

# 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.



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.

June 2/1908

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

Mrs. Boyer made a great effort to secure the passage of our resolution at the National ~~Ex~~ Baptist Convention in Oklahoma City, and in her characteristically funny way says: "They wept violently over the White Slave traffic, and resolved between weeps; they sobbed over Child Labor and shed more brine; and each man hitched up his galluses anew and resolved to protect woman harder than ever, but never a son of them would allow woman the ballot to protect herself. It is one of my knock-out experiences that sends me down into the Valley of Despond for a season." She says she called on delegates from the enfranchised states; met Dr. Brougher of Oregon, who was delighted to see her, etc., and then when it came to the resolution he did nothing for it. She is thoroughly disgusted with him, since he professed to be our friend in Oregon.

She is quite anxious about conditions in Oklahoma, because of the Socialists, who are beginning to circulate petitions for the Initiative on the Woman Suffrage Amendment. She says sometimes she thinks it will be all right, and then again she fears. Says if the Independent Party starts off with considerable enthusiasm we have a good chance in November. Thinks the endorsement of the minority parties---Prohibition and Socialism---will frighten the machine.

I am writing you this because we may take action on the question of endorsing the Socialist Party, or affiliating

June 2, 1908

B.C.

with it , later, and I want you to have time to think about it.

Mrs. Keith, of California, writes "The State Federation of Clubs last week turned down a resolution in reference to aiding the S.B.A. Fund from their treasury, as they are trying to raise \$1,000 to help girls in the U.C."

Cordially yours


Harriet Taylor Lepton

HTU.-R.

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.  
First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.  
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Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

June 8, 1908.

Dear Miss Clay,

I had occasion to write Mr. Post a few days ago and I explained to him about what you thought about his not *mentioning* *Bryan's opportunity* ~~opposing Bryan~~. He writes me that he is very much opposed to heckling candidates on subjects which are not directly an issue in the campaign. Now, you know I have always felt that same way. It always seemed perfectly foolish for us, as an Association, to condemn men who are opposed to us because we have not a bit of ammunition with which to defend ourselves. We are a disfranchised class. Mr. Post says he is sorry you do not want the paper next year but he says "Long usage has made me callous to this sort of thing. I learned long ago that there are many people who would take newspapers and periodicals which are totally opposed to everything they believe in, but will stop a paper that represents them in almost everything the moment it disagrees with them in one thing". That is pretty true, isn't it? He says further in speaking of the paper and your not wanting it "I will simply set her off against the fellow who withdraws his subscription because of the Public's occasional support of woman suffrage and let it go at that".

HTU-K

Cordially yours -

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

June 9, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

When we were in Washington at the time of the Hearing, March 3rd, Senator Owen said that if we would prepare a Memorial he would present it to Congress and we could circulate it by the thousands. When at the Moylan Meeting the next day we voted to pay Mrs. Harper \$50 for preparing this Memorial. On April 17th she writes that she has talked the matter over with Sen. Owen, having been in Washington for a week, and she says he wants just the same statements and nothing new. She refused to prepare such a Memorial. On the 20th she writes she has had instruction from Miss Shaw to prepare the Memorial as Senator Owen wants it, and she will, therefore, do it. I received this Memorial from Mrs. Harper on the 30th and I transmitted it to Senator Owen on the same day. I told him he was to make any corrections. I thought it wise to take out one sentence which Mrs. Meredith disputes. It is a statement of Mrs. Bradford's. On May 4th I sent Senator Owen word that he had been made a Life Member of our Association by the Oklahoma women. On May 5th he writes, "The so called Memorial sent to me is as interesting as a thesis, but is addressed by nobody and signed by nobody. I will try to correct it and send it to you for signatures". I replied promptly that we had talked this matter over with the Officers so we were at liberty to sign it without waiting further. I wrote him again on the 14th asking him what had become of the Memorial; again on the 28th asking him the same question;

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On acknowledgment of our Life Membership Certificate he said nothing about the memorial. On June 4th again saying I thought some of my letters to him had been miscarried. I asked him if he had introduced the memorial. On the date of June 5th he writes that "I regret that <sup>2</sup> he did not have time to prepare the memorial. It did not come to me until too late, although I urged your people to be prompt. At the close of the session I had so many things to do I could not give up the time to prepare this properly. It will have to go over until next session". Of course, the Congressmen are pressed with time at the close of the session. I have wondered if the attack of the Machine on Owen made him fearful to do this. I hardly think so.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

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June 16/1908

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

We are this morning in receipt of copy of a letter written by Mrs. Boyer to Mrs. Biggers, and I thought some of the information might be interesting to you.

When she went to Oklahoma, you will remember, she was to interview the candidates on our question, but had hardly gotten started before the Socialists announced that they were going to start an Initiative & Referendum campaign for woman suffrage. Mrs. Boyer hardly knew what to do in one way; she hated to have a weak and unpopular party take us up, but on the other hand felt that we ought not to act ungraciously towards them. However, nothing has come of it, because under the new primary laws candidates for office for which the electors of the State are entitled to vote must have 1000 petitioners. This includes United States senators and candidates for congress. Candidates for State Senate and representatives must have 100 petitioners each, and so on down the entire ticket. This requires a great amount of petition work, and the Socialists feel that they cannot successfully get these petitions and the Woman Suffrage petitions also, and will therefore drop ours. Both Mrs. Boyer and I are glad. If we had gotten our question before the people and been unsuccessful, then we would have been "knocked out" for three years. So we are now just where we were in the beginning, and may be able to get the referendum through the Legislature. We all remember that this is a great

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advantage, because the legislative referendum requires only a majority of votes cast on the particular amendment.

She says "Haskell has vetoed Kate Barnard's Child Labor Bill, and it is a hard blow to her; I hope she turns on him; it was her pet measure."

Each letter from Mrs. Boyer shows such a shifting of political conditions that I do not see how ~~xxxxxx~~ we can count on anything for a certainty. She tells Mrs. Biggers in this letter, "If we do not meet with sufficient encouragement at the primaries--that is, if a goodly number of candidates do not stand for us--then I think the National is justified in ceasing the work here. Of course if we have a number of candidates with us, then I think we should by all means hang on until after the election, and see to it that we do everything possible towards that election."

Mrs. Boyer thinks our friend Lynch, one of the labor union leaders, will have to go to prison for issuing checks on banks in which he had no funds.

Cordially yours

HTU.-R.

Larrie Taylor Upton

[June 20, 1908]

Warren, June 19/1908

Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer

New York City

Dear Mrs. Spencer:-

Miss Garrett has sent me your letter, with Mrs. Blankenburg's introduction, and a letter of transmission in which she expresses herself as being very much interested in your proposition. She suggests that if I think favorably of this scheme I communicate with Mrs. Kelley and Miss Blackwell and cable Miss Shaw, in order to have the matter brought properly before Mrs. Decker at the Federation meeting next week.

It is late Friday afternoon, the 19th; I do not believe Mrs. Kelley will be in New York when my letter is delivered; Miss Gordon may be in New Orleans, but a telegram would not explain much to her, and I doubt if I could get satisfactory service by telephone; then, too, she may be at Baton Rouge where she has been working for some time on child labor legislation; and Miss Shaw and Mrs. Avery are in Europe. If we were all together and could talk it over, I should think three days short enough time in which to consider all sides of this question; but since the sea separates us, as well as the land, it does not seem possible to me to have it decided by cable or telegraph in such a way as to be satisfactory to the members of the Association. I have written Miss Garrett to this same effect, and suggested that as Mrs. Kelley and Miss Blackwell and you will be in Boston you might request Mrs. Decker to appoint a committee with power to act, and we can consult about it later, and bring it to the attention of the suffragists at Buffalo, where we could appoint a similar committee



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with power to act, or the convention itself act, as may seem best.

You are right when you say the old methods can no longer be the only methods. There will always have to be a central station, such as we have now, and the work which we are doing now will have to be done; but there is a great coming together of the forces which are working in all sorts of reforms, and the sooner we are in centralized shape the sooner will we all realize the thing we are now working for.

I am writing Miss Gordon and Miss Clay, sending copy of your letter; and am also writing Mrs. Kelley and Miss Blackwell, who will be in Boston, where you will all three have a chance to talk this matter over together.

I hope you will drop me a line upon receipt of this, letting me know whether or not you think it wise for you, Mrs. Kelley and Miss Blackwell to talk with Mrs. Pecker in regard to this matter.

Very cordially yours

(Signed)

Harriet Taylor Upton

[June 20, 1908]

Warren, June 19/1908

Miss Mary Garrett

Baltimore Md.

Dear Miss Garrett:-

Your letter has just this moment arrived, and it is now almost four o'clock (Friday, the 19th). The convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs opens on the 22d, which in my opinion is too short a time to settle such an important matter as this.

You do not know how I regret that Mrs. Spencer did not bring this to <sup>your</sup> ~~her~~ attention ~~attention~~, and consequently to mine, in May, when she first thought of it. I think her plan a magnificent one, and should it be carried out feel almost positive that the National Suffrage Association would do its share. This opinion, however, is personal, and, with the President and Vice-President in Europe, the Corresponding Secretary so far away I cannot reach her by telephone, I do not see how an official answer can possibly be given that would be binding.

However, I am writing Mrs. Spencer that I am consulting Mrs. Kelley, and there is a bare possibility that Mrs. Kelley and Miss Blackwell, with Mrs. Spencer, will feel safe in making the proposition to the Federation. If they do, I shall stand by it.

