

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.

July 3, 1906.

Dear Miss Clay,

In a letter I dictated to you this morning, I said that the \$2000 0 mortgage had been taken up, but I did not understand that you wanted to know about the \$1100 00 mortgage. That I took for Miss Reilly and Minnie Hauser so that is gone, but I think there will be no trouble about my placing your money on good city property here when the money is ready.

I am so sorry about your having had a bad fire at your home.

I note that you say you wish I could go to Oklahoma and run the campaign. I am sure I am very much flattered by having you make such a suggestion. However, I have had no experience whatever in campaign work and doubt very much if I could do it. However, as it is not possible for me to leave either home or the machinery business, it is out of the question. It is a matter of great gratification to me, however, that you and I could have worked all one winter side by side and that our respect and love each for the other grew under those circumstances. So often the opposite is the case.

I am overpowered with the case that there is in Headquarters although I make as light of it as I possibly can. Miss Hauser wants to know if you are not coming up to stay with us part of next winter.

I think, no matter what Miss Shaw says, that we will push the direct memberships. I really do not think that was her calm judgment. You know if she gets a little tired she is apt to say a thing like that and then if we follow her directions, she really does not want us to. Once or twice

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I have followed her directions just for meanness in such cases. I hope I will never be that mean again.

Cordially yours,

HPU-A

Harriet Taylor Upton

Dear Miss Clay.

The enclosed are ~~statements~~ receipts to apply on your last statement. Please sign & return the one which belongs here.

I wish I could tell you how much I appreciate your work in the Oregon Campaign & how very much I admire & honor you. When I heard that we were really defeated I said at once that I cared more on your account than on any one's else.

Affectionately yours

M. S. Andrews

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

July 3, 1906.

Dear Miss Clay,

I think that I will be able to find in a little time a \$2000 00 loan for you, but the one which I could have gotten some weeks ago has been taken up. I am particularly interested to get new houses. I like to take the houses which young people build and which they have put into the Building & Loan, because when young folks begin to save, as a rule they continue to save and you never have to foreclose the mortgage. I do not like to take mortgages on old property, because as a rule, people along in years, who have to mortgage their property, have a hard time keeping the interest going, unless of course they are using their property to build other houses or something of that kind. I will look into the matter in a few days and let you know.

You speak of not having heard from me. It seems to me I have written you a great many letters. You will get more of them in Richmond.

You will be glad to know Mrs. Boyer was here yesterday. I am rather afraid that we cannot have her at Headquarters because of the added expense. What I have been trying to do is to have Miss Minnie Hauser take hold of the commercial end of the office so as to relieve Elizabeth and myself of certain care and to let Miss Andrews have more time for the clerical work and thus we would not all be so dreadfully pressed; for really the person who does the commercial part of it ought not to have to do stenography and other things. However, we will be patient and it will come out all right. I have learned in the suffrage work that when it seems as if things were not

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coming right, really they were coming right, and I have gotten rather philosophical about the work. If I were as philosophical about my private affairs as I am about the suffrage work, it would be well.

Sometime ago, I cut out the enclosed clipping and wondered if we could find out anything about this man. I have learned by experience that it is not wise to write to an unknown person because very often we get a crank saddled on us. It has occurred to me, since you southerners are more or less connected that there is a bare possibility that you know someone in Florida who could find out what sort of a man this is. If you can, do so, and if you cannot, tear up the clipping, because I cannot follow it further.

Yours very truly,

HFU-A

Harriet Taylor Upton.

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DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.

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



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

Answered July 5, July 3/1908

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

THE EDDY PICTURE: I had intended to send you a vote on the Eddy picture, but as Miss Shaw is in Europe, and Miss Gordon soon to go, it seems foolish for me to do so. I am therefore going to write Miss Eddy that I have corresponded with some of the members of the Business Committee, and we feel that we ought to make an effort to sell her picture, for the \$1,000 which the Association would get, on account of her generosity, because the picture is a good one, and for her mother's fidelity to the cause, but that there are so many plans presented to us for the sale of pictures, for monuments, and for memorials to Miss Anthony, we have concluded to wait until fall, when we shall hold our Business Committee meeting, before we decide upon what memorial we can adopt; that the question of her picture will naturally come up at that time, when a better solution of the matter will be arrived at. Then, too, Mrs. Gatt seemed quite interested in this picture, and I believe wrote Miss Eddy that she would try to have it hung in some one of the prominent hotels in New York City, where it could be seen by many people, and where a visiting committee from the art gallery might have an opportunity to study it. I am sure this is the best arrangement we can make, and I hope you will all feel that I have done right in the matter. Time is too precious just now to use it in discussing such indefinite things.

JOHNSON BUST: There seems to be quite a stir-up among the rank and file in our Association in regard to the Johnson bust. It seems that, although this has been everlastingly talked over, in

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convention and out of convention, in season and out of season, in year and out of year, people have suddenly grasped the idea that Mrs. Johnson has had our money and our property also, and I have recently received numerous letters suggesting that we sue her, that we replevin the busts, and do all sorts of things. I think perhaps the fact that she has sold the original to the art gallery in New York, or a duplicate of the original, (reports vary), has added fuel to the fire. Then the National Council has formed an Anthony Memorial Committee, and in their executive session in Toledo recommended the purchase of a duplicate of this Anthony bust of Mrs. Johnson's. At any rate, the question is up. When people write me I put them off, but I feel that I ought to be armed with authority, and am therefore enclosing a few votes, which I wish you would return to me just as soon as you possibly can.

Knowing Miss Anthony so well, I thought perhaps Mrs. Johnson might have written her in a certain way in regard to the bust, and that Miss Anthony, never dreaming for a moment that she would keep the \$3,000 and the bust too, might have written something which she (Mrs. Johnson) might keep as testimony in the case. I wrote Miss Mary to this effect, asking if she thought this could have occurred, and she replies as follows: "I feel quite sure Sister Susan never thought Mrs. Johnson would keep the bust and the money too, and surely would not write in that way to her. I have never seen her more tried over any business affair than in that very one."

MRS. BOYER: Yesterday Mrs. Boyer arrived at Headquarters, where she remained only four hours, and you may be sure our head fairly swam with the wagging of our tongues. I never was so glad to see anyone in all my life, because she gave me the ins and outs of the Oregon campaign. I did so wish that Mrs. Kelley were here, she and I being the only ones who didn't know what was

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occurring, being so remote from the field of action, and the workers there being too busy to take the time to write us fully. However, this letter is in regard to Mrs. Boyer coming to Headquarters. She says she cannot say positively about coming until she has seen Mr. Boyer; that she is forty-six years old and he ten years older; for years he had a very good position as accountant with a company, that he was a stockholder in the business, that they joined the trust, there was some little trouble, and as he could not conscientiously do certain things which the company asked of him he resigned his position, and since then has had other work; that at present they are living in Pulaski, Va., that she despises the little town, and that although they live at a very good hotel, and are comfortable in many ways, she does not feel it is permanent, in fact she knows it is not; she says the receivership of another company he in in may expire any minute, and then of course they would leave there. She feels Mr. Boyer is not at all well; when she went to Oregon she was mistaken in regard to the time she would be there, that she thought it might be three months, and it really was nine. She is very anxious about him; last year she wanted him to take a rest for a year or so, and he may do so now; if he does she can come to Headquarters; if he does not, she cannot come; says he does not want to take the rest, as their son is in college, and he says they cannot afford it; but she is anxious to have him do so on his own account, and because she wants to work for suffrage, that she could work twenty hours out of every twenty-four, she loves it so I have asked her to talk the matter over with Mr. Boyer, and let us know her terms just as soon as possible, because it will necessitate some changes with us here, and it makes a great difference of course in many ways even now. I believe it would undoubtedly be a good

