

NOV 23 1895

President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Rochester, N. Y.

Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA H. SHAW,
Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.

Corresponding Secretary, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL-AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Honorary President:

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 26 West 61st Street, New York.

Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { H. AUGUSTA HOWARD, Georgia.
 ANNA L. DIGGS, Kansas.

Chairman Press Committee,
ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK,
20 Lowell Street, Cambridge, Mass.

OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION,
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
133 WORLD BUILDING, NEW YORK.

November 16, 1895:

(dictated)

Mrs. A. Viola Neblett,
Columbia, C/O Hotel Jerome, S. C.

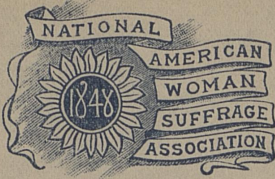
Dear Mrs. Neblett:--

I was amazed at your pluck when you wrote that "you had not yet given up the ship." I hope that your hope is not unfounded, but I am sure it does not look very promising. Let me know when you are through down there because we see very little in the papers about it, and what we do see is doubtless thoroughly unreliable. After all, I do not think the work was done in vain, it only proves that Miss Clay is right when she demands more work for the South, and for my part I want to see \$2,000 or \$3,000 collected to expend on the southern States. I will do my very best to help to that end. You can tell her so if she is still with you. I am,

Yours most faithfully,

Carrie Chapman Catt

Letter from Mrs. Young says you have given up at last. It was a hopeless task probably from the first but good was done.



MEMBER
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 26 West 61st Street, New York.

President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York.

Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA H. SHAW,
1830 Diamond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Corresponding Secretary, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
110 N. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Chairman Committee on Organization, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 107 World Building, New York.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.

Auditors, } LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.
 } CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 107 WORLD BUILDING, N. Y. Jan. 13, 1899.

(dictated)

My dear Miss Clay:--

Your letter was read at the Business meeting, but as we were all of that opinion, it did not create any quarrel among us. We never had such a tame meeting. We all seemed to think alike. I suppose the Secretary has informed you of the action of the Committee, so it will not be necessary for me to repeat it.

As I wrote you, we used the money of '98 which was given for Southern work, to apply upon our general expenses. This was quite right and proper I think inasmuch as we did not have money enough to do any Southern work, and the war would have made it impracticable any way. There has been paid in this last year about \$112 by Southern contributors for use in the South. As soon as we are able, I would like to set this amount into a Southern fund and to hold it exclusive for that work. I wish you would tell me what you and Mrs. Bennett think would be the best use to which to put this money.

Our work in Oklahoma is proving a very heavy burden financially, but that will be over soon. Of course I do not know what money we will be able to raise this coming year, but there is always something coming up to demand expenditure. Michigan is likely to have a constitutional convention, and if it does, of course there ought to be a campaign. The population of Michigan is so very large that no campaign except one of very unusual thoroughness would have any effect, and if we were to attempt anything there at all, it would take all the money we could get in the year. They may, however, wish to conduct it themselves, and something else may come up to turn the tide in another direction.

Let me know what you think about the Southern work and I will see if we can not carry out your idea.

With love and best wishes, I am,

Yours truly,

Carrie Chapman Catt
per C.

I propose writing to Mrs. Leatt that I approve of
using the money for other work until there is a
call for Southern work, or until enough has accu-
mulated to make an educational campaign possi-
ble. But while the money may be temporarily used
for other purposes, there must an account be
kept, and it must be understood that the money
must not be finally diverted from the purpose
for which it was given. What do you think?
Laura Leay

1897
N. A. W. S. A.
About Southern fund.



E19017



**THE NEW WILLARD,
WASHINGTON.**

WILLARD'S HOTEL COMPANY,
F. S. HIGHT, PRESIDENT.

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My dear Miss Clay:

Tomorrow at the Executive Council
I am bringing up matters to which you
are opposed. Therefore I want you to sit
the Council and come to the Executive
Council. I want all my ^(?) enemies there,

Hastily
C. C. Catt

Call

205 West 57th Street, New York City.

March 25th, 1904.

Dear Member Business Committee:-

I have now had a letter in reply to mine concerning Arizona from each member of the Committee. All sanction the contract with the exception of Miss Gordon, who writes last and whose letter is just at hand. She does not say that she is opposed to the contract, but seems to think that such a contract is a little too strict for people who are working without pay. Nevertheless, we voted to have a contract, so even though Miss Gordon or any other member may think a contract out of place, we have to have it.

Miss Gordon says further, that she thinks there is something irritating in the tone of my letter, and that it may not have a pleasant effect upon Mrs. Robinson. I was very glad to have Miss Gordon say this, and probably others of you had noticed it and had thought about it but had not mentioned it to me. I have written Mrs. Robinson and have told her that all the Officers approved of the contract, and have quoted to her what Miss Gordon says about my letter, without stating which Officer it was. I have told her that I did not mean to be irritating, and have apologized for any such tone which might have crept into the letter.