If the letter were not so long I should try to call Miss Clay and Miss Gordon by telephone and read it to them, but Miss Gordon has been hard at work during all this heat in Baton Rouge on some very important legislative matters, and as I am not at all sure that she is in New Orleans, I know it is not worth while to do this. However, I am sending a copy of Mrs. Spencer's letter to both Miss Clay and Miss Gordon, that they may telegraph me their opinion if they consider it necessary

[ June 20, 1908 ]

What Mrs. Spencer says regarding the Woman's Council is true. I attended the first meeting of the International Council of Women, and was present at the formation of the National Council of Women, and know exactly the meaning of the Council idea, but personality entered into the Board, and selfishness smothered that splendid idea. For a long time the suffragists have felt that they must separate from the Council movement, and yet, because it originated here, the officers have been loath to publicly express disapproval.

Mrs. Spencer is right, too, in the thought that we must change our methods. I think we all realize that each is working on different branches of the same thought and idea, and if we could have a central station the result would be wonderful. However, this great plan, in my opinion, cannot be worked out in a few days' time; and knowing so well certain conditions which cannot be explained in a letter, it seems to me it would not be wise to ~~force~~ try to force it at this time. If Mrs. Kel-ley, Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Spencer could present the matter to a committee from the Federation, and if that committee could have power from the Federation to act, then we could formally endorse it at Buffalo. In my opinion, that is as soon as we ought to decide the matter.

I am writing very hastily, as I must finish some work to-day in order to leave home early to-morrow morning to speak at a meeting in another part of the State. I hope, however, I have made myself clear.

Cordially yours

(Signed)

Harriet Taylor Upton

June 20, 1908

101 W. Monument St., Baltimore, June 18/1908

Dear Mrs. Upton:-

I enclose a letter I have received from Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, together with copy of my reply to her.

Miss Thomas and I have discussed the subject, and we are inclined to think favorably of it. It might be that if the Woman Suffrage Association could make the move it would give woman suffrage an important standing among the various organizations and movements for the betterment of the condition of women and children, and enable it to guide these organizations in a more liberal direction.

Miss Thomas and I are rather inclined to feel that a moderate contribution towards such an headquarters might accomplish a great deal. We feel, however, that we have not had time to go thoroughly into the matter, or to consider it carefully enough to pronounce a definite opinion.

With Taft as president of the United States, and Mrs. Decker president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the time would be propitious. If Mrs. Decker and Miss Shaw or Mrs. Kelley could for part of the time be in Washington, say, Mrs. Decker for two months, Miss Shaw for two months, and perhaps Mrs. Kelley for two months, would not this in itself mean a great liberalizing of public opinion?

If you think favorably of the scheme, would it not be possible for you to communicate with Mrs. Kelley, and if you and she approve of it to cable Miss Shaw, so that it might be brought in a proper way before Mrs. Decker at the meeting of the Federation in Boston next week?

With kind regards

Very sincerely yours

(Signed)

Mary E. Garrett

Warren, June 20/1908

Mrs. Kelley  
Miss Clay  
Miss Blackwell  
Miss Gordon.

Dear Ladies:-

Mrs. Upton left town early this morning to speak at a club in Atwater, Ohio, and asked me to write and explain to you a letter received by Miss Garrett from Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and forwarded to Headquarters for consideration and reply.

Thinking it would be more clear to you to read the correspondence, I have copied it and enclose same herewith.

I note that Miss Garrett says she encloses copy of her reply to Mrs. Spencer, but I have looked all through Mrs. Upton's desk and cannot find it, so it may be that she took it with her to read on the way.

Very truly yours

*Caroline J. Reilly*

June 20, 1908

605 W. 115th St., New York,  
June 12/1908

Miss Mary Garrett,

Bryn Mawr, Penna.

My dear Miss Garrett:-

I send herewith an introductory note from our mutual friend, Mrs. Blankenburg, of Pennsylvania. I had intended after seeing Mrs. Blankenburg May 19 and 20 to write you at once, but circumstances beyond my control have prevented until now. I presented to Mrs. Blankenburg the matter that has pressed upon me for some time in regard to methods of more advanced work for the Women's Suffrage cause. She advised my writing you the same points I presented to her attention. The last visit that Miss Anthony paid to me at my home during the last year of her life, she urged upon me, as she had often done before, the claims of the National Council of Women. It was her great desire that I should act as President of that body, and attempt under that organization to do some of the things about which I now write you.

Full knowledge on my part of the actual conditions of the National Council of Women made it seem to me wholly impossible to achieve the results desired through that organization. I therefore, have considered some other way of accomplishing these results. In brief, what seems to me to be needed in the whole range of special activity in behalf of women's interests, as well as for advanced work in the Women's Suffrage cause, is that we should have a National headquarters at Washington, D.C., open for at least a portion of each season, say from three to five months. Every important interest is not only federating nationally, but looking more and more towards Federal Law or influence. The interests of women and children need not only feder-

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ation as to particular elements (such as is now shown by the Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee), but a federation of the various interests in some co-operative movement to secure the strongest possible representation of those interests at our National Capital. If the Woman Suffrage Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Collegiate Alumnae Association, The Mothers' Congress, The Consumers' League, the National Association of Working Girls' Clubs, and committees of women from the National Child Labor Committee, The National Peace Society, the National Conference of Charities & Correction, and other similar bodies, could unite in supporting a headquarters for women's interests in Washington, a great step forward would be made. If at that headquarters there could be as resident hostess a woman in the confidence of all these associations capable of balancing justly the new recommendations of each particular element, and able to influence legislators and the general public in all matters concerning the welfare of women and children, we should have the most vital aid in women's advance and the protection of children. It has often been suggested that the interests of women, children and the home should be conserved by a cabinet officer at the head of an appropriate department of the general government. Such a civil office and department would undoubtedly be created were women equal with men under the law. As it is, the example of such a department of work, it must be set by private enterprise.

The recent meeting of the governors of the different States at Washington indicates quite clearly what I have in mind respecting women's and children's interests. The presidents of the various great national organizations of women might well

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meet in Washington each winter to study, mutually understand, and helpfully affiliate their different enterprises for the sake of common ends. Something like this was the original plan of the National Conference of Women, but, as I have said, that body seems to be incapable of realizing its ideals. When I outlined to Mrs. Blankenburg this plan of a national headquarters and co-operative meeting place of all women's interests, with a resident leader in command, she suggested first that I present the idea to Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and ask her to present it at the next meeting of that body in Boston, and try to inaugurate the movement through that organization.

Mrs. Blankenburg felt that Mrs. Decker would be an admirable person to head the forces of reform and philanthropy at Washington, especially as she is a voter, and might be very willing to undertake it. I also feel that Mrs. Decker is an admirable leader, and she would probably be acceptable, as much so as any one person would be to the various societies named. I do not feel, however, that the General Federation of Women's Clubs is the body which should lead in this matter.

By a happy coincidence the present President, Mrs. Decker, is an extremely logical and effective woman suffragist. There is nothing, however, in the organization to demand that its president should be such, and traditions of its management are against such a leadership. I believe that it would not be most helpful to the main idea I have in mind to have the Woman Suffrage Association assume sole responsibility for the headquarters at Washington and appoint one of its leaders known solely or chiefly for suffrage work as hostess. On the other hand, I believe that the suffrage element should be ineradicably bound to the enterprise; and therefore that it would be safer



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bound to the enterprise; and therefore that it would be safer to have the Woman Suffrage Association take the initial step and invite co-operation from these other organizations. The Federation of Clubs is broadening its work so as to take in most of the movements for the advancement of women and the protection of children. It is also year by year taking a more friendly attitude toward the suffrage cause. These things would make the Federation, I believe, ready to join, as the first and most important organization invited, with the National Woman Suffrage Association, in the attempt to thus co-ordinate the interests of women's organizations. The body thus taking the lead and inviting the co-operation of others, would, of course, have to assume its share of the expense and offer suggestions as to the way the whole enterprise should be managed.

If there were time before the Federation Biennial at Boston, I should like to see the general officers of the Woman Suffrage Association undertake the initial steps and present to the Executive Board of the Federation a plan for action at that meeting. Then, on the basis of endorsement by these two greater organizations, have invitations sent to other bodies. An attractive headquarters at Washington would be secured, preferably open for the entire season. An executive secretary, who should be a salaried person, highly competent to carry on all the details of inquiry, statistical tabulation of information, correspondence and general work, should be in permanent charge. If the money could be raised I should like that person to be as able and as well known as Kate Claghorn, or Mrs. Florence Kelley, or Miss Breckinridge of Chicago University, some woman whose general ability and special training would command respect and influence. Then I should like to have named as special hostess

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for three or four months during the congressional sessions (changing the appointment each two years, perhaps), some woman who, like Mrs. Decker, would hold the honorary, unsalaried position of general leader of forces of the women, receiving the suffrages of all the organizations, taking direction of the great majority of them as the basis of her leadership. Could money be raised only for headquarters and living expenses of such a hostess as I have last named, the appointment of an executive secretary might wait; but I believe the time has come when wholly new methods must be adopted by the suffrage movement, and a much more vital correlation of all progressive forces be secured if the women's movement is to be kept vital or attain its place at the head of the line of social reform..

Our big conferences call together convinced believers. Our separate organizations over-lap and often confuse the general cause. Our appeals in the suffrage cause, and many of them out of date, rendered so by the change in the social point of view; and the specialization of women's social activities, so far prevent the united force that wins success. As sixty years ago all elements of social progress relating to women were combined in the "Women's Right Movement", so now I believe the time has come for a re-combination on the advanced plane of our present position. Nothing but the pressure of professional duties has prevented my moving earlier in the matter. I have, however, been deeply stirred towards such effort for a long time. Mrs. Blankenburg was sure that you would be interested, and I, therefore, make no apology for the length of this letter. Were I free from other bonds I would like to aid substantially, inaugurating some change in our suffrage activities, because I believe it is not

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alone or chiefly by doing more of the old things, but by doing wholly new things that we shall make adequate advance.

