

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honary 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

Warren, Ohio, Jan. 3, 1907.

Dear Miss Clay:

I was glad to get your letter of Dec. 31st and think after all it was better to have Gov. Adams than anyone else. He certainly has been an out and out suffragist and it seems to me if anyone could blame women for defeat, he had a chance to, and yet he knows women did not defeat him and so he is true to them. I am glad though, that you went to Guthrie and talked the matter over with the rest of them.

I note what Mrs. Boyer says about there being a "winning chance". You remember that all the time I have felt so hopeful about Oklahoma and I really did that for the reason that I learned early in the day who our friends were and I knew that the Mormon question did not enter in. I felt that it was very important for us to start into field work there nearly a year ago, but how could we when everything was concentrated on Oregon?

These are busy days in the office and I am sure you will be delighted to receive the letter which I dictated yesterday about the dues. Isn't it splendid to think that we have three more auxiliary states than we had last year! In fact, we have more than that because Vermont, which was auxiliary last year, did not pay up ^{this} ~~last~~ year.

We are all well.

HTU-J.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

Warren, Ohio, January 10/1907

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

The subject matter of this letter will be brought up and acted upon at Chicago. However, I want you to consider it now, before we get into the excitement of the convention.

I have been thinking over my position in connection with the suffrage work for months, and I have fully determined that I can no longer do for the Association what I have done under the same conditions.

I have talked seriously with Elizabeth about giving up the Headquarters---not immediately of course, but on or before 1908. I had three reasons for wanting to do this. The first was not a strong one, the second I thought I ought to set aside, and the third still exists. It is in regard to this last that I write. I might be able to work as I have under the same conditions for a year or two more, but by that time I will be incapacitated for any suffrage work.

Since my housekeeper, Mary, died, two years ago next April, I have had inefficient help. My Anna, who is rather incompetent, has had wages nearly equal to Mary's, I have had to pay for much additional help, and take all the care myself,- plan for every meal, order all supplies, etc.,- with the result that I have been hard at work either at the office or at the house all my waking hours.

Lately I have shown signs of exhaustion, such as fainting and so on. I am bound up, however, in my office work, it is my joy. I feel keenly my home duty as well; so it seems utterly impossible to cut off either. I am neglecting my school work, which is bad for suffrage, and do little or nothing socially, which is likewise bad for our local suffrage work.

I have known for some time I must take account of myself

[Jan 10, 1907]

Mrs. Bradford should.

Please think of this carefully. I have always appreciated the promptitude with which the Business Committee has voted to facilitate Headquarters' work, and I feel that we have adequate help of the right kind. Each girl takes the responsibility of carrying her share of the work; each is responsible for a department; each answers certain kinds of letters; but the ways are opening up so, and the demands for my kind of work are ten times as great as three years ago. If when I am studying the Arizona situation to prepare something for the President or the North American Review, to prepare copy for Progress, I must run home to make a pudding or touch up a soup, either one or the other suffers, or I take it out of myself.

The office force is all right, we have all we can afford; but now more than ever the work needs Elizabeth and me, both of us, all the time, and it needs the best of us. If we are to make Progress as valuable as I confidently expect we shall, I must give the major part of my time to that. The possibilities are great. The press work, which is Elizabeth's especial department, is full of special opportunities, - opportunities we have longed for. If I have to be at home for occasional half days, she has to take charge of my work.

I am satisfied with the amount we accomplish, but if I am to keep up with our opportunities I must be relieved of the house-keeping burden, which uses up so much of my energy and strength.

It would be better for me if I were a little less order-

[Jan 10, 1907]

to myself. I began by noticing myself physically. Then financially-- I have referred to the former--my books of 1906 show that the suffrage work has cost me \$562.50. Miss Shaw once said to me, "The Association ought to pay for a housekeeper for you." I laughed when she said this. Now, however, this is what the Association will have to do, or I shall have to give less time, or someone else must take Headquarters. I think it might amount to \$500.00 a year, perhaps less. You remember I asked for \$100. for household expenses recently, but I have used only \$20.00. I could not bear to take the remainder, for the Association's funds are running low, and many possibilities are ahead of us.

I hesitated a long time before writing this, but I have no patience with any of our workers who are denying themselves or doing themselves an injustice, and then having a martyr-like feeling and keeping still withal. I dislike to face the situation and bring matters to a focus, but it is plain truth. It seems to me that it is enough for George to spare me from the home, as he does, without chipping in \$500. beside. I have so often thought of what Miss Gordon has said about having a salary of \$900.00 in New York and her work costing her \$1,000. I would not consider this a salary in any sense, and would want the bills submitted to someone who would take time to look at them and see where the money went.

I realize that I have hold of the work, and that no new person could do at first what I do. I also realize that it would be doubtful whether Elizabeth could leave a home to go with Headquarters; and further, that there is no more reason why I should not have money to cover my expenses than that Miss Gregg or

[Jan 10, 1907]

--4--

ly, or a little less particular about the details of the work;
but I am not, and cannot be. We have to deal with the real
conditions, we cannot take time to reform each other.

I know you will do that which is best for the work,
and it is with these same interests at heart that I write you.

Sincerely

Herbert Taylor Whitton
TH

HTU.-R.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

Jan. 11, 1907.