I have told her that she is now at liberty ^{to} go ahead, according to the terms of the contract; that as soon as I received the two signed copies (copy of which was sent you) I would forward them to Miss Shaw, who would sign them and return one to Mrs. Robinson. I have said, further, that this ends my duties concerning the Arizona correspondence, and that hereafter she will correspond with Mrs. Upton. I have said that in the event she has not sent the contract, she may send it to me and say anything she likes about the work and that I will forward the

Mar 25th 1904

Mem. Bus. Com.

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letter to Mrs. Upton, thus saving her the trouble of writing two letters. With this explanation, I turn the work over to Mrs. Upton, and believe I have fulfilled my obligation concerning it.

Since I am writing you, I will just take the occasion to make a remark. It is not often that I feel like saying swear words, but I cannot refrain from saying "bully for Mrs. Upton" in her letter to Mrs. Brown. I'd be willing to put the seal of the N. A. W. S. A. on that letter. I am glad she is getting sassy.

I expect that this week will close my official duties, having completed everything which was given me to do, with the exception of some tag ends of the literature work, which will perhaps not be completed quite so soon. I will report in detail to Mrs. Upton and Miss Shaw, so that if I have forgotten anything, they may correct me. If I have not, I retire to private life and ornamental office at once.

Yours truly,

Dictated.

Carrie Chapman Catt
per Mr. S.

Catt

205 West 57th Street, New York City.

March 19, 1904.

Dear Member Business Committee:-

You will remember that in Washington I was authorized to correspond further with the Arizona women to find out with more definiteness just what they wanted to do, and to try to get some understanding as to our terms before any agreement was made with them.

I wrote Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Munds a duplicate letter on Mar. 1st. It seems my letter to Mrs. Robinson was not received until the 12th, and I am just now in receipt of her answer. One of the indefinite things in the previous letters from Arizona had been the time in which they intended to do the work. It seems, now, that they had intended to do it in midwinter. I am quite confident that one of the important motives which make Mrs. Robinson want to take the trip, is to get subscriptions for her paper. She tried printing a newsletter, but it was only a temporary thing until she could start a real paper, and I see by her last newsletter that she is now going to do it. For this reason, I said what I did about the paper.

I enclose a copy of her letter and also one of my reply. As they wanted to start out on the first of April, the midsummer being utterly impossible for work, I thought it best to stretch my authority a little and sent her the contract as the best way to get things down to a definite basis. I send you a copy of it also. I believe it will be best to let me complete this job on the plan that it is a bad thing to swap horses while we are crossing a stream. If, therefore, you will send me word at once whether you are satisfied with this contract as set forth in the letter and would be willing to sign it, I will report it faithfully to Miss Shaw, and I will also report what the women say in Arizona. We ought to get authority to them as soon as possible to do something, or else nothing will be done this Spring.

I hope I have not over-stepped my prerogatives too far.

Yours faithfully,

Carrie Chapman Catt

Dictated.
(Enclosures)

205 West 87th Street, New York City, N.Y.

March 19th, 1904.

Mrs. Lid^oParce Robinson,

522 N. 1st Ave., Phoenix, Arizona.

My dear Mrs. Robinson:-

I was glad to get your letter, for it had bewildered me greatly that you had not received my letter written on March first. You now say you received it on the 12th. I do not know where that letter could have been meanwhile.

As I wrote you before the Convention, the matter of the work in Arizona was submitted to the Business Committee, and it was by their direction that I wrote you to ascertain just the character of work you wanted to do, and to try to have a more definite understanding before we made any final arrangements. I recognize, and I think all the members of the Committee do, that it is sometimes a penny wise and a pound foolish to save money through private entertainment. Nevertheless, we are not a rich Association. Our cause does not appeal to the emotional nor the sentimental; they give their money to hospitals, etc. We are not an Association composed of fashionable people. While there are quite a number of wealthy people affiliated with the Association and these are generous givers, they are usually equally large contributors in other directions, so that our Association is not supported by donations of this kind. The money which is pledged for our work comes from people, in the main, who have to make sacrifices to give it. The work of our headquarters and our regular departments becomes heavier every year, and with all our efforts to curtail expenses, is naturally growing more expensive, because it involves more work. We are therefore extremely limited in the amount of money which we can put

into what we call field work, such as this proposed in Arizona. The amount is always dependent upon the amount we can raise, for our income is not a regular income, but is of course fitful and dependent upon the mood of the people who give. It is for this reason that we are obliged to be extremely parsimonious. A sad experience in the past has taught us that before we enter into any venture involving money, and we must know positively just what is to be done as nearly as possible what it is to cost. You will readily understand our situation. We do not wish to authorize work which may involve a larger bill than we are able to pay and leave the Association in debt. We have always had a contract with all our field organizers, telling them exactly what they could do and what they could not do. We have been obliged to make this arrangement because when we have not had contracts, we have nearly always had something to pay which we did not intend to pay. If you will put yourselves in our places, I am sure you will see that there is nothing personal in this, and that it is the very arrangement you would like to make. It was last year we had an arrangement with the State President for work in her State and there was no contract put with her. We had never had contracts with State Presidents although we always had them with Organizers. A bill was brought in over which there was a conflict of opinion, and as a result, it was moved and carried in Washington, that hereafter when work was done in the States we should have a contract with the state Presidents as well as with the Organizer. For this reason I have no power to authorize you to proceed with your arrangements until the contract is made.

