting direct membership. You remember that was tried in Kansas last year and brought the membership of the association up and at the end of the year there was absolutely nothing to get hold of. It is a way of working of which I never have approved and I see no reason why I should change my opinion now. But of course if the different members of the Board feel that it is a good field in which to work, and employ a person to go about working to make such collections of memberships, very good, but I think it would be a very great mistake. Now, the Summer months are not good months for anything and I do not think that an organizer just going about collecting money would be really helpful to the cause. An organizer to be helpful should be doing organizing work,

[June 20, 1906]

work, should be interesting the people in our principles and not simply seem to be going around collecting money, and in the Summer it is practically useless to undertake to do it. Now, I do not like to say anything to interfere with Mrs. Upton's plan, but personally I think it would be a very great mistake for us to increase our membership by sending a person around in that fashion for next year it would all drop out and would have to be done again, and a large amount of money would have to go towards paying the person collecting. Then, a person who gets money on commission is apt to take certain kinds of advantage of people and make promises and assertions which they do not hold to and to my mind it is a beggarly way of doing, not at all dignified nor do I think it would be helpful to our cause, in fact I think it would be an injury to us. Now, I am stating exactly my opinion because Mrs. Upton asked us to do so and I would much rather state it before the thing is tried than afterward. It seems to me a better plan and one which is more in accord with reform work, would be to appoint a committee on direct membership and let that committee see what it could do in this direction. I think this plan would be one that we could follow up every year so that whatever we gained would stay gained. This could be pushed in the States where there is no organization. Perhaps a Committee of 3 for each state and a Chairman for each state, and let us gather around us a committee in different parts of it, of the women whom she knows. How would this plan strike you? In answering these points would be necessary for you to write directly to Mrs. Upton.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. I must confess that I have not given this subject of the Congressional Committee a thought or consideration which it deserves, in fact I have given very little consideration to anything outside of Oklahoma and Oregon. I am perfectly willing that Mrs. Kelly and Mrs. Gillette should meet if possible and plan a way of conducting the Congressional work, in fact I think it would be much better done if they should carefully do it together that if we should attempt to do it by writing at long distances and I am perfectly willing to leave it to Mrs. Kelly and Miss Gillette.

JULY PROGRESS I suppose that Mrs. Upton knows that Mrs. Boyer and Miss Blackwell are preparing matter for the July Progress. In it will be a letter *from* the business committees of the various states explaining the conditions of the campaign, its failure and cause, etc. etc.

REQUESTS. I do not quite get Mrs. Upton's plan for securing bequests through a Committee. I agree with her however that we do not take enough interest in people and make enough effort to secure bequests, but it is a very delicate matter I do not know just how to go to a person and ask them to make their will and leave money to our cause. People are so sensitive about wills and bequests and the moment you approach them they seem to think you are after their money personally, and that you have some personal interest in it. The suggestion of Miss Hauser that Miss Mary Anthony could do this work is very good because Miss Mary has left her money to the Suffrage cause, and therefore she would speak as a disinterested person, and she would feel that she had a particular work to do. If in her writing she could use Miss Susan's and her own wills as a basis for the suggestion she might be able to write to a good many people in regard to it without giving any offense. I will write to Miss Mary in regard to it and ask her to write to Mrs. Upton and let her know how she feels. The method suggested by Mrs. Catt mentioned in Mrs. Upton's letter is the one which Miss Anthony had formed years ago in regard to the perpetual fund which she thought of raising and her scheme was based upon the Peabody plan. I went with her to the Library in Rochester and we got the books and studied the Peabody plan very carefully and it appealed to her very strongly and she was quite anxious that when the fund should be raised that it should be maintained in just that manner that instead of placing it in the hands of the National Association whose officers are always doubtful it should be left to four or five (she suggested 5) people who were

[June 20, 1906]

-7-

a board of trustees with authority to fill all vacancies, these to be the strongest women of the organization whether they were officers or not, and I agree with that plan much better than I do to leave the money in the hands of the Association, that is, if I had money to leave that is the way I should leave it, and I should not leave it to the Organization outright. We know what it is now, but we do not know what it will be in ten or fifteen years from now.

THE ANTHONY MEMORIAL. I am opposed to our National Board doing anything in regard to a memorial before the next National Annual Meeting. I think the subject should be laid before the Annual Convention this Fall and thoroughly discussed by the States as to the kind of memorial that they would prefer. When I am in Europe I will talk the matter over with Mrs. Avery, whom I think should be chairman of any Committee the National Association might form for this purpose. When we have discussed the matter there I will then dictate a letter to the State Presidents and have it here in time for their session of the State Convention. Of course I will send it to Mrs. Upton for the approval of the business committee first and if they approve then I will ask Mrs. Upton to have the list written in my name on the head-quarters paper, and sent out to the various state Presidents. If you agree with this plan kindly let ^{her} know and then Mrs. Upton will be able to answer people when they ask her what we are going to do. We can at least say that we are not joining with any plan to put up any memorial in Washington for anything of the sort and will not until we meet and that whatever we do it will be of the best character.

CHICAGO CONVENTION. In her business Committee letter Mrs. Upton says the days of the Chicago Convention have not been fixed. I think you will remember I was instructed to talk with Mrs. McCullough and Mrs. Stewart in regard to the Chicago Convention date etc. We discussed the dates they felt that the convention at Baltimore was too long and so it was. You must cut either some of the speeches or some of the reports or something else, and not have it so long. It is too long for people to entertain us, it is too long for our women to be away from home, and then we all get so tired out that the last day or two is a perfect drag on us. We are all impatient, to each other and the work is not done as well as it ought to be and the officers are wholly unfitted for the business committee which follows. Five days was considered long enough. I believe when we were in Washington we talked the matter over and Mrs. Stewart is engaging the Hall for five days beginning with Friday. The National W.C.T.U. which is ten times as great as our society does its work in five days and it seems to me we ought to do ours. The day suggested was that it should open on the 14th. of February because in order to have a five days' convention it would have to open either on Friday or Saturday. According to the Constitution the election has to come the day before the close and so I think the day decided upon was the 14th of February, but I would suggest that Mrs. Upton write to Mrs. Stewart at once and see just what the days are she can get the Hall, for of course it was to be regulated somewhat by that fact. Mrs. Stewart talked with us in Portland in regard to the Hall and just as soon as she can hear from the management she will let you know what the Hall is going to cost. It will cost more than the Hall in Baltimore did, but I have no doubt but the Chicago people will raise the money to pay for it. Of course Chicago is a much larger city than Baltimore and the larger the City the more expensive the building. I do not believe there is a large city in this country where the character of building which we had in Baltimore could be gotten for three times the amount of money we paid for it there. The Hall which we are to have in Chicago is in the same building with the Chicago Woman's Club. This will be of great advantage to us particularly is the Club should extend the courtesy of its drawing rooms and reception rooms where we could hold Committee meetings etc. etc. I shall write to Mrs. Stewart and ask her to correspond with Mrs. Upton immediately and then ask Mrs. Upton to let those who are on the business committee in this country know the result. I think when the next lot of new envelopes are ordered the date of the next meeting should be printed upon the envelopes and these should begin to advertise the meeting. I think we can

[June 20, 1906]

-8-

have a very good meeting in Chicago because there are so many good local people we can get Louise Post, Jane Adams Jenkins Lloyd Jones, Margaret Haley and a host of other people who will be near at hand. I am particularly anxious to get Rabbi Wise who is the Jewish Rabbi in Portland, Oregon. He is coming to New York and if it is possible we must have him in our programme. He is simply immense.

When we talked over the programme in Portland Miss Gordon said she ^{not} might be home from Europe early enough to look over the preliminary part of it, but I suggested that as Mrs. Avery is coming home early and as she is in the habit of making out programmes, that Miss Gordon ask her to take charge of it and I am very sure she will be willing to do so. I will talk to her also about this when I see her.

MISS EDDY. In regard to Miss Eddy's portrait I am at a loss to know what to say. I do not think it would be a good plan for us under any circumstances to begin immediately asking people for money for that portrait so soon after the Oregon Campaign nor do I believe it would be a good plan for us to do it at once as we are going to get up some definite kind of a memorial. Now with all due respect to Miss Eddy and all that she has done and her Mother has done, I think we must stop doing our work with respect to people rather than with respect to the work. Now, it seems to me that since Miss Eddy painted that portrait, it is her duty to sell it or place it somewhere; not the duty of the Association and I frankly confess that I would not at all feel like asking the women all over the country to contribute money towards buying that picture or having it put somewhere in some art gallery. The picture is all right in itself; that is, the little boy in it is all right, but I do not think we have any right after making such a vigorous begging appeal as has been made during the last six months for Oregon to begin right over again and ask people to buy that picture, and I personally oppose it. If Miss Eddy wants to take it up and she wants to ask people to buy it, and she wants to put it somewhere, let her and her friends do it. I do not think our association ought to do it. If we had ordered the picture painted, then it would have been our business, but since Miss Eddy painted it on her own responsibility, then it seems to me it is her business to work it off and not ours. Now, this may seem sort of curt in the face of all that Miss Eddy and her Mother have done for the Association. I do not fail to appreciate what they have done, of course they had the money or they could not have done it, still I do feel that it would be a very grave mistake to begin to ask everybody for money for a painting at this time. If Miss Eddy is willing to wait for a year or so then we might appeal to the public for money for the painting for the Campaign in Oklahoma. This might appeal to the people but to do it immediately on the heels of the Campaign in Oregon I do not think it would be wise. People would get sort of disgusted with us. Now, cannot Mrs. Upton write to Miss Eddy ^{since} Miss Eddy has been corresponding with her and try to show her this fact and tell her that if she would wait a year until the Oregon Campaign and the Oklahoma Campaign are over, ^{and} then put the picture up and get money on it, that would be a different matter, and perhaps might be the means of making a good deal of money for the Campaign, but I must confess I would be opposed to any plan of raising money at the present time in that way. There are so many appeals going out at this time for memorials for Miss Anthony, and if we do not look out we will get swamped and people will not give us anything, they will be sick and tired of us, therefore I am not in favor of naming anybody to help Miss Eddy at the present time.