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thing for the Association for Mrs. Boyer to come to Headquarters, but when she laid her plan before us both Elizabeth and I nearly fell by the wayside, it was so elaborate and would entail such great expense. It would require all her time, and as she was making \$80.00 a month before going into the campaign, she would want I presume \$100. a month to come away from home, and as she wishes to do things so thoroughly she would have to have a stenographer of her own;- in other words, we would not be able to do what I have been hoping we might accomplish, and that is to give Elizabeth and myself a little respite. It would simply add another strenuous department to the work at Headquarters. . However, these details will all be considered when we hear from Mrs. Boyer as to whether or not she can come. When she submits her proposition we can see what we think about it. What I had hoped for was to have someone who could help at the head of things so that occasionally Elizabeth and I could have a day off, or a little rest of some kind. A few evenings ago while at work in my pantry, Mr. Upton asked if I had been crying, said I looked so sad, and I told him that I planted some flowers in the garden two years ago, that last year they were growing, but this season they were in full blossom, and I did so want to look them over and enjoy them a little, but that I couldn't even take time enough from the work to spend a few minutes in my own garden. Of course you all say that I ought to take a vacation and all that sort of thing, but how can I leave the office with all this important work to be done? I know it is hard to work under a strain, and my work is sometimes easier than yours, but it is so everlasting, every day and every night and every minute.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Received July 9:

Warren, Ohio, July 3rd, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which Mrs. McCulloch sent me some time since. I have referred to the matter once or twice but now that most of you are home I hope you will read this carefully. It does seem as if opportunities were opening up in so many directions that ones head fairly gets dizzy.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

July 5, 1906. Lexington, Ky.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I have little or nothing to say in reply to your letter of June 29, in addition to what I said in my long letter of June 27th. I should be willing to have either Miss Gregg or Dr. Woods act in conjunction with Mrs. Biggers or some one else appointed by the Business Com. Please notice those clauses of my letter of June 27th in which I give my reasons for objecting to the Business Committee's appointing any one person to conduct the Oklahoma campaign. Possibly this point might be held over till the B. C. meeting in the fall, but I desire that it be placed before the members prior to their conclusion of the matter.

Mrs. McCulloch's letter. It certainly seems a modest request that Mrs. McCulloch makes, I give a grateful assent to it.

Letter of July 3. I enclose receipt for my final Oregon expenses. I think you have managed the finances splendidly to have such an

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amount left of the ^{2.} reserve fund. I did not think it could be done.

Bruce Legacy. I wish you would help me to invest the \$1900 which has been paid to me. I will not add anything to it myself unless I must to get the whole of a mortgage.

I am very sorry to say there is a hitch in selling the vacant lot; because I find it has been appraised much too high to me, by a mistake, as I suppose, of appraising the whole of the lot which once belonged to Wm. Bruce, but only one-third of which had been bought by Sarah Bruce. I am now investigating what can be done to correct the mistake. The lot is valued to me at \$2100, whereas it should have been valued at only \$700. But I will write more fully, after I have pursued my inquiries further.

Cordially yours,

1st enclosure.

No. 215 N. Mill, Lexington, Ky.
July 5th, 1906.

My dear Mrs. Upton, I am writing with a pencil and sending you the carbon sheet, because it is the plainest.

I send my votes about the Johnson bust. I do not think we can afford to go into a law suit which is sure to cost money, when we have no chance to get money if we win; for, as I understand it, it was not the N. A. W. S. A. money which was paid for the bust, but subscriptions from members of the Assn. It is very hard to submit to such injustice; but we can console ourselves with the reflection that a valuable bust of Miss Anthony is extant.

The Eddy picture. I think you answered Miss Eddy with perfect tact. Mrs. Boyer. I am glad to hear there is a likelihood of getting Mrs. Boyer to come to headquarters; and I shall await with interest her final decision. I note what

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you say about your disappointment in seeing nothing in Mrs. Boyer's outline of her plans which will offer some respite to you from the burdens you are now bearing. Now I am not going to recommend a vacation to you, for I know you cannot take it, and it would not serve the purpose, if you could. What I do say is, that when the Assn. makes a new departure or a re-adjustment of its branches of work, that you have a right to ask that one of the objects aimed at shall be to relieve the burdens of the treasurer, who is in charge of the head quarters. Putting Mrs. Boyer, or more generally speaking, putting the Press work in head quarters is the first move the Assn. has made for a long time which could be so directed as to relieve you of a portion of your burdens. Therefore, I say that you ought not to accept passively Mrs. Boyer's plans; but now that you have a general idea of them, you should insist that they shall be so modified as

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to afford you some relief. You should be studying out how this can be done. In fact, you are the only one who can suggest practical ways of doing. I am sure every one is convinced you should have some relief; and Mrs. Boyer should entail her plans so as to include help to you in this new move. There is not nearly so much reason why her plans should be unlimited as that you should have some relief. You know I have thought you ought to have help for a long time; and now I urge that you should study out how Mrs. Boyer's coming to headquarters can help you ^{first} and be compatible in carrying on the press work in place of Mrs. Babcock, ^{secondly}.

We cannot hope to do all we wish; I think help to you is our first requirement and now is the time and opportunity for you to claim it.

Cordially yours,
Laura Clay.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 6/1906

Dear Miss Clay-

Answered.

As you were not at the Baltimore Convention you never will know the ins and outs of it. Before going there Elizabeth and I were quite well convinced that Mrs. Babcock was not doing as good work as she had formerly done, and from our clippings we felt sure the papers were not taking the stuff she sent out. We also felt that the Association needed an organ very much. Miss Shaw had been saying this for years, but I felt that she was somewhat prejudiced against the Woman's Journal. Miss Hauser and I therefore made a calculation, and found that if we discontinued the present press work we could publish Progress as a monthly for about the same amount of money. I therefore addressed a letter to leading organizations in the United States, asking whether they had an organ, or whether they did our kind of press work, and whether they did both. I think that in no case did we find they were doing both. The majority have organs instead of doing press work. I then consulted the Business Committee in regard to abolishing the press work at Dunkirk, and taking it up at Headquarters, Miss Hauser and I to do it as occasion required, and to issue Progress monthly.

The Baltimore convention was the greatest meeting we have ever had, in the way of audiences and in the external influence which it created; the sponsorship of Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett worked wonders, but the inside spirit was just awful. Miss Shaw treated me shamefully. Now I have never said this to any other National officer. Miss Gordon knew it, because she was with me, and because she was treated in the same way. Miss Blackwell I think

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knew it, because she was treated, if anything, a little worse than I. But the truth of it all was that Miss Shaw was so excited over the attention shown her by Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett, and the prospect of having a salary, and all that sort of thing, together with her anxiety about Miss Anthony, that she did not pay much attention to the convention, and somehow the delegates didn't get together; the love and harmony which usually exist we did not have at all. Miss Shaw (for some reason which I have never known and never will) scarcely mentioned Headquarters, or any of the work which we had done through the year. This was in such great contrast to the treatment I had always received at the hands of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Catt---even when relations with the latter were strained---, and Miss Shaw's friendly attitude toward me the first year of her presidency, that I was almost heart-broken. I was not invited to the platform at all; once or twice when I was to speak I was cut down, and other unpleasant things were done; but I do not think Miss Shaw intended anything personal; I do think she had gotten to feel that the Headquarters was a very prominent and important part of the work, and since her whole life has been similar to the attitude of an actress toward the public, expecting and wanting applause, and so on, she has grown into the habit of treating rather shabbily anyone who rises to her height in the work. I may be all wrong about this, I do not know, but at any rate she was not at all fair to me. She was positively bitter to Alice.

The opening meeting of the Executive Committee introduced the question of the press work and Progress. At that time I was very much interested in the establishment of Progress. However, Miss Emily Howland, whose opinion I value, said she would feel it to be a great mistake if the press articles did not come to her lit-

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the town each week, and several others thought the same way. Miss Blackwell was very strongly in favor of the press work, and fearing error of judgment on my part I did not press my side of the matter. However, Miss Shaw was most anxious to have Progress established as a monthly, and to do away with the press work, although she did not hold to her point, and the question dragged along, through all the executive committee meetings, during the consideration of the plan of work, through the convention, and finally a vote was taken on it. The motion was carried to make Progress a monthly, provided it did not take money from the Oregon campaign, and provided money could be raised for its maintenance. The matter of the press work passed in exactly the same way. Then Miss Blackwell---who was still advocating press work---moved that in case we could not do both press work and Progress, that we do the press work anyway. This passed.

As I said in the beginning of this letter, the convention was not a very businesslike one, people didn't understand much that was going on, and when the vote was announced, and Miss Shaw saw that the press work had carried in preference to Progress, she was very much disturbed, and from the chair made an argument in favor of Progress against the press work. This created consternation throughout the convention, because people wanted to please her of course. Someone moved a reconsideration of this motion, but it did not get a two-thirds' vote; so that, although it is my impression a majority of the convention wanted Progress instead of press work, the motion carried the other way. Then we found ourselves in a peculiar predicament: We had no money, and we were to continue press work; we were to continue Progress, provided we had the money; The press work was preferred; When the only way in which we could

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run Progress and make it pay for itself in the course of a few months (we hoped) was to discontinue the expensive press work. Ever since then Miss Shaw has been wanting me to take up Progress and run it, and let the press work go to pieces, regardless of the vote of the convention. But of course I would not think of doing that.