I wish, however, to facilitate the matter as far as possible, and to that end I will send a copy of your letter and of my reply to the members of the Business Committee at once. I also enclose two forms

Mrs. L. P. R.

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of a letter to you, which I will likewise send to the Business Committee. If you are willing to sign this letter as a contract, you may do so and return it at once to me. In the meantime I shall learn from the Business Committee whether they are willing to have this contract signed, and if they are, it will be signed by our President, Miss Shaw, and you will be at liberty to begin.

Now, the chief thing we wanted to know, and the thing I do not discover in your letter, is whether it was your purpose to start out with the previous arrangements, and if it was your intention to conduct a correspondence for the arrangement of meetings in advance. One may go without arrangements and make appointments for meetings after arrival in a place and this does not make much difference with the expense, if free entertainment is to be had, but if the traveler is to go to a hotel and remain while working up a meeting, it becomes a very costly undertaking and very little territory can be covered in a month. In other words, the cost is not commensurate with the results. A correspondence should be conducted with all the places which you intend to visit and definite appointments made in as many places as possible, so that you may know whether you are to have a public meeting or a parlor meeting.

The Committee were of the opinion that probably better work might be done with two of you traveling together, and they desired that the first trip might be taken as an experiment by way of gauging the expense. They thought perhaps they would not feel able to cover the whole territory with two of you traveling together.

When Mrs. Munds first wrote she thought she could pay her own expenses. I think she thought she could get passes, but at the last she wanted the National Association to pay expenses. There is also a very great difference in field workers in the amount of collections

Mrs. I. P. R.

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taken. Dr. Woods, for instance, always received what we call generous collections, and these helped very largely in defraying her expenses. We have had other speakers who almost got none at all, and their expenses became a very heavy burden to us. It was with a view to learning how the collections might help defray the expenses and something of the possible expense for the second trip that the Business Committee desired to know the cost of the first.

Your plan of visiting Southeastern Arizona is quite satisfactory so far as the territory is concerned.

If you start out on the first of April and take one month for that Southeastern trip, I do not see how the Business Committee could let you know by April 20th as to the second trip, for they would not yet have had the expense reports of the first one upon which to form their judgment. There has been no question in their minds at all of the advisability of the trip. It has only been a natural hesitancy of an Association which has no surplus money, to promise to pay a bill the size of which they could not estimate.

There is another thing which made the Committee hesitate. We have had much experience in superintending the work of Organizers in the field, and we have had a great many at different times and places, and we have learned that whatever the organizer goes after in the thing the organizer gets. Some Organizers are splendid at organizing; others are best at making speeches and making converts; and others are good at making collections, etc. The more things asked for at a meeting the less is obtained.

Now, you say that you wish to take subscriptions for your new paper, and probably your personal interest in its success would make this phase of the undertaking satisfactory to you, but while you are taking sub-

Mrs. I. P. R.

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scriptions to the paper, there may be little or no collections to apply on expenses and no satisfactory organization effected. If the National Officers felt that the best thing for Arizona was the paper, of course this would make no difference, but in view of the fact that many suffrage papers have existed at different times in different States, and no one of them has ever been able to pay its running expenses, and our own Woman's Journal, which all the world agrees is a splendidly edited paper, is not able within two thousand dollars each year to pay its expenses, it does seem a foolish thing to start a paper which is destined to find a sure deficit. Of course I have said this before, and if all of our Officers were writing to you they would each individually say the same thing. I think the Newsletter to the Clubs is a good thing and helps to keep them alive, and it can be discontinued at any time and you can also skip a month now and then when there isn't any money to pay for it, but this is not so with a newspaper; it must be printed to come within the postal laws. It is read at best by a limited number, and the money it costs we believe could be more advantageously expended in another direction.

Now, I have stated very clearly I think, and certainly quite plainly, just why the Business Committee have had any hesitation at all about the work in Arizona. In business dealings it is best to be plain and outspoken. There is nothing personal in the attitude of the Committee at all, and if you are willing to sign the enclosed letter, they will be willing I am sure for you to go ahead and make your experimental trip. I doubt if they would be willing to give you authority by April 20th to try the second trip, for the reasons I have named, but that might be planned for at a later time. I do not see why the Fall would not do for the second trip.

Mrs. L. P. R.

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In the meantime, I am perfectly sure that arrangements of some kind can be arrived at whereby you may take this early trip. I would suggest, therefore, that you do not wait for the contract with the National before beginning your correspondence, but that you open it at once and arrange your dates. It takes much longer to make such plans than at the beginning seems possible. There is no time to be lost if you desire to go out in the early part of April. The contract can be signed and ready before you start, so there will be no misunderstanding. We might have saved a whole week if that letter of mine had reached you in time, and I do not know why there was any delay.

I think I may say that we are all glad that at last the women of Arizona have come to the front and are willing to do this necessary work, and we wish to aid them in any way we reasonably can to secure the suffrage in the territory, which we believe to be possible.

Yours faithfully,

C. C. Catt

Dictated.

(Enclosure)

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

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

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

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Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors | LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.
| CORA SMITH EATON, M. D., Masonic Temple, Minneapolis, Minn.