HISTORIES & BIOGRAPHIES. I think it is an excellent plan to have the selling of the histories in the hands of Miss Riley and this distribution of the National Minutes etc. to the various Libraries. I certainly hope that enough of the histories will be sold to make it worth while and help to pay some of the expenses I do wish that the histories might be sold at least enough of them so as to bring us in a little sum of money to make us feel that Miss Anthony's bequest to the National

June 20, 1906

-9-

is not only a means of perpetuation, for it is that wherever they go Miss Anthony still speaks to the people, but that it helps us financially. This was her hope and I trust it may be realized and we must do all we can do arouse an interest in our friends to purchase the books. I think we could really do something in this way if we tried.

CONVENTION DATES. I must confess my faith in the resolutions passed by different organizations has been somewhat shaken by my experience in the recent campaign, when a men's organization passes a resolution unanimously in favor of us and then nine out of ten immediately go to the polls and vote against us; one's faith in resolutions does not grow, but I think it does this, it helps to educate the men themselves at their meetings, it keeps the subject of suffrage before them as a live question and the people at large are greatly impressed by the fact that so many of the national association really are passing resolutions favorably. I think the Labor Union did pretty generally stand by us in Oregon and they stood for us much better than they would have done ~~by~~ these resolutions ~~if they had not been passed.~~ While the Socialists did not do so, and the prohibitionists did not, still I think the labor people did and this brings the question of our work before the people, and the more we can do this the better it will be for us.

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Stockwell who represented us at the Federation in which she says that she was very well received by the Federation and in fact at times she wondered is she were not at a Suffrage Convention. As far as I can learn Mrs. Stockwell made a very excellent address and a good impression for which I am very glad, so the more we can push our Convention resolutions the better it will be for us I think, even though the men may pay very little attention to the resolution of the organization after-ard, the general public does. Miss Anthony seemed to feel this was a very important part of our work and somehow the more I study her views the more convinced I am of her remarkable insight into the work and its needs, so that however anything might appear to me personally I should hesitate a long time before doubting the wisdom of anything she had undertaken.

MISS MC CULLOUGH. The day I was in Chicago in one evening paper alone there were three editorials on Woman's Suffrage, none of them very wise, but then they discussed the subject and I think the agitation in Chicago over the municipal Campaign is doing more and will do more to ^{make} the people of that state than all the Suffrage work which has been done in the State in the last ten years. It would be a particularly good thing to get Mrs. Henlopen at the head of it for they tell me she is deeply interested. I saw Mrs. Stewart in Portland on the day of the election. They left in the evening before we were able to learn anything about the result, but I do not think they went away feeling that there was very much chance at least, if they did, they did not share my opinion. Mrs. Stewart was deeply interested in the Convention for next Winter. She brought the plan of the Hall and we looked them over with Miss Gordon. The management have offered us the use of them for about half the price and yet that half will probably bring it in the neighborhood of \$700 for the five days. This includes the use of the Auditorium hall for a big Sunday meeting and that we must manage if we have to get Rabbi Wise to come from New York. As Rabbi Wise's Sunday is Friday and Saturday he could go to Chicago for a Sunday discourse and he could perhaps get Consolas and Willis or somebody who is a great favorite in Chicago. However I think they will be able to ^{raise} the money in Chicago to pay for the Hall whatever it may be and even if they don't, then we must pay for it, because we must have a good place centrally located where we can hold our meeting in such a way as to be helpful to the Campaign then on hand and helpful to our cause over the country, so that we must not grumble even if we should have to put out a little money to help the Chicago women in the expense.

On account of the wash-outs and delays it was impossible for me to arrange to meet Miss McCullough in Chicago, for I had not the least idea when I would get there nor when I would leave until I arrived. If you had seen the number of

[June 20, 1906]

-10-

wrecks we passed on the way there you would wonder that we ever got there at all.

GENERAL FEDERATION. It was very interesting to watch the public pulse in regard to that General Federation. Some of them did not know just what to make of it. I received a letter from Colorado asking if it were a scheme to down Mrs Decker and urging me to write my fraternal delegate not to press the matter because the defeat of Mrs. Decker would mean so much against Suffrage. This writer seemed to see in it a deep laid scheme by which the whole federation was to be ruptured. I wrote back that the lady whom we had appointed as our federation delegate while she was an enthusiastic suffragist, was also a woman of intelligence and would know better than to do anything to precipitate any unpleasantness at the Federation meeting, and that I had the fullest confidence in her, and moreover that the names of the women attached to the Federation Resolution ought to be a sane thinker, that there was no scheme to injure Mrs. Decker, the Federation or anything or anybody else and that when Miss Adams, Mrs. Kelly and Mrs. Nathan signed a document that ought to be a guarantee of the integrity and wisdom of the resolution. That these ladies had been appointed by the Federation as an advisory Committee, they had acted within the limit of their powers in advising. Now, if they had advised something that the women did not wish, and did not approve of, all they had to do was to turn them down and reject their advice, but that when women who were specialists such as these women are, and know more about their business and that of the working women of this country, ^{than} all the rest of the Federation put together, it would be wise for the Federation to consider without prejudice, any suggestions that they made. Now, as a matter of fact, I think it was one of the best things that has ever happened both for the Federation and for the Suffrage cause. Of course we don't want to rub it in, but we do want to realize just what it means and the Federation women ought to realize just what it means to receive such counsel from such people and the more they think of it the more they will realize it. I am glad it was done and there is going to be more of it done before many years. I am also glad that our own women did not ^{use} it at the Federation I think that was a good thing and showed our moderation and consideration. I tell you this world is waking up and we need to hold ourselves and our organization well in hand for the many demands which are to be made on it more and more.

YOUNG WOMEN. We must somehow or another to get hold of our young women's organizations particularly our working women's organizations. The thing that impressed me more than anything else in Oregon was the utter ignorance of the working girl and woman, of the relation between labor and the ballot, between wages and the ballot. They had gotten an idea I suppose because rich society women had formed an organization against suffrage that suffrage was sort of a common thing and these girls have an idea that they must follow in the steps of all other women for fear they will be marked and set apart, and they think if they are marked and set apart from other women it will be because they work. They have not thought far enough nor independently enough to realize that it is they alone who can dignify their work and lift themselves out of the position which the toiling and working woman has held so long, a position of apparent self subordination, simply because of their labor. If we can only get these young women to see that the only woman in this world for whom the world has any use and ^{who} hold any place is the woman who serves, and that it is no matter where her service is, or what it is, so long as it is needed service, well rendered, and that the first demand which women should make in order to have ^{their} services recognized as dignified and ennobling is to insist upon justice of equal pay for equal quality and quantity of work and while present conditions compel women to accept smaller remuneration than men for similar service yet they recognize the injustice and wrong of it and ought to determine to use every effort on their part to do away with the obstacles which bring about such conditions. Now, if we could only show them that the laboring man to-day would be

c June 20, 1906

nothing more than slaves if they did not have the ballot, and that inferior positions given to women and the inferior pay given them for their services is directly due to the same cause these girls would soon have self-respect enough and self-interest enough to get over the foolish notion which so many of them possess. I took pains to ask a good many Union Girls who came into our head-quarters for folding purposes and other purposes, girls who were splendid workers. In fact it was a joy to see them get at their business, girls who were waiters in restaurants whom I questioned, clerks and others; when I asked them how they stood upon the suffrage question, the majority of them said that they did not want it, they did not care anything about it, about voting, and then giggled, showing that they had not the least comprehension of the position they occupied, and of what would remedy it. We had four or five professional circular folders in our head-quarters one week, about the smartest girls I have ever seen. Two of them were simple machines, their arms moved with as much regularity and as steady as if they were made of steel. Their faces were as bright and cheerful as could be. They admitted that they did not get as much money as men do for doing the same kind of work, not nearly as well, and so I spoke to them about suffrage. They simply giggled and glanced at each other as if it were funny and I found out afterward they both had beaux who were opposed. It simply showed as thousands of other cases like it would show, that women have not yet begun to think independently, that they dare not express themselves and they have not analyzed the position in which they find themselves. Of course it is not to be expected that they should, somebody must open their eyes and we ought to be that somebody. Now, the question is how can we get at these girls, most of them have a grammar school or a high school education, most of them read and most of them would be able to think if they only were taught how to think, and just as soon as they begin to think how much they could do for themselves and for the men with whom they are associated, they will appreciate woman's suffrage. I do not know how we can expect a woman to think when men themselves do not think. The working men are just as ignorant upon this subject as are the working women. They know in an indefinite sort of way something about Unions and they think that the Union is the means by which they accomplish their ends. They do not realize as one of the Union men said in a speech at one of our meetings that the Unions ^{men} had not caused a single change in a law for the benefit of the working ^{men}, but the fact that the people composing the Unions had ballots and were able to effect legislators and secure ^{legislators}. It was the one strong point that was brought out that day. It was the point that most men knew nothing about and which working women do not seem to comprehend at all. Now that is the point we need to bring before both working men and working women on every occasion and I do not see how we can do it unless we bring it before the women through their Unions and therefore our only plan is to get into the Union and I believe this could be done, so that more and more I feel that we must get hold of not only the college women, whom I believe we are beginning to get hold of, but of the working women for they are women of worth and are the women who need the ballot. I would like to see in each state not only a College young woman educated and trained to become a public worker for us, but one young woman who is a member of a Union and who would be able to enter into Women's Unions and work with them not only in Women's Unions but in such associations as the Macabees, the Women of Wood-craft and the dozen and one other organizations of that sort. I am going to appeal to Mrs Hollister to see that this is done in the Macabees. Why, in Portland the foolish Macabees women were as silly as they could be. In fact when I spoke to them one night at one of their meetings, one of them would not be introduced to me because I was a suffragist and they were all as cold as a winter's east wind. It was so funny I could hardly keep from laughing, at the same time I wanted to shake them.