Now then, as the convention voted on making Progress a monthly, provided we could raise the money for it, we set about to see how many subscriptions we could get at twenty-five cents, to plan a little about advertising, etc. The Oregon campaign came on, and we concluded not to do anything further in the matter until fall, thinking that of course at the close of the campaign we would have a business committee meeting. Instead of this, Miss Shaw writes to Mrs. Babcock to give up the press work and send all the stuff to Headquarters the First of July; several of you speak to Mrs. Boyer about coming to Headquarters to do the press work, and Miss Gordon fairly engages her. In the meantime, things have developed with Elizabeth and myself. Our families are growing older. Elizabeth has had a great deal of sickness in her family this year; her father has hardening of the arteries, and may never be real well; he has lived a long and useful life, working very hard; her mother is very much broken by the recent death of a younger sister, and is not at all strong; Elizabeth, as you know, is a bundle of nerves--- not nervous prostration kind, but real live nerves, without any foolishness at all--- she has grown thinner and thinner and thinner, until it breaks my heart to look at her; she does not say anything, but I feel that on the least provocation she might go all to pieces and have to give up the work, or at least take a long rest. You know exactly how I am situated. Father is almost entirely well as far as his paralysis is concerned; when alone with me he talks as

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plainly and as well (especially in the early part of the day) as before his illness, but he will be eighty-three years old on Sunday next, and is liable to have a return of his trouble at any time. The consequence is that I am never many hours out of his sight, and seldom leave him with anyone but Mr. Upton. I go to the office because Mr. Upton is in the house part of the day, but we never leave him at night, as neither of us cares to go out without the other. I have a very inefficient young girl, and do not seem to be able to get a better one. Now then, if something should come to Father at the same time that something comes to Elizabeth, or if I should be more strained than I appear to be---to all appearances I am perfectly well---, if Elizabeth should go to pieces with all she has had to endure, both mentally and physically, what would become of the machinery of the Association? I have thought about this long and well.

Now Miss Reilly, who was with Miss Shaw all last winter, came to Headquarters, as you know, to help us out through the summer, so much extra work having to be done here on account of the absence in the West of the majority of the National officers. She is an unusually good stenographer, fits right into the Headquarters, and is one of us; in fact we wonder that we ever were without her, and we don't know how we could get along without her now. Elizabeth has a sister, Miss Minnie, two years older than herself, a most competent bookkeeper. After thinking the matter over, both from our personal standpoint and from the standpoint of the Association's good, Elizabeth and I earnestly feel that we must make conditions at Headquarters a little safer for the security of the Association. I therefore wrote the Business Committee, asking if they were willing to have Elizabeth and ^{me} edit Progress monthly and do a

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certain amount of the press work, with Miss Minnie Hauser to take entire charge of the commercial part of the office, Miss Reilly and Miss Andrews the stenographic work, and Miss Ray to do the office filing, Progress work, and all the necessary odd jobs which take so much time and which a stenographer cannot stop to do.

After making a most careful calculation, and deciding to dismiss one of the stenographers we now have, we found we could make this arrangement, and the expense would be very little more, if any, than the Headquarters is costing now, plus Mrs. Babcock's salary.

When we came to look into Mrs. Babcock's methods, we decided we could do the press work quite as well as she has been doing it. I think she did splendid work in the beginning, but I believe now that conditions are very much changed we could do just as much, less expensively and much more effectively. For instance, - she might have a list of twenty newspapers in a State to whom she sent little articles, and we do not know how many of them were published. Now, however, the big city dailies are paying so much more attention to our cause; all the Hearst newspapers have regular columns devoted to suffrage; many of the city papers have a Woman's Page which no longer consists of sleeve patterns, barrel chairs, etc., but really gives space to our question. Now then, we can keep in touch with those papers, furnishing them articles and information, and they in turn will reach thousands and hundreds of thousands of readers, while the papers of smaller places reach only a few hundreds. Then, too, we plan to discover, if possible, the papers that are syndicating some of our articles, - in other words, to go at it in an altogether different way.

When we had this thoroughly planned, and felt we were doing exactly the right thing, word came from Miss Shaw, Miss Gordon,

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and most of the Business Committee, especially Miss Blackwell, that if we can get Mrs. Boyer to come to Headquarters we must have her. Mrs. Boyer stopped off here for a few hours on her way from Oregon, and we talked the matter over with her. She does not know as yet whether she can come or not; she seemed to think she could, and I believe she wants to come; but I rather think when she gets home and consults Mr. Boyer she will find she cannot. However, in case she does come, she is not coming to Headquarters to relieve Miss Hauser and me, nor to do the thing which we feel is all important, but is coming to add another department on an elaborate scale. In other words, instead of relieving us and helping to let down the strain a little bit so that if either of us wanted to be away for a half-day with a little comfort, this arrangement will make it much harder for us.

Now do not understand for a moment that I do not want Mrs. Boyer at Headquarters. I cannot think of anything pleasanter than to have her here in charge of the press work and Progress. It would be magnificent! But we have made a calculation, and as she now makes, without any effort, \$100. a month at home, she surely would not come here for less; and as she will have to have a clerk of her own, and the expense will be about the same for postage, etc., we cannot make this new department cost the Association any less than \$2500. a year.

We have exhausted all the funds which were in the general treasury; we have also used up a large part of our interest-bearing money;- in other words, at this date (I am dictating this at home, in the evening, and have not the books with me, but am making the state-

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ment from memory) about \$5,000 at interest, and no other money.

Of course if the Business Committee voted to have Mrs. Boyer come, and they feel we can afford to do it, I shall try my best to do what seems right; but somehow I fairly tremble at the thought of doing this, because it just seems as though I cannot have one more office burden added to what I already bear; neither do I feel that we ought to incur any such expense at this time.

I worked nearly all the forenoon on Oklahoma, trying to plan for Mrs. Biggers and to decide what was best for the future, and it did seem to be perfectly awful for us to start out on any elaborate press work costing as much as this will, when we have a chance in Oklahoma.

This is a long letter, I have tried to make it concise, but I wanted you to have the details before sending out my B.C. letter which will go soon after I hear definitely from Mrs. Boyer.

I left several letters on my desk from you when I came away from the office, which I will look over to-morrow and answer.

I am much concerned about Miss Shaw's affairs, she went away so hurriedly, and I had not seen her for so long and had no communication from her in regard to the work, that I am afraid things will go criss-cross. Then, too, Miss Gordon is not to return until December, which will leave a good deal of the ante-convention work in my hands.

I hope this letter will not seem to be a complaint, for I do not mean it so. I think the young women in my office feel that the Association does not realize how much we do all the time, but somehow I never expect them to realize it. You know how much we used to do, and we are now doing nearly twice the amount of work we did then. At that time there were four of us regularly, and now there are six, and we are busy every minute.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 6, 1906.

Answered.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I learn, upon investigation, that Mrs. Biggers is a very delicate woman, that she has little money, that she does her own house work, although she is hardly able. I have therefore written her that the National Association will allow her \$5 00 a week up to the 1st. of August or maybe the second week in August for clerical help. My first thought was to offer her a certain amount in order that she might procure help in her house, but as she was used to doing house work I thought the clerk would be better. I told her to write to friends in the Territory who lived in the neighborhood of the men who are standing for membership to the constitutional convention, urging these friends to ascertain the views of these delegates on woman suffrage. In case she cannot get the opinions of all these men in this way, she will then have to write directly to the men. I also instructed her to ascertain as soon as she can whether it is true that the question of the initiative and referendum is to be brought up in the constitutional convention and to advise us constantly of how things are going.

There is a new Trades Journal started in Chickasha and she has interviewed the Business Manager as to whether he will use suffrage matter provided we furnish it. This Mr. Bennett has said that he would be willing but that the editor censors all that matter and he is not sure whether he is in favor of not. I therefore have written to Mr. Compers asking him to write this Mr. Anderson, the editor, instructing him to open his columns and keep them open.