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

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

Jan. 18, 1905.



My dear Miss Clay:-

Almost thou persuadest me,--but not quite. I have been exceedingly interested in the Wheeling campaign and at the beginning it was hard work to stay at home. I wanted to go there and get it started as I thought it ought to be. I have no doubt the campaign has been managed a great deal better because I did not go. But now, I can not do anything that would help I am sure. I am not good at the whoop la round up. That is not my specialty. I am sure if the conversions have not been made by this time I couldn't do it. It is too bad though that the folks who have been there and got into the spirit of the campaign cannot stay for a last rally. I shall hope that our side will win for I am sure it would open up a big lot of city campaigns which would at least look as if something was doing.

Even tho' I could help I could not go. It is true that it is more important that the Wheeling voters do their duty than that I lecture to people who have no responsibility at present concerning our question; but I have a contract to deliver those lectures just the same and I am in honor bound to do it. They are not woman suffrage lectures and therefore involve much work. More I expect to apply the money I get for them upon my osteopathy and make them the means of getting well. That is important to me. I've already spent some of it before it was earned in this direction and it has benefited me greatly. So you see those lectures are not to be sneered at by the Solid South even if they do interfere with campaigns.

Jan. 18, 1905

Last year we organized a new York and vicinity Alumni club of those graduates from our college who live here or near. We agreed to have an annual banquet and it so happens that we are to have a reception at our house on Saturday and the banquet in the evening at a hotel near by. I expect to be entertaining these Western friends on Sunday and Monday and it would also be inconvenient to leave them. If this set of excuses is not sufficient I will send you a later assortment.

I am indebted to you for another letter, which so ~~n~~ aroused the green eyed monster in me that I could not bring myself to answer it. Do you wonder why? Because you type so finely when I am sure I have been at ^{it} much longer and cannot do it half so well. I have now so far overcome my jealousy as to say that I am glad that you have mastered to art (for you certainly have) for it is a pleasing diversion and a nice plaything. I can write so much faster by hand that I do not use my machine as much as I should. If I do not use it I suppose I shall always write slowly and incorrectly. I yield the palm to you and can now do so without any painful thrills in my heart.

It is very kind of you to think that I must go to Oregon if there is a campaign there. The speaking however doesn't interest me much. We have had splendid service in some of our campaigns heretofore, in the field but we lost because we did not have good service in the management. In fact we have never had it. When we won, we succeeded in spite of bad management. I think it far more necessary to have the office managed right than to have the best speakers altho we should have both to be sure of winning. You say the office can be well managed but you must not be too sure of it. I think we should put more money on that end of the campaign than we have ever done. It is the part of the campaign that I have learned to be most interested in. I had hoped I might have a hand in this phase of the work when Oregon got ready. But I now know that I cannot do it even though I might be needed, nor shall

[Jan. 18, 1905]

I go to speak. These are hard lines, to see the prospect of so many possible campaigns and realize I cannot help. At first I could hardly endure the thought of all the work and being laid by. But I am getting reconciled to it. For three years I have been going through a mental struggle to persuade myself that I was not necessary to the suffrage work and at last I have apparently succeeded and can feel fairly contented even when I think of suffrage. I think I must lay by for three years at least before I shall be well. I think you were engaged with the old N. P. about five years if I remember aright, and I may have to make it five too. I shall retire from office at the next convention and do even less suffrage work next year than I have done this year. When my period of confinement is over, I shall not be needed and so I am trying to get into the attitude of mind where I shall feel as little responsibility as possible. Do not be alarmed and think this is indifference. I cannot be happy or even contented when I do feel the weight of responsibility, so I have wanted to get rid of it and I have almost if not quite succeeded. So, my dear Miss Clay you are to run all the campaigns without counting me in, either in the ranks or the reserve. I shall make no speeches, and make no trips and do no work till old N. P. leaves me either dead or well. Meanwhile I'll cheer the rest of you all I can.

Lovingly,

Carrie Chapman Catt,

Deserter.

Mar. 13th, 1905.

My dear Mrs. Catt,

With loads of things before me that ought to be done, I am going to indulge myself in writing to you, which I have been wanting to do ever since I received your letter of Jan. 18th.

In the first place I am entirely dissatisfied with what you say about retiring from office at the next convention. You know I have been through the war with "Old N.P." and have learned that all its suggestions are not to be heeded. You feel the weight of responsibility too much; you ought to take into account that those who insist upon your assuming it are part judges, at least of how much is rightfully expected of you, and you ought to be satisfied with their decision. In this case, they have decided that your counsel is the thing they greatly need, and in order to have it, they are willing to provide that other work shall be done by other persons. I want you to stay on the Board, and do only what N.P. will let you. For you remember I said the best opinion I had heard how to treat that tyrant was to do what one wished to do but not to attempt what one did not wish to do. This advice is so singular that possibly you thought it sarcasm; but I assure it was given in dead earnest and repeated by me as having proved true in practice. If you will only adopt it and stick to it without any qualms of conscience, you will be able to do a great deal for our Board at odds and ends of time when your tyrant relents. By this time you must have learned that there are intervals when you can scarcely believe you are an invalid, though next day you may be painfully aware that you are. In these intervals you can answer Business Com. Letters; and if you are never "moved" to do any thing else for suffrage, you will have done all that is demanded of you. Do not think or consider "weight of responsibility" at all. Let that be done by those who insist that you stay on the Board.