MOTHERS' CONGRESS. Of all the organizations on earth that woman's Congress surpasses every other in its absolute idiocy, particularly with the President at its head. I have reason to believe that she used her influence last Winter

Matters

[June 20, 1906]

-12-

to prevent President Roosevelt giving us any recognition in Washington. I am going to find out more about it but the little I have learned is that she is over-ruling, tyrannizing, that she claims it has been the greatest injury in the world to Idaho, that she was there two or three weeks and saw the most dreadful results at the elections. However as I have been told she was over there two or three weeks one Summer, and we all know there are no elections in the Summer. It is perfectly remarkable how everybody who opposes suffrage happens to be in the States at election time. You would fancy they got up elections for every special visitor who came to show them how it was done and then marshalled out all the disagreeable people and conditions that could be trumped up in the State for their benefit. As a matter of fact I think the President of the Mother's Congress got most of her information from Mrs. DuBois of Idaho. Mrs. DuBois feared that he might not be re-elected to the Senate, and he was at his wits end to do something to make himself popular, and so he started in this anti-Smoot business and tried to make it a woman issue in the State, and he found plenty of women over the United States to be shocked by the conditions, and raised the money and paid the bills for the prosecution of Smoot and his expulsion from the Senate. He hoped through this to be re-elected to the Senate. The President of the Mother's Congress has been devoted to him and his wife through this whole movement which they have raised, thousands and thousands of dollars to pay their lawyers and other people to practically carry on Mr. Du Bois's election. Of course they do not know nor think this, they think it is a great moral movement and Mrs. Schoeff has been largely influenced by these people. She is a sort of a rattle-headed woman and talks off at a great rate without knowing anything about what she is talking. Something must be done to counteract her influence. She wrote the President last Summer and advised him to have nothing to do with the Suffrage movement and I have reason to believe she had considerable influence with him. I will give you my authority when we meet in our Committee meeting in the Fall and it may be that we will learn more about it before that time.

MRS. KELLY I fully agree with Mrs. Kelly in regard to the advisability of having Mrs. Avery on our National Board. She ought to be there and I think she would be willing to be there when she returns. If we had the good sense, as we ought to have to put a woman on the Board because of her ability to serve the organization rather than from the fact that she lives in a certain State or in a certain section of the country, there would be no difficulty in securing a legitimate place on the board for Mrs. Avery. What we need is not a representative from a particular section of the country but a strong, well balanced woman, who has original thoughts and leisure to put these thoughts into execution and Mrs. Avery is going to be that woman. In regard to Mrs. Kelly resigning to make a place for Mrs. Avery I think that would be the gravest possible mistake. We have need of just such a woman as Mrs. Kelly on the board and have needed one for a long time and we need her more now than ever. I think she is absolutely invaluable to us and if she is able to remain on the Board she must be kept there by all means. Some other way must be managed.

OREGON. Before leaving Portland we had a Business Committee meeting and decided that the only thing to be done in Oregon was to watch the women and urge them to hold together that which had been gathered up at such great expense and labor. There were in the neighborhood of 300 local committees organized during the Campaign. Many of these Committees were of no account did practically little work, but I think it was largely caused from the fact that they did not know how to do it. The point is to keep hold of them, to keep in touch with them and to keep them in touch with the work. This I think we can do through Progress as much as in any other way. Then Miss Gordon ought to organize the City of Portland very thoroughly consequently she felt it important to keep these precinct organizations alive. We therefore urge upon the Oregon women the necessity of securing some woman to take charge of practical head-quarters in her own house, and correspond with all these

June 20, 1906

local committees and precinct committees, start them out to secure the signatures to the petition for a re-submission of the question two years hence. The difficult point was to find the woman. Dr. Abbie French would have been a most excellent one but she has her home and her family to care for and this would require the entire time of somebody at least for sometime to come. We have thought of one person after another it seems important to get a woman strong enough to be able to withstand Mrs. Dunaway's radical and prejudicial attitude towards the liquor business. Of course I do not know what Mrs. Dunaway has done since we left but when we were there she was determined to come out denouncing the temperance people attacking the W.C.T.U. and Prohibitionists and siding with the liquor people. We were able to keep her from it while we were there and Mrs. Evans and Dr. Pohl both agreed to keep watch on her and try to prevent her from doing anything rash. Dr. Pohl and Mrs. Evans are strong women and have a good deal of influence with Mrs. Dunaway and I think in a measure will be able to control her, still I do not know what she may do when left to herself. She of course was inclined to blame us for the failure to carry the amendment, but we expected that and would have been more surprised if she had not done so, than we were that she did, but she was the only one. The other Oregon appreciated every thing that had been done for they all expressed their appreciation in no stinted terms. The great need in that State is a strong independent leader but that is not an exceptional state in this particular. They need a woman to devote herself to the work who has nothing else to do and can give it her entire undivided attention, at least that ought to be the case during the next two years. In looking about for a person to take charge of the work, to get out the petitions and look after them so that when collected they could look at them and see they were correct Mrs. Gordon suggested Miss Pease, a school teacher, whose term expires on the 26th. of this month and who said she would begin on the 27th. When I left it was the plan to recommend Miss Pease to the State Association and Miss Gordon and Mrs. Boyer were to be there to look after it and help the women secure her. Now if she should take charge of the work I am sure she would do it as well as an untrained person could. She is bright and active and a thorough-going suffragist although she was a teacher and most of them were afraid to say their souls were their own, for fear they would lose their positions. She did not hesitate a single moment to not only talk but to come to our office and work there every moment between hours after school and go with Miss Gordon and help her in her parlor meetings and something else. She was simply splendid and I wish we could have her in our work. If the work is dropped in Oregon now, in six months we will not be able to touch half a dozen of the campaign committees that have been gathered together and they simply must be held. Mrs. Evans who is President of the State Federation of Clubs proposed at the suffrage meeting on the Saturday after election this plan, that they employ a woman for say \$65. per month to look after their work for the coming year. Twenty women pledged themselves to raise \$5. per month toward the expenses of these headquarters. She immediately pledged herself and eight others on the spot doing the same, and at that meeting she told me before I left that if they could get a good woman whom they liked to go into the headquarters she knew she could count on twenty women to raise \$5. per month. She was very much interested. I would like to have had her the woman and spoke to her about it but she said this year as she is President of the Federation she could not do it as she had so much to do but that next year it might be possible that she could do it. This was the way the work was situated when I left there but the women were enthusiastic and from all over the State came letters of encouragement saying we must try to win it again, and one letter from another part of the State objected to trying it again and refused to have anything to do with it.

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[June 20, 1906]

-14-

MRS. WOOD SWIFT The proposition made by Mrs. Wood Swift to purchase the Anthony home for a suffrage head-quarters and a place of inspiration etc. for delegate women, is one which other people have suggested. I talked it over with Miss Anthony the last week of her life and she seemed to think that it was hardly adapted to club purposes, for the location was not good for a National Head-quarters and I think the probabilities are that Miss Mary will dismantle it in such a way that it would not bear the impression nor the impress of Miss Susan's life for many years. Miss Mary while earnestly devoted to the suffrage cause has very little of the sentimental about her, and that any one would care for Aunt Susan's desk simply because it had been her desk, or her chair because it had been her chair, aside from its value to the cause, would not impress her very greatly. She has promised us however to keep Aunt Susan's study exactly as she left it, so that that one room which is of more precious memory than any other, except the one in which she passed away, will be kept, so long as Miss Mary lives in its present condition. In her will, Miss Mary has left the house to the Suffrage Association, so that there is no need of buying it, and if, after she passes away it is thought desirable to keep it, the Suffrage Association can do so. She has not exactly left it in this way in her will, but she has left a little note pinned to the will, in which she says that if the Suffragists feel that it would be wise to keep the house for any purpose, she would be very glad to have them do so; that settles that question, it will be practically ours to do with as it is thought best at that time.

This communication is long enough to keep you busy until my return in the Fall. If however, any of you should want to reach me during my absence, my address will be #2 Sedan Strasse, Hildesheim, Germany, until the first of August. During the International Alliance meeting it will be at the head-quarters of the Convention wherever that may be, after that, I cannot tell at present what it will be but we will let you know.

I am particularly anxious that there shall not be very much new work taken on during the Summer months. They all need a let-up at head-quarters as well as the rest of us. They have been having a strenuous year of it and I think we are making a mistake in rushing things too fast and in getting up too many new things when we have all we can do to attend to the old ones, and I think that until Fall it would be much better to ease up rather than take on additional work. I hope that this will be the plan followed by Mrs. Upton. It is absolutely foolish in my mind to have organizers in the field in the Summer. People will not go to meetings, they will not take an interest in the work, and we may just as well ease up for July and August as to try to work when it only tires people out and does not accomplish anything. In fact I am in favor of easing up everything except Progress. Schools are closed and they will not be wanting the literature for debates; public meetings are not being held and this is the one time of year when very much work is neither needed nor advisable.