As it is, as my Quaker greatgrandmother would have said, "I lay my concern of mind before the meeting."

I cannot close without giving you my warmest thanks for the effort you and Miss Thomas have so successfully made for the financial support of our movement. It pleases us all to think how happy the results of that effort would make our dear Susan B. Anthony.

Yours sincerely

(Signed)

Anna Garlin Spencer

# Ohio Woman Suffrage Association.

MEMBER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE N. A. W. S. A.  
MARIE JENNEY HOWE, 1844 E. 86TH STREET, CLEVELAND.

Honorary President, FRANCES M. CASEMENT, Painesville.

President, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren.  
Vice-President, PAULINE STEINEM, 2228 Scottwood Ave., Toledo.  
Rec. Secretary, CARRIE CHASE DAVIS, M. D., Sandusky.

Cor. Secretary, BERTHA COOVER, London.  
Treasurer, SADEE K. IZANT, Warren.  
Auditor, SALLIE R. MCLEAN, Glendale.

HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

June 22nd 1908

Dear Miss Clay; <sup>1</sup>

Enclosed find check for interest on the mortgage notes of Wm Coale which you hold. Let me know that you have received this.

Mrs McLendon writes that you are to be the speaker at their state convention which meet the ninth and tenth of July. Goodness how can you do convention work at this time of year.

Mr Upton has a very badly sprained ankle and father is not quite so well. I have had to go to the country for several annual club meetings and Progress is behind. The Committee tells me to let things go but I fancy when Progress is several days late that they will all wonder. I do wish that Miss Shaw would not stay all summer. If she needed the rest and I think she does she could take it here in the heart of the country. I hate to have her stay so long just for that old Council. Lady Aberdeen wrote that the question of woman suffrage would not be touched at the Geneva meeting because it would have to be done in convention and not at an Executive. The responsibility is great particularly the financial. Still I am so much less nervous and so much stronger than I was last year that I ought not to say a word. I think I would not feel it so if Miss Afery and Mrs Kelley were not both gone too.

Cordially Yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

Lexington, Ky.

June 29th, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I have received the check for sixty dollars, in payment of the interest on the notes of the Bruce legacy for June, for which I thank you.

I observe I have not answered several of your recent letters, which I will now do seriatim.

June 8. I was interested in what Mr. Post said of my letter. I did not know that it would come under his eye, as I ~~wrote~~ directed it merely to the Public; and it was in answer to a circular received, saying my subscription had run out and asking a renewal. As I did not want the paper longer, I thought it courteous to explain why. Perhaps, however, he did not see my letter, but only answered your remarks about my attitude concerning it.

"

Now I want to differ from you in thinking we have no ammunition WITH which to defend ourselves" because we are a disfranchised class. As I have said before, I think we have no chance with the politicians until we do show some means of helping and hindering them. The suffragettes in England have discovered means to do this; so have the temperance women in our own country. It is time that we suffragists should devise means whereby we can do the same. If we have no votes ourselves, we have suffragists among men with votes, by the tens of thousands, as our various campaigns have proved many times over. If we could so order our forces as to prove that we can take a real part in helping our friends and hindering our opponents, we might inspire these voters with energy to help us for the help

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we can give them. There was a time, I admit, when I did not think as I now do; but thought we ought to try to make all the friends we could, and avoid stirring up enmity. But now I think we have converted about all who can be appealed to on abstract grounds; and others will not think of us until our question is an issue, as Miss Gordon has so often said after her campaign in West Virginia. Our enemies, the liquor traffic, think it worth while to fight us; why cannot we make it worth the while of our friends to help us in a more aggressive manner than merely voting for us when we ourselves have launched a campaign? The one remark I heartily coincided with in Mrs. Anna Carlin Spenser's letter was that we needed entirely new methods in our work.

Now one of the first steps in the direction I speak of, is to let our friends understand that we expect them to do something more for us than merely to make speeches for us. In regard to the Public, I admit I care very little for a Fundamental Democracy which does not consider the rights of women one of the principles for which it is worth while to "heckle" the candidates. If it is not of that much value in their principles, I do see why suffragists should pay out money for the paper. It is true, that we must subscribe to the press for daily news, whether or not it sustains our claims; but why put our money in a so-called reform paper, which does not think it worth while even to notice that its candidate does not care to commit himself to our cause? It is just another illustration of the same same thing which the Prohibitionists did; they talked suffrage as long as they needed the help of women, and threw the plank overboard the moment they thought they were in sight of success. However, they were mistaken, and they have repented of their mistake about the women. I hope I have now learned my lesson, and will not ally myself again even to the degree of subscribing to a paper under the impression it will help our cause, unless

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I have reason to believe it will stick to our cause when the pinch comes.

However, I know that to secure such firmness we must show power to help; and so I think the Public is justified in its course. We are not justified, to my mind, to expend any of our force for reforms which are not going to do more for us than to agitate, which we could do much better for ourselves with the money we expend on them.

I am glad you let me see Mr. Post's letter to you; and I return it in this. I see Mr. Bryan has answered the Temperance in the same yes-nay manner he answered us. I shall be interested to observe whether or not they think he is "headed" their way.

MR. OWEN'S MEMORIAL. I am not disappointed that Mr. Owen did not get out his Memorial this Congress. As we have the Hearings published and franked I think it will be better to have the Memorial next winter instead of this year. There may be something new to put in it by that time. I do not doubt Mr. Owen's loyalty to us. He proved that thoroughly while we were in Oklahoma; and now that his ambitions are somewhat satisfied and he hopes also for more success, it depends upon us whether or not he remains loyal. He told me himself that he thought his advocacy of Woman Suffrage helped him to the senatorship. If we show continued strength there is no reason why he should not be firm, even for his own interests.

MRS. BOYER. Your quotations from Mrs. Boyer indicate that she has a good grip on the situation, and is not so eversanguine as to hold on there if it turns out there is no reasonable hope. I am glad to see her well balanced view of the situation, and feel that we have placed our work in discreet hands.

Yes, I am going to Atlanta in spite of the hot weather, as we must work when the chance comes. I will write after my return. I shall not get off to Madison till my return, as I am still going to the dentist.

Cordially yours,

I am truly grieved to hear of Mr. Upton's accident. Please remember me to him and to your father.

#189 North Mill St., Lexington, Ky.,

July 1st., 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I have been auditing the books leisurely and have now finished them. I will send them by Adams express to-day, if I can get the man to come for them; if not I will write a postal when I do send them.

I have found very few mistakes and those I think easily corrected.

On page 45 of the Journal there is an erasure of \$10.00 for office expenses, I think this must have been a mistake for it is correctly entered on page 16 of the Ledger and has a receipt and order, if the erasure is not a mistake there is an error of the footing up which runs throughout the remainder of the record.

On page 59 of Journal and page 84 of Ledger there is a payment of \$31.30 to Frances Woods for which there is no order, it seems to have been paid by Mrs. Stewart, of Illinois.

On page 61 of Journal a bill for Miss Blackwell's expenses of \$58.85 is not receipted and has no order.

On page 107 of Journal Nov. 8th. there is an entry of \$10.00 for postage for which I can find no order nor cash payment nor receipt. How was this paid?

On page 92 of Ledger and page 115 of Journal there is a bill for President's office expenses in which there is an error in the addition, it should be 18.45 instead of \$17.45.



On page 23 of small Journal of office expenses there is an error in the footing up which should be \$18.46 instead of \$17.46. This carries with it an error in the order for the December office expenses.

Remarks on The Laura Bruce Legacy.

I see that you are running the payments from this legacy as if it was a separate fund, I see no object in doing this as when I make the payments to the General Treasury I intend them to be used as any other donation. I observe that you have entered \$120.00 from the interest of the notes in this manner and have put the payments from the rent of the cottage in the separate fund, I want both entered in the same manner. My object in asking the National Treasurer to keep an account of the yearly expenses and payments is to have a record of the trusteeship so that any one interested in it can turn to it and see what has been done. This is important because in order to save expense I am making no reports to the Court of the trusteeship.

Please make all these corrections that I mention and write me how they have been made so that I may know how to make my Auditors report. When I know these errors are corrected I will not need to see the books again; and if Mrs. Sperry does not attend the Convention there will be no need to carry them to Buffalo. If she does come I suppose it will be a necessary piece of courtesy to bring the books to I have already written to her that I am auditing the books and have her concurrence to my doing so.

Cordially yours,

Dict.

# 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.



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.

July 8/1908

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

I have a report from Mrs. Day and Mrs. Fernald, of Maine, on Mrs. Day's work. She was engaged at \$10.00 per week, and has worked eight weeks; did a little preliminary work for Maine in the office before starting out, and helped to start her route, Mrs. Fernald carrying it on afterwards. These two women seem to work together very well, one supplementing the other.

Mrs. Day says that in May and June she traveled nearly 2000 miles, speaking in eleven counties and 25 cities and towns, before suffrage clubs, W.C.T.U., Pomona and subordinate granges, in churches and before independent meetings. She organized one club at Pittsfield, got 22 clubs about ready to organize, secured an endorsement from one Pomona Grange and got a large enrolment. She had the question discussed at all her meetings, except those held in churches; assisted the secretary in getting out minutes of the last Maine Convention, and also wrote a little history of woman suffrage in the State, which appears in the front of the book minutes. This is quite an important document.

Personally I feel quite satisfied with her work, and think we have not had as much done for the money in some time. I am glad also to report that Mrs. Day is in better health than when she started out, and that she seems to have enjoyed the work.