Dear Miss Clay,

The Governor of Kansas, Hon. Edw. W. Hoch, has recommended in his annual message the striking out of the word male in the Kansas constitution. I think a few people ought to write to him and thank him and if you are not too busy, will you not dictate a letter to this effect?

I have been on the qui vive for two days now wanting to hear from Oklahoma and also hoping for a letter from Miss Shaw telling me about her conference with Kate. The truth of it is that when things are the thickest, then people write the least. We all know why.

I told you a few days ago that you owed me 50¢ for a cab for the Bruce estate, and I find that they have charged me \$3 00 for recording the mortgage deeds, so remember to add that to the other sum when you have time to send me the money. There is no hurry, just so we do not lose sight of it.

I never was so encouraged in my life as I am about the suffrage question today. I read almost every day some magazine from the library for the sake of Progress and I find that the Independent, the Outlook and such periodicals are studying our question and are referring to it in a very different way. The Lexington Herald of recent date had a splendid article. Harpers Weekly comes out strong and flat footed and says it is monstrous that the colored man should have a voice in making the laws under which we live when the intelligent women must remain silent. I have just written Miss Shaw that we now ^{need} only to be patient and try to get money to accomplish the things we want to and everything will be ours.

[Jan 11, 1907]

#2LC

By the way, Mrs. Harper says that J. Pierpont Morgan is behind the North American Review and Harper's Weekly. If this is true, he is a suffragist and, although we have abused the corporations and trust people beyond anything, still we have done that because they have been opposed to us. That is the way of the world. If now he is on our side, it is a different matter. It seems to me if it is true that he is back of the North American he must be a suffragist, because the whole scheme of the North American Review has changed and they have sent to us for the names of all suffragists and are willing to pay for copying those names, saying that they expect now in every issue of their paper to have something on the question of woman suffrage; that is, something on our side.

Hoping that all is well in Oklahoma, I remain,

Cordially yours,

HU-A

Harriet Taylor Upton
msa.

Warren, Ohio, Jan, 15, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I am in receipt of a letter from Mrs. Munds, in which she encloses a letter from Keene St. Charles. He is the editor and publisher of Our Mineral Wealth which, I take it, is a newspaper, although the letter head does not say so. He says he is a suffragist, that he is in favor of action during this legislature, and if he should be defeated in the January election, which seems funny to me, he has seen to it that a woman suffragist was nominated against him. He tells Mrs. Munds that if the Governor is for us he does not see why we are not in pretty good shape. Mrs. Munds in her letter says that Dr. Woods has been and gone and she does not see how she could have formed a correct opinion when she only saw two members of the Legislature. She says she does not wonder that she felt discouraged because Governor Kibbey was nasty to her in the interview. She says, however, that he was just the same at the time the bill was up but after all he voted for it. She says this St. Charles was not elected and that he did not want it, but that Elakeslee, the man whom he got to stand against him, was elected and that he is a Republican and a suffragist and can do a lot for us. She says the Council stands eight Republicans and four Democrats with two of the Democrats good suffragists. She says she is trying to make the Democratic legislators see that in order to carry out the reforms which they are advocating, that is the anti-gambling and saloon business, they will have to have the women's vote. She says the Governor will have to be worked with a string and she wants to know if we have any pull with him. She also wants any suggestions from us. She closes by saying,

Jan 15, 1907

#280

"Now, Mrs. Upton, I shall not give up until I am convinced that there is no hope."

I am writing her a letter, just as non-committal as possible, and I think Miss Shaw better write her. Since she is chairman of the Committee on campaigns and organization. Mrs. Wunds sends a lot of clippings about the conditions four years ago when Dr. Woods was there, but I have not had time to read them.

I have another letter this morning which needs your attention I think. It is written from Salt Lake City, under the head of the American Party County Committee. It is signed by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen, President and Mrs. Thos. D. Pitt, Corresponding Secretary. The letter states that they are sending me clippings from the Salt Lake City Tribune of Jan. 8th. referring to the action taken by the Women's American Club at their annual meeting regarding affiliating with the National Suffrage Association. The letter says, "We are sorry we are compelled to take this step, for while we are all ardent suffragists, we deem it inconsistent to give our support to those whom we are opposing. Trusting it will not be long before the suffrage association abandons its present policy in regard to Mormonism, for we know there is no hope for further extension of suffrage in these western states until this great moral question is settled and settled by the women of the Nation." The clipping says, that "Last September the Club decided to become auxiliary to the National Woman Suffrage Association. It was felt that as a part of a large body the work of the club could be much better advanced. But there came a change of heart. Sometime ago while traveling in Idaho, Mrs. Cohen learned that the reason some of the best speakers of the Association were not sent to the four suffrage states was the fact that the Association feared to antagonize the Mormon women, to whom they felt that equal suffrage in Utah, Wyoming, Colorado and Idaho should be credited. Naturally this club felt

[Jan 15, 1907]

f38C

outraged at such an idea and so at a meeting of the Executive Board it was decided to gracefully rescind any idea of affiliating with the suffrage body and instead ally with the Mother's Congress and the National League of Women's Organizations of the United States. This League embraces ten millions of women and these women are urging a fight against Reed Smoot."