I certainly hope Mrs. Upton will not feel a very great increase of burden on account of my absence during the Summer for she has already all she can carry, and from my stand-point there is practically little National Work belonging to the President that needs to be done during the coming two months and I hope she will agree with me.

Trusting that we may all meet in good vigor of health and strength in the Fall, I am,

Faithfully,

Anna D. Shaw

June 20, 1906

POSTSCRIPT to BUSINESS COMMITTEE LETTER.

On Monday the 18th of June Mary Anthony and Lucy and I, as executors probated Miss Anthony's will. We settled with the appraiser and are about to send the inheritance tax to the office in Albany. We are depositing the money with the West End Trust Company's Savings Department in Philadelphia where we are also depositing the other securities belonging to Miss Anthony's estate. It was impossible for us to settle the estate on account of certain complications with notes etc. for sometime yet, even if the law had allowed it to be done within a year from the time of probating the will. We are in hopes that we will be able to add to the sum of money which is already on deposit by the negotiation of certain notes which Miss Anthony had, which appeared of very little value, while she was alive, and which she would not enforce to be paid, which we as executors may be able to collect.

We know that there is aside from the histories of course money enough to make it in the neighborhood of \$3500. and if we can collect the notes which we are hoping to do, we expect it will reach something like \$5,000. which will come to the fund that Miss Thomas is raising, or some other fund which Miss Thomas in her discretion may see fit to raise, because I really feel that from the expressed wish of Miss Anthony that she would like to have Miss Thomas and Garretts' judgment in regard to just what should be done with this money. She was so interested in the fund that we tried to raise. The time will soon pass and it will not be long before we will be coming home again and I never felt so much like work before. I am just eager to get at it again. I can think of 100 things where two years ago I could not think of one. I am just beginning to get into the harness and somehow or other I don't know how to explain it, it seems since Aunt Susan's going away, as if I worth about five times as much to the cause as I was before. I don't know whether the spirit of one that has gone out is able to come back, and be helpful or not, but if it does, then I know it is she who is helping me, but if that is not possible, then it may be that when one has not a stronger arm to lean upon they are able to discover what is in themselves better than they could possibly have done before.

I am not worrying as to the cause, I only know the fact is that I can work and want to work. This failure to succeed in Oregon does not impress me very greatly because I know that success under the circumstances would have been impossible and I also feel that my going into the State at the time I did, expecting to be in the field, without any intention of managing the head-quarters, and yet being obliged to take it up as I did and doing as well as I did, shows me that I have much better ability than I really thought I had, so that I ought at least to feel encouraged that I was able to do it, and now I cannot make my letter any longer, although I would like to talk to you for an hour.

Faithfully

Americ H. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

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

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

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



June 20/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

As it did seem to me as if I could not keep from writing you of the general work during the Oregon campaign, but I knew that I must refrain, and so I did. However, the minute I knew Miss Shaw was free and starting home, I began to write letters. When she gets home, I presume she will send out a number of letters to you. I am just writing her about the press work and Progress, and it has occurred to me, since she sails on Saturday next, that I better let you have this letter at the same time I am sending it to her, so that you can send your vote to me, as there probably will not be sufficient time for her to get it out and receive your answers.

The general work was never in such good shape as now, never! I am surprised all the time to find such earnestness in the rank and file. Yesterday we had an election of ~~local~~ officers in our home club (Political Equality Club, of Warren), and the very best woman in town for president was elected to that office, and accepted. This was Mrs. Bell, the former treasurer. Then the very best woman in town for treasurer (Mrs. Harris) was elected. I feel as if what is happening in Warren is happening everywhere, and it is most encouraging.

Cordially yours

HTU.

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, Susan B. Anthony,
17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw,
7443 Devon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice President at Large, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.



Corresponding Secretary, Kate M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

Recording Secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Dr. Annice F. Jeffreys, Portland, Ore.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

June 20/1906

Dear Miss Shaw:-

I am awfully sorry that I could not get to Cleveland to meet you, but Father was not feeling very well that day, and when he found I was going to leave him, with George away, and Anna, my maid, gone for the day, the tears came to his eyes, so I did not have the heart to do it. Elizabeth had sick people at her own home, whom she could not possibly leave. Laura could have stayed with him, but at the same time he does get so anxious when I am not there that I am afraid to worry him for fear of the result. He is not worse as you feared, but his general health is somewhat better. He is in good spirits and pretty well every way, except that he does not talk plainly of course.

I was very much interested in your letter, particularly that part pertaining to the Press work and Progress, and I am answering it immediately, because I want you to give it your attention before you leave home. I am sending a copy to Rochester and one to Philadelphia, not knowing where you will be.

I know exactly how you feel about wanting to see me, because now that the Oregon campaign is over you of course are anxious about the general work. You have not had time to know much about this part of it, and I have not known much about the campaign, so if I am anxious for the details of one, of course you, as leader of the Association, are anxious for the details of the other.

Miss Blackwell wrote me a splendid letter a few days ago,

June 20, 1906

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giving philosophical reasons for the defeat in Oregon and laying out some plans for literature, which were excellent, and among other things proposing certain things to be done with Progress for the people in Oregon. She said she thought it could be done through the Woman's Journal, but knew that you and I did not feel that way. I thought this was most magnanimous in her, and in reply I told her that she must know I have no personal feeling about the Woman's Journal, but I do think, and have thought all along, that one of our greatest weaknesses was the fact of our having no cheap paper in which to publish all sorts of news for the Oregon campaign. This brings us to the same old question of making Progress a monthly, and of taking the press work to Headquarters.

You know that when we began to talk with Mrs. Babcock, two or three months ago, she said she felt she had gotten to the end of her string, that she was not well enough, and ought to give it up. I told her I thought probably we would make a change, and I would notify her very soon, although not officially. Now then she was prepared to give it up at the last convention, but you know we pressed her, and she said that although she hated ^{to} give it up she felt she could not do it longer, but would keep on until after the Oregon campaign.

I think you are right in saying we are paying a great deal of money for the little work we are now getting done in the press. To me the \$100 a month seems a great deal, and when I think that we are paying Mrs. Babcock more than we are paying anybody in the office, except Elizabeth, all of whom work every minute of every day, it seems as if we might follow your advice and cut off that expense. Mrs. Babcock expects to stop work now that the campaign is over, and I think you better notify her that she may stop in July.

June 20, 1906

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She usually goes to Lily Dale for a month in the summer anyway, and the work lags another month; and we could thereby save \$200.

Now of course in the beginning I said it would not be possible for us to publish Progress monthly without more help at Headquarters, as we four could not take on any additional work. For a number of years I have wanted very much to have Elizabeth's older sister come into the work. She has had a fine position as bookkeeper and credit woman in a large wholesale house in Youngstown. Every little while I have wanted Elizabeth to talk with her about it, but as she had a larger salary there than we paid anyone Elizabeth never seemed to think it feasible. Lately there has been a change in her firm, and the new men in the firm are not at all the same as the old, and she is not so happy in her position now. Elizabeth has finally become impressed with the idea which I have had so long, viz: that of having Minnie Hauser for bookkeeper at Headquarters. She has talked with her about it, and we are surprised and delighted to know that she is willing to come to us in the fall, provided we can make satisfactory arrangements.

Now then I have a proposition to make to you, which I hope you will lay before the Business Committee, and it is this: I will take on the press work and the publishing of Progress as a monthly if I can have Minnie Hauser for bookkeeper and one other stenographer. Of course I think it would be very nice to have Mrs. Boyer at Headquarters, for she is a splendid worker, but, on second thought, I would rather have some reliable person and substantial, like Minnie Hauser, who lives in this community, whose home and interests are here, with no husband or family to call upon her, than to have Mrs. Boyer, who probably could not make arrangements to come and stay, and who probably would not want to make a permanent home

[June 20, 1906]

in so small a community as ours. I have made some calculation of the present expenses at Headquarters, as follows: We pay

Elizabeth-----	\$75.00
Miss Reilly (who is temporary)-----	\$60.00
Miss Andrews-----	\$48.00
Miss Ray-----	\$28.00
(Ohio pays balance of Miss Ray's salary)	
Miss Osborn-----	\$35.00
TOTAL	<u>\$246.00</u>
 Add to this the rent of two machines-----	 \$ 5.00
Making in all	<u>\$251.00</u>
 If we get Miss Hauser, we will have to pay her at least-----	 \$ 70.00
Making the office force cost us-----	<u>\$321.00</u>

Now then, the press work costs \$100. a month, \$70.00 of which is for salary. We would not take on Miss Hauser before September, and would cut off Mrs. Babcock's salary for two months, which would amount to \$140.00. We would use Miss Reilly's services while she is here through the summer in preparing the way for the press work of the future,- that is, we would do all the corresponding, and get things under way. If we had Miss Minnie Hauser and one other clerk we would dismiss Miss Osborn, whose salary is \$35.00 a month.

To recapitulate, if we had, in addition to Elizabeth and myself, Miss Andrews and one other stenographer, Miss Minnie Hauser for the books and Miss Ray for the general office work, Elizabeth and I could attend to Progress and the press work ourselves.