Now there is something on which I wish your opinion. You know that a short while ago I asked Mrs. Upton to write to the B.C. that I proposed to offer an amendment to the constitution creating a new office of Editing Secretary. I suppose all of you understood that I wanted the new office for Miss Blackwell, so she would be relieved of routine work just at the time when she needed most to be writing for the Journal. I had mentioned my intention to her at the last Washington Convention, when we were in hopes that she and her father would deem it expedient to transfer the Journal to the Association. Then I spoke of the new office as Editor-in-chief. Since we were disappointed in that hope the name would not have been appropriate; so I thought of another which would express Miss Blackwell's literary services to the Association. My amendment pleased all the Business Com. who expressed opinions; but some opposition arose as to the propriety of creating a new office at Portland, where many new delegates would probably be in attendance and the new Rec. Sec. might not be selected with the best judgement. Then Mrs. Upton began to doubt whether her father's health would permit her to go to Portland and she asked to have Miss Hauser's expenses paid to the convention. By-the-by, it was not Mrs. Upton who expressed doubt as to the wisdom of electing a new officer at this time. But enabling Miss Hauser to go to Portland approved itself to my judgment and at the same time suggested a way out of my difficulty. I wished Miss Blackwell to be relieved of routine work; and it seemed entirely appropriate to have Miss Hauser do this by taking the minutes for her. I at once proposed this and found that Mrs. Upton approved, provided it was agreeable to Miss Blackwell. Miss Shaw approved, and I wrote to Miss Blackwell. She was pleased to be rid of the minutes, though of course she expects to prepare them for publication. So all seems pleasantly arranged. This plan will require no amendment of constitution, but simply a vote to allow Miss Blackwell to choose some one to assist in taking the minutes. I have written all this

Mar. 16, 1905

partly to let you ^{know} why you will hear no more of my amendment and also as leading up to the point on which I want your opinion. In writing to Miss Blackwell I had to remind her very frankly that I had hoped that she and her father would think it expedient to transfer the Journal to the Association. In replying, she says: "As for the Journal, there are some reasons why I should like to have the National take hold of it, if it could continue to be published at Boston; but I simply could not edit it from Boston and have it printed at Warren. If any of the Business Com. had ever had practical experience of editing a weekly paper they would understand that it couldn't be done in that way". Now I know nothing about newspaper work at all; I do not think myself a judge of the value of a paper to our cause. But I do see or think I see, certain things;—either we must purposely refrain from extending the scope of the "Progress", in order not to interfere with the Journal, or we will gradually but surely undermine the Journal with Progress and our Political Equality series. Mrs. Upton thinks Miss Blackwell's objections to transferring the Journal are insuperable; but I have found that few obstacles are insuperable, if one is sufficiently interested to try to overcome them. A little concession here, a little there, makes many things possible. What I want to ask you is this; Do you think it is important enough to the Association to have control of the Journal for us to continue to try persuade the Blackwells to give it to the Association, or shall we consider the question closed and go on our way, doing what we consider best with our two publications as the occasions arise? We get a great deal of service from the Journal as it is, without any work or expense for it. If we had it, it would be a financial experiment and might be too heavy for us to carry. What ought we to do? I believe we should ^ucontinue Progress at ten cents, in any event; for a cheap publication is demanded by the times; of that I feel certain. But I suppose there is a place also for a more expensive weekly.

Now let me know what you think of all this, because I feel I must have a

definite idea in order to guide my judgment about Progress and the leaf-lets. Progress lends itself admirably to my idea of "Systematic distribution of literature." But I hate to feel that it is undermining the Journal? Please let me have the benefit of your thought on this.

• Very cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT, NEW YORK CITY.

May 18. (1905?)

*before Postmaster's
1905 Convention*



My dear Miss Clay:-

I know it is a long time since I received your letter from Warren asking my opinion about the Journal and Progress. Altho I have not replied, I have not been unmindful of the question. I have just been to Boston and had a little talk with Alice. I told her as I now say to you that in my personal judgement, all question of the National taking the Journal is for the present at an end. We had only thought of the possibility ~~because~~, because we had thought that Mrs. Upton could and would manage it. Mrs. Upton's incapacity to take on anything more at present seems beyond question. Undoubtedly, we shall have to lighten her burden instead of increasing it. I told Alice I thought the incident closed for the present. She said she was glad to know what to calculate upon. I replied, that while this had been my own personal view, I felt very sure it must, because of the conditions, represent the opinion of all. Of course you had written your letter before the chain of disasters had precipitated themselves upon Mrs. Upton. Alice said that upon more mature reflection she was positive she could not edit the paper were it to be printed in Warren. She could only do it upon condition that it were continued in Boston. I replied that that would only mean that the National would be responsible for the deficit without having anything to do with the management. She thought it could manage ~~the~~ to push the subscription list; but I said I thought this as impossible as for her to edit the paper from Boston. So, as our editor lives in Boston and our manager lives in Warren and is not looking for more work anyway, I think we need not think anymore about the possibility of national ownership. I asked Ali