I suppose this is really the work of Mrs. Shoaf. She is doing us a lot of harm and I wish we could get after her. It does seem strange how the suffragists are always between the devil and the deep sea. Here are three counties in Arizona refusing to help us in our question before the Arizona Legislature because we, as an Association are Anti-Mormons, and here is another Association, how strong or influential I do not know, which is withdrawing from auxiliaryship because we are not Anti-Mormons. To be sure it never has been actually auxiliary, because we never have received any dues from it, but at the same time I think it did intend to affiliate with us for their own sake as they say.

I have asked one of the girls in the office to acknowledge formally this letter to Mrs. Cohen and say that it would be answered later. I think Miss Shaw ought to answer it. Therefore your opinion on both the above points should be sent to her.

Very truly yours,

HU-A

Harriet Taylor Upton

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

Warren, Ohio, Jan. 16, 1907.

Dear Miss Clay:

Last night we had a social meeting of the Political Equality Club at the home of the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Reinhold, and Mr. Wallace was there. He told me to call him to-day over the 'phone and he would tell me the amount of your balance; I did so and find that it is \$428.65. I presume this is interest and part of the principle on the loan I made for you. I am going over in a day or two to open up my box and attend to some business and then I will find out definitely about it and if the interest due you was \$28.65 you will know that they have paid \$400. on the principle.

I shall be so anxious to know what you think of the Mormons business; also the Woodworth business.

Never before did things seem to be tumbling our way at such a rate as they are now.

Awfully busy with Convention stuff!

Faithfully yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-J.

Warren, Ohio, Jan. 28/1907

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

I feel that I ought to report the condition of the Indiana work, because you may be wondering about it. Miss Chase was to start in two weeks from the time we first talked about it, and preparations were all made for her, when suddenly a bill for municipal suffrage was introduced into the New Hampshire Legislature and a time set for the hearing. Miss Chase felt that she ought to go on to Indiana, but Mrs. White and the New Hampshire women thought they could not get on without her; and since we had waited so long for the Indiana work, it seemed to me a few days more would do no harm. Miss Chase expected to begin her work in Indiana the middle of last week, but it was postponed, and she then planned to start in there this morning; but the Hearing has been again postponed, and it will be another week before she goes. However, as Kendallville, where she will begin, is on the way to Chicago, and as she will spend most of the time now about Kendallville and its vicinity, we are not losing anything in the way of money for transportation.

Miss Shaw is in the field, and therefore cannot write you about Oklahoma, but letters received to-day from Miss Clay and Mrs. Beyer say that they have not a majority of the suffrage committee, and that Mr. Owen is still in Washington, and the suffrage committee is bound to report, but they are holding off until his return. They also have a number of Oklahoma women working in the field, gathering petitions, and of these Mrs. Bailey, our press chairman, and Mrs. Laskey, State Treasurer, are the most prominent, - I mean, we have known them the longest. Miss Clay has advanced the money for the expenses of these women, \$1.00 a day. Mrs. Beyer has written me to-day, saying they will have to have \$200. in addition

Jan 28, 1907

--2--

to pay these incidental expenses, or, rather, to be ready; I think they have not used all their money. Neither Mrs. Beyer nor Miss Clay seemed quite as hopeful as they have, but they are preparing for future work..

Mrs. Fernald writes Headquarters that they are pounding away at their legislative work, and that the antis are flooding the State with their Remonstrance. I have also just received word from South Dakota that our bill passed the Senate by a vote of 24 to 21, and that they were to have a meeting in the House on the evening of the 23d. They also say that the House Committee is more favorable than the Senate Committee was. If this is true, we may have a campaign on our hands there as we have now in Oklahoma. Mrs. Jeffries, in writing of South Dakota, says: "Copies of the Remonstrance were received by all members of the Legislature yesterday!"

We have now exhausted all the funds we have in our commercial account, and have only our mortgage of \$1,000, and \$2,000 at interest in one of the banks. If we are to continue spending money at the present rate in Oklahoma we will be without any funds at all at the close of the National Convention. I suggest that you all think about this, because one of the principal things we will do at the National Convention will be to plan for some sort of a standing or permanent fund, to be known as the Anthony Fund. I have been rereading the letters from Miss Shaw, Miss Gordon and Mrs. Avery in regard to this fund, and I find we all have different ideas in connection with it. Our financial condition may make it necessary for us to change even the plans which any of us may have thought of.

Cordially yours

HTU.-R.

Narris Taylor Wilson
27

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

January 28/1907

Dear Miss Clay:-

I have been so busy doing stunts outside of the office that it has been almost impossible for me to keep up with the mail. I shall not enter into details about what we are doing here, but I am sure you will be glad to know that I was invited last Friday to speak at Youngstown before a club of splendid women upon whatever subject I wished, that I talked out and out suffrage, that I was received with great applause, and called back and asked to give them more. It would have done your heart good had you been there. I had to put in a whole day getting down and back and attending the meeting, and I rather begrudged the time. I have recently been called upon to speak in the Methodist Church before the Sunday School; yesterday (Sunday) I talked on Child Labor (with suffrage thrown in) at the Presbyterian Sunday School. It just seems that my duties increase in all directions, and, no matter what my desire may be, I cannot stop them.

Now to your letter of the 21st: I am enclosing draft for your \$428.00, which I hope will reach you safely. I have not yet made the loan for the Bruce money. There are a number of people building houses on the edge of town, and I think the loans are very good; but the weather has been so extremely cold that I have not had the courage to go out to see them, hoping it would moderate in a few days.