Mrs. Fernald is quite enthusiastic, and says they are going to have a woman's day at Old Orchard, the program of which is very good. She writes: "The Maine Woman Suffrage Asso-

[July 8, 1908]

ciation extends thanks to the N.A.W.S.A. for its action in sending Mrs. Day for a few months' tour in the State."

Our orders for literature keep up at the greatest rate, and we never had such a year as this. This morning the State of Washington orders \$40.00 worth, and says it is going to order \$20.00 more, as they are going to have a house to house canvass in Seattle. They write that the State of Washington is now ready for business, that it has gotten out of its swaddling clothes." I should be happy, indeed, if it were not that I constantly see the bottom of the treasury; we have hardly enough money now to meet our outstanding bills, and no way to borrow any since we are not allowed to use from the Thomas-Garrett Fund even for emergencies. Our financial affairs always have turned out all right, and I have always had faith that they would, but whether this depression will shake my faith or not remains to be seen.

Cordially yours

*Harriet Taylor Upton*

HTU.-R.

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

July 13, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

At an Executive Committee meeting in California it was voted, on motion of Alice Park, " that Mrs. Keith, Chairman of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund for California, write to Mrs. Upton notifying the National Treasurer as to any amount of money raised in California, and request that money raised and to be raised in California, be retained in California for our campaign, said money to be credited to the Memorial Fund on the books of the National Treasurer."

Mrs. Park says there are fourteen reasons why this resolution was passed. She states some of them:- that California needs help; that it is so hard to get money everywhere; that it is impossible to raise money to be sent out of the state since their own campaign is so near; that they wonder they have been able to raise money in the last four years; that they gave generously to Oregon, and that under conditions they might expect to receive donations themselves; etc. She says that she feels sure that they can raise more money if they are able to say that this money, which is a nominal part of the Susan B. Anthony Fund, is really to be used for their pressing needs. She says their treasury is empty and they have never been able to raise as much money since Miss Schlingeheyde "let go".

Please instruct me as to how to answer California.

Mrs. Sperry wrote me a week ago that they were going to make this demand. Mrs. Keith has saved \$500 and has sent that as her personal contribution. She is very adroit in the way she words her letter, but although she does not say that she is

Business Committee # 2.

[July 13, 1908]

~~She~~ opposed to this, she says that she sends her \$500 without any ~~proviso~~. It is well she did because when we have paid Mrs. Day her \$80, Mrs. Boyer's bill and the rent we will have little left of the \$500.

The question, however, for you to answer immediately is, shall we allow the money which is now awaiting us, \$100 or more, in California, and any which shall be collected in the future, to apply on our \$100,000 fund, and return it immediately to California to be used in the way the Californians wish it.

Of course, that way of appropriating money is deceiving because it makes ~~our~~ <sup>her</sup> constituency think that we have a large amount all the time when we have not. Then, too, we never gave money to states to be spent <sup>as</sup> the state wishes to spend it. We make ~~our~~ own plans when our money is concerned. It may be that what Mrs. Park says that California would give more money if they thought the National is giving this to them, but I believe that the stringency of the money market makes it hard for them to raise money and the fact that we are giving it back to them would not figure much. However, I am not positive of this.

Please make your reply as soon as possible for they are holding the money to see what our answer is.

Mrs. Day has concluded her field work and she is anxious to know whether we are going to employ her in the future. I have written her that I believe the officers wished to retain her in our work if we are able to raise the money for field work. I have also told her that Miss Hauser will be home the 20th and then we will know what her future plans will be. That will make some difference with Mrs. Day.

Very truly yours,

Harriet Taylor Upham

HTU-K

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

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*Auditors*: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.  
              { Mary Simpson Sperry,  
                              2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

July 13, 1908.

Dear Miss Shaw and Miss Clay,

Under date of July 8th. Laura Gregg, in discussing some dates for fall work, says that she considers South Dakota very much more promising than Oklahoma; that she believes South Dakota was carried in '98. And she found last fall that many South Dakota women believe the same thing. She thinks South Dakota ought to be helped; that some work ought to be done before the Legislature meets and campaign committees organized. She says if the Legislature submits the amendment, she believes we ought to conduct a country campaign only, holding meetings in country school houses and little towns, distributing literature, letting the big towns and the press alone. This is a new proposition. We have always done so much press work. Please consider this matter so that when we come to vote for organization work, if we are going to have organization work this year, South Dakota will be one of the states in which we shall work.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU\*2

Lexington, Ky.

July 17th, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

In answer to your letter of the 13th inst., in regard to money raised in California, I vote in favor of complying with their request. They intend to have a campaign; and in that case do indeed need all the money they can raise. It is not likely in our present state of finances that the National can help them much; and it will at least show good-will if the vote is cast to credit them on the Memorial with what they raise for their campaign.

I suppose Mrs. McClendon has written you about the Georgia W.S.A. convention. It was a small affair; but I was glad I went and put myself in touch with the Georgia suffragists. Mrs. McClendon was much gratified that Mrs. J. H. Sibley, formerly president of the Georgia W.C.T.U., came out publicly in favor of suffrage, which she did for the first time in a speech at the convention. Augusta Howard was there, looking very much as she did years ago. She was to have been the second speaker the second evening; but the street car conductor did not let her off at the right place, taking her to the end of his line, and making her arrival too late to speak at all. I was facing the door, and seeing that she did not enter, I prolonged my remarks ten or fifteen minutes, and with an impromptu speech from Mr. Witham, the program was long enough, though I was disappointed not to hear Miss Howard speak. I always thought her a talented woman, and would have liked to see how she speaks now. Mr. Witham is a delegate to the Prohibition Convention, and appointed one of the National chairman committeemen.

I expect to go to Richmond, Ky., tomorrow; so please address me there till further notice.

I hope your father feels better again, and that Mr. Upton is recovering from his accident. Please give my regards to both of them.


Cordially yours,



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Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

July 21/1908

Dear Miss Clay:-

Your letter of July 17 is here.

No, Mrs. McJendon had not written me about Georgia, and we had made an item from the press clippings. I was glad, though, to have your news, which enabled me to correct some errors..

Too bad about Augusta Howard! I am very glad to have her come into the Association again. It is dreadful when people get their feelings hurt and fuss around, isn't it?

Yes, my father is feeling first-rate, and Mr. Upton's ankle is all right. His wrist is just the same as it was the first day, and he thinks he dislocated some ligament or muscle. If it does not improve, he will go to a bone-setter.

You remember our correspondence regarding Mrs. Boyer and additional expenses, and that you told me if she ran over \$60.00 to tell her we couldn't pay any more, and that was the way it was left. She ran over \$4.80 last month, which was very little of course, but I told her she would have to let it go on the next month,- that is, take it out of the next month's expenses. Now she writes that the next month's expenses will have to be \$100. She has done a lot of interviewing, got some candidates in line, and feels that she ought to nail them. Our special friend, J. Harvey Lynch, who was such a find for us, turns out to be a penitentiary bird, and has skedaddled to Mexico. They are making it hot for Owen, and Mrs. Boyer reports

[July 21, 1908]

that Haskell is weakening and maybe one of our friends will be put in his place. This, I doubt. Haskell will never weaken until his heart stops beating.

It does look as if she had gotten a little something in Oklahoma, and it seems very poor policy not to nail this last work. She says it will be over the 4th of August.

Miss Shaw is opposed to paying anything above expenses, and Mrs. Kelley feels exactly the opposite, so I feel both that, being abroad evens up things I am therefore writing Miss Gordon, Miss Blackwell, Mrs. Avery and yourself, and hope you will give me your opinion promptly.

I was instructed to pay only \$60.00. Is the Committee going to rescind its vote?

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.- R.

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

July 25, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee;-

I wrote you sometime ago in regard to the California money. Now I have a letter from Mrs. Sperry part of which I am copying. It seems as if states ought not to go to conventions, pledge money to a fund like the Memorial Fund and then send the money and want it used in the state; because it makes it appear as if we were having so much more money than we ought to have. I am sure this is right as a general rule. But here is California which took care of its own splendid campaign years ago, has grown all the time in numbers, has been very generous to us always, gave most liberally at the time of the Portland Convention, and now from Mrs. Swift's letter and from Mrs. Sperry you will see that because of the disaster they really need all their own money. When we consider that we often send an organizer at a good salary into a state to pay for setting up and running Headquarters, it seems as if it was good business policy to help California just now, especially since she will have to close Headquarters if we do not, and the closing of Headquarters means jeopardizing the coming legislative work. It is too bad all ways but I must know what to tell them soon, for they are obliged to plan.

Cordially yours,

HTU-A

Harriet Taylor Upton

L July 25, 1908

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. SPERRY'S LETTER

DATED JULY 20th. 1908.

She says she has consulted Mrs. Sargent and Mrs. Keith that Mrs. Keith has sent her \$500 00 without any proviso, that she has ~~XXXXXX~~ on hand \$100 00, " \$50 00 of which I have collected from the S.B.A.Club. It includes my donation to that club. You say if this fund is transferred to us, it is deceiving, it may establish a precedent for other states. So Mrs. Keith and I decided that we must collect for ourselves or close our Headquarters," ( I suppose she means by that that they cannot give the rest of their pledge to us.) " as we are indebted to our typewriter and for rent. I do not think anyone realizes what a dreadful disaster came to this city. People who were considered wealthy lost all their incomes. In many cases it was pitiful and Mrs. Park stated it right in her letter to you with the numerous reasons. If we are able to collect our annual club dues before our convention, we will do well. I think Mrs. Keith will send on \$100 00 and that will make \$600 00 on the fund. Besides the \$100 00 I pledged at the convention, I see by Progress others have sent on from California, so all together it will be doing very well for California. Then we will collect for our own state as we go before the state Republican convention next month for a final trial to get in. This will take some money. If we cannot get in what is the use of trying in our next legislature to get an amendment. My children do not wish me to stand again for state president as it takes so much of my time and I cannot get off for any vacation so you see I am rather overworked. "

The above letter states the case exactly as it is. Please give this matter your early attention. In the meantime I will write Mrs. Sperry to be patient until she hears from us.