Ali

Alice how they would come out financially now that the size was reduced. She replied that instead of a deficit of between two and three thousand, there would be one of between one and two thousands. This she said she hoped to raise by contributions. Miss Anthony, when I saw her in New York a few weeks ago, said something a bit critical about Alice's writing to the suffragists for money. I told her that Alice had given us due warning and had said she would not let the Journal die without begging for its life. Alice seemed to think they might keep on a year or two longer and then if the National did not want to take it they might sell it for something. The situation is unfortunate. With Mrs. Upton begging for the Treasury, as she should do of course, and Alice begging a couple of thousands of dollars for the Journal and Miss Anthony trying to get as much for Miss Shaw's salary, I think the poor suffragists are likely to feel well fleeced. However I do not see as we can do anything at all at present except to keep our eyes open. Any help we can render the Journal in the way of subscriptions will prevent that much begging and will prove beneficial in more ways than one/ Progress has drifted away from the original intention and as to what its future should be, is a question we must discuss with intelligence in Portland. I do ^{not} think the plan of mixed editors has been particularly successful but we may be able to do no better-

It is very kind of you to speak ^uso complimentary a manner of my place on the board. It is not that the position adds so much to my duties, that I desire to give it up. The Vice President must do the president's work in the event of her incapacity. I am not able to do that. In the event anything should happen to Miss Shaw, I know I should try to take up the work, but I should do it very badly and what concerns me more, it would prove the end of me. I want to remove myself from the danger. I want someone there too who could do the work properly if required. Then too, I have been asked to do a good

many things this year, such as to speak at legislative hearings, which I could not do, but I felt very guilty at refusing since I was an officer and ought to respond. The Association could stand a straw officer for one year, but it couldn't for a longer time. As a private member, I can decline such offers with a clear conscience; I cannot as an officer. So you see I shall gain considerable in peace of mind when I go off the board. I have several other reasons, but these are the chief ones. I am sure it is the right step for me to take. My very best judgement is my guide in the matter.

I have accepted your advice and have tried to do the things I wanted to do and to let go the things I did not want to do. I think it is an excellent plan, but there is grave danger that the habit of perpetual selfishness may so fasten itself upon one, that there will never be a return to more ethical standards. It shows, doesn't it, that selfishness is the natural condition and unselfishness is the artificial accomplishment?

I hope you will pardon my longⁿ delay in replying to your query. I may reform, but I am making no promises. With the best of wishes for you and yours, I am

Yours Cordially

Carrie Chapman Catt.

I really can print better than this, but I got back from Boston this morning and have put in a hard day and I am dead sleepy.

New York, June 3, 1905.

Dear Members Business Committee:-

Miss Shaw has been with me two days. We have talked over the prospects for next year. Miss Shaw does not desire to be president; she would prefer not to be; that can be no news to any of you. She, however, realizes that there is no other possible candidate. She feels forced to stand for the office, while preferring not to do so. She does not feel able financially to accept the office and all it involves without some guarantee of financial aid. She says her average earnings for the past fifteen years have been about \$3700. and for the past five years, when they have not been quite so good, they have been about \$3500. Her living expenses, she says, which includes Miss Lucy Anthony's salary of \$50. per month, cannot be reduced to less than \$200. per month, without changing entirely her present mode of life. A guarantee of \$200. per month, then, is necessary to make her feel comfortable or to make it possible for her to take the presidency. She is willing that the receipts from her lectures, minus expenses, shall be applied upon this salary, but to do the president's work as she desires to do it, would mean to drop much of her general lecture work. In the event of campaigns, it might mean that a considerable amount of her time would be put into such fields and there would be small returns to apply upon this guarantee. Under other conditions, she might earn the major portion of this amount. The exigencies of the work, alone, could settle how much the Association would be obliged to pay. She might be able to earn all of the guarantee, and to earn still more, as in other years; again she might be able to earn none of it.

June 3, 1905
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The probabilities are, however, I should think, that she would at least earn half the amount.

Of course you all know that no self-supporting woman could hold the presidency long without financial relief. I am sure, we are all agreed that Miss Shaw must be our president. Mrs. Upton and I have both tried to get Miss Shaw to say what conditions would be satisfactory, but she has felt sensitive about it, and has thought the Board should make the proposition to her and not her to us. She says it makes her feel as if she were stating the terms for a job for which she was making application; whereas she doesn't want our job at any price. But I think we all understand her position.

We badgered her so much that she was driven to take counsel of her account books, and to think out what she could do. Then she hated to speak of it. So, I abused my hospitality, drove her in a corner, and at the point of a bowie-knife, metaphorically speaking, succeeded in getting this very reluctant information.

Personally, I think she can do no differently; that there is no other candidate we desire to elect; and that we should manage to meet these terms, and I am quite willing to aid all I can in making the conditions satisfactory. Please think this over, and be ready to give your opinions. Some day we will put the president to bed and the vice will take the chair and we'll settle the matter. I hope we can do it in such manner that Miss Shaw will feel no sense of humiliation, but will know instead, that we want her to do her best, and that we are glad to give her the conditions under which she can do it.