I note what you say about the letter to the President and about Mrs. Schoff. When Miss Gordon was at Miss Shaw's, she and

Jan 28, 1907

--2--

Mrs. Avery conceived the idea that it would be a joke to invite Mrs. Schoff to come to our convention as a fraternal delegate, thinking she would decline, and of course then we would have her. But instead of that, she has accepted.

I note what you say about the anti sailing into Oklahoma. Does it not seem preposterous to you that the old "blank cartridge ballot" by Johnson could have any weight at this day?

Yes, I read the stuff in the paper about the Indian Territory women being included in Oklahoma without their consent, but I thought possibly you could refute all that because Mrs. Biggers, who is at the head of the whole thing, is an Indian Territory woman.

Indeed, I do not think you are straining or overstepping your authority at all. Someone must be vested with authority to say yes or no quickly at such a time as this; and you are conservative and judicious, you are a National officer, we are trusting you, and that is all there is of it. Do not give yourself a thought but that we are standing by. The only trouble with all this is that we are running so short of money.

I was thankful to have you write me all the details about the Hearing, Governor Adams's speech, etc.. Of course you are anxious, and will continue to be, but that is a part of the life of a suffragist.

Now to yours of the 25th: I am sorry that you have not a majority of the suffrage committee on your side, and I am hoping that Mr. Owen will return soon. I was glad to have you tell me of Miss Gregg and Dr. Woods, and of Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Laskey and Mrs. Bailey. We have had some correspondence with Mrs. Bailey, and I like her rather well, although of course I have never seen her.

[Jan 28, 1907]

I note what you say about being at the Chicago Business Committee meeting, and you will have to arrange your time to suit yourself as to the auditing; but if you could get away a day or two earlier, and have the auditing done before the Business Committee convenes, I think it would be a very nice thing. You see when the Committee gets to work our time will be short, and you will not want to leave for the auditing; and after the convention begins of course you cannot leave.

The girls in the office are always glad to hear from you, and always tell me to send you their very kindest regards.

I am enclosing check and return receipt for the \$200. which Mrs. Boyer says you will want to pay the expenses.

It will be only a few days now before we are all jabbering away in Chicago, and I am getting very impatient to have the time come. Of course I shall have to work up to the very last minute, as I always do, but at the same time I shall be glad to see you all face to face and get the reports directly from you.

I am expecting Miss Chase on Friday of this week. She has been detained on account of the New Hampshire hearing. You know they have put in a bill on Municipal Suffrage. It has been a disappointment to her to spend the extra time there, but the New Hampshire women of course did not want to have her go; and as Indiana has waited ten years, it can wait a few days longer.

I have been talking with Elizabeth about your auditing the books, and she thinks as I do, - that you ought to be at Chicago, if you possibly can, by the 9th or 10th, in order to have all that auditing done and out of the way before we get there. Of course if there should be great pressure at Oklahoma you could not leave; but unless that should be the case I think you better try to do it.

HTU.-R.

Cordially yours

Harriet J. DeLoach

Feb. 2, 1907.

Dear Business Committee:

We have been holding a conference this morning with all in the office and Mrs. Carter, to say what we desired our ~~friends~~ friends to fight for in the convention. Our conclusions were these:

First choice. To strike out the word "male" in the suffrage clause.

Second Choice To give any legislature the right to strike out the word "male" without reference to the voters.

We were unanimous on these two propositions; but when it came to the question whether we would accept a third proposition, we divided. The third proposition would necessarily be the submission of ~~the~~ woman suffrage as a separate proposition, to be voted on at the same time as the constitution.

It may surprise you that the majority of us voted against any ~~third~~ proposition at all. The arguments were that those who wished to appear as our friends might take our acceptance as a means of yielding to our demands without really giving us any help. Second that the women would be hard to rouse to activity again after a defeat which the most of us think is inevitable if put to the voters if we cannot win in the convention, especially as our allies, the W.C.T.U. and the prohibitionists will be fully occupied with their own battle since prohibition is to be admitted as a separate clause. Third: we would rather bring our cause before the people on the initiative and referendum when we are ready to

[Feb 2, 1907]

-2-

do so rather than be forced to submit it within the short period which will elapse ~~before~~ ^{between} adjournment, and the time of taking the vote on the proposed constitution.

Mrs. Boyer and Mrs. Biggers explained their votes of the side of the majority by saying that they anticipate that the suffragists will continue some work to create sentiment until the time for submitting it by the initiative, and they think that a longer time than the period mentioned before is necessary for the education of sentiment sufficiently strong to carry. Also that after the constitution is adopted we will have a better opportunity of receiving the undivided attention of our friends and allies.

I, (Miss Clay) voted on the side of the majority without qualification because I believe that if we cannot win in the convention, there are other States which are more hopeful if we have to carry our question before the voters, and I think it undesirable to undergo the labor and expense of a prolonged campaign when with all our preliminary work we ^{shall} have failed in the convention.

Mrs. Bradford will give the minority report in this same envelope. We all feel this matter of so much importance that we desire advice from the rest of the Business Committee as whether we shall press upon our friends in the convention the majority or minority opinion. We shall send this letter to Miss Shaw and Mrs. Upton, as we think there is time still for you to telegraph your opinion before action is taken in the convention, therefore, we shall expect a telegram from both of you, saying whether you prefer the majority or minority opinion.

Sincerely yours,

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

Feb. 5, 1907.