Richmond, Ky.  
July 27th, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I received your letter of the 22nd relative to Mrs. Boyer's work in Oklahoma. You ask me if we ought to rescind our vote about the limit of the expenses being \$60.00. I am clearly of the opinion that we should not rescind the vote without a full vote of the Committee on a subject of such importance and on which the opinions differ so decidedly. The \$60.00 was to be the limit of clerk hire or hire of any employee, and office rent. The other expenses were not so limited, and were left to your discretion, I suppose. You remember I suggested that you should ask Mrs. Boyer to state a figure, and that you should ask a vote on her estimate, to relieve you of responsibility. You do not mention the items of Mrs. Boyer's expenses, so I suppose they come under interdicted items; and that you think the limit has been overstepped, and will be more so next month. Your letter reached me Saturday, on my return from my farm; and I was too tired to answer Saturday evening, especially as it demanded consideration. I have received a letter also from Mrs. Boyer, with copies of letters from candidates. I observe there are more favorable ones from Socialists and Republicans than from Democrats; and as Oklahoma is decidedly a Democratic state I am sorry for this. However, I see there are 32 good Democratic answers; and as there will in all probability be a sprinkling of Soc. and Republicans, I feel with Mrs. Boyer that we have a fighting chance. I believe we ought to keep up the only fight we are making in this Presidential year, especially as enemies are making war on our good friend Mr. R. L. Owen. He did much to help us; and he will continue to do it, unless we prove such feeble allies as to make him believe we are worth nothing. Under all these circumstances, I am wholly unwilling to tie Mrs. Boyer's hands too tightly, just as she has brought her work to this stage. As we are bound by our vote not to exceed a limit of expenses, I think we may obviate the necessity of restricting her unduly by special donations for this emergency; and so I am enclosing a check for fifty dollars for the overplus of last month's expenses, and the expected overplus for this month. I wish I could make it more; and I do request that you will let me know if there should be need of more, for I will certainly strain a point rather than have the work lapse where we have already spent so much, and seem to be on the eve of obtaining some results. Mind you, I am satisfied with distinct moral gains, if we are certainly making them; and with my views of the likelihood of one of the big parties taking up our cause when the politicians see we are in the field to stay, it is of prime importance that we should stay both in Ok. and Oregon. If we get nothing from the next legislature in Oklahoma, I presume I shall think we can consistently retire from that state for a more hopeful one. So you need not be in despair at my persistency. In the meanwhile, do let us all stick to Oklahoma till this campaign is fought out.

I would advise that in writing to Mrs. Boyer you should say that you are limited by the Committee's vote, but that the overplus is ~~is~~ tided over by a donation. I do not advise this on my account, but only that you may be consistent; and of course I wish you to do what is most agreeable to yourself about it.

Mrs. Boyer expresses anxiety that something should be done about organization in New Mexico; and certainly that is a pressing field for work now, since both parties are pledged to give it statehood. You ought to be think-

ing what to advise both for it and Arizona. We ought not to be caught napping. If Mrs. Boyer's work is satisfactory, after this campaign is over, I believe it would be well to put her there, if we cannot spare Miss Gregg to go. Mrs. Boyer does not seem to mind heat, which breaks down most other workers. I would suggest Mrs. Bradford, except her recent political action in Colorado seems not to be satisfactory to those of the Board who understand about it.

I am glad Mrs. Day has proved so satisfactory. We should not lose hold of her; but should keep her employed. I am glad she likes the work. That is the expression I have heard from other suffrage workers, and it is encouraging when we have to ask others to go into the field. What is our dear Miss Chase doing? If she thought it would do her health good to go into such a climate as New Mexico and Arizona, I think we should not lose a moment in sending her there. Suppose you write to her and plainly ask her the question. It is a fine climate for weak lungs and she knows what the work is so well that she could make up her mind intelligently. If she agrees to go, I am sure there would be a strong feeling in the Board that we ought to employ her to go there. She might do some organizing, but spend most of her time at the capital, as Mrs. Boyer is doing. I have great confidence in Miss Chase's being able to make a good impression wherever she goes, though she has not, perhaps, so much brilliancy as some of our other workers. Please think of what I say; and if you conclude it is proper, write to her and see what she wants to do. There surely can not be any harm in going that far. I fear from what I gather she feels almost unequal to hard work of any sort. In that case, as I believe the climate is likely to be beneficial to her; that we might be able to send her there on a salary which will permit her to live and do enough work to repay us, while the amount of work could be limited by her strength. It would mean much to us to have some one on the spot there, and she is so economical and so conscientious that we would know exactly what we were undertaking in such an arrangement.

I am glad to know your father is feeling well and that Mr. Upton's ankle is all right. I trust his wrist will improve, with treatment. Please give my regards to both; and remember me to all in the office. Address my letters to Richmond, as I get them sooner than when they are forwarded from Lexington.

Cordially yours,

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July 29/1908

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:

I have a most encouraging letter this morning from Mrs. Noland, acting president of the Indiana Association. Miss Gregg arranged with her to send letters to the Indiana people whose names we have in Headquarters, asking if they were willing to help with the organization, and to give their opinion of conditions in their vicinity. Mrs. Noland writes that she has sent out the letters, and was never more surprised in her life than to find the number of people who are interested, who are willing to work, and who are asking for something to do.

The matter of Indiana, you know, was left in my hands, and I have been in consultation with Miss Gregg ever since she went there. Several of our best Ohio suffragists have recently moved to Indiana, the last one being a niece of General Sherman, and has always been a suffragist, but now that her family is grown up she wants to do some work. I have given her letters of introduction to Mrs. Barnard and others, and am sure she will be a great acquisition. We wanted to have the Indiana Convention before the National, but as Mrs. Catt, Miss Shaw nor Mrs. Kelley can be there, I think we shall have to postpone it.

Miss Clay, of the Organization Com., is anxious to have some work done in New Mexico, and asks me to consult Miss Chase about going there, which I shall do. I do not know whether we shall be able to do anything there or not, because of the lack of funds. We shall have to discuss this at Buffalo.

Cordially

Harriet Taylor Upton

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2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

July 29/1908

Dear Miss Clay:-

I must say that I think you are one of the most just, fair, impersonal people I have ever known. This action of yours in sending \$50. for Mrs. Boyer at this time is on a par with your usual principle.

What you say in regard to Oklahoma is exactly true. We have had many responses, and a large proportion of them from the Republicans and Socialists. However, it will cause discussion, and we cannot drop things at this time.

I am sending the money on to Mrs. Boyer, but as I judge from your letter that you do not want me to tell her it is your contribution, I have avoided doing so. Let me know if I am right about this.

I note what you say about New Mexico and Miss Chase. I do not know whether or not she would want to go there next winter. I think her trouble is largely nerves, but she was so well in Oregon that I presume a mild climate is good for her. However, she told me her work there was the worst she ever had, because, instead of being steady cold it was wet. I shall consult with her about it.

I am glad to write you that my father is well, and Mr. Upton's ankle is all right, but the Doctor thinks he split one of the bones in his wrist when he fell. If it does not get well soon, we shall consult a surgeon.

Cordially,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.



# National American Woman Suffrage Association

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2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

July 30/1908

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

At the Chicago Convention, we voted to continue Headquarters as we had it; to go on with convention dates; interview politicians, etc.; to continue Press and Progress; to issue more literature, and so on. We voted to use the Thomas-Garrett Fund for the press work and for Progress.

At Meylan, we again discussed the Memorial Fund, since we had made little progress, and planned the Self-Denial Week. You know from my letters that we have not collected much money from the Self-Denial Week, little more than \$1,000 having been sent here, \$500. of which came from Mrs. Keith, of California, and \$100. from Sarah P. Sellers, Upper Darby, Penna. Of course we may get results later, but we are in financial straits now.

I have always believed we should run the Association exactly as we would run a business. We could not stop the press work, for two reasons: great injury to the cause, and because it was voted to continue ~~it~~ it. We cannot discontinue Progress, for the same reasons. The pressure on our office in the way of mail, etc., was never as great as now. Demands for literature come in every mail, - not little packages, but large amounts, and we must attend to these. States are beginning to plan for conventions, and want speakers and other help. A part of the expense of Press and Progress is paid out of the Thomas-Garrett Fund anyway. We have cut off one of our clerks

July 30, 1908

who was on half-time, and another whom we kept busy all the time we now have only two days in the week, and those are the days when we work at press work. She runs the multigraph, and helps to get out the material. It makes me sick to reduce her to this time, as she supports an invalid husband and child, and is a lovely person. The office force has given her sewing to do, but she earns very little that way. I do not see how we can curtail further, until the Buffalo convention.

We have to have money, and we must raise or borrow it. We shall have to take some of the money which is in the Thomas-Garrett Fund to meet expenses until the Buffalo convention. I have been giving this matter very careful thought, and at first decided to borrow the money personally to meet expenses. This, I reconsidered. I am therefore reporting to you that I am taking money from the Thomas-Garrett Fund, which I am not supposed to do, to meet current bills, and will give a note signed by Miss Shaw and myself officially. If you do not approve of this action, kindly suggest to me immediately what you think should be done.

Two years ago, and last year as well, I worried over financial matters until I was nearly prostrated; but this year determined that no matter what happened I would not worry, for I found that it only left me weak and incapacitated. In a time like this, what we need is not worry, but calmness.

As an officer of the Association, bearing your share of the burdens, I anxiously await your approval or disapproval; and if the latter, your suggestions.