Yours truly,

Carrie Chapman Catt

1907? [Catt] petition
to see what could be done in Congress for such an object, and I feel very strongly that that time has now come.

I am not forgetful of the fact that legally or constitutionally, or however it may be expressed, the idea of a 16th Amendment is not nearly so strong as it was 25 years ago. I presume there is not a lawyer of importance in any Southern State who does not believe that the 14th and 15th Amendments were unconstitutional, upon the ground that suffrage should only be controlled by the States and that Congressional action interfered with State rights. I have no means of knowing how general this feeling is among Northern lawyers, but I know it has strengthened with the years and that many Northern lawyers of great note quite agree with this point of view.

Again, as time passes on, there seems to be more and more hesitation to amend the constitution for anything. For these reasons I do not think the chances of securing the 16th Amendment are very hopeful.

On the other hand, the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has openly acknowledged himself to be a suffragist, that he was willing to receive Miss Anthony and Mrs. Upton and that he requested Mrs. Upton to call upon him again, as I read, indicates that he might be willing to do something for suffrage while he is in the Presidential Chair.

You will remember that during Mr. Roosevelt's first term, one of our Western States Presidents started a movement to petition him to recommend a 16th Amendment. It was my opinion then, and it is now, that it would have been a mistake to have pushed such a movement at that time. I thought then and I said to the Business Committee that I believed that when Mr. Roosevelt came in for his second term and would feel the independence of a personal

#3

election, and, also, of a last term, that we should then push this movement for a 16th Amendment. Up to this time, however, other things have held the attention of the National Association, but there seems to be nothing very definite or important in the way now. Mr. Roosevelt could appropriately make no comment upon the subject of Woman Suffrage in any message, except as an introduction to a suggestion for Congressional action, and the only Congressional action which could be taken is the passage of such an Amendment.

I should, myself, be very much opposed to an effort of this kind, unless it could be thorough going and one in which the whole United States should co-operate. If such a recommendation should be given, I would suggest the following line of action:

FIRST:- That the date at which Petition should be presented to Congress and when the President should make his recommendation, if at all, should be the Congress of 1908. This would be the last Congress in Mr. Roosevelt's term, but it would require all of the time intervening to thoroughly work up the sentiment required and the petitions necessary.

SECOND:- If the headquarters is not able to do all the work necessary, different committees might be appointed to look after classes of people. One of these should be the labor class. The signature should be first obtained of National Labor Associations; then Local Associations, and after them, with this influence and prestige, the rank and file of the Labor Unions should be sought for signatures.

THIRD:- Mrs. Decker, as President of the Federation of Clubs, has a very wide influence with her Federation. That Federation will hardly endorse Woman Suffrage, either in State or Union, but the signatures could be obtained of most of the National Officers, and of many of the State Presidents, and with this prestige, the signatures of many club women could be obtained in every State of the Union.

#4

FOURTH:- The Woman's Christian Temperance Union would certainly circulate these petitions among its own people.

FIFTH:- A strong committee should be formed in each of the large cities, such as Chicago and New York, who would take up the work of the petitions and circulate them among all classes of people.

The little kingdom of Sweden, which had in 1904 a population of 5,000,000 only, has just presented to the National Parliament a petition for full suffrage which has been signed by 100,000 men and women of adult years.

If that little country could accomplish a result like that, it is surely not too much for us to boldly set 1,000,000 names as the number at which we would aim. I hope that we might make this many more, but it would do better to go above our statement than beneath it.

I, myself, do not much believe in the resolutions of Public Meetings being added to petitions, for I do not think the addition of such numbers is quite fair, but such action can be taken and the list mentioned separately from the regular petitions. This work should be strengthened, of course, by all the State influence possible which could be brought to bear upon the Members of Congress.

It is impossible to measure the effect of such a campaign and since just now there is no State campaign in progress, it seems to me this opportunity ought not to be missed. We may not soon again have a President who believes in our cause. Mr. Roosevelt might not be willing to make so radical a recommendation as a 16th Amendment, but it is very plain that from many things he has said and done that he is more or less a friend of the Negro and for that reason probably endorses the 14th & 15th Amendment as Constitutional.

If he does this, then it is only a logical step forward to amend the Constitution again so as to complete the work of

democracy which was laid down in the Declaration of Independence more than a hundred years ago.

I feel very earnestly about this and I do so beg the Business Committee to recommend such procedure to the Convention. It is not unlikely that this plan may already be in your minds. If I thought it was there, I would not have ventured the suggestion. I have only feared that it might be overlooked.

Permit me to say, also, that I do not make this suggestion with the thought of putting a burden upon the already overworked shoulders of the Business Committee with the expectation of comfortably taking a seat in the balcony and watching the progress of the campaign. Instead, I am quite willing to give to it such support and work as may be consistent with my duties as International President. I am

Yours most cordially,

Carrie Chapman Catt.

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

"If Ye Abide in My Word *** Ye Shall Know the Truth,
and the Truth Shall Make You Free."