Dear Miss Clay,

Your letter of February 22nd, written from Guthrie, is here, enclosing receipt for the \$200. I have read carefully your letter and there is nothing demanding immediate attention. If I go to Chicago we can talk things over and if I do not there is not much use writing because Elizabeth would see you. I have not written you that father has not been so well and it may ~~not~~ be that I cannot leave him. I am going to have a woman who knows about nursing come to the house and Mr. Upton feels sure that he can take care of him, and the doctor says there is not as much danger now as there was a few weeks ago, and yet, nobody knows as well as you, how anxious I shall be if I do go, and how I will not go unless I satisfy myself that it is all right.

We will be through with the books today or tomorrow, I think, and then we will send them to you at the Palmer House.

Note what you say about Dr. Woods.

Have just received your letter in regard to the third proposition. I think you are entirely right and I almost know from Miss Shaw's late letters that she believes as you do. The truth of it is that if we cannot win in the excitement of the moment and the pressure that is being brought to bear by the organizations, we cannot win in a campaign. Besides, nobody knows how we are coming out financially and the women of South Dakota have succeeded in getting a bill through the Senate and think it is going through the House and are preparing for a campaign there. Mrs. Pöckler whom you will remember, is arranging for her own organizers and says she thinks their own people can do better than outsiders, and we could undoubtedly have a successful campaign there on half the money. I am therefore telegraphing you "Agree with you on third proposition. Books go to Chicago tomorrow."

HTU-K

Sincerely yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton
(Over)

Wm. Lloyd Garrison
Have written two accounts, one
of the [unclear] and one to
Miss [unclear] for [unclear] asked
them to write [unclear] of [unclear] just
as [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

March 16, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw and Miss Clay,

Dr. Woods has agreed to go to Illinois in May. Mrs. Stewart is very happy over this and says that she would quite as soon or rather have May because she has been so tired, and so that is settled. By the way, Mrs. Stewart has gone into the field to do a little work which she had planned for herself and is now at the home of her father in Arthur, Ill. where she hopes to stay until after their hearing on the 27th. She says she attended one of the contests for the Springer prize at the University of Illinois; that four young men and two young women contested. A young man won out. She says he ought to too, for he had the best oration.

I have had some correspondence of late with Baulah Hartman and have something to tell you in regard to developments there, but whether I can possibly get it into this letter or not remains to be seen. Never before in the history of my work was it impossible for me to keep up with the mail. I always have been able to do it by using the stenographers and typewriter and turning over letters to each department, but there are letters on my desk that came yesterday noon that I have not had time yet to read. I suppose you have each seen the enclosed circular. We are sending out a Progress letter of about a thousand this morning and we are enclosing one of these circulars in each. It is a great day for us when great periodicals beg us to do things for them isn't it?

HTU-A

Hastily but triumphantly yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honary 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

March 16, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw and Miss Clay,

You will remember about Miss Beulah Hartman, her writing us from Arizona, her going to Chicago to the elocution school and so on and so forth. Also her calling on me at the hotel and ~~my~~ conversation in regard to her in the Business Committee meeting. As I was instructed, I wrote to her asking her whether she was still of the mind to do organizing for us. I took the liberty of saying that some of the detail of the organization work had been left in my hands and that I would think a young woman starting in without any experience ought to be willing to work for a month or two or three without salary just for experience. I also told her very frankly that I had and I thought some of the others of the Association had an idea that she was a hoity toity, irresponsible person, and we were all of us more or less pleased with her deportment at Chicago. I thought it only fair to say exactly how we felt and then there would be no misunderstanding. She has assured me many times that she cares more for suffrage than she does for anything else. She now says that she would be willing to work two or three months without salary and later for \$50 00 with collections for expenses, &c., In the meantime, I wrote to Mrs. Werth, asking her to tell me again what her experience with Miss Hartman was, and I also suggested that we did not feel really satisfied with what we knew about Miss Hartman. Mrs. Werth replies today that several years ago Miss Hartman came to her door, introduced herself, said she was a suffragist, that she had written to the Woman's Journal for the names of the Missouri suffragists, that she was in St. Louis to have her eyes treated as she had strained them from over work. The three people whose names she got from the Journal were Mr.

May 16, 1907

#3510

Dutro, Mrs. Werth and another lady. Miss Hartman then asked Mrs. Werth to go with her to see Mr. Dutro to ask him if he would not be willing to help them on a new start. Mrs. Werth said that in this conversation Miss Hartman showed great sense and pleased her very much. She then asked for some enrolment cards and in a few days filled a goodly number by going from house to house in the neighborhood of her boarding house. She asked for more cards, Mrs. Werth gave them to her and she filled those. She then returned to her home in New Mexico, I think, and sent back to Mrs. Werth a long list of St. Louis people asking Mrs. Werth to try to get these people together for organization. Mrs. Werth said she knew this was not practical from past experience so she did not follow it out. She says she never saw anything about Miss Hartman that was not eminently respectable, and so much does she believe this that she is willing to give Miss Hartman a month's board provided she will sleep on a cot in her room; and will give her parlors which are good size in a good location in St. Louis and aid her in any way she can, provided we pay her expenses and send her there. Now my thought in regard to Miss Hartman was to let her go with some one of our organizers for a month to help the organizer and to learn the business without salary we to pay her expenses. I intended that she should go with Dr. Woods if it should be agreeable to Dr. Woods and to the Illinois people. Because of the uncertainty of the Illinois work until this morning, I have not consulted you in regard to it. Now then, is it your opinion that the National should start Miss Hartman in as an organizer? Are you willing to pay her expenses to go for a month, the month of May, with Dr. Woods, provided Illinois and the Doctor are willing? Does it seem wise for us to have her go to Missouri under the present condition of friction? I suppose such a matter as this would have to be eventually voted upon by the Business Committee but of course