Very cordially yours


HTU.-R.

Harriet Taylor Upton

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

*President*, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, 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.

  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
Warren, Ohio

*Recording Secretary*, Alice Stone Blackwell,  
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.  
*Treasurer*, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.  
*Auditors*: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.  
Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

July 31, 1908.

Dear Miss Clay,

The Ohio Association will hold its annual meeting the 29th. and 30th. of September in Columbus. Will you go to this convention? I would like you to speak at one of the afternoon sessions if you can. I am just beginning work on the program. I have decided, you know, not to stand for president another year and I want this, my last convention, to be a good one. Let me hear from you as early as possible.

Cordially yours,

HTU-A

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2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

August 5/1908

Dear Miss Clay:-

Mrs. McLenden, of Georgia, writes that the convention was a surprising success, and that you were fine. She says she is so encouraged that she will very soon try to have a county convention of the W.C.T.U., and that she has no office in the Suffrage Association now.

She then gives the discouraging news that Mrs. Anesley, of Buena Vista, who was elected State president, now refuses to serve, and the vice-president, Miss Gresham, declines to serve as president. I thought you better know this, because you attended the convention, understood conditions, and perhaps could write and urge these women to accept the offices to which they were elected.

It is too bad that just as Georgia seems to be waking up, the women should shirk their responsibilities.

Cordially yours

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2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

August 10/1908

Dear Miss Clay:-

Miss Louisa D. Harding, 175 Dearborn St., Chicago, writes me that she thinks if we were to communicate with Senator Tillman, he would endorse woman suffrage. It seems to me he has already endorsed us, but I have written her that as you and Miss Gordon talked with the Senator and know just where he stands, I would ask you to write him for an opinion and that you will use your own judgment in the matter.

I am sending you a Business Committee letter, which I hope will have your careful attention.

Cordially yours

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU.-R.

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

August 11, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee;-

At the Moylan meeting it was voted to send Mrs. Boyer to Oklahoma, paying her \$100. a month salary, her personal expenses, and \$60. for office expenses, including rent, clerk hire and everything else. She stopped in Warren and we gave her money to open the office and get started. In looking over the accounts, I find her personal expenses from March 31st. to last bill rendered are \$360 55; office expenses \$351 35; salary \$400. The Oklahoma work therefore for four months has cost us \$1101 90. All this we have paid with the exception of \$51.00. The average office expense for four months is \$93 00. Taking out the amount expended at the opening of Headquarters, reduces the average to \$87 83, or \$27 83 more per month than we voted. She has secured endorsements from a large number of socialists labor men, Republicans and Democrats who were candidates for the Legislature. I think I am right in saying that a goodly share of these come from the party not dominant. She secured the endorsement of the labor organization of the state This organization had endorsed us before. She has worked hard as she always does. We have not yet had the result of the nominations and do not know how many of our friends were elected. We do know that Murray was defeated and that J. Harvey Lynch who was formerly accused of being a convict has forged checks and skedaddled to Mexico. In case only a few of the men pledged are nominated, shall we continue Oklahoma work until after election? In case a goodly number are nominated, shall we

#2BC

[ Aug. 11, 1908 ]

continue the Oklahoma work until after election? In this latter case shall we hold to our original vote of \$60. a month for office expenses, or shall we allow her to run over, in which case we will expend another thousand dollars at least by election time. If we hold on to elect our men, will we not be under moral obligation to stand by these men and our resolution in the Legislature until it is disposed of one way or the other? In this case, will it not cost us another thousand dollars? Undoubtedly the Legislature would not dispose of our question during the first weeks of its life. This is the time I believe to look at this matter squarely. We are too apt to plan things and let them drift without calculating the results.

In corresponding with Mrs. Boyer from the beginning, I told her she could have but \$60. and urged her to be economical, but as we have done this so many times before and always paid her bills and as she thinks, as do many of our members, that we have plenty of money, she is astonished and distressed that we are going to hold to our vote. The July expenses amounted to \$96 20 and I wrote her that because of the pressure in questioning candidates I should recommend the payment of this larger bill, but that personally I could not vote to increase our appropriation up to election time. One member of the Business Committee fears that I might order the work stopped in Oklahoma because we had no money in the treasury. I was not empowered to do such a thing and knowing how strong the majority of the committee felt on it, I would not think of doing it, even if it were left to me without talking it over with you. Miss Clay, knowing what a position the treasurer and the treasury was in,

[Aug 11, 1908]

#4BQ

early sent \$100. for Oklahoma and when the bill for July of \$96 20 for office expenses was reported, she again contributed \$50. If we vote to continue the Oklahoma campaign until after election, or further until after the Legislature adjourns, shall we hold Mrs. Boyer to \$60. and where shall we get the money to pay her? You all remember that I opposed sending Mrs. Boyer to Oklahoma in the beginning and that when I got home and got over my sick stomach and my wobbly head and figured the cost, I even opposed it more strenuously. My reasons for doing this were that Oklahoma, to my mind, since statehood is no different from any other state. The corporations, the politicians and all our usual enemies being especially lively; the people of Oklahoma, the suffragists, after all the money we have put into the state, seem unable or unwilling either to take responsibility or to contribute money; and Mrs. Boyer, being naturally extravagant, is not the person to have full charge of such work as Oklahoma because by nature she is generous or extravagant or whatever you want to call it.

It is against our rules for anyone but the President to send out a vote on any question, so we must settle it somehow regardless of rules.

If we decide to continue the work for a longer or shorter period, will you instruct Mrs. Avery as first Vice-President or Miss Gordon as Corresponding Secretary to write to Mrs. Boyer telling her she must keep within the appropriation?

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-A



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2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

Aug. 12, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay,

Is the date of your convention set? Do you want a National speaker? If you could have either Miss Shaw or Miss Gordon, which would you rather have? Miss Shaw is allowing me to make a route for her to Denver where she will witness the presidential election. She will probably speak in Illinois and has an engagement on a lecture course in Tennessee and if those things work out properly she could go to you. Several states have asked for Miss Gordon and she could stop with you I think. Let me hear from you in regard to this as soon as convenient.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

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Aug. 15, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay,

I am sending you a letter from Miss Penfield with my answer. It seems that Miss Shaw was quite taken with Miss Penfield and has determined to have a good deal of organizing done this coming year and has really engaged Miss Penfield for the work. Miss Shaw hardly knows how she is to begin work nor where. It is natural, however, that Miss Penfield should want all the information she can get. If you have anything else to suggest to her, either write her or, perhaps you better write me and let me write her, since she has been in correspondence with Miss Gordon and Miss Shaw already. It is confusing to have too many people bossing.

Cordially yours,

HTU\*A

Harriet Taylor Upton

[Katon?]

Aug. 15, 1908.

Miss Perle Penfield,

Nixon, Gonzales Co.

Texas.

My dear Miss Penfield,

Your letter of Aug. 10th. duly received, I think that Miss Shaw is anxious to have you start in work with one of our experienced organizers in order that you may see how things are done. She has suggested that you come north for the National convention and that you either stop at Headquarters for a week or two or stop in Indiana where Miss Gregg will be at work and get instructions from her. These details will be settled a little later. Just now Miss Shaw is so far away that it is hard to communicate with her. A large share of the organization work is under my supervision, but as it was Miss Shaw who talked with you and who is therefore especially interested in you, I feel that she should settle some points which will have to be settled later. I do not know the amount of salary which will be paid you in the beginning. We usually expect an organizer to work for her expenses the first month and then give her a salary, increasing it as she gains in experience and as she has adaptability for the work. As a rule we have organizers take collections and apply these collections on their expenses. When it was a novelty to hear

#2PP

[Aug 15, 1908]

women talk and see them do work, we were able to collect enough money in the field for an organizer's expenses and part of her salary. Nowdays we are able only to collect her expenses and sometimes not all of them. An organizer must conscientiously gather what money she can, using her own judgment and then the Association pays the deficit. Our rule is not to advance money for expenses. We have made exceptions to that rule but we do not like to.

When the organizers are working directly under me I like to have them send reports to me each week. This is not demanded by the organization committee, but I find that if organizers reports weekly they do not have to write letters, and those who have been working under my instructions in regard to this like the frequent reports much better than the monthly ones.

Yes, the salary is paid at the end of each month or will be paid oftener if the organizer cares to have it.

It is natural that you should want information in regard to these matters since you have not worked for us at all nor been in our Association. I would like to assure you that we are not like a business house and although we try to have rules and have them adhered to, we are careful not to impose upon people or to take from them in any way of time or anything else without recompense. If you feel like writing me again soon, do so. That is what the National Headquarters is for, is to answer letters, to give information to people, &c.

Very cordially yours,

HTU\*A

Received by U- Nixon, Gonzales County, Texas.  
U- August 10, 1908.

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton,  
Warren, Ohio.

Assisted by  
Progress

AUG 14 1908

My dear Mrs. Upton:-

<sup>Suppl</sup>Your letter of July 31st did not reach me promptly because of my absence from town, hence this delay in answering. Both from your letter and Miss Gordon's, I judge that the meaning of my inquiries of Miss Gordon was not made clear; and in reading over my copy I see that such was the case. I wished instructions not in organizing, for, while all helps and hints are gratefully accepted, that must be mastered like any other profession, but in the business relations between an organizer and the association.

Miss Shaw directed me to ask any questions about the work of you or Miss Gordon, and as she has given me no business instructions, I infer that they are the things to be learned of you. As was said in my letter of acceptance to Miss Shaw, I am not entering the work for this trial year to make money but for the good that I may be able to do ~~the~~ Cause and for the good that it will do me as a woman; but a plain business understanding is necessary to avoid mistakes in the beginning. At present I know nothing but the amount of my salary and that the Association pays all necessary expenses. *I have to be self-supporting.*

Are expenses paid from headquarters or do the organizers help to meet them by taking subscriptions and collections?