I feel the care of this Oklahoma campaign very much. It is about

[July 6, 1906]

#2BC

all I can do to run the National Headquarters with the ranking officers in Europe, but we will have to do the best we can. If you do not approve of my high handed way of offering Mrs. Biggers clerical services until we can decide what we are to do for her, you are to inform me and I will retract my order or make it good to her myself in some way.

Cordially yours,

HPU-A

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 6, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee,

Since writing the enclosed, about the constitutional convention, word has come through the clippings that there is very little interest in the state in regard to the ~~places~~ candidates for the state offices but there is great interest in the candidates for membership in the state constitutional convention. There are to be 112 delegates in the convention and at this time there are 2000 avowed candidates for these places. The clipping says the influence of the railroads and other corporations will be important items, and the corporation lawyers have been singled out for defeat.

HTU-A

Yours very truly,

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 7, 1906.

Dear Miss Clay:

I received your long letters of July 5th on the 6th. I wrote you a very long letter last night at home and this morning, as I am at my desk I am reading your letters again.

I think your vote on the Johnson business is right. I am glad you feel as you do about the Eddy picture and I want to thank you for your careful consideration of the question of Mrs. Boyer and Headquarters matters. I always appreciate your tender, just treatment of my part of the work. I am also glad to notice in your additional letter that you say you think I have done splendidly in the management of the funds.

I do not think there will be any trouble about investing the \$1,900. in a mortgage here. I will attend to it on Monday. Too bad that the lot was appraised to high because it disappointed you.

Faithfully yours,

HTU-J.

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 7, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

I have thought very seriously of suggesting that it would be a kind and polite thing for us to let Miss Mary Anthony have copies of our Business Committee letters which would be interesting to her. I thought at first to send these without asking you, but on second thought I concluded that was not wise.

Miss Anthony is so vitally interested in the Association and represents Miss Susan so well that I think it would be only courteous for us to do this. On the other hand, I am trying to interest her in getting people to make their wills for the Association and I think maybe if she knew a little more of the inside business it would make it easier for her to write the letters. She is beginning on this work now.

If I hear no objections from you I will do this.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 9, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

You will remember that some weeks ago I suggested that Miss Mary Anthony be constituted a committee of one to secure bequests for the Association. I told her that I understood that Senator Palmer had said he was going to leave some money in his will to the Association and as she knew him well she might write to him. She has written to him and he replied:

" For several years the cause has been represented in my will and it will not be a great while before you can enter into possession of some thousands of dollars for the benefit of suffrage. "

Of course we do not want to repeat this to anybody, but I thought you would like to know that Miss Anthony has this assurance of that money for us. She writes a splendid letter; I was really surprised to see how beautifully she worded it.

I have just had a great bundle of letters come to me which were sent from the field just before and just after the election of Miss Shaw at Oregon. They were forwarded from there to Philadelphia, then by order of Miss Shaw, the mail has come here. Some of them require answering and I am going to do the best I can with them; I think they should be replied to, even if I have to do it in an evasive way. Among them are my letters to Miss Gordon in regard to the Business Committee work. I am sorry she did not get these before she went abroad.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

181 N. Mill, Lexington, Ky.

July 11th 1906.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I went to Richmond Saturday, found several letters from you there; returned to Lexington Monday, and found several more, which I shall now answer. You notice I have changed my number again, having concluded my visit to my cousin, and having taken a room where I fear I shall have to spend most of the summer, looking after repairs and alterations to my house which was burned.

Miss Hartman's letter. I am glad to see that Mrs. Bradford's work in N. Mexico was acceptable to all concerned. As I have written before, I talked with Mrs. Bradford about Arizona + N. Mexico. She thought good could now be done in Arizona, and that work there should commence as early as September. I wish we could send Mrs. Bradford there in September, to stay through the legislative

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season. Nothing but my fears about the finances, with the Oklahoma campaign on hand, prevents my urging this. Ought we not to push the work in the other territories before statehood comes? Do write me about this. Mrs. Bradford thinks nothing can be done in N. Mexico except through a boss; and I think she could look after N. Mexico while she is working in Arizona. I think by all means our sub-committee ought to enter into correspondence with Mrs. Bradford in regard to the situation in the territories.

As for Missouri, I think the initiative should be taken by the state association; and I do not think that state is hopeful enough for the Nat. to hold out any hopes of assistance.

Miss Peace's Letter. I return it and your answer. I did not meet Miss Peace, but was pleased with what Miss Gordon said about her. I am disappointed to notice that she spells several words badly.

July 11, 1906

as that does not indicate as much culture as I expected. However, I observed that these things are not quite so necessary in the west as with us.

You must not let yourself be too much concerned about those factions in Oregon. They have been one of the difficulties of the situation there, and I do not believe they can be controlled by correspondence. I think your letter is excellent, and says all that can be said. If we can get the petition submitted to the Secretary of State before any little outbreak, I think all the factions will be manageable, just as they have been before. I see from Mrs. Dumiray's letter to the Blackwells, she is in pretty good humor. You notice from Miss Gordon's letter that in the final meeting poor Mrs. Colby showed her usual incapacity of working with any organization. That is nothing new, and need not alarm us. I am confident any trouble Mrs. French gave was entirely unintentional, and she will work in harmony

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with all parties as far as possible for the best interests of the cause. I like dear old Dr. Thompson, but she and Mrs. Duro-way will scratch at each other like cats as long as they live, and we need not take it too seriously.

Mrs. Biggers. I very much approve your letter to Mrs. Biggers, and offering her clerical aid from the National. I think we ought to have at least one Oklahoma woman whom we choose to act with the National campaign manager. Mrs. Biggers seems to be fitted for it, and if she proves efficient at all, I see nothing that we can do better than to continue to assist her sufficiently to make it possible for her to give the necessary time to the campaign.

Ky. State Convention. I have been home too short a time to know when or where our convention is to be. But the best time is in Novem. between election day & Thanksgiving. If Miss Shaw can give us a date before Thanksgiving, and avoiding election day, which is first Tuesday after first

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Monday, I will take it upon myself to make the engagement, and arrange our convention accordingly.

Letter of July 6th I have just carefully read this letter. I am pained to learn of some of the spirit shown at the convention. It is well that you wrote to me about it, for I was very little in Portland after the arrival of Miss Gordon, Miss Shaw and Miss Blackwell, and really never had a long conversation with any one concerning the convention. I am quite sure that you, with your steady head and gentle heart will, and have treated all these disagreeable things in the best spirit, and while I am glad to have learned them, I will not write about them.

I have hesitated to write anything about Mrs. Boyer's proposed coming until you heard from her again. But I fear some definite step will be taken before a perfect understanding is ^{reached} of how far all the B. Com. are agreed.

In the first place, I have not at all understood that the proposition about her has gone as far as your letter seems to consider it. Certainly no action has been taken by vote of the B. C., and now that the pleasure of the Oregon campaign is over, I think nothing of importance ought to be done or drifted into, without a carefully considered vote. I am the more sure of this after learning how the vote went about Pass work, and after reading your careful presentation of the requirements of headquarters. I can see the wisdom of what you say about them, and the practical way you had thought out how to meet them. I had not a great deal of conversation with Mrs. Boyer in Oregon, and she seems to have outlined to you a much more elaborate plan than any I had heard of. The one thing which she had said, and which I approved, was that she thought

July 11, 1905

we could do more efficient work, and cheaper, too, in campaigns, if we published a newspaper ourselves, instead of trying to get articles in other papers, and sometimes paying for them, sending out literature at high postage, etc., as we had done in Oregon. At once the suggestion occurred that we could use our own Progress, already established with postal rates, and that it could be ~~take~~ taken and printed from state to state, - in Oklahoma, then again in Oregon, and so on. Then came Miss Shaw's letter about putting her in headquarters instead of merely ~~take~~ giving up Press work. So I am at sea to know what is in contemplation. But I do know that nothing has been authoritatively been decided, and again I urge that you should insist that no new departure shall be taken that does not make the first consideration lightening the load at headquarters, and if I know what that is, you

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April 11, 1906

may depend on me to support that measure. Now that I understand your plan, I think it might be combined with Mrs. Boyer's taking charge of campaign press work, which would be paid for as campaign expenses, and editing Progress, if it seems best, as the campaign paper of which she spoke. Other press work could go on at headquarters, as voted by convention and as provided for in your plan. As we are going to have an immediate campaign in Oklahoma, and will probably resume it in Oregon in the spring, I see no time for Mrs. Boyer to be established at headquarters; and I think your plan for relief there should be pressed. Please send me at Leesington a copy of the minutes of Baltimore convention, and I will study the business done.