[Mar 16, 1907]

#3880

we three must think it over before the question is put. I think Mrs. Werth's offer is a good one and if it were some other time of year and if there were not the fight between W. s. Mulkey and Mrs. Werth, I should think it would be the one to accept. On the other hand, Dr. Woods has had such experience as a Doctor and a nurse, that she knows better about human nature than some of the rest of us and she would know after a month's work whether Miss Hartman had the making of an organizer or not. The truth of the matter is we must have more organizers than we have and these organizers must be young and strong women. Whether Miss Hartman is one of these or not I do not know. Give me your opinion.

Hastily but cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Mar. 17th, 1907.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

You have been long suffering in waiting for the state report and the Committee report which I now enclose to you.

As I am very tired, I will only add that I thoroughly approve of your suggestion to have Miss Hart go for a month with Dr. Woods on an organizing tour. Dr. Woods is a good example of an efficient worker; and also would give us a valuable opinion as to the probable success of the novitiate.

~~IXMARE~~ Bruce Legacy. The Good Samaritan has bonds to sell; and I have concluded to take one thousand dollars in them. This will invest the \$800.00 they owe me; and \$200.00 which will be paid down on the sale of the lot. Mrs. Jacobs thinks she will pay the remaining \$1000.00 on the 15th of April; but she may give me her note and pay interest on the balance. So you need not look for any further investment for me just at present. I will write more fully in a day or two; but write this much to save you needless trouble.

Love to all in the office, and with much to you, I am

Yours,

Laura Cley.

X

1907.
Winton.
March 21.

\$48.36.

On bank.

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

March 22, 1907.

Dear Miss Shaw and Miss Clay,

I have just received two letters from Dr. Woods, both written from Geary. She says that the Farmers Union 1522 passed a suffrage resolution last night. I suppose that is the one before which she spoke. She says they dare not publish that for fear Haskell, Murray & Company would send out men to stop us in other places. She says it is her opinion that we ought to go before both state conventions asking for submission to the people by the Legislature as part of their platform. She says she thinks, however, that the others, (I suppose referring to Miss Gregg and Mrs. Boyer) do not agree with her. She says she has sent in to Headquarters for Mrs. Boyer to send Miss Campbell out into the field to help make some arrangements as the local woman where she is now working failed. She says, "I am certain a clever country woman, able to talk a little and that the farmers would like could do it (get the endorsement) just as well as anybody if we could find those who would leave their home. And they would do it for a dollar a day." She also asks if she is to return to Oklahoma after the Illinois work and I am writing her that she is. If this is not right, let me know.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-A

Warren, March 22/1907

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

Doesn't that sound too funny? When Miss Shaw was making up the committees she realized that there was a great deal that could not be classified, and therefore made a separate committee, consisting of Clay, Kelley, Gordon and Sperry, who should have jurisdiction over such matters as were not otherwise assignable. She put this under the head "Miscellaneous", which did not sound strange then, but when we come to address the Committee it does.

I am writing you in the matter of Adelaide Johnson and the busts, thinking that this must certainly come under your division of work.

Many years ago Mrs. Johnson^h made three busts (Miss Anthony, Miss Stanton and Lucretia Mott), for which she was to be paid \$1,000 each. Miss Anthony made the arrangements, and, as she was honesty itself and never noticed little things, she did not pay much attention, I believe, to the contract; and the question of these busts has for years been a source of great annoyance to the suffrage people, although it was put into the hands of a special committee. After more than ten years had elapsed, Miss Anthony went to see Mrs. Johnson, and asked her how she wanted to settle the matter, and she said she wanted the balance of the money due her. Either \$2300. or \$2700. had been paid, or, at any rate, Miss Anthony was to raise \$300. of it, which she did; but before she got ready to pay it she found that Mrs. Johnson did not intend to give the busts over to the Association, that she wanted the custody of them herself. It hung fire for a long time, and Miss Anthony, fearing she might become soft-hearted and give Mrs. Johnson the money, turned it over to Miss Shaw, who tightly clung to the same, because she

[Mar. 22, 1907]

--2--

was of the opinion that I, too, might weaken and hand the money over to Mrs. Johnson. During the winter I saw a friend of Mrs. Johnson's, who gave me a history of the case, and when in Washington I talked with the local people, who were in exactly the same position we were. They had raised \$400. to finish paying for the busts, but when they learned that Mrs. J. was not going to deliver them they did not want to pay either. They therefore told me to bring the matter to the attention of the Business Committee, and whatever the National did the District would do.

I then corresponded with Mrs. Johnson in regard to it; asked what she wanted, and requested her to answer briefly; but she has written me a letter of nine type-written pages, or just about 3,000 words. She still thinks the money ought to be paid her for the busts, and that she ought to have the placing of them in some art gallery, - in other words, she is not willing to trust them to us. I think perhaps she has heard Miss Shaw say that if she ever got hold of Mrs. Stanton's she would surely drop it; and the Stantons feel as Miss Shaw does.