Does the Association advance money for expenses, or am I to pay for everything for a given time and then be reimbursed?

How often are formal reports to be made?

I suppose that the salary is paid at the end of each month from head quarters?

These are the principal questions that occur to me, but of course they do not begin to include all the details in which I shall have to be instructed later. If these inquiries are premature, I ask pardon for troubling you at this time.

With all good wishes for you and your work  
Very sincerely yours

Perle Penfield.

Richmond, Ky.  
Aug. 17th, 1908.

Copy.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I received your letter relating to Oklahoma on Saturday, on my return from the farm, too warm and too tired to answer at once, but which I answer the first thing Monday morning. I have not the minutes of the Business committee at Moylan; but I think my memory of that meeting is clear enough not to need seeing them on all points mentioned in your letter.

You speak as if it was not yet decided whether or not to continue the campaign. According to my recollection, the vote was to continue the campaign till our question was decided by the Legislature; (unless developments made it seem wise to discontinue it sooner. I am not sure that this proviso passed). Therefore, your proposition to take a vote on it, even an informal one, surprises me and does not meet with my approbation. If a reconsideration is taken, Parliamentary rules require that it shall be moved by one of the prevailing side. You are on the minority side, having opposed the work from Oklahoma from the first.

For myself, I have never voted for the Oklahoma work without counting the cost. As far as I know, it has not exceeded what we voted for it; in fact, has not cost so much, according to my understanding. As I have written twice before, my understanding of the vote was that the \$60.00 voted for expenses was to cover only clerk hire and office rent. The question of some allowance for postage and incidentals was left open. What do the minutes say on this point? It seems you have not made any allowance for these at all.

I have a letter from Mrs. Boyer, giving the partial returns from the nominating elections. She seems to think they are encouraging. I cannot judge of them till I see the whole, and know in what counties the Democrats or the Republicans can hope to win. In Kentucky, the Democratic and Republican counties are almost as well known before elections as after.

At this point of the campaign I think a vote, even if proposed by one of the majority of the Board, would be premature. In lieu of such a vote, I would suggest that we ask the judgment of Mrs. Biggers and Mrs. Boyer, two women of practical sense, and having the best knowledge of the situation. Mrs. Biggers has worked hard with us all along the line. If we go against her judgment, especially not even waiting for the result of the nominating elections, we shall do what I consider a great injustice to the suffragists of her state. Mrs. Boyer is a very sensible and accurate woman. She would give, if instructed to do so, a careful analysis of the nominating elections, such as would be a guide to our vote. If after hearing from them, one of the majority of the Board wished to move a reconsideration of the Moylan vote, it would be parliamentary and satisfactory to all; and we could abide then by the resulting vote. If, on the other hand, one of the prevailing side was not willing to move a reconsideration of the vote, we ought to continue on the present basis till we could refer the whole matter to the Convention, which meets in less than two months, and whose authority supersedes that of the whole of the B.C.

For my part, I am not willing to give consent in any way to throwing away the money of the Association, which I think would be done by cutting off this campaign just in the critical time, except only on the advice of Mrs. Biggers and Mrs. Boyer, or upon a vote cast after hearing their opinions and proposed by one of the prevailing side.

In one or two of your letters you have mentioned the rascality of Harvey Lynch as harmful to us. I think you overestimate his importance to us. He did us no good turn that I remember, except to help us to come in touch with the Labor organization, which was already with us. His misdoing may affect them, - I do not see how it can affect us. Of course, we are rejoicing at the setback given to Murray, who was a great enemy in the Constitutional Convention.

You ask ~~some questions~~ some questions about the allowance for incidentals, postage, etc. I think we should adhere rigidly to our vote that hired help and office rent should be limited to \$60.00 per month. I know Mrs. Kelly thinks this is rigid, but I recognize that we can not undertake campaigns unless we can to some degree regulate the expenses. Second, I am under the impression that we did not exclude an allowance for postage and incidentals; if the minutes bear me out in this, I propose that a maximum sum be voted for these purposes. You remember that I advised your asking for such a vote a long time ago. If, however, the minutes bear out your interpretation, as I see Mrs. Boyer's work cannot be done properly without a liberal allowance for postage, I will myself guarantee \$30.00 a month for these incidentals until the Convention meets, and you can send that amount additional each month, explaining that it is a special donation.

You ask our opinion on certain contingencies about continuing the campaign. As I do not recognize that you can legally put out a vote what I say is only an opinion, and may be changed on hearing further from Mrs. Biggers. Ist. In case only a few of the pledged men are nominated, shall we continue Okla. work until after election? I think very probably we should do so. We have just entered upon the policy of pledging candidates before election, - a policy which has had such good results whenever tried that we are likely to continue it. In Mrs. Biggers' letter to the pledged candidates she promises all the aid in her power to help their election. Now we might injure all future usefulness of this plan if we should fail to fulfil our promises. I think it well worth ~~while~~ the cost of continuing the campaign to the November election to keep this promise. The only honorable release would come from Mrs. Biggers, who might undertake to fulfil this promise with the Oklahoma forces alone. We ought to hear from her about it.

In case a goodly number are nominated, I suppose there can be but one opinion, that is, that our work should go on with redoubled zeal, if possible. That would entail our continuing the work in the Legislature till our question was disposed of, just as the vote in the Moylan meeting provided for.

I suppose we would discuss this at the convention in Buffalo, as our authority does not extend beyond that.

Cordially yours,

Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 17th, 1908.

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[ Aug. 17, 1908 ]

3.

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For my part, I am not willing to give consent in any way to throwing away the money of the Association, which I think would be done by cutting off this campaign just in the critical time, except only on the advice of Mrs. Biggers and Mrs. Boyer, or upon a vote cast after hearing their opinions and proposed by one of the prevailing side.

In one or two of your letters you have mentioned the rascality of Harvey Lynch as harmful to us. I think you overestimate his importance to us. He did us no good turn that I remember, except to help us to come in touch with the Labor organization, which was already with us. His misdoing may affect them, - I do not see how it can affect us. Of course, we are rejoicing at the backset given to Murray, who was a great enemy in the Constitutional Convention.

You ask ~~some~~ some questions about the allowance for incidentals, postage, etc. I think we should adhere rigidly to our vote that hired help and office rent should be limited to \$60.00 per month. I know Mrs. Kelly thinks this is rigid, but I recognize that we can not undertake campaigns unless we can to some degree regulate the expenses. Second, I am under the impression that we did not exclude an allowance for postage and incidentals; if the minutes bear me out in this, I propose that a maximum sum be voted for these purposes. You remember that I advised your asking for such a vote a long time ago. If, however, the minutes bear out your interpretation, as I see Mrs. Boyer's work cannot be done properly without a liberal allowance for postage, I will myself guarantee \$30.00 a month for these incidentals until the Convention meets, and you can send that amount additional each month, explaining that it is a special donation.

You ask our opinion on certain contingencies about continuing the campaign. As I do not recognize that you can legally put out a vote what I say is only an opinion, and may be changed on hearing further from Mrs. Biggers. In case only a few of the pledged men are nominated, shall we continue Okla. work until after election? I think very probably we should do so. We have just entered upon the policy of pledging candidates before election, a policy which has had such good results whenever tried that we are likely to continue it. In Mrs. Biggers' letter to the pledged candidates she promises all the aid in her power to help their election. Now we might injure all future usefulness of this plan if we should fail to fulfil our promises. I think it well worth while the cost of continuing the campaign to the November election to keep this promise. The only honorable release would come from Mrs. Biggers, who might undertake to fulfil this promise with the Oklahoma forces alone. We ought to hear from her about it.

In case a goodly number are nominated, I suppose there can be but one opinion, that is, that our work should go on with redoubled zeal, if possible. That would entail our continuing the work in the Legislature till our question was disposed of, just as the vote in the Moyer meeting provided for. I suppose we would discuss this at the convention in Buffalo, as our authority does not extend beyond that.

Cordially yours,

~~My dear Mrs. Biggers,~~ I am not willing to give consent in any way to showing away the money of the Association, which I think would be done by cutting off this campaign just in the critical time, except only on the advice of Mrs. Biggers and the Boyer, or upon a vote cast after hearing their opinions and proposed by one of the prevailing side. In one of your letters you have mentioned the receipt of Harvey's money as harmful to us. I think you overestimate his importance to us. I had no good thing that I remember, except to help me to come in touch with the labor organization, which was already with us. His misdoing may affect them - I do not see how it can affect us. Of course, we are rejoicing that we have given to Harvey, who was a great enemy in the Constitutional Convention.

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Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 19th, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I am answering several of your recent letters in turn. MISS PENFIELD. What you have written her seems to me all sufficient, and I have no suggestion to add. I like her letter, and I trust Miss Shaw has found a valuable worker in her.

SENATOR TILLMAN. I have supposed Sen. Tillman is in sympathy with us; but if he is, he is not willing to express himself in a way helpful to us. When we saw him in Washington we did not elicit any endorsement from him; and when I was in Oklahoma I wrote him a letter asking for endorsement of woman suffrage, and never received an answer to it. I knew he was traveling at the time; and so I did not consider his failure to reply decisive; but I think at this time he has no desire to express approval. However, that is no reason why some one else should not ask him, if she has reason to believe it will be useful.

KENTUCKY CONVENTION. We have not set a date for our convention; and I cannot now say even whether or not we shall need a speaker. If so, we would like to have Miss Shaw, if we could make a date at the time.