I must close this long letter, with love to all, including yourself.
Cordially yours,

P.S. I approve of sending copies of Business Com. letters to Miss Mary Anthony

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

Warren, Ohio, July 13, 1906.

Dear Miss Clay:

You will be getting plenty of letters from me these days I am sure and I am not troubled over the Oklahoma situation; I mean now that I am not rattled over it, but I am rather troubled about certain things. Mrs. Biggers, however, has received my instructions to secure a secretary and go to work with great pleasure and I have instructed her that no matter what comes she is to say to everybody that she stands at the head of the Campaign Committee. I have told her that she must say that outside; if she wanted to say to herself that she was not fit and all that, she could do so, but she must know that we were right back of her. Whatever may have been the history of State rights in the past it is demonstrated all the time now that in the West and in the East there is a great deal of feeling about it and surely when it comes to the question of Oklahoma this feeling will prevail even more strongly. Mrs. Kelley thinks we ought to send a Colorado woman to assist Mrs. Biggers when the proper time comes. I am looking about for someone, but have made up my mind not to send Miss Gregg, for several reasons, the principal reason being that Mrs. Woodworth must be kept out of the campaign.

However, I started to write this letter to ask you if you would be willing to write letters to certain people in Oklahoma, provided I gave you the names and you employed a clerk for dictation. Mrs. Biggers says that the prohibition question and the Labor question and many other questions are going to work partly for us and partly against us, but that the worst thing they have to battle against is the Southern sentiment, which is so opposed to us. I have written her to send me the names of some of the prominent Southerners, together with any information she may have in regard to them and that you will write a letter to each one of these. If there is any special bit of literature in the office which you think would be good for them let us know and we will send it to you. Then I am writing Miss Gordon to the same effect and she will frame a letter for us to copy and in about a week from the time your letter reaches them the Gordon letter will reach them. I think that a letter from a "Clay" will do a great deal of good. I know this is quite a burden to put upon you and I would gladly write such letters and sign your name and Miss Gordon's, but I cannot see the question, as you know, from the Southerner's point of view and the result would be just the same as when men try to do things for women. They mean all right, but they have not experienced the real thing.

I went to Ashtabula the other night to form a suffrage club. We are beginning work in our part of Ohio, and I was astonished to find nearly a whole audience who were willing to sign enrollment cards, but not willing to do active work. I began organization for an adjourned meeting, at which we will organize either a working or a nominal club. I think it will probably be a working club, with

[July 13, 1906]

associate members. I know you would want to know this because we certainly have got to follow the new methods. By the way, last year we advised the doing away with county organizations in Ohio because it complicated the machinery and this year I am going to insist upon it.

How I wish you could be here for a little while. I am starting negotiations with Mrs. Boyer about press work. I think she would probably come but she seems to want to demand a salary entirely out of our reach. This is just between you and me. When Miss Shaw first talked of her coming to Headquarters she said that Mrs. Boyer earned \$60. a month by china painting. When Mrs. Boyer started to go to Oregon she said she wanted \$75. a month because that was what she made with her china painting. When she was here the other day she said she could make easily \$80. a month in her own home; now she has written me saying she wants \$120. a month. Mrs. Babcock had a salary of either \$40. or \$50. and that makes Mrs. Boyer asking for nearly three times as much as Mrs. Babcock received. We haven't a cent in the general treasury and with all the extra work coming from Miss Gordon and Miss Shaw, on account of their absence, we have got to have some relief for ourselves and I do not see how in the world we can pay any such salary as this. I have written Mrs. Boyer a long, frank letter and as soon as I hear from her I will report the same to the Business Committee.

How I would like to tell you hundreds of things which are in the office this very day, but I cannot take another minute.

Tenderly yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 13/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I wish now to report to you on the Headquarters' press work.

When we began to talk a year ago about changing the press superintendent, Miss Shaw said she thought Mrs. Boyer could do the press work, either in or out of Headquarters. We had been paying Mrs. Babcock \$70.00 a month, out of which she paid her own expenses, clerk hire, heat and light for her room, etc.; of course the stationery and postage were additional.

It seemed as if we were going to have a hard time to raise the money, and I asked Miss Shaw what salary Mrs. Boyer would come for. She said she was making \$60.00 a month doing china painting, and could not come for any less than that. When it was decided to send Mrs. Boyer to Oregon, Miss Shaw again interviewed her, and Mrs. Boyer said she was making \$75.00 a month, and of course could not go to Oregon for any less. Miss Shaw and Miss Anthony thought Mrs. Boyer was going there for \$75.00 a month, this to cover her expenses; but after she got out there it developed that this did not include her expenses. However, this was satisfactory to everyone in the Association, as all the Oregon workers agreed that she did phenomenal work. At the close of the Oregon campaign, when Mrs. Babcock had given up the press work, Miss Shaw and Miss Gordon were very anxious to have Mrs. Boyer come to Headquarters to do Progress and the press work. When it was first talked of, I supposed she was coming to Headquarters to do all kinds of work, but when I

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talked with her here I found the plan she had laid out for press work would not only require all her time, but also the time of a clerk, and therefore she would not be able to help any with the regular Headquarters' work. At that time I asked what salary she would want, and she said that before she went to Oregon she was making \$80.00 a month, and could easily make \$100. a month without any effort, writing for papers, etc.. This rather alarmed me, because I did not see how in the world we could raise \$100. a month and the salary of another clerk.

A few days ago Mrs. Boyer wrote me, saying that since she had gone home she found she could come to Headquarters, but just as she had determined to do that a man who had a studio in the town adjoining Columbia had abandoned it, she had been offered the opportunity of taking his classes and pupils in china painting, that the schools in Columbia had taken up the water color work, that she had the offer to teach the teachers---that is, do Normal work---, and for all this she would receive \$120.00 a month; but she said she preferred to do suffrage work, and asked if the National could afford to pay her \$1500. a year.

Having been obliged to raise so much money during the past few years, the question of raising any more is a most startling one to me. So Miss Hauser and I spent last evening in the office calculating what it would cost us to have Mrs. Boyer in Headquarters doing the work she wants to do, and we found it would cost \$1,000 a year more than the press work cost us under the old management. She also said she must know right away whether or not we would accept her terms, as she must give her answer to the Columbia people by July 20.

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Miss Shaw left me her proxy, but it seemed to me that this was too important a measure for me to settle by myself, even if I had been authorized to do so; and I knew I could not possibly raise the money for the work in addition to what I must now raise. The general treasury is empty at this time. Then, too, as I wrote you yesterday, I do not feel that I can assume one bit of additional work. I therefore wrote Mrs. Boyer that I knew Miss Shaw and Miss Gordon (who are now in Europe) would feel very badly not to have us take advantage of her offer, but that I did not feel I could decide the matter, and there was not sufficient time to submit the question to the Business Committee and receive a reply before the 20th. I also informed her of the condition of the treasury, telling her the press work was moved to Headquarters partly because of our financial condition, and yet in her proposition she suggested a salary very much larger than that paid Mrs. Babcock; that I did not feel I was authorized in the first place to decide so important a ~~salary~~ departure; that I myself could not raise the additional money for the work, and that I wished she would consider the matter of coming to Headquarters from now until the time of the Chicago Convention for \$75.00 a month. I also called her attention to the fact that although she might, through pupils, teachers, etc., make \$120.00 a month, it would not be every month, for in summer there is a long vacation, and in the spring and fall they do not take lessons in painting as they do in the winter; therefore, although she might make \$120.00 some months, she could not depend upon it every month, so that her income in Columbia would not amount to \$1500.00 a year.

I do not know what she will reply to this; I fear she will be disappointed, and I am also afraid that Miss Shaw and

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Miss Gordon will be too. I looked this matter over carefully from all points, and I answered her as my conscience dictated.

Mrs. Boyer once told me she was never offended with any plain talk, and I told her in my letter that I took her at her word, saying exactly what I thought. I also suggested that in the six months intervening between September 1 and the Chicago Convention we would be able to judge somewhat of the merits of the new method in press work, and would then have a better idea of what her work was worth to the Association. She suggested that some of the States might be willing to turn their appropriations for press work into the National Treasury, and this of course would have to be pressed in the fall with the understanding that the States should report on it at the Chicago meeting.