This is no new idea; we have thought about it for some time, but have not been able to present it to the Business Committee. I believe that a good deal better work could be done by corresponding with the State press people, as we could do so much better from Headquarters than Mrs. Babcock could. Then, too, we want to make our press work a little more efficient, and not quite so diffuse. For instance, Anna Nathan Myers had an article in the

[June 20, 1906]

--5--

New York Times, in which she said all sorts of awful things about the Oregon campaign. I immediately replied, at the request of Mrs. Maud Nathan, and it was promptly published in the same paper. Then, too, there was an article in the Cleveland Press from Mrs. Corbin, which I refuted, and they published my reply. And now Elizabeth is to have a splendid article published in the New York World, with pictures of Miss Clay and yourself, which they asked for.

The more I think about it the more enthusiastic I am about having the press work done at the place where the information is gathered. Elizabeth has been furnishing Mrs. Babcock with all sorts of articles since the early spring, and we feel as if we could do it.

Of course I must have your opinion of this before you sail, as I shall have to notify Miss Osborn and make arrangements for some one else; and Miss Hauser must have plenty of time to notify her people. Then again we will want to have any extra time through the summer to work up the press work,- that is, the preparatory press work, which you know is necessary.

I did not mean to write you at such length, and I am afraid I have been a little bit too diffuse. However, I hope I have made myself clear.

Cordially yours

HTU.-

Harriet Taylor Upton

copy

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPRON, Warren, Ohio.

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

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

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Philadelphia, Pa. June 21, 1906.

My dear Mrs. Biggers:-

I do not know whether to congratulate you or not on the incoming of your territory as a State into the Union. I must confess, I had hoped that that result would be left over until next Winter, because having come through so strenuous a campaign so recently, I dreaded the very thought of another even as remote as yours but now that the State is in, we must decide upon a plan of action and I am very sorry that I shall not be in this country long enough to hear from you before making suggestions myself, as I would prefer that the first suggestions should come from you, but as there is no time for this, I am obliged to write to you first without hearing what your plans are.

First: To my mind the first thing to be done is to interview every man who is to be a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, see how he stands on this question and the persons to do it are your own people. It would not be at all advisable to have outside women in the State at this time, that is, according to my views, to do this kind of work. There is a feeling of State pride and jealousy which makes the men resent what they call outside interference or to have outside women make these suggestions or labor with the men, and it might create more antagonism at the very outset of your campaign. Now, some will say to you, dont have the women, do have the men, but I think that would be unwise also, as unwise as it would be to have all women and no men. The very first objection that would be raised in that case would be that the women themselves do not care anything about it and that it was the action of a few men who wanted to gain some political position by doing it, but the united action of men and women would disarm this whole thing. It would not be wise to have women alone because some women would claim it was all petticoat women etc. The best way to do it to have men and women work together. First, learn who expects to be nominated and what particular community has a right to nominate anybody, and then try to influence the nominee or the men who make the nominations to select those who are favorable to suffrage or who will favor Suffrage enough to put a Suffrage plank in the constitution. The best way to have that plank put in would be in the body of the Constitution. I fear they will not do it, but an effort ought to be made to get it done. Then, if they will not put it in the body of the Constitution we will have to take it as a special resolution if they give it to us all. All the preliminary work should be done by your own clubs, knowing that they have done so pretty thoroughly especially over the State and are in good working order. You should send a letter to every one of the Clubs urging them to use their influence in the selection of the delegate or to persuade the delegate who is elected to favor a suffrage plank in the Constitution, or rather, not to exclude women from the suffrage clause of the Constitution; that would be much better than having any specific plank. If, in the Constitution they should say "every citizen 21 years of age etc." rather than every male citizen, that is a better way and the only real way to have it done, but if you cannot do it that way then get some one to favor a Suffrage Resolution for women. Then when the Convention is called you will need a woman in your State to have charge of the campaign work. You need a level-headed woman, who would not be rash nor obtrusive and who is an Oklahoma woman. By all means the woman who manages should be an Oklahoma woman and not an outside woman and I know of no other woman in Oklahoma who could do as you can. I am sure you will consider this confidential. I would not say a word if it were not absolutely necessary that I should for the sake of the cause, but by all means Mrs. Woodworth should not be the woman. She is not discreet nor dignified and antagonizes men constantly. That was the complaint about her everywhere she went in Oregon. I think she meant to do all right, but she was not wise in her approach of people, in her manners, and I think she is the last woman you should select to send to the

June 21, 1906

Mrs. Biggers

Sheet #2

Constitutional Convention. She ought not to be there if you hope to carry anything through and in this connection I want to say that I have heard it intimated that you are thinking of not holding the Presidency next year and that there is a possibility of Mrs. Woodworth being elected to that position. Now, I know of nothing that would be more detrimental to the cause and after all the money which the National has put into the territories and all the work which has been done there by you and our National Workers, we need to be exceedingly careful of the persons whom we send to the Constitutional convention. The impression made there will be of the very greatest importance and will affect the resolutions more than anything else and that is why I want to urge you over and over again to take this matter in charge yourself. If you feel that you need the advice and help of Mrs. Gregg I have no doubt but that as soon as she is rested, she will come to you and the National will be very glad to have her. But you will need in addition to yourself and your own local workers two good speakers to attend the Constitutional Convention two women who know something of political work, such as you and the other women in your State cannot now know because of your lack of experience, and I would recommend two women from Colorado where women have voted and I have suggested to the National Association that we ~~try to~~ secure for you Mrs. C.C. Bradford who has done some magnificent work in Oregon and Mrs. Helen Grenfeld, who is to my mind the most desirable woman in the State of Colorado for just the kind of work you will need to have done at your Constitutional Convention. She is a fine looking woman, dignified, well poised and a scholar and then she is magnetic, and a woman whom all men must respect.

Now, I do not know that we can secure the services of Mrs. Grenfeld as she is a Professor in the University, but if we can do so, she is the very woman who should go before your Constitutional Convention whenever it is held.

Now, with yourself to manage the work, with the assistance of Mrs. Gregg and your local women and with two Colorado Women or even a Colorado man and woman, to speak before your Convention, that is all that will be needed until after the Constitutional Convention; then if they put a Suffrage clause in the Constitution you will need to have a Campaign in which the National Association will assist you; but, if they do not put the Suffrage clause in the Constitution, then nothing can be done further until the State is organized, and you secure a sub-mission of an amendment to be voted upon. Now then, the work is not so very great until after we know what the men have decided to do, and let me just re-capitulate what I consider to be the plan to follow:-

FIRST Send a letter to every one of your local clubs and leading Suffragists over the State urging them to use their influence with the delegates elect to the Constitutional Convention to have the Suffrage clause in the Constitution, so formed as to include women.

SECOND: Urge in your letter that every man and woman in the State who believes in Suffrage shall write to the members elect from their own district urging them to be favorable to woman's suffrage in the new Constitution.

THIRD: With yours if, and if you desire it, with the assistance of Mrs. Gregg, decided how the head-quarters shall be managed at the capital where the Constitutional Convention is met. ^{mailed} Mrs. Gregg while she is not preeminently ^{an} ~~an~~ *an* *one* *of* *the* *best* *of* *our* *people* *and* *she* *is* *very* *helpful* *in* *her* *approach* *to* *the* *men* *is* *very* *helpful* *in* *her* *approach*, she meets people in a conciliatory way and I think would be helpful in that direction.

To man

one

FOURTH It will be very necessary to be careful of the women who are selected to approach the men to do personal work. Too much care cannot be given to this point.

FIFTH The National will aid you in securing two good speakers from the enfranchised states to address the Convention to do personal work there.

SIXTH If the Convention submits Woman's Suffrage the National will help you as far as possible in carrying on your Campaign.

SEVENTH If it does not submit a woman's suffrage amendment in any way

June 21, 1906

Mrs. Biggers

Sheet #3

then the only thing to do is to wait for the next legislature and then appeal it to submit an amendment to the Constitution.

It will not require very much money to do this work because your local people should do it gratuitously. That is, they should interview their own members and write letters, that is as little as anyone can do who really wants freedom. Then the head-quarters which you maintain at the capital ought to be very simple and inexpensive. The National will pay the salaries and expenses of the National workers

I leave for Europe on Saturday to attend the International Conference of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance at Copenhagen. I shall not return until September, but in the meantime Mrs. Upton will correspond with you and has authority to do whatever it seems best to do for Oklahoma and you can correspond with her in regard to it.

Mrs. Gregg is very tired and very much worn out. She will remain in Oregon a month or so and after that return to Table Rock, Nebraska for a short time where she will go to her Mother's home in Kansas. I am sure Mrs. Gregg would be willing to come back to help you if you feel you needed her, but if you prefer Dr. Woods, I have no doubt that Dr. Woods would also be willing to help you in the field although Dr. Woods told us that she did not feel that she could take charge of the Campaign for the Constitutional Convention now. How you may feel about it now I cannot say, but in either case whichever one of these two workers you think would be the most beneficial and helpful, the National would be very glad to furnish.

Miss Gordon would be an admirable one to go before your Constitutional Convention with you, but she will be away in Europe during this Summer. At least she could not go until Fall. Now, as I do not know when your Constitutional Convention will be held I cannot say definitely whether she could be with you or not but Mrs. Upton will be able to arrange these matters with you.

Trusting that the men of your State will not make an issue of woman's suffrage, but will so firm their Suffrage Clause in their Constitution as to include women, and that you women of the territory may soon be free, I am,

Faithfully,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, Susan B. Anthony,
17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw,
7443 Devon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice President at Large, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.



Corresponding Secretary, Kate M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

Recording Secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Dr. Annice F. Jeffreys, Portland, Ore.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Answered
Warren, Ohio, June 25, 1906.