President, Miss Laura Clay,
189 N. Mill St., Lexington.
First Vice President, Mrs. Mary B. Clay, Richmond.
Second Vice President, Mrs. Mary C. Cramer, Lexington.
Third Vice President, Mrs. N.S. McLaughlin, Covington.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Mary C. Roark, Richmond
Recording Secretary, Mrs. Emma M. Roebuck,
112 W. Front St., Newport.
Treasurer, Mrs. Isabella H. Shepard,
31 E. Twelfth St., Covington.

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Ky. Dec, 30/

Mrs. C. C. Catt,

[1908]

New York City.

Dear Mrs. Catt,

At last I have an opportunity of answering your letters
which I am going to do in the reverse order.
Dec. 28.

Belle Bennett, ^{whom} you refer to, I have known since her childhood
and I am happy to say is a member of the E. R. A. of long standing.
She is my sister's sister-in-law.

My delay in answering your letters has not been from indifference;
but I thought ~~previously~~ that I should be wholly unable to undertake
~~the work in~~ ^{the} petition work in Kentucky, without ^{clerical aid} and I
was not sure that I could secure it. I now have a stenographer, and
will do the best I can with ~~the~~ petition. I scarcely think you will
be disappointed when I say that I am not ^{anticipating} getting the
104,600 names you ask for. It would require much better organization
than we have in Kentucky, and more money than I know where we can get
for the purpose.

Dec. 11.

The One hundred ^{petitions} you mailed, ~~what~~ ^{went} first to Richmond just about
the time I left there, for Lexington, and were not forwarded to me.
Some days afterwards my sister wrote me they were there, ^{and} in the mean-
while the ^{rest} letter you sent came to me here. I have left ~~them~~ in Rich-
mond, hoping the E. R. A. may be willing to canvas the town thoroughly;

ⁱn which case they will need all of ~~them~~. I have told you about
what my resources are, ^{if} for undertaking the work you ask of me. If you
feel I can do it better here than you can at headquarters, I will make

[Dec 30, 1908]

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Intend

the effort, to combine the petition work with ~~with~~ securing members on the card enrollment plan. I enclose a card, so you can understand what we are doing in our state *about* this enrolled membership, ~~and~~ *which* we think ~~it~~ will have great influence for the increase of numbers.

Further more the National is going to send Miss Penfield into the state for a month, and I shall have to lay out her route. Each one of these things require so much of my time that I do not expect to do anything except suffrage work this winter, and I suppose I could attend to the petition work, as well as you could if you had it done at headquarters, especially if you are going to give up the chairmanship ~~and~~ put it in the hands of someone else. In your next letter you can write me definitely whether you prefer I should attempt all the work, and if there are any parts of it you prefer to have done at headquarters.

Dec. 7th. *I shall study carefully the suggestions you make about the petition*

but I Doubt very much if I can get one single town throughly canvassed. Fortunately the W. C. T. U. and the Granges ~~are~~ *are favorable to our movement, having endorsed woman suffrage in this state. The Labor Unions are weak in Ky., and I do not know their attitude toward us.*

Dec 30, 1908

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,
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
 { Ella S. Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Dec. 1st.

3
there is nothing

I believe in your letter of Dec. 1st, which I have not already answered. ~~I believe~~, I have omitted to say that I received the *Photograph*, 500 petitions by express together with explanatory slips. I am extremely interested in the correspondence which has been going on between ex-Senator Blair, Mrs. Blatch, yourself, and Miss Shaw. This amendment *amendment* which he proposes in his ~~his~~ memorial appears to be of wonderful value to our cause. I wish to express myself very feelingly, however, upon the attitude Mr. Blair takes towards woman's suffrage, just as Charles Sumner treated woman's suffrage, when the negro suffrage came up in competition with it, Mr. Blair's ~~proposes~~ *proposes* to make ~~the~~ *the* enfranchisement of the men of D. C. the first object, and woman's suffrage secondary. It is true that he says that an amendment to his memorial can be made, if we wish to do so; though he suggests that we can wait until the amendment is carried in a general form, and then to ~~put on a plea~~ *unless woman suffrage*

I wish to say in the most emphatic manner, ~~that~~ *that* is to be clearly to be prominent throughout the whole contention, I am wholly unwilling to take any part or interest in the matter. I even think I go as far as Miss Gordon, who says in a letter received to-day, That if we do not secure the amendment to the memorial, asking that the women of the district be enfranchised, she thinks we should throw ~~at~~ *every bit of* the influence and power we may have, in securing the defeat of this extension.

[Dec 30, 1908]

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508 E. Winchester Ave.,
Akland, Ky. Jan. 25, 1908

Dear Mrs. Catt.

Miss Laura Klay wrote
me some time ago about the
petition, and I was at the
time having my house repaired
and moving from one part
of it to another, and have not
been able to attend to the matter
until now, and now I can
not find her letter, but think
that she said write to you for

petition heads and full instructions.

I think that we can use about twenty five, and if you have them for distribution will be obliged if you will send that many. Meanwhile I will copy the petition given in Progress and send a copy to each member of our Auckland association to be getting names as soon as possible.

Yours truly
Laura R. White