In closing this matter, I wish to say that I very much dislike the idea of Mrs. Boyer asking of us a larger salary than is paid to anyone connected with the Association. Miss Hauser, who has given her life to the Cause so far, has always worked for a small salary; lately it has been raised once or twice, until now she is paid \$900. a year. Surely she is worth more money to the Association than Mrs. Boyer would be, in the beginning anyway. You need not reply to this, because we can do nothing until we hear from Mrs. Boyer. I am simply making a report upon the matter.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Lupton

HTU.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



July 13/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

For some time I have been going to write you in regard to my own personal affairs, and since dictating the enclosed letter I have concluded to do so.

When my old housekeeper, Mary Welton, was in my home, she was interested in suffrage work, and together we planned things so that she had complete care of the house, assuming all the responsibility except the ordering. Since her death it has been impossible for me to get a housekeeper at any price, or a care-taker.

A few evenings ago, in looking over my accounts for the past year, I was horrified to see the amount of money I had been obliged to pay for extra house service, because I myself could not do in the home what I feel I ought to do. For the first time since my marriage I have neglected my home cares, and have had to hire much work done which I never did before. This has been largely because of the pressure at Headquarters, and partly because of the incompetence of my help.

I really feel that every able-bodied woman should earn her own living. If she has children I think she earns it in taking care of them; if she has a home and no children, I feel she earns it in taking care of the home. But in my case, I not only have not earned my living in my own home this past year, but have drawn on Mr. Upton for many hundreds of dollars indirectly for the suffrage work. Of course this is not right, although he has never mentioned it, and in fact whenever he talks of making certain sums of money

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he always says, "Then you can have more for suffrage." He is unusually generous in this way. However, he has just at present some little interests in England in foreign patents, which require a good deal of money; and his brother, who died recently, left a large ranch in the West, valued at nearly \$200,000, on which there is a mortgage which must be kept up by the heirs so as not to sacrifice the property. He therefore has need of all the money he makes, and I really feel quite conscience-stricken to think I have eaten into his income for suffrage purposes.

It therefore occurred to me a day or two ago that I would ask the suffrage association to allow me a certain amount a year for extra services in my home,- in other words, that I would hire some person to do the scrubbing and the heavy work, allowing my little maid to do more of the lighter work, and relieve me. As this really is a part of the year's appropriation, and ought not to be passed upon by a minority, I am going to submit a vote of \$100. providing for the appropriation for personal service for me from now until Convention time. Of course if I should not use it all, I shall return the balance; but, realizing the situation, I know that I must have relief in more directions than one.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.
Chairman Press Committee, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 13/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I am submitting two votes to you, and hope you will return them immediately. I shall write as briefly as possible in regard to this matter.

It is utterly impossible for me to try to manage any longer at Headquarters without additional help,- I mean new help for the general work. I have written you before, telling you that we have a chance to engage Miss Minnie Hauser at Headquarters to take entire charge of the books, and take care of the commercial part of the office; she has been connected with a large wholesale business for many years; is very well educated; was at one time a stenographer, although she does not do that work now; she is an expert bookkeeper and accountant, and could take charge of the office in case anything should happen to Elizabeth and me. Now Elizabeth and I are not planning to have anything happen to us, but unless we are somewhat relieved something will happen. None of you know, never can know, and never will know the immense pressure at Headquarters; and the worst of it is that it is incessant. When there is a campaign on and you all go into the field, I work hard at home raising the money, etc.; then when the campaign is over, and some of you go to Europe and others return to your own work at home---which, as in the case of Miss Blackwell, is away behind and must absorb every attention---all the work of the Association falls on me. I had no idea I was going to have so much to do for the Oregon campaign, but now that they have put a secretary at Headquarters in Portland, and she has to pretend that she is ^{not} allied with

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the National, and yet has to have advice, it is to me that she writes for it.

Now Miss Gordon says she will not be back until Christmas, which means that a large share of the ante-convention work will fall into my hands. I am not on the committee for Convention and Program, and have been hoping all the time that I would be freed from that. The work which Miss Shaw would be doing now of course has to come into my office, so that I am actually floored, - not only floored, but I cannot see anything else but this awful pressure ahead of me.

Many years ago I had an attack of nervous prostration, and within the past few weeks I have had the same symptoms I had then, - faintness, excitement and depression. I do not want to place myself in a position to injure my health, because, although when people are very young they can have all sorts of things and recover from them, when they grow older it is not so easy. So I am unwilling to jeopardize my health to that extent, even for the sake of the Cause. If I am not relieved, I know that I must do one of two things: either give up the work, or break down.

Now then, Miss Hauser has worked for the Association all these years. I have worked without pay because I have had some one to support me, and Miss Hauser is and has been as willing as I to work without pay, perhaps more so, but her circumstances are such that it has been necessary for her to be recompensed, although of course you all know she has given ten times more work to the Association than she has been paid for. This past year she has shown the strain of the work very much, but has stuck by the ship because of the awful pressure, so that she is now almost a skeleton, weighing only ninety-five pounds.

Last night we had a long evening session on the situa-

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tion, and Miss Hauser tells me that if anything should happen to me and the load should fall upon her, she could not last here at Headquarters any time at all, - in other words, she is utterly exhausted, and needs a rest, and it would not be necessary for her to go out of the office for a rest if we could have some relief here.

I know that all of you would be shocked beyond anything if you thought that some day neither Elizabeth nor I could be at Headquarters. Therefore, I am writing to say that I do not feel that I can go on with the work here without more help. I want Miss Minnie Hauser at Headquarters, and just as soon as we can possibly get her.

I am sure that Miss Clay, who worked with me here and knows that although we work quietly we accomplish a great deal, feels that at this moment the most important thing for the Association to do is to give Headquarters some relief. Mrs. Kelley has expressed herself in nearly the same way, and she knows more about my kind of work than almost any other National officer, as she has been here and looked things over carefully.

Now I have no doubt that you will vote in the affirmative. I think you will do this in the first place because I ask it, and you know I would not ask if I did not really need it. I think you will also do it for the Association's sake, because none of you are so situated that you could take Headquarters off my hands.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 14/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I have heard from Mrs. Biggers. She is very much pleased with my proposition to allow her clerk hire, and says she feels it is something definite. I have instructed her to carry the idea to all the people that she is in charge of the campaign there, that we shall stand close and hard behind her so she need not feel afraid. I do this particularly because there is such a lot of Southerners in the new State, and the question of State rights is pretty strong. I also asked her to send me a list of the names of important and prominent Southern people whom she knows, and have asked Miss Clay to prepare a letter to go to these people, giving the Southern side of our question. I have also written Miss Gordon, asking her to frame a letter along the same line. She will not receive this for three weeks, and when she sends hers to me we will have it typewritten on her stationery to send out. The Southern people will then get two letters from two of our National officers. We are planning to send literature systematically to such people as Mrs. Biggers shall designate.

The question of the Initiative and Referendum is being pushing very strongly in Oklahoma, and I have gotten in touch with the man in charge of it there. I have written Mr. Gompers in regard to the action of the Federation in the Territory, and he says their Association will do everything it possibly can for us. It happens that the man who is pushing the Initiative & Referendum in the new State is also Secretary of the State Federation of Labor. Then, too, we have gotten hold of the Labor paper in the State, and Mr. Gompers

[July 14, 1906]

--2--

has instructed this Secretary to ask the business manager of this new labor paper to publish our articles regularly. Mr. Compers' letter rings very true I think.

Mrs. Biggers says the delegates to the Constitutional Convention cannot be elected right away, because the Indian Territory has never had a census, and therefore it is very hard to do the districting, that they have to have fifty-five, and the census must be taken first, then the districts laid out, and then the candidates will announce themselves. It will be very late in the fall before the Indian Territory candidates are before the people.

It is my impression that the majority of the Business Committee would not be in favor of Dr. Woods or Miss Gregg going to Oklahoma, and would prefer a Colorado woman. I had asked Mrs. Boyer if she could go to Oklahoma in case she did not take the press work, but some of our friends seem to think we ought to have a practical, working politician from a community adjoining the Territory, and that an Eastern woman would not answer the purpose. I can think of no one at this writing but Miss Meredith, because Mrs. Bradford is not an office person.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

July 14/1906

Dear Miss Clay:-

I note the change in your address, and have notified the girls in the office. I hope no letters will go astray.