Dear Miss Clay:

The sub committee of the National Association having in charge Campaigns and Organizations, which includes, speakers and lecturers, consists of Miss Shaw, yourself, and myself. You will remember that for a year I have been fussing about the Oklahoma business but Oregon was so imperative and so pressing that I could not get any satisfactory action from the Business Committee. Now the bill has come in with the Foraker amendment, as you will remember I thought in the beginning it would, and Miss Shaw has written the enclosed letter to Mrs. Biggers. It may be that you and I will have to do a good deal of the planning for this campaign and I am therefore enclosing the letter, a copy of which Miss Shaw sent me. When you have time read it and let me know what you think. I think we are in a very bad way in Oklahoma; none of the Business Committee seem to think there is a bit of hope there. Personally I have always wanted to go to Oklahoma myself and start the thing there, but of course it is impossible. I have always had a great deal of faith in it, but as no one else has, not even Mrs. Kelley, who is so apt to be hopeful, I feel sure that I am in so great a minority as to be wrong.

Another matter which has come to the attention of the sub committee is the question of employing Jenny C. Law Hardy of Michigan. I have heard of Mrs. Hardy before as a lecturer. She is an Australian woman and they say speaks very well. Mrs. Harper's daughter, Mrs. Cooley, has written to us in the most glowing way about her and her wonderful talent and Mrs. Hardy has applied herself to us for work. It seems she married an American and lives in Tecumseh, a little town near Detroit. Miss Shaw did not have time to write her fully, but has turned the matter over to me. I have written Mrs. Cooley and Mrs. Hardy as well that the sub committee of the Business Committee having this matter in charge is not willing to employ ~~an~~ a National organizer a woman who has not had experience in the State. If Mrs. Hardy is very anxious to do work it would be wise to have her do some work for Michigan and get some experience. I have also written Mrs. Barnum, the president of Michigan, telling her that Mrs. Cooley says Mrs. Hardy will work for her expenses and urging her to employ her in the Michigan work. We have not held out the idea to Mrs. Hardy that if she is an entire success in Michigan that the National would employ her regularly or anything of the kind, still I do think when people want to work and are willing to work for their expenses, we ought to urge States to try them. I knew that you would not want me to write to you for your opinion in regard to this, so attended to it and am reporting to you.

[June 25, 1906]

I have a nice long letter this morning from Mrs. Stockwell and one from Mrs. Farmer; also from Miss Gordon. The latter says she saw you en route home and the former say they saw you at their picnic. All this is very gratifying to me because I know it would do you good to go to their outdoor meeting and it would do them good too. I shall be so glad when I hear direct from you.

I have also a letter from Mrs. Boyer and she says she is going to try to come to Headquarters for a few days. I have written her ordering her to come; I have got to see somebody who was in the Oregon campaign. Then too I want to talk to her about the press work.

Miss Shaw had a great time getting off. She was delayed in Oregon, as you know, and then was delayed en route by washouts and missed me in Cleveland because I could not leave father; she arrived in Rochester just in time to be there for the probating of Miss Anthony's will and then had only three days at home in Philadelphia to attend to her correspondence and get herself packed for Europe. I had ten letters from her in two days. It did seem funny indeed since I had not had anything to speak of in weeks. I think in the beginning of this preparation she was awfully bothered and troubled, but towards the end she was just stunned and said when she got aboard the ship (she wrote me a letter at three o'clock in the morning and another at four and then sent a line back by the pilot) she was so tired that she was not even feeling badly about going away.

Cordially yours,

HTU-J.

Harriet Taylor Upton

June 26, 1906. Richmond, Ky.

My Dear Mrs. Upton,

Here I am in old Kentucky again! I arrived Saturday night at twelve o'clock, read my letters Sunday, went to the farm yesterday, and am going to try to answer some of my letters today and go to Lexington tomorrow, as one of my houses has had the roof burned and I shall have a summer's work having repairs made to it.

THE BRUCE MONEY. After I received your letter offering to secure a mortgage for me, I recalled that I think the law in this state does not allow a trustee to invest money out of the state in loans. I shall inquire about that on my reaching Lexington; and if I may do so, I shall very gladly accept your offer to get a mortgage loan for me for two thousand dollars. I can advance the extra hundred dollars till I sell the lot, which I suppose I shall do very promptly. If you write to me in the next few days, address me at Lexington, and I shall notify you promptly what I can do about the money.

On another sheet I send my final account with the National for receipts and expenditures. I sent an account to Miss Shaw at the Portland headquarters for expenses I incurred for a meeting for Mrs. Bradford; and that has not been paid yet. But personally I have nothing to do with that. I do owe Miss Shaw personally one dollar for a telegram sent me in her care, which I forgot to speak to her about. If you settle Mrs. Bradford's expenses for meeting, please deduct the dollar.

In this enclosure I am going to answer with my comments the long letter Miss Shaw sent to ^u ~~Council~~ ~~Insurance~~ ~~Committee~~.

June 26, 1906

Account with N.A.W.S.A. from April 15th to June 6th, 1906.

Ticket to Albany.	2.45
Ticket to Mehama	1.15
Ticket to Mill City.30
" " " " Gates.10
" " " " "Detroit.65
Return ticket to Albany.	2.20
" " " Salem.85
Telegram about going to Silverton25
May 25th expenses to and from Silverton.	1.85
Fine 5th, return to Portland	1.65

Receipts.

April 16th. Collection at Mehama.	\$ 3.21
" 17th, " " Lyons.	1.69
" 18th, " " Mill City.	1.36
" 19th, after deducting \$1.50 for hall rent, at Gates,65
" 20th, no collection at Detroit.00
May 25th, Collection at Silverton,	4.57
	<hr/>
	\$11.48

The three cents surplus you can set down to ^{postage,} ~~other expenses,~~ as you see I have not put in anything but railroad fares or money paid out for impersonal expenses.

Laura Clay,

June 28th, 1906.

Richmond, Ky.

Richmond, Ky.

June 26th, 1906.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I want to thank you for your sympathy for what you know is my deep disappointment at the result of the Oregon campaign. I was perfectly hopeful from the first, and never lost confidence in the result; so I had to bear the blow in its full force. But I have no idea of yielding to the weakness to which I did yield when the school suffrage was taken from the second-class cities of Ky. I have learned to realize more that this work is God's cause, and He is the leader of all our campaigns. When He pleases He will give the victory; in the meantime for us "to doubt would be disloyalty, to falter would be sin". I trust I may be strong enough to do neither. But as you very justly say, knowledge of these truths does not prevent us from suffering; and in this suffering mutual sympathy is very comforting; and so I thank you.

In answering your letters to the Business Committee, I think it easiest to follow the headings of the letter from ^{of June 20th,} Miss Shaw, which she requests us to answer to you.

OKLAHOMA. I think Miss Shaw's idea of throwing some responsible work upon the Oklahoma women themselves is admirable. That was a great lack in Oregon, - so few felt any personal responsibility; they were willing to take what was given them, and never seemed to realize that they should be straining every nerve. So greatly am I impressed by the importance of the women themselves taking a vigorous stand that I would be willing to let that be the criterion by which we shall judge whether or not we shall carry on a very hard fight in Oklahoma. If they do what they can I should vote to act as we did in Oregon and put up the best fight we can, irrespective of whether some of us are hopeful of the results or not.

[June 26, 1906]

We were all hopeful of Oregon, and our victory there is at least deferred. From the fact of the Initiative, we could afford to follow a lesser hope there than in Oklahoma; and if the women do not show both willingness and ability to help themselves, I shall need a great deal to make me sanguine. If they do show such qualities, however, I shall consider that the very best augury of victory, and shall think that we should do our best, remembering that we have no clear precedents which we can follow; but that we must push every opportunity, not knowing which one will lead to success. I hope, therefore, that all of us will do what we can to urge the Oklahoma women to help themselves; and I think the line of action outlined by Miss Shaw the best that can be done till cooler weather. I have received a very nice letter from Mrs. Biggers, expressing appreciation of what we have done in Oregon, which shows a fine spirit in her, and one which makes me feel hopeful that the Oklahoma women will stand the test we propose. In answering it, I shall dwell on this point as much as I can do with propriety. I have no objection to Miss Shaw's selection of Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Grenfell to act for us in the Constitutional Convention; though I think we should make the Oklahoma women clearly understand that we expect, and in fact, demand, that they shall provide a home woman or women, to act with the representatives of the National. Right here I would like to say that I am very desirous of sending some one, Mrs. Bradford by preference, to Arizona, to try to get an amendment by legislative action this winter. I saw Mrs. Bradford in Oregon, and she expressed the definite opinion that she thought it could be done, now that Brodie was no longer Governor. She thought some preliminary work should be done before the elections, - that is, beginning

June 26, 1906

3

in September. It seems to me that either Mrs. Bradford or Dr. Woods would be suitable to go to Arizona or to Oklahoma. How would it do to ask Mrs. Biggers to decide which one of these she would prefer to do the work in the Constitutional convention, and then to send the other to Arizona? I note that Dr. Woods says she has not the nerve to undertake to engineer the work; and I, after our experience in Oregon, am averse to throwing the whole responsibility of any important campaign upon any one person. I think that is one of the lessons the Oregon campaign should teach us. It may not have struck Miss Shaw so forcibly; for when she got there the office force was fully organized and she had the counsellors at hand whom both she herself and the Association most depended upon. Miss Gregg's greatest failure was that she did not know how to select proper counsellors for herself, and none had been provided by the Business Committee. I shall advise against that danger hereafter. If we think an Oklahoma woman is competent, we should associate her with our representative; otherwise, we should provide one or more persons with whom our campaign manager would be bound to consult, not only by courtesy, but by distinct understanding. I know the weakness of divided responsibility; but until we have proved the superior capability of some one campaign manager, I think that danger less than what we risked in Oregon by putting even a well-known organizer in a position where there were no precedents to guide her, and where the labor of directing was too great for any one person who had not remarkable executive ability. In view of all the risks as I see them now, we may be very thankful that nothing worse came of it. I shall not vote for that thing again. As far as I can see, however, either Dr. Woods or Mrs. Bradford would be a good person, with proper coadjutors, to manage the Oklahoma campaign. In Arizona, I suppose

June 26, 1906

4.

either one alone, with local help, would be sufficient. Mrs. Grenfell would be a very superior helper in Oklahoma; but if she has school duties, I fancy it would be useless to depend upon her. If we think of doing so, we ought at once to get her promise to go.