The reason I brought up this old skeleton at Chicago was because of my position as treasurer. Here is a fund of \$300 or \$400 lying idle, and we suppose the District has about \$400. also; and it seemed to me that this money ought to be used for something, if not for the busts, then the money in our hands at least should be turned into the treasury, since Miss Anthony gave it to Miss Shaw and me to do with as we deemed best.

Knowing Mrs. Johnson was very anxious to hear the outcome of that discussion, I wrote her on February 28 that the Minutes had not yet reached me, but the vote at Chicago was that when she

[Mar 22, 1907]

--3--

was willing to deliver the busts, either at the National Headquarters or some other place agreed upon, we would pay the money which we, Miss Shaw and I, have on hand.

Now then the matter for you to decide is this:

The Minutes read as follows: "Mrs. Upton read part of a letter from Adelaide Johnson about the busts. Mrs. Avery moved that the Treasurer be instructed to write Mrs. Johnson that when the three busts are delivered in good condition at Warren Headquarters, the remainder of the money will be paid. Miss Clay moved as an amendment that it shall be paid when Mrs. Johnson gives us the title to and the custody of the busts. Mrs. Avery accepted the amendment, and the motion, as amended, was carried. Voted that if Mrs. Johnson refuses to give us the busts, the money now in hand to pay for them be turned into the National Treasury."

I told Mrs. Johnson I would give her the exact wording of the vote, but I hardly know whether it is compulsory upon me to report this to her, and I would like to have your opinion in regard to it. Would you report the exact words of both the original motion and the amendment and this second motion; or would you simply tell her the result of the vote? This would be a very unimportant question if we were dealing with anyone else, but she has kept every scrap of paper, every contract, and in this way has been able to refute any criticism; so that it seems to me quite important that I be instructed by someone exactly what to do in regard to it.

I have written at greater length than I intended, because neither Mrs. Kelly nor Mrs. Sperry was present at the meeting when this was discussed.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.

Warren, Ohio, March 22/07

DEAR ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:-

OKLAHOMA: A letter from Mrs. Boyer has just reached my desk, in which she says Mrs. Biggers has gone home sick, and Dr. Woods is in Kiowa County; she will move Headquarters to Oklahoma City about the first of April; that they are sorely in need of literature, and must have another edition of the Memorial; wants to be authorized to go ahead and get bids on them; says the first edition cost \$220.00 for 2,000. Miss Shaw and I both feel that we cannot spend \$500. for the 5,000 which she previously asked for. She says their stenographer has left them for a better-paying position, and stenographers are scarce; Dr. Woods' route runs southwest and Miss Gregg's northwest. Mrs. Boyer hopes to do something in the radius of Oklahoma City. She then asks us to send Miss Chase to Oklahoma; that it is very vital they try to do something in the various sections before candidates come back to the legislature. Miss Clay will be interested to know that Mr. Dalton is being urged to run for the Legislature, and says that if he does stand it will be squarely on the woman suffrage platform. She says the candidates ought to be pledged now, and adds: "Really the amount of work to be done is stupendous, we thought Oregon was a big undertaking, but this State has three times the population; to sum up, we shall need one or two more workers, more memorials, literature for unions, a stenographer of fair ability."

I have written Mrs. Boyer that I want her to make an estimate of the expenses there. I do not think we ought to go on without knowing where we are coming out. None of the girls has signed the contracts which I ~~sent~~ was authorized to send. Miss Gregg was going to sign, but the contract was for two months' vacation and she wants three. Dr. Woods does not want to sign by the year, as she does not think she will be able to do the work. Mrs. Boyer does not say why she has not signed.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.

(Copy)

Portland, Ore., March 23rd, 1907.

My dear Mrs. Upton:-

Your delayed letter of 16th inst. is just at hand- too late to be of use to you, even if we desired anything published. We have returned to our still hunt which ought never to have been interfered with, as by breaking it up the ballot armed enemy became aroused and organized and as it does its work secretly we can only hope to checkmate it by its own methods.

We are just now in receipt of advance copies of our new constitution, herewith enclosed, under which we are to make a thorough a canvas for ~~XXX~~ State membership as we can manage beyond the pale of the press. By it you will see that our coworkers mean business. As soon as our plans of co-operation with the N.A.W.S.A. Com. has had time to get all of our signatures we shall submit it to President Shaw for the consideration of the National Board.

Success in Oregon in 1908 will mean added inspiration all along the line. The futility of an imported hurrah campaign, or plan of work, was demonstrated last year and we are glad a few local women who thought themselves IT have had their ~~XXXX~~ lesson, even though it cost us dearly.

Do not think because we are not publishing our work, or plans, to the world for the convenience of the ambushed, ballot armed enemy, that we are idle. On the contrary, we are sapping and mining most industriously for votes. If we can have our methods adopted in co-operation with the N.A.W.S.A. in our campaign now on, we expect to give it, the N.A.W.S.A., a jubilee in 1908. But we must avoid arousing the ballot armed enemy as much as possible, by working quietly through its leaders. Even the State Officers of the W.C.T.U. again see this necessity and can understand it, tho. there are always cranks and Colby's ready to push it to the front, as was demonstrated last year, to make a living out of our crises.

But enough, If we can get the sinews of war, without making open sorties for supplies to get our petitions, and pay postage etc. we can win. The campaign is on.

Wishing you every success in your methods, even as we hope for victory in the beleaguered garrison on the Pacific border, we are, as a unit,

Yours for liberty,

Abigail Scott Duniway

P.S. Certified petitions for all sorts of Referendum votes now cost \$5 per 100. We cannot hire them gotten any less.

Warren, Ohio, March 25/1907

Dear Miss Shaw and Miss Clay:-

Miss Chase writes, under date of March 23, a very cheerful letter, in which she says that although she had only one day to advertise the meeting at Balbec there were more than forty out, the majority being young people; she secured quite a list of names, formed a club with Mrs. Lina Poulson, chairman, who she says is a very ardent suffragist. They have sent for programs, and expect to take Progress. She speaks at West Grove on Tuesday, which is very near Balbec. In writing from Pennville, she says: "I begin to feel that I am getting down to business; I think I have struck a mighty nice corner of the State; have met lovely people. ***** I am well entertained and cared for here."

There seems to be an awakened interest in Texas. We are constantly receiving letters from women in that State, and to-day I am in receipt of a \$1.00 membership from a Mrs. Folsom, at Austin, who says: "I trust some agitation of woman suffrage can be carried on in Texas before another election is held, and that next time we shall get it discussed in the Legislature." A Miss Laura Allen, of Athens, Texas, writes to-day and wants to know something about suffrage.

Dr. Woods says there is a great deal to do in Oklahoma, and things are moving rather slowly; that she would like to engage a woman to take her place while she is in Illinois, and will herself pay the \$30.00 which that person would want; she seems to feel that she has not done quite enough for her money. Somehow our organizers are suddenly becoming conscience-stricken. I did not want Miss Chase to cut herself out of a week's salary, but cannot make up my mind whether we ought to let Dr. Woods do this or not. Let me hear from you about it, and then I shall write her.

Cordially yours

Harriet Jay Lovell Wilson

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Swarthmore, Pa.
First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
Second Vice President, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
Corresponding Secretary, Kate M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

Ans. March 30

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Warren, Ohio

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

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Mary Simpson Sperry,
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

March 27/1907

Dear Miss Shaw and Miss Clay:-

I have a number of letters this morning from Mrs. Boyer, but I am writing to you in regard to expenses only.

She says she cannot sign the contract we sent her. You will remember that it provides for \$135.00 for each calendar month, out of which she is to pay her own expenses, no account to be rendered to the Association. She says she is willing to work for \$100. a month, but that \$35.00 will not cover her expenses; that her room rent is \$15.00 a month, and her food averages \$1.50 a day, although she reports only \$1.25; that Miss Gregg gets a room for less, because she sleeps on a cot, but that she (Mrs. Boyer) cannot rest that way. She closes by saying: "I realized that this is all very expensive, but it is the best I can do; there ought to be someone in the Association who could afford to do the work cheaper; and do not for a moment think I would feel hurt to have you suggest someone else; I am sorry I cannot offer my services, or pay my own way; as it is, I am putting up about \$10.00 a month in excess of what I turn in; Mrs. Bradford will tell you the same experience, so you will know I am not unduly extravagant."

Shall we recommend to the Business Committee the payment of \$150.00 a month for Mrs. Boyer; or shall we ask her to make us an offer?

I asked her, in a letter which I was instructed to write, to let me know what she thought the expenses were going to be, as I did not think the Oklahoma people ought to go on and plan for things without our knowing something about the cost; that in the case of

[Mar 27, 1907]

--2-- Shaw-Clay

the Constitutional convention it was somewhat different. Under date of March 25, she says:

"The rent at Guthrie is, per month,	\$10.00
Heat	3.00
Light	3.00
Janitor	5.00
Telephone	6.00
TOTAL, monthly,	<u>\$32.00</u>

WEEKLY EXPENSES

Office Supplies-----	\$ 5.00		
Postage, exclusive of literature,	\$ 5.00		
Press postage and correspondence	\$12.00		
Stenographer	\$15.00		
TOTAL	<u>\$37.00</u>	<u>\$37.00</u>	<u>\$69.00 mo.</u>

To this must be added possible incidentals not included herewith." " She says this does not include salaries or expenses of local workers which they expect to have; and that she may have to pay a stenographer ~~more than~~ ^{or more} \$15.00 a week.

She also says they want a great deal of literature for the farmers' unions, labor unions, teachers associations, etc.

They are very anxious for a reprint of the Memorial, but both Miss Shaw and I have felt that we could not afford \$500. for 5,000 of these memorials. She wants to know now if we are willing to let her see what can be done for \$300.00. Says they need new letter-heads and other printing; that they are paying \$3.00 a month for rent of typewriter, an old one, with the type so dull it is difficult to make a clear stencil; and that she forgot to put in \$1.25 a month for the rent of a roll-top desk, which is necessary to have in order to lock up petitions, etc., and thinks it would pay to buy a second-hand desk. She then says they will need \$10.60 a week for

EMC-27, 1907,

--3-- Shaw-Clay

postage for press material; that she does not send out anything under 1-cent postage, for it is no use in the Territory.

Will you please add up these expenses, and think about them; and as I am to do the corresponding in regard to Oklahoma, instruct me how to answer her?

Cordially yours

HTU.-R.

Harriet Taylor Upton