GEORGIA. I cannot do any good by writing to the Georgia people. Mrs. Ansley was not at the convention; and I thought her absence proved too much indifference to elect her in the first place. I never met her, so my writing would have no effect. As to Miss Gresham's declining to act, she said she could not do so when she was elected vice-president; and her health, which is very poor, and her almost blindness, is a reasonable excuse. They will have to work it out some way themselves.

OREGON. I suppose you have received the circular letter I have just got from Miss Gordon about the Oregon petition. It seems to me they have made a blunder by putting in the doubtful phrase at the last. I think we ought to have some more advice before we give the National aid which Mrs. Coe has asked. We do not stand for tax-paying suffrage, and it will not do to antagonize our labor friends by seeming to endorse such a suffrage. However, I admit I cannot understand the bearing of that last clause. It may be only a seeming tax-paying provision. I shall await further investigation with interest; for I am very desirous that a continued fight should be kept up in Oregon; and that the National shall help in it, if possible.

Cordially yours,

Warren Ohio Aug. 19th 1908

Dear Miss Clay,

Just this moment your Call has arrived.

We go to press tomorrow but I am returning this because I see two or three places that I want changed. I think it admirable. I have asked Miss Andrews to verify the Mich. number and she will do that immediately after lunch. She is getting off the Press articles this morning. Miss Coover who was here to help out during Elizabeth's absence is gone and so now we are only four regulars with Mrs Clarkson on Press days and Miss Kale for an hour or so in the morning. But to the Call 1st I am adding Alderman after Mayors, you forgot that. I know that that is right.

2nd I am transferring closer and in so that it shall read "is in closer sympathy". This is immaterial.

3rd. I dislike the expression "along the line" so much because it is hackneyed, and I do not like "convention assembled". The sentence will then read  
We cordially invite all men and women who have faith in the principles of American government and who love liberty and justice to meet with us in convention at Buffalo Oct. 15th ~~11th~~ to 21st. I have only added "have" and I know that ~~that~~ <sup>is</sup> a clerical error. Possibly you purposely omitted the date. Return the copy as soon as you have it ready I will hold Progress. This Call is so strong and terse that <sup>can</sup> ~~it will~~ be used so well for Press work.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Hastily

Harriet.

HEADQUARTERS

WARREN, OHIO

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

... and please ...  
HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO  
... I will ...  
... the only ...  
... know that ...  
... Oct. 1911 ...  
... and ...  
... the ...  
... we ...

... The sentence ...  
... and ...  
... the expression ...  
... in ...

... I am ...  
I know that ...

... I am ...  
... in ...  
... please ...  
... the ...  
... I have ...  
... I think ...  
... that ...

Dear ...

WARREN OHIO JULY 1911



National American Woman Suffrage Association.

HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

August 20, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Under the date of August 13th I have a long letter from Abigail Scott Duniway taking issue with the article which appeared in Progress from Senator Cotterill of Washington. She says that since then she has noticed that I am beginning, editorially, to agree with her that affiliation with the W. C. T. U. caused our ruin, etc. She further says that the petition which they now have filled is for tax-paying suffrage but they are not going to file it until October 1st because they want to get more names from the outlying district. She adds:-

"In conclusion, we are quite willing to co-operate with the N.A.W.S.A., but we will not again be dominated. We verily believe we would have won in 1906, if the parties who had made the campaign possible had been permitted to go on to victory. But affiliation with the W.C.T.U. landed us in the quick sands, from which the last campaign has again liberated us, though we were beaten by men from the older States whose Suffrage women still bow the knee to the Prohibition BAAL. I write this, not to find fault, but to point you to the dangers of Scylla on one hand and Charybdis on the other. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Miss Clay and Miss Blackwell in our last struggle under the quick sands, and I at least, read Progress with increasing interest all the time. We are preparing to thoroughly organize the State and intend to make it the banner State of the New Century under the Slogan "No Taxation Without Representation".

Wishing you all manner of success, I remain,  
Yours for Liberty,  
Abigail Scott Duniway.

Quoting from this letter and reporting this fact is not strictly important; at the same time as Miss Shaw is away and I am not really the one to whom she ought to have written, I thought possibly the whole Committee would better have the information.

Very truly yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU-DAK

# 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.



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.

August 20/1908

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

Miss Clay writes me that I had no right to ask for a vote on Oklahoma matters, even if I only wanted an informal expression of opinion. In this, she is technically right.

I only did it because a part of the committee think that as we have no money we ought not to borrow to continue the work, and that I am going against instructions when I pay more than \$60.00 for office expenses and rent, one person at least thinking I am going against instructions when I pay any bills from the Thomas-Garrett Fund.

Miss Clay says we voted to continue the work through the coming legislature, and if there is a change made someone voting in the affirmative must move to reconsider. Technically, she is right.

She also thinks the \$60.00 voted was to cover clerk-hire and office rent only, and that the question of postage, incidentals, etc., was left open. I feel sure the \$60.00 was to cover everything, and the only elastic thing about the contract was Mrs. Boyer's personal expenses. To be sure, I was sick during most of the Oklahoma discussion, still I feel sure that I am right, since two persons voting for the appropriation agree with me.

On such close votes as this, the discussion ought to be taken in short hand, because in recording in long hand the difference in a word might lead to misunderstanding.

[ Aug 20, 1908 ]

Miss Clay thinks we can do nothing about this till after the convention, two months hence. I must, however, have some sort of instructions, for we have no money in the treasury, and either I must refuse to pay bills, or I must borrow from the Thomas-Garrett Fund. As treasurer, I am not empowered to use for one purpose sums of money that have been given for another.

On consulting my copy of the minutes, I find the following:

"Voted, on motion of Mrs. Kelley, that we continue Mrs. Boyer in Oklahoma through the next legislature."

"Voted, on motion of Mrs. Avery, that Mrs. Boyer be offered \$100. per month and her expenses and that \$60. per month be allowed her as the maximum for a clerk and office quarters."

The Oklahoma people promise to raise some money, and if they do the aspect of the question will be changed. One reason why I opposed the Oklahoma work <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ that after all our money spent there, no one in Oklahoma has been willing to take any sort of responsibility save Mrs. Biggers, and she does nothing unless Mrs. Boyer is at her side.

Cordially yours

HTU.-R.

Harriet Taylor Upton

Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 21st, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

Your special delivery letter is just at hand. I cheerfully accept your corrections of the Call. I had overlooked the fact that the English women were eligible for Aldermen. I thank you for the promise to verify the number of Michigan Women. I had not the figures at hand. I took the offices for which English women were made eligible from the Resolutions of the International, given in Jus Suffragii, but if you are certain that Aldermen is also included, make the change.

The omission of "have" was a slip of Miss Gordon's type writer. I sent a manuscript copy, because I was on the farm when I finished it. I return the copy you sent, as I will not take time to re-copy it. If you think of any other slight changes do not hesitate to make them.

Cordially yours,

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

(Member National Council of Women and International Woman Suffrage Alliance)

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.  
First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.  
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105 East 22nd Street, New York City.  
Corresponding Secretary, Kate M. Gordon,  
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3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.  
Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.  
Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.  
{ Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, Cal.

Aug. 21, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay,

Your letter of the 19th. is here. I have read carefully what you say about Senator Tillman. I thought that was the truth of the matter. I supposed that what you and Miss Gordon were talking to him about was the 14th. Amendment but it occurred to me that you might have asked him about his beliefs. Anyway we will take that matter up later.

As soon as you decide whether you are to have a speaker or not, let me know. In Miss Shaw's lists, I have saved a date of the third week in November. If I can place her anywhere else for that time, I will, but if it should happen that you would decide upon that time, let me know. She was to go to Tennessee to speak in a lecture course and it may be that if you would rather have her the fourth week in November that she could exchange.

I note what you say about the Oregon tax-paying business. I have always felt that I was not able to judge of the Oregon situation because I was not there during the campaign and I have never felt that I had to learn about it particularly because so many of you were there. I am learning as I grow older that these things straighten themselves out.

HTU-A

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 26th, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Upton,

I received your kind letter of the 20th inst. I judge from it you thought I had lost my temper a little in my letter. I do not like to put it that way; but the fact is I would not have been so positive in my expressions on an informal vote if I had received your letter more promptly. As I wrote, I was on the farm when it reached Richmond, and I did not get it until there had been time for all the Board except Mrs. Sperry to answer, if they did so promptly. Therefore, I felt that there was no time for me to argue the point; but what I had to say must ensure delay, at least, if it should happen that any of the majority had changed her mind; or if it should be admitted by consent that the vote might be overlooked. I am glad my ground was so taken that you see the justice of it, even if it contravenes your views. Where there is a really serious difference of opinion it is necessary that strict justice should be adhered to. I see that Miss Gordon's views are similar to mine. She made her letter a circular to the B.C., which is a good idea. I did not think of that; but I sent a copy to all the members in this country. But though there is a difference of opinion, I am glad to see that you feel as I do, that there is no reason for any personal feeling about it. We are all doing the best we can for the cause; and if we did not have different views sometimes, there would be no use in having so many on the Board. "In the multitude of counsellors, etc."

I see what you say about the vote on the \$60.00; so I am enclosing my check for thirty dollars, making the sum which can be used ninety dollars

a month instead of sixty. If the bills do not come to ninety dollars I am willing that my thirty dollars shall go towards them anyway, provided it is made to cover the excess each month. I will send again before the convention. Will that make it three or two months? I know you cannot make out the bills exactly at the end of the months. I owe for?

Please remember me to all in the office, and believe me

Cordially yours,

P.S. Please reserve the date on Miss Shaw's route for a few days for Ky., if you can. I mean the one in the third week of November. I have written to my Ex.Committee, and will know in a few days what is desired to be done about it. We might want two days. Please tell me, if possible, the day of the month the date will fall on. You might also mention what the date would be of her return from Tennessee.