After the convention work, I suppose we shall put in all the organizers we can; and I believe we should send Miss Gregg there again. As I wrote you before, my confidence in her usefulness to us has not been withdrawn by the untoward circumstances of the Oregon campaign. I only think we should be more guarded in the place and responsibilities we select for her. She told me she felt the need of a long and complete rest; but I think under the circumstances, the Business Committee should let her know as soon as possible that we expect to furnish her employment as soon as she was sufficiently recovered to go to work again. I write this now to make it clear to you how I would vote on a proposition to send her to Oklahoma. But not with such unlimited responsibility as we did in Oregon. Of course, if Miss Shaw decides to go to Oklahoma herself, some of the remarks I have made will not be applicable; but as we may have to make some decisive move before she returns what I have said may not be premature.

PROGRESS. Here is a great, big subject; and one on which I have one desire that probably is in conflict with what was voted in Baltimore. I am very willing to have it a monthly, but I am not willing to have the price changed from 10 to 25 cents. Of course, I know that we cannot make it pay for itself at 10 cents; but we need it for other purposes than paying for itself. Miss Shaw speaks of it as a necessary means of communicating with the members. I also look upon it as important there; particularly in connection with the remarks I am going to make later upon increasing the membership. I think we

[June 26, 1906]

can get practically every club to subscribe for it out of their membership fees, and still continue them at the low sum of 50 cents, if the subscription is 10 cts. At 25 cts/, this is impracticable. We all know that the cheapest means of propaganda is through the press. Why do we not ~~frankly~~ frankly accept the fact, therefore, and make up our minds to run Progress on a deficit, just as we always have to do with organizing? We could roll up large subscription lists at meetings on 10 cts, which we could not do on 25 cts. As I understand, the cheapness of mailing the free copies is a great item with us, and must be so, if we are to use Progress as a campaign instrument.

Another thing which I think ought to appeal to us is, that I have observed that subscribers to papers which cost 25 cts complain as much when they miss a copy as if it were a high-priced paper. I did not notice that this is the case with Progress, when I was in Warren. This is a very important matter, when we remember that we wish to publish Progress very much according the demands of the situation in a campaign. As I take it, we want a little sheet to go to as many members as possible; to take the place of the syndicate articles for the press which Mrs. Babcock has been issuing; and something we can send in large numbers on cheap postage in states where we may have a campaign. All of these objects demand as cheap a publication as the postal laws will allow; and if we succeed in them we will save time and money which we have been expending in other ways to accomplish. Now let us just ~~gain~~ go on publishing Progress at ten cents; then we can print it as a monthly, a fortnightly or a weekly, or omit some numbers altogether, just as we think the situation requires without consulting the subscribers

[June 26, 1906]

6.

and without setting some of them by the ears when something is done which we had not agreed to do. Why should we even promise that more than four copies should be sent in the year? Let us promise as little as possible, and that will give them the least chance to find fault. Perhaps you do not know that we thought in Oregon that it might be a good thing, in our next campaigns, to publish our own little Progress where the campaign was being carried on, thus keeping it in touch with the local situation and keeping the members over the country accurately informed of the campaign. This gives emphasis to Miss Shaw's comment that she thinks we ought to get Mrs. Boyer to edit Progress. When there is no campaign she can help in Headquarters; when there is a campaign, she and Progress can move together to the field of action. I thought this a great idea; and so I agree with Miss Shaw about putting Progress in Mrs. Boyer's hands. Do write to me if you think we can make Progress a monthly and still keep the price at 10 cts. Of course I know we must lose money in publishing it; but are there other difficulties which I have overlooked?

Additional CLERK. I have partly answered this by the preceding remarks; but if Miss Minnie Hauser should prove as valuable to us as Elizabeth has, it would be a pity to lose this opportunity of attaching her to our work. You remember that for a long time I have wished to attach Mrs. Boyer to our work, and now that she has shown what she can do, everyone thinks her a treasure. Perhaps your knowledge of Miss M. Hauser leads you to think the same thing of her. In that case I believe there is plenty of profitable work to put in her hands; possibly in connection with Increase of Membership and the subscription list of Progress, which ought to be kept and managed from Headquarters, even if the paper was being published in a state

June 26, 1906

7.

where a campaign was going on.

DIRECT MEMBERS. Now we have come to what I am most clear in my own mind upon - we must have more members, and I think the proposition of Direct Members may be made to work to advantage in states where there are no real auxiliary associations. I am pleased that you wish to do the principal work in those states. I agree with you that it would be a proff of weakness if the convention should meet in Chicago with nothing done along this line after the contention in Baltimore over altering the constitution. At least, some experiment should be reported, which would be instructive either as a success or as an example of what could not be done. In this matter I agree with you and indidentally I like Miss Shaw's comments only so far as they warn of some dangers. I wish I could talk with you about this; and as I am one of the sub-committee on Organization, I feel it comes as much within the province of that sub-committee as of any other. At any rate, I think that sub-committee ought to work very cordially with the treasurer on this line.

I have read Mrs. Kelly's proposal to find young women to train in our work with much approval. As I wrote to you some time ago, my views on the necessity of a larger membership have grown more clear, and hereafter I expect to be insistent that the very best wits of our Association shall be employed in finding new methods of organization. I am confident what we have is not suited to our needs. Two great requirements appeal to me: 1st: we must lighten the work and simplify organization at every possible point.

2nd: we must make it possible for one woman in each organized state to make her living in the Suffrage work.

Now I think your idea of putting someone in the unorganized states to

[June 26, 1906]

8.

collect Direct Membership dues is an fine one for an experiment which may prove very satisfactory. Miss Shaw quotes the example of Kansas as a failure; I do not think so. The first year was an encouragement to Kansas and the whole NA.W.S.A. the mistake was that the Kansas Asso. did not add enough to the fees collected for Mrs. Moyer to continue the work the next year. If this had been done, she would have the 900 old members to have commenced with, and she might have added another 900. Is not this something of what Miss Gordon and Mrs. Kelley mean by the work of a field secretary? Whether it is ornate, I think it is well worthy of a fair trial, and I shall be glad to have you put it in execution this summer. How would this work? Let a responsible person, endorsed by the National, be sent into a promising, but unorganized state, to collect Direct Membership dues of one dollar a head. Let ten cents be applied to a subscription for Progress, ten cents to the National dues, and the remainder to the salary of the field secretary. If the field secretary collected her own salary we could hardly wish anything better. If you were satisfied with the reports of her work, it would be wise to pay something, if her collections were not sufficient for a reasonable salary. Let her work up one state for a few months or up to the Chicago convention. Then if a better method of organization is suggested, it would be easy to form clubs of these detached members, for clubs could exist with 50 cent membership dues and still subscribe for Progress at ten cents. You see where my anxiety for the 10 cent subscription comes in. With each member receiving Progress, the members would be as well, even better instructed, than they are in the regular clubs with stated meetings. I trust you will persist in your wish to try some experiment this summer; and as Miss Shaw

June 26, 1906

9.

says she will not oppose if other B.C. members like the plan, I hope you will not fail to put it into execution. You know Miss Chase first developed her valuable qualities very much on this line of door-to-door visiting, and now she has turned out one of our most valuable workers. It is true, she had the advantage of working in her own state; and our field secretary should be carefully selected, to guard against her "taking certain kinds of advantage of people and making promises", of which Miss Shaw speaks, and which ought to be guarded against. But I think she could be looked after sufficiently not to run into that trouble.

How would it do to ask Miss Chase to do that kind of work in Indiana till we needed her in other fields? How would it do to, ask Dr. Woods to experiment in the summer months in South Dakota? These names are mere suggestions. I am anxious for you to find any one you are willing to trust, and to go to work at once, and wait for nobody nor for cool weather. Do write to me about this. Any plan you form to make a movement along this line will receive my sympathy.

In Oregon Mrs. Bradford said she was going to try to get all the women's club members to become members of the N.A.W.S.A. by paying ten cents a year. I told her that was all we had a right to require of an auxiliary state, and the state would be entitled to representation in proportion to paid-up members. You might urge her up to doing it, for though Miss Gordon has that in charge, she can do nothing on account of her European trip.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. I am willing to leave this to Mrs. Kelly and Miss Gillette.

BEQUESTS. I have no suggestions to make at present.

ANTHONY MEMORIAL. I think it best to wait till next convention before doing

June 26, 1906

10.

about it.

CHICAGO CONVENTION. In cutting down the program I hope we will not cut the time we have been giving the States. They asked to be heard and I think we should not disregard their request.

MISS EDDY. Why cannot we wait till next convention to act on this, also?

HISTORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES. No suggestions.

Convention DATES. I think the resolutions passed have had a very favorable effect on public opinion, and this is a good way to work.

MRS. MCCULLOCH. No suggestions.