As you and I are the only people left on the Subcommittee on Organization, I am following your instructions about writing Mrs. Bradford. You are right about Missouri. I have answered Mrs. Duniway's letter in a very indefinite way; told her I did not know anything about the factions in Oregon, I was not on the scene, that I had no time to fuss, and I knew everything was all right. There is something so ridiculous to me about two old women fighting when they are fairly on the verge of the grave!

You will be glad to know that Mrs. Biggers is very much satisfied with the arrangement I made with her about the clerkship, and seems full of good cheer.

I note what you say about your convention dates, and as I am constantly writing Miss Shaw I shall report the matter to her.

I was so glad to have you say we could not take any definite steps in regard to Mrs. Boyer without considering the matter carefully. I hope, therefore, you will approve of the proposition I made her. I know you will approve of that in regard to Miss Minnie Hauser. All the people in the Oregon campaign felt that Mrs. Boyer was the person to be here in Headquarters, but of course the work in Oregon was of a transitory and exciting character, and none of those who were out there were really office people and cannot judge of one's ability in that special direction. However, it will come our right I am sure.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.

191 N. Mill, Lexington, Ky.
July 16th 1906.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I write just a few lines to say I vote Yes with great cheerfulness to the two votes enclosed.

I shall do the best I can with the Oklahoma letters you ask me to write.

Love to all in the office, including yourself.

Cordially yours,

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 16, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

You know for two or three years we have been talking about making Progress the organ of the Association, and publishing it monthly. Miss Blackwell and I have had a great deal of correspondence in regard to it and numerous conversations, also.

In a letter received a day or two ago she said:

" What I think the Association ought to do - and perhaps may get ready to do four or five years hence - is to have one page of the Journal as the Association's official mouth-piece and have that page printed off every week also as a separate little paper, just as the Woman's Column used to be (which costs extremely little) and have it sent to every member of the Association. At 25¢, if pushed by the Association, it could not only pay for itself, but put money into the treasury and keep our entire membership well informed and in touch and up to date. I am quite aware that this plan would not be listened to for a moment at present, but after the monthly Progress has been tried thoroughly and it's editors have got pretty tired of editing it (as I think they probably will within six yeases) then I think this other project may have a chance. And I think a small paper issued weekly (from type already set up and therefore costing almost nothing) would do the Association and the cause more good than an small paper issued monthly. Well, all this is mere talk and in the air, at present, and very likely I should have been wiser to say nothing about it yet awhile. "

It is perfectly astonishing how those of us who are associated closely together either in the home or at business do not understand each other. I am not at all sure but that it would be a wise and good arrangement. Of course we might come across a snag when we came to the mailing, and all that kind of thing, but I think it is worth thinking about. As we will not have another copy of Progress now until October, it seems to me that we ought to be able to settle upon something by that time. Give this matter your careful consideration/

Very truly yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 16, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

I have had a letter from Miss Eddy in reply to mine regarding her Anthony picture, and she is very well satisfied to wait until we have our business committee meeting in the fall, or at the convention next winter. The tone of her letter is very pleasant, so I feel quite relieved. I do wish, however, I did know a little more about the attitude we should take toward the Rochester memorial. I do so dislike to assume the responsibility alone.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

J.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 30, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

The question of Mrs. Boyer coming to Headquarters at present is settled. She cannot afford to come for less than \$1,500. a year; I am not authorized to pay so large a sum as that. I asked her to give me the terms on which she would come; she replied \$1,500. a year, that she had been offered \$120. a month to do painting, teach water colors, etc. I doubted my right to employ anyone in a new department without the vote of the Business Committee in the first place, or the Convention, but saw immediately that we could not afford to pay any such price as that. We haven't a cent in the National Treasury if I gather money enough through the fall to keep our machinery going and save our reserve fund for Oklahoma and like things I will be doing as much or more than I think I can do. I therefore wrote Mrs. Boyer, asking her if she would take \$75. a month and come to Headquarters. She replied that she could not, though she would like to. Mrs. Kelley proposed that we offer her \$100. a month; this I wanted her to do, but hoping that she might come for even less, I telegraphed her asking her to name the lowest sum per month that she would take. She has just replied that she would take no less than \$120. per month. To-day is her time limit, as she must let the Board of Education there know, so I have telegraphed her that it is impossible for us to raise that amount. Never since I have been in the Association have I had so troublesome a thing on hand. I have lain awake one night all night and another night until nearly morning trying to think of some way whereby we could meet the financial part of it. You see we are greatly hampered because I have given to the Garrett - Thomas people the names of some people who might give large sums to us, but who probably would give more to them and our nearby friends have given so much more this year than they ever have given that I had not the courage to start out to solicit from our own friends I am very sorry this came up at this time and that I had to settle it but I do not feel at all that Mrs. Boyer will not be available for the future. I think possibly after the Chicago Convention she can come to us, or another year anyway. I must say that I have been on such a strain for several days that now that the matter is settled I feel very much relieved. Miss Hauser and I will go on with the press work, we had already begun it, and will probably accomplish as much in the next few months as Mrs. Babcock has been accomplishing.

HTU-J.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 25, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

I have just received a nice letter from Dr. Jeffreys.

She says:

" I understand the signatures are coming in quite rapidly and Miss Pease is busy at work writing to the committee so I presume they will be filed in the course of a month or so. "

Dr. Jeffreys and Mr. Myers are getting ready to go to the mountains for a rest. They are going to pitch their tent at the foot of Mt. Hood. She also says they are coming East sometime in September. The Governor has appointed Mr. Myers commissioner to the Jamestown Exposition and he is coming on to determine the site for the exhibition itself. She also says she will be East most of next summer.

Cordially yours,

HTU-J.

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 25, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

There has been so much talk about Washington wanting a campaign following Oregon that, in the absence of Miss Shaw and Miss Gordon, I thought it best to write to Dr. Cora Smith Eaton asking her to let us know what she could learn of the Washington plan. I have a long and carefully written letter from her in which she says that Washington is not planning for an immediate campaign; that Dr. Cummings is inexperienced in the work, although she has been for thirty years an active W. C. T. U. worker; she is closing her second year as State President and probably will not be re-elected. Dr. Cora says that Mrs. De Voe will probably be the next President. She says in Washington there are some unusually good workers. She speaks of Miss Della Parker, whom you will remember began writing to Headquarters some years ago and has been connected with us ever since. Dr. Cora says that Miss Parker is well acquainted in the State and that she succeeded in getting the Recall into the Seattle City Charter and she is now working on the State Referendum law.

Dr. Cora adds that she thinks that the Washington women will try to carry on their campaign themselves and not ask the National for as much help or money as Oregon did. In short, that they will run their own campaign and raise their own funds. She says the State is thoroughly loyal to the National, but is quite inclined to do their own work. She adds that Miss Gordon encouraged them in this idea.

I thought that I best report this to you now while it is fresh.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HU-J.

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



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 27/1906

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

OKLAHOMA: It has now been decided, or practically so, by a committee composed of the Governor of Oklahoma and prominent officials, that delegates to the Constitutional Convention will be elected at the regular November election. The time between the nomination of all delegates and their election will be very short, because it is going to take a long time to district the Indian Territory; it has never been divided into legislative districts, and of course not into congressional districts. The labor connected with this districting will be great, because of the scattered population. I am reporting these things to you as they are reported to me, so that if we must take any action before Miss Shaw's return (which I hope will not be necessary), we shall be more or less prepared for it.

ARIZONA: In the past there has been a great difference of opinion among the members of the Business Committee as to the value of Mrs. Bradford's work and her advice. However, the work she did in Oregon was satisfactory to all those who were there, and for that reason I have written her to give me her opinion about Arizona and New Mexico, inasmuch as she went to those places a year or two ago to look the field over for us. I have received a long, clear reply from her, the substance of which is that Arizona should be campaigned; that we should consult with Mrs. Mund, and then, if possible, begin the campaign there. Mrs. Bradford thinks there is a strong probability of success. You remember Mrs. Mund

July 27, 1906

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was one of the two women in the Territory---Mrs. Robinson being the other---who has always been on our list and always worked with us. When Mrs. Bradford was there Mrs. Mund was in rather delicate health, and could not do anything outside of her own home, but did entertain Mrs. Bradford and helped her in many ways; her husband is acquainted with the politicians of the Territory, and both have a goodly following among influential people. Mrs. Bradford thinks Mrs. Mund would be willing to take the lead there, as Mrs. Biggers is doing in Oklahoma.

NEW MEXICO: Mrs. Bradford went to New Mexico, and learned that Senator Barola, of Colorado, really owned the New Mexican legislature. He told her there was no use to try to do any work at that time, but in the future if she wanted him to stand for suffrage and get it through the legislature she was to go to him and renew her request, when he would use every possible influence in the Constitutional Convention to have the Territory come in as a suffrage State. Several good, strong suffragists have said to me that if we could get suffrage in New Mexico they would not want it, because of the Indians and Mexicans in that Territory; that in Colorado, where everything was favorable, we had to spend a great deal of time proving to people that suffrage was not a failure, and New Mexico would give us a pretty hard problem along that line.

Mrs. Bradford says Miss Shaw talked with her about going to Oklahoma or Arizona, and that she is holding herself in readiness to go to either place, as she is wanted. She thinks Dr. Woods ought to go to Arizona, as she had so much to do with the campaign before. I shall write Mrs. Mund to-day, and will let you have her opinion when received.

[July 27, 1906]

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To go back to Arizona: Mrs. Bradford thinks the National ought to devote several months to work in that State; that the work there ought to begin the middle of August or the first of September.

Now to go back to ~~Maxim~~ New Mexico: If we follow Mrs. Bradford's advice we shall be working a State in a way which we have never done before, - that is, through a boss politician. Personally, I should hate awfully to become enfranchised in that particular way.

As I said before, I am reporting this matter to you now, not that we are to take a vote or any action whatever, but because when Miss Shaw comes back in September and goes into the field for convention work, and these campaigns are on, we cannot be ready for a decision unless we consider the matter thoroughly and at our leisure.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.

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2

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Warren, Ohio, July 27, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

A report comes from Oklahoma that the districting of two Territories into voting precincts is not going to be as soon as was first expected. After the provision of the Statehood bill the Constitutional Convention may be held as late as December 15th since the President approved the act June 16th. This is the time we had expected, but now the Commissioners say they will complete their labor in August so the election could be held in October but that it will probably be held the 6th of November.

The Constitutional Convention must meet on the second Tuesday after this election so that the Constitutional Convention may open in Guthrie on Nov. 30th. This Convention may sit until the 1st of January if it sees fit. The Constitutional Convention fixes the dates for the election and for the ratification of the Constitution. This will probably be about April 1st. At this election the State officers, the Legislature, and Members of Congress will be elected. There will therefore be about three months for the campaign, that is, for the nominations, the holding of two big State Conventions, and the State election. The Oklahoma people are in hopes that May, 1907, will see all this work done.

I do not know whether this will be of any special interest to you but as it comes to my attention I am sending it on.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

181 N. Hill St., Lexington, Ky.
July 27th, 1906.

Mrw. H. T. Upton,
Warren, O.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I am conscious that your letter of July 20th, enclosing a voting slip, should have been answered more promptly; but frankly, I am troubled about giving a vote. It seems we should give cordial assent to any plan suggested for the good of the Asso. by the Committee on Congressional Legislation. But what earthly claim have we upon general club women, that we should ask them to do suffrage work? I know this was done very successfully in the remonstrance against the election clause in the Statehood Bill; but that was a matter that had to be acted upon at once, or the chance to avoid an insult never before offered to women would have been lost. As it seems to me, however, in this case, this work may have to be done year after year, and is such work as is not likely to be done except by clubs or individuals entirely in sympathy with us. To ask any others seems to me an intrusion; and something that may act to our disadvantage, as women who may be opposed very likely would make it an occasion to mention to their Congressmen that they wished the proposed legislation defeated.

Moreover, it occurs to me that it might strain the cordial feeling now existing between our Asso., and the General Federation of W.C. They were quite excited, as we know, by the report of the Industrial Committee, and did not discuss it at the Convention. Now, if we follow that up by a letter asking every club to do distinctively suffrage work, I fear they

will feel that we intend to force the subject upon them, and in that fear they will draw the lines upon us more sharply just at a time when by a little patience we may obtain a great deal of useful support from them.

Actuated by these considerations I am going to vote No, though it is with reluctance. I wish I might have had the advantage of consultation with other members of the Board before casting this negative vote. I do approve sending out the letter to all our own clubs; but I do not see that we are justified in sending it to women's clubs in general.

PROGRESS. I am very favorably disposed to Miss Blackwell's proposition about publishing Progress from the type of the Woman's Journal. I think it might be done even if we keep Progress as a monthly; as we could make a full page each month only, instead of each week. No matter how we do it, however, I still want Progress to be a ten cent paper. I am pretty confident we cannot get as large a subscription list at 25 ct. as at 10 cts. and a large circulation is the most pressing demand. Why could you not make the October number of Progress an experimental number? A column of the W.J. is now our organ; and on that occasion you might take as much space as was needed, as Miss Blackwell has constantly offered to us.

Mrs. Boyer. I think you have concluded that business wisely. I trust that after the convention we may devise a method whereby we can employ Mrs. Boyer for the ASso.

State President's Letter. In answer to that of July 23rd, it is only necessary to say that nothing on those lines has been done this year. Our Legislature meets biennially, on the even years.

Very 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

July 28/1906

Dear Misses Shaw & Clay:-

As a member of the Sub-Committee on Organization, I wish to report to you that Rev. Wilmetta Marks, Elk Creek, Nebraska, spoke at a Chautauqua in Nebraska lately. They wanted Miss Laughlin, but were unable to reach her, and so substituted this young minister.

Miss Mary Williams, who is a great suffragist and has good judgment, says Miss Marks pleased her audience in every way, and they want to go back there for the lecture course next winter. Miss Williams seems to think they have really found a treasure in her

As we are always wanting speakers suddenly, I thought our sub-committee ought to be informed of this. We need take no action on it of course, it is just for us to remember. Possibly Miss Shaw may see her at the State Convention in October.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

I meant to say in the body of this letter that Miss Marks is at present in charge of a Free Baptist Church in Southeastern Nebraska, but inclines to Evangelical lines of work; is said to have a good voice, is of attractive appearance, looks at her subject from a religious standpoint, and is very earnest.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Dr. Annice F. Jeffreys, Portland, Ore.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

July 30/1906

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE;-

A new condition has arisen in Oklahoma. It seems the labor party there is very much stronger than we supposed, and many of the candidates for office have openly said they were opposed to railroad domination in the Territory; that before they decided to stand for congress, gubernatorial honors, or any other office, they concluded to give up their passes, etc. It seems the farmers have allied themselves with the labor organization, and that these two forces have decided to work for the Initiative & Referendum in the Constitutional Convention. This will make quite a difference with our chances in Oklahoma, I think, and seems encouraging. Mrs. Biggers appears to be doing fairly well, much better than I thought she would.

An Ohio woman, Mrs. Goddard, a member of the Conneaut Political Equality Club, was appointed fraternal delegate to the National Finnish Temperance Society which met at Conneaut last week, where she was well received socially, and later made a speech which brought forth enthusiastic cheers. The President of the organization made a fine speech for us. This convention work is certainly doing us a lot of good in every way.

Cordially yours

HTU.-R.

Harriet Taylor Upton

Warren, Ohio, July 30, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

Mrs. Tindall has been working some time on her committee, that is, advertising in the National program. I have been helping her a good deal, having mimeographed the rates and the descriptive matter which she wants to send to advertisers. She has written me to-day, saying:

" What do you think about any reasonable expenses I may incur? Would the Association stand for my reimbursement for stationery, postage, and possibly a little clerk hire? Could I count on taking it out of the proceeds of the program? I do not want to seem small about it but am obliged to consider whether I shall have to pay all incidental expenses or not. "

Mrs. Tindall is a woman of small means. Her husband is a deputy in the City Commissioner's office. They are comfortable, but of course if they are on a salary, if she is going to have to spend money, she wants to know it in ~~advance~~ ^{order} to provide for it. It seems to me that in appointing committees we ought not to expect women to bear their own expenses and I therefore have written Mrs. Tindall, knowing how very frugal she is, that we will allow her postage, stationery, and some clerk hire. I think the reason she wants to know now is because if she cannot have her expenses she will cut down somewhere, perhaps on a little outing, or something of that kind. She is taking hold of the work splendidly and I know if she has some clerical help she will get more advertising than if she had to write all the letters by hand.

I am submitting a vote.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.