GENERAL FEDERATION. If, as I suppose, this refers to the Letter from the Industrial Advisory Board, it is one of the best things we have ever had.

YOUNG WOMEN. I approve these suggestions.

MOTHERS' CONGRESS. I know nothing of this.

MRS. KELLY. I would like to have Mrs. Kelly and Mrs. Avery both on our National board; but I differ diametrically from Miss Shaw in her remarks about not needing a representative from each section of the country. In an earlier part of her letter she says states' rights feeling is growing in this country (under the head of Oklahoma). I think the fact is, that states' rights feeling has always been strong, but that she has just now waked up to the fact. The sectional feeling is even stronger, and to ignore it in the make-up of our Board would, I believe, greatly weaken our hold on the sympathy and interest of our people; and our hold on these is our only strength. I can imagine few things more forlorn than a little coterie of women from one section of the country, and probably that the least representative of the country at large, trying to engineer a great movement that must touch the hearts of the people to succeed, while they do not admit to

Σ June 26, 1906 J

II.

their closest counsel a single person who can interpret at first hand the desires and feelings of the people among whom they must do their principle work. I fancy Miss Shaw may be thinking we can get some one to do us more service than Dr. Jeffreys, though this is only a surmise on my part. Whether a surmise or not, however, I think the Association would make a grave mistake not to keep a representative of the Pacific Coast on our Board till the campaign of Oregon is done, and until the attitude of California and Washington is determined. Some of the hardest blows we received in Oregon was from the fact that so many easterners were in evidence; and our surest defense from that form of attack was that one of the small Business Committee was an Oregon woman. Where we would have been without that, I dread to think of. Surely, our organization is not so inelastic that we cannot obtain the counsel of any desirable person without insulting any portion or section of the country by the intimation that a woman of ability cannot be found to represent it on the representative Board of the Suffrage Association. Mrs. McCulloch is not on the Board, yet she does good service; and the same could be said of many other women. But I believe my views are too well known to dwell on them longer on this point.

OREGON. I came a large part of the way with Miss Gordon, and she told me what she had done in securing the services of Miss Pease, of which I have entirely approved. If we could get more trained Oregon women it would be invaluable to us in the next campaign.

Mrs. Wood Swift. No suggestions to make now.

Will go to Lexington tomorrow and will write again. Love to all.
Cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

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

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

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

June 29, 1906.



Answered July 5.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I think we are all agreed that we promised the Oklahoma people through Laura Gregg, and reiterated through Dr. Woods, that we would help them in the suffrage Campaign in Oklahoma. Before Miss Shaw went to Europe, she wrote Mrs. Biggers, giving her some very good advice and some encouragement and suggesting that the people of Oklahoma ought to do the preliminary work of the Constitutional Convention; that they ought to interview the delegates to this convention and prepare the way for the speakers whom we would send at that time. She then suggests that we send two Colorado women and two Colorado men instead of some one from the east. She says that she thinks where we possibly can, we must have the states do their own work in order to educate them and because of the feeling of state rights. As soon as Mrs. Biggers and Dr. Woods received this letter, they replied immediately to me. Dr. Woods says that she is very much alarmed for fear she gave Miss Shaw the idea that the Oklahoma people would do their own preliminary work. She says if she did do this, she did not intend to, and that if we are going to make any kind of an appearance in Oklahoma, the National will have to send a worker there by the 1st. of September; and she says if anyone could stand the heat, she ought to go by the 1st. of August. Mrs. Biggers writes a splendid letter. She says she is going to try to do what Miss Shaw asks of her, but she feels so inadequate; and then Dr. Woods sends me a letter from Mrs. Biggers to her, in which Mrs. Biggers tells her how miserable she is; that although she is still trying to do her own work on the instalment plan as she says, she has to lie down every few hours because of a bad back. Mrs.

[June 29, 1906]

#280

Biggers' letter to me dates about the time of Dr. Woods' letter, takes it for granted that we are to send a National worker there, and she says that Miss Gregg and Dr. Woods have each done splendid work and that she does not like to take the responsibility of choosing which one of these people shall have charge. She says in a very nice way that she thinks the National Association pays the bill and it ought to pick the worker and she says she does not want to pick her herself because she knows them both so well and she thinks if she submits it to the Executive Committee there will be a difference of opinion; and that the thing will then start with a difference. I thought this showed good sense. Now then it is for you all to decide when our worker shall go to Oklahoma and who that worker shall be. I think the majority of the Business Committee have time and again expressed themselves as having no hope whatever of Oklahoma. Ms. Catt agrees with this opinion. I did not pay much attention to that because she has been so pessimistic of late. But when Mrs. Kelley said that she had no hope, it rather worried me. I really seem about the only person who has had any hope at all in regard to Oklahoma and I have not felt sure about it. But I notice that so many times in our work the thing which we are sure we can get, we do not get, and the thing which we think is impossible, comes to us. For instance, in none of the four free states, save Colorado, did we have any sort of a campaign, and it was really not our campaign, as we are loath to admit, which won Colorado. As this is now near the 1st. of July, if we are going to have an organizer by the 1st. of August in Oklahoma, there is no time to be lost. Some one of you has written me that you think either Dr. Woods or Miss Gregg will go if asked. Dr. Woods has repeatedly said to me that she could not go and take charge; that is be campaign manager, but maybe if she has to she will. I think those of you who were in the Oregon campaign feel that Mrs. Woodworth is a factor to be considered in the employment of Miss Gregg in Oklahoma. As Miss Shaw has gone and Miss Gordon is going, it really falls to me to receive your instructions for action.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Answered,

Warren, Ohio, June 25, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

Miss Shaw, as you know, has written Mrs. Babcock that her press work may stop the 1st of July and Mrs. Babcock has written that she will send all her material here to Headquarters. You know it has been two years now that she has been talking of giving up the press work and at Baltimore she said she could not go on with it but we begged her to until after the Oregon campaign. Just what will become of the press work is not known now. You have my communication in regard to the press work, Progress, etc., and of course I will begin to hear from you soon. And now that Mrs. Babcock writes me that she is going to send all the stuff here I fairly tremble for ever since I came into the office I have had a lot of stuff to put away. In the first place we had our own material and it was put away in fine order and I concluded to catalogue all that we had for reference as far as we were concerned and for other people as well and then I indexed all the material that was in the office so we would not have to spend a minute hunting anything and when that was over I brought down from my own garret all the Minutes and things which had accumulated there. We were then in fine shape. Then ~~all~~ the boxes *of this* came from Miss Anthony; we put these in storage, reconstructed our office somewhat and then all the periodicals, Hearings, and all these things came. There were letters and other written material which have been read and all put into their proper division. And now Mrs. Babcock writes that she has all sorts of things for the press work which might be useful and I really dread to see them come.

As I got so anxious to know where you all were and what you were doing I am going to say that this morning I received a nice long letter from Miss Gordon, telling me about the present conditions in Oregon. She said that she and Miss Clay accidentally met en route East and that they had to stay several hours in Minneapolis. Also that she was going directly home and would sail for Europe July 8th. I suppose the rest of you knew she was to sail then, but I had never heard. I have also had word that Miss Clay stopped in Minneapolis and attended the Minneapolis Political Equality Club picnic at Minnehaha and they were so glad to have her.

The last I knew of Mrs. Kelley she was in the field and had been at Hull House. I was so glad to see her so much better when she was in Headquarters.

Miss Shaw got off safely. I had a letter from her sent back by the pilot. It was a terrible struggle, however, as she only had three days at home and all sorts of aggravating things happened. I had ten letters from her inside of two days and she had to leave a lot of things unfinished. She wrote me a postcard at three o'clock

[June 25, 1906]

2.

and another letter at four, so I take it that she was up all that night. I do hope she will rest. She will if the sea is not too high.

I do not know how it seems to the rest of you, but it seems mighty good to me to have you all back in your own homes. Sometimes while you were all out there I did feel that I could not carry things, not that everything was not pleasant and comfortable in Headquarters, but the responsibility was so great and I did feel so much alone. I sometimes wonder how you dare trust me with so much, but I guess it is a case of have to.

Lovingly yours,

HTU-J.

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

June 29/1906

Dear Miss Clay:-

I am sending you a letter from Miss Hartman, which I wish you to consider as from a member of the Sub-Committee on Organization. You will remember this same woman wrote to us once or twice before, in exactly the same strain. I really could not think her a responsible person, and was rather distressed to receive letters from her, or to have anything to do with her, but Mrs. Werth said she thought her a nice person, and we continued corresponding with her. Now she is beginning again exactly as she did before, talking so silly about flattering those men, not wanting her name known, &c.. It seems her father objects to her having anything to do with suffrage, and that man legislator in particular, I think. I was going to write her that I did not think the National Association would attempt any kind of work whatever in Missouri, because there are a hundred other fields taking in municipalities, which are better than Missouri, and that I did not think we would do much in New Mexico, on account of the indifference there, the Indian women, etc., but of course we were going to turn our attention to Arizona as soon as possible. However, before doing this, I would like to be able to say that the Sub-Committee on Organization so think. I know Miss Shaw does.

If you think it wise after you read this to write again to Miss Hartman, do so. I really think Mrs. Werth is such a nice old lady that she would not be apt to take in such a personality.

June 29, 1906

--2--

I have just received your long letter, and I am not going to answer it now. My maid is ill and has gone away, I have no one in the kitchen, and therefore was at home all the forenoon, so I am pretty busy just now.

I am hoping that Mrs. Boyer will be here in a few days, and then when we have talked the matter over with her I shall send out the vote as Miss Shaw instructed.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton