

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

*The Osborne
205 West Fifty-seventh Street*

Do not acknowledge.
This is only to remind
you that I, for one, am
grateful for all you
are doing in Oregon.
I hope you are com-
fortably housed and
cared for, and that
all is well with you.
With best wishes,
Cammie C. Catt

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
171 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

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TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL

CHAIRMAN
MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK
HEADQUARTERS
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.



January 12, 1918.

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

As you know, ere this, our measure is through the House and is now up to the Senate. We hope to have our vote there in a couple of weeks. We have a few more votes to get but believe we shall get them.

To my mind it is an absolutely unthinkable thing that the Senate of the United States would refuse the only step of progress it can take on the woman suffrage question, that of referring it to the legislatures of the States, while the reactionary House of Lords passed woman suffrage on its own merits. Such action would place us before the world, in a position that no history could ever make straight.

I have written a note to Mrs. South, begging her to bring to bear every possible influence upon the two Kentucky Senators. I have begged her not to have the referendum bill introduced in the legislature in view of what has happened and to be prepared to urge the legislature to ratify the amendment as soon as it gets through, as we believe it will before the adjournment of the Kentucky legislature.

I know, of course, that you prefer the state route, but I sincerely hope that you will give up your cherished plan for the one that is bound to succeed and turn your splendid energy toward the fulfillment of our suffrage hopes, even though it comes by the route you do not approve. I wish you might have heard the debate in the House. The bitter old opponents of three years ago, were all there to speak against it as usual, but now they had nothing to say against woman suffrage per se, they had been driven to the last trench and that was "states rights". Every brewery-owned man worked that argument hard.

Most sincerely yours,

Carrie Chapman Catt

President

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 16h, 1918.

My dear Mrs. Catt,

Your letter of Jan. 12th is at hand, and I am glad to answer it promptly.

I have changed my attitude to the S. B. Anthony Amendment since Pres. Wilson has expressed a view of it which I never expected from him. I am indeed strongly attached to the states' rights doctrine, but I think an individual's support of an aspect of a governmental doctrine is of no service when it is not supported by dominant political opinion. Therefore, when a great statesman, as Pres. Wilson is conceded to be, and one weighted with responsibility in the world-war, declares that he thinks the Amendment does not impair states' rights, and that it is expedient in the exigencies of this war, I am unwilling to jeopardize any chance for my enfranchisement by opposition to it. I have written to Mrs. South to this effect. Also, as far as time and my opportunities have allowed, I find that other women have changed their point of view more or less for the same reasons; and I believe if the S. B. Anthony amendment reaches our legislature in time for action, it will receive the united hearty support of the Ky. E. R. A.

On the other hand, I do not understand your policy in using your influence in opposing Ky's submission of a state referendum. If the Federal Amendment reaches our legislature too late for action or should fail of ratification, our state association would be practically inactive during 1918, the year when every state should show the most intense suffrage activity. But if we have a state referendum, we are prepared for every emergency. We believe its submission by the legislature will be easily secured, since the Republican party (which has 40 members out of 100 in the lower house and 13 out of 38 in the state senate) is pledged to a submission

by the Chicago Convention, its state platform and the influence of its party from Washington; and the Democratic party is pledged by the St. Louis convention and President Wilson's influence. These influences ~~and~~ party rivalry would also make our success at the polls in November, 1919, ~~such~~ successful, if the Federal Amendment was not passed in the winter and spring months of 1919. We have organization enough and money enough in hand and in reliable pledges to conduct a creditable campaign for ten or twelve months; and then ^{that is, through 1918,} if the Federal Amendment was ratified by the forty-one legislatures which meet in 1919, the campaign would stop automatically. But if it was not ratified, we could and would find money enough to complete the campaign in 1919, with good chances for victory. In case the Federal Amendment was not ratified in 1919, we should certainly need the influence of Kentucky; and at present, our state needs the education a campaign would give to make it most effective in its influence on other states, as well as upon our own people. A state campaign going on in Kentucky would have a beneficial effect upon other states in 1918, since undoubtedly one of the strongest political influences in favor of suffrage is the belief that it is inevitable, and that parties should be looking to their interests among the coming women voters. This fact and the facts that there are not enough states to ratify in 1918, and that forty-one will have opportunity to ratify in 1919 before a Kentucky referendum could come before the electors entirely clears a state referendum of the danger of interfering with the success of the Federal Amendment in other states. All these arguments would apply if Ky. ratifies the federal Amendment at this session, ~~the~~ thought with less force. I have changed my attitude on account of facts; I wish you could see your way clear to change your attitude towards the Ky. situation also on account of these facts.

Vety cordially yours,

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1626 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.



January 22, 1918.

Miss Laura Clay,
189 North Mill Street,
Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I am very glad to get your letter and am more glad than I can say that you have changed your attitude toward the amendment and will support the policy of ratification.

I will try to explain my attitude on the subject of a state referendum in Kentucky. The policy of the anti-suffragists will be to secure referenda wherever possible, in order to defeat the federal amendment. They will do this for the reason that they are able to defeat amendments by fraud and the proponents of the amendment have no protection. For example, there is no doubt I think, but that the prohibitionists carried the state of Ohio. I have just been in Cleveland and Mrs. Upton and all the rest say they certainly did carry it, but whenever they did get a little ahead, some anti votes were pulled out of a wet county to overbalance the gain. There was no protection for this amendment and consequently they stand as having lost by some 3,000 votes. This is the kind of thing which an unscrupulous opposition can do. For this reason I am anxious that we should avoid referenda in any and all states during the ratification.

Now, if the Kentucky legislature now in session shall submit an amendment for the purpose of getting instructions as to what it shall do in 1920 on the ratification, its example will most assuredly be followed by other states. Your referendum coming in 1919, would as you say come after most of the legislatures had had a chance to act, but many of those legislatures would follow the cue of Kentucky and would submit referenda for the purpose of instructions to the legislature. In some cases two successive legislatures would have to act. Then the vote would not be taken in some of these states before 1921 and the final results would not be obtainable before the presidential election. If we are able to stave off the referenda during the ratification, it is my hope and belief that we shall have passed the necessary thirty-six states and that all the states will have taken action before the presidential election. My one dread is so many referenda campaigns that we cannot manage them.

Miss Laura Clay, Kentucky.

January 22, 1918.

You are mistaken when you say that Kentucky would be inactive in 1918 unless it could have a campaign. It would have a campaign - a campaign for ratification which is precisely the same kind of a campaign that a referendum is with a somewhat different angle of objective. Do you not see the force of these facts? I hope you do.

Cordially yours,

Carrie Chapman Catt
President

Copy of letter to Mrs.Catt, in answer to one in which she says she has urged our state president, Mrs.South, not to introduce a state referendum bill in our Ky.legislature; and hopes that I will give up my preference for the state route to the Federal Amend.

189 N.Mill Lexington, Ky. Jan.16th, 1918.

My dear Mrs.Catt, Your letter of Jan.12th is at hand, and I am glad to answer it promptly.

I have changed my attitude to the S.B.Anthony Amendment since Pres.Wilson has expressed a view of it which I never expected from him. I am indeed strongly attached to the states' rights doctrine but I think an individual's support of an aspect of a governmental doctrine is of no service when it is not supported by dominant political opinion. Therefore, when a great statesman, as Pres.Wilson is conceded to be, and one weighted with responsibility in the world-war, declares that he thinks the Amendment does not impair states' rights and that it is expedient in the exigencies of this war, I am unwilling to jeopardize any chance for my enfranchisement by opposition to it. I have written to Mrs.South to this effect. Also, as far as time and my opportunities have allowed, I find that other women have changed their point of view more or less for the same reasons; and I believe if the S.B.Anthony amendment reaches our legislature in time for action, it will receive the united hearty support of the Ky.EER. A

On the other hand, I do not understand your policy in using your influence in opposing Ky.' submission of a state referendum. If the Federal Amendment reaches our legislature too late for action, or should fail of ratification, our state association would be practically inactive during 1918, the year when every state should show the most intense suffrage activity. But if we have a state referendum, we are prepared for every emergency. We believe its submission by the legislature will be easily secured, since the Republican party (which has 40 members out of 100 in the lower house and 13 out of 38 in the state senate) is pledged to a submission by the Chicago convention, its state platform and the influence of its party from Wash-

ington; and the Democratic party is pledged by the St. Louis convention and President Wilson's influence. These influences and party rivalry would also make our success at the polls in November, 1919, ~~hopeful~~ hopeful, if the Federal Amendment was not passed in the winter and spring months of 1919. We have organization enough and money enough in hand and in reliable pledges to conduct a creditable campaign for ten or twelve months, that is, through 1918; and then if the Federal Amendment was ratified by the forty-one legislatures which meet in 1919, the campaign would stop automatically. But if it was not ratified, we could and would find money enough to complete the campaign in 1919, with good chances for victory. In case the Federal Amendment was not ratified in 1919, we should certainly need the influence of Kentucky; and at present our state needs the education a campaign would give to make it most effective in its influence on other states, as well as upon our own people. A state campaign going on in Kentucky would have a beneficial effect upon other states in 1918, since undoubtedly one of the strongest influences in favor of suffrage is the belief that it is inevitable, and that parties should be looking to their interests among the coming women voters. This fact and the facts that there are not enough states to ratify in 1918, and that forty-one will have opportunity to ratify in 1919 before a Kentucky referendum could come before the electors entirely clears a state referendum of the danger of interfering with the success of the Federal Amendment in other states. All these arguments would apply if Ky. ratifies the Federal Amendment at this session, though with less force.

I have changed my attitude on account of facts; I wish you could see your way clear to change your attitude towards the Ky. situation also on account of these facts.

Very cordially yours,

Laura Clay.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 6

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

SUBJECT:
NON-PARTISANSHIP AND PROHIBITION

March 2, 1918.

The National Democratic and Republican party committees recently voted to select women representatives in each state. Several state suffrage presidents or officers have had such positions tendered them and have inquired as to the advisability of acceptance. There has been no opportunity to take an expression of the National Board, but I feel confident that the following opinion represents the views of all the more experienced members of the Board.

Since our National Association and its auxiliaries are pledged to non-partisanship the acceptance of a partisan office by a president or other officer would invalidate that pledge and seriously interfere with non-partisan suffrage work. Any officer receiving such nomination should choose between suffrage and partisanship and not attempt to serve "two masters" one partisan, the other non-partisan. It is my personal hope that all our officers will stand by their task until the ratification of the amendment in their states has been secured.

It should be remembered that no party has as yet given ~~suffrage~~ sufficient aid to the suffrage movement to justify endorsement by the suffragists. When ratification is over in a state, the suffragists of that state will do well to honor whichever party or parties have done most to bring the final victory. No party has earned the right to this honor yet!

PROHIBITION- The suffrage associations have been asked in several states to become members of ratification committees for prohibition. I beg you to take no such action until after the Executive Council meeting (Probably held in April) at which plans for our own ratification committees will be made. In the House 106 men voted to submit the prohibition amendment and did not vote to submit the suffrage amendment. 103 men voted to submit the suffrage amendment and did not vote to submit the prohibition amendment. Such facts admonish us to be cautious.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 7

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

SUBJECT:
THE SENATE VOTE

March 2, 1918.

We were not able to secure the vote before March 1st, but we realize that we are making progress and believe the vote will come in March. None of us is discouraged or doubts success. Keep up the work on your doubtful Senators and do not believe anything you read in the papers about the vote unless the name of ~~the~~ our Association is attached thereto.

We who are here, are working hard and patiently but it is work best done without much publicity. The progress is so slow and sometimes its nature so confidential that we cannot pass it on, but we ask you to keep cheerful in the assurance that we shall win unless some unexpected trickery is played.

I notify you that the Executive Council will probably be called for the middle of April.

-----oOe-----

[With May 17, 1918 letter]

Washington, D. C. May 14, 1918.

TO THE PRESIDENTS AND CONGRESSIONAL CHAIRMEN:

The Congressional Committee has agreed to try for a vote on or about May 28, thus giving time for state activity to influence the situation. We lacked two votes last Friday. We need to strengthen the whole backing of the movement here. There are Senators who will vote for the amendment provided they are assured it will go through! While we are working hard to gain two votes, the enemy is working hard to pull votes away from our side. Liquor lobbyists appeared on the scene last week and the skirmish in the Senate has developed into a bitter fight.

Heretofore we have not asked the States represented by favorable Senators to do much, but we now think there must be a nation-wide demonstration of protest against the delay in the Senate. We therefore beg every state auxiliary to conduct at once the biggest, most publicity producing protest campaign which it can command. Many of the men who are for us believe there is no real demand for the amendment. It must be proved. You will have the satisfaction of knowing that every effort put forth now will tell on your ratification. We urge the following plan:

Call to your aid as many intelligent workers as possible for a few days' vigorous work.

1. In all states where the labor vote counts, get the State Federation of Labor and the largest component organizations to pass resolutions of protest. One person may well give her attention to this branch of the campaign.

2. Get resolutions passed in every town by churches, lodges, schools, political committees. Wherever "two are met together" for any object let them pass a resolution.

3. Lastly and most important, have a series of public meetings in all the towns where you have a suffragist to work. Let the subject of the meeting be "What Are We Fighting For?" Get the best and most popular speakers in the town. Make the meeting patriotic in every sense and have the speakers stress the points on enclosed sheet. The trouble is that our country doesn't yet see that woman suffrage is a war measure. It must be educated. Get the best write-up you can in all the town papers and ask each editor for an editorial on the same day.

Push and push hard. Use your organization and all others in sympathy to the limit to secure a protest from your state which will be heard from ocean to ocean.

May 17, 1915

4. Send copies of all resolutions from whatever source as well as those from mass meetings to both Senators. Paste editorials on paper neatly and send them to both Senators with the request that they be read into the record. We want to flood the Senate with these things in such fashion that they will realize it is the biggest demand the country has made.

5. Send copies of all resolutions or at least a list of them and also of the editorials to the Washington Headquarters.

In carrying out this program you will meet refractory, cowardly suffragists and stupid opposition. Unitedly we must swing the old Republic into line for woman suffrage as a war measure. We are relying upon you.

From a small state fifty resolutions should be made the minimum aim and two hundred from a large state. In a small state twenty-five public meetings of protest should be the aim and two hundred and fifty in the large ones. Make sure that all resolutions passed endorse the federal amendment and protest against delay in its passage by the Senate.

This is the time to show whether our suffrage army possesses morale.

Yours for victory and victory now,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

President.

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MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, CHAIRMAN
HEADQUARTERS
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 11, 1918.

Miss Kate Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

My dear Miss Gordon:-

You misunderstood the import of my comment about the difference in the different states. In state referenda, it becomes necessary for a state like Louisiana to appeal to white men only for the vote and you can have as much race opposition in your campaign as you like, but in a state like New York where the negro votes and where no one has yet come forward to propose that he shall not do so, it is necessary to educate them on the subject of woman suffrage and its import. It would make no difference if a federal amendment had never been proposed. An appeal which would bring success in one state, would be sure to be quoted by the opposition and do harm in another - that is what I meant.

I am sorry that you thought my attack upon you was unwarranted. I do not know that I made an attack. I merely attempted to show you that every anti-suffragist in the United States is opposing the federal amendment with might and main at this time and standing for states' rights because they know that that is the way to hold back the suffrage movement and I want you to know that you are quoted by them everywhere in support of their position.

I note your two questions. I do not know what the Board of Officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association will or may do, but I can say that so far as I am personally concerned, I will use my utmost influence to see that no assistance of any kind or description is given to the Louisiana campaign. I sincerely believe that it was not an honest submission of an amendment. I believe the Democrats of Louisiana have submitted the question for the sole purpose of making an appearance to the public of giving the women of Louisiana fair play in order that they may seem to oppose the federal amendment conscientiously. As a matter of fact, they submitted the question in Louisiana merely to oppose the federal amendment and if I do not lose my guess, they will see to it that your state amendment is voted down, good and hard. I hope I am wrong and I hope that you may win the question. The liquor people are no more opposed to a federal amendment than they are to a state amendment.

Miss Kate Gordon, New Orleans, Louisiana.

July 11, 1918.

They are opposed to women and to woman suffrage and they to a man are opposing the federal amendment, because they know they can beat us out more successfully in a state referendum.

Concerning your second point, I do not think that Ransdell will reverse his position. He is a man with a man's backbone and a man's soul. He is, in my judgment, one of the biggest men in the United State Senate today. If he loses his position, it will be because the state is ignorant, bigoted, narrow-minded and does not know a man when it sees one.

Concerning your third point, I would certainly be unwilling to join a southern conference with a view to making any kind of a compromise as against the federal amendment. I would be opposed to doing this for the reason that there are several states in the Union where it is absolutely impossible, by any present known method, to enfranchise the women by a state amendment. The only hope of enfranchisement for women is by means of the federal amendment and there is no compromise measure which could get the suffrage for them. I am for the federal amendment too because it is the only possible way to get around the obstructions which men have written into the constitutions of the several states. It is because of this that such men as the President, see the necessity of acting by the National method.

Secondly, I would not make any compromise at this moment, because in our war for democracy abroad, it becomes absolutely necessary to set up the principles of democracy at home and to do it as a nation, if we are to be regarded as sincere by our Allies in the world war. The President has this vision and has declared woman suffrage by the federal route a war measure. I regret that any woman who believes in woman suffrage cannot have that vision too.

The arousing of the race question by means of the federal amendment is mere 'buncombe' for every state holds the right to set the qualifications for voters under a federal amendment as under a state amendment. It was an interesting scene the other day when Senator Brandagee, a black Republican from Connecticut, contended that the South must adhere to its traditions and see to it that woman suffrage did not come by the federal route. It was an interesting procedure, when a southern senator arose and asked him the question, whether the states would not hold its right to fix qualifications, and he compelled Senator Brandagee to confess that this would be true.

We are going through the Senate and we are going to secure ratification and we are going to do it despite the unfortunate attitude of the Louisiana suffragists.

Yours truly,

Carrie Chapman Catt

President

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1626 RHODE ISLAND AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 21, 1918.

Miss Kate M. Gordon,
508 Magazine Street,
New Orleans, Louisiana.

My dear Miss Gordon:-

I begin by begging your pardon for the delay in replying to your favor of May 23rd upon which occasion you sent me the leaflet being circulated in Louisiana.

I asked Mrs. Boyd, chairman of the Data Department, to compare the letters of Dr. Shaw and myself, with those which appeared in the Crisis. She has done so and reports that she believes there is no real mistake in the quotations except that they have picked out from the articles such things as best pleased them. - Of course, Mrs. Gould never had anything to do with our Association nor any other, so far as that is concerned.

The truth of the matter is that states' rights and federal rights frequently run counter; for instance, in one state as in New York, where there is a very large negro vote and where no one has ever objected to the negro vote, expressions are made which are wholly proper within that state and in accord with general sentiment. This may prove of injury to another state like Louisiana, where the sentiment is wholly different.

If our entire agitation now was for federal suffrage it would be better for all concerned. There would be fewer hazards to overcome.

I note with interest that this leaflet has no imprint and not so much as a Union Label. Of course when anything of that kind appears in New York, we always know that it is printed by an enemy who is afraid to have his name known. We like to make collections of all such literature because it is of great value in history. We intend to make a collection of it as well as of our own literature for filing with the Congressional Library when the campaign is over. If therefore you can spare this leaflet later on or can get another, I hope you will send it to me.

Yours very truly,

Carrie Chapman Catt
President

January 2, 1919.

My dear President:-

At a recent meeting of the National Board of Officers a national budget for the coming year of \$95,000 was adopted. The amount expended this year was \$93,579.14.

The Press Department, The Data Department, The Citizen (deficit), the rent for the Washington house and some of the extras there, are all borne by the Leslie Commission. The total amounts to about \$80,000 per year and the National American Woman Suffrage Association is relieved of these financial responsibilities.

The budget adopted therefore is solely to be used in support of the New York Headquarters, the annual convention expenses, the congressional work, literature for the Legislatures and ratification necessities.

The officers who must meet the bills of the National Association as they rise and keep the "home wheels turning" have made a very careful study of the situation. Knowing that each state will be taxed for its own campaign, we have decided to lighten the load of the state presidents as much as possible. We realize however, that if the states on account of their own necessities should repudiate their responsibility toward the National Campaign, the end of our struggle will not be as near as we believe it should be.

Enclosed you will find a bulletin on "Monday Raising" and a sheet setting forth the amount assigned to each state for the year beginning December 1, 1918, the amount which the states paid during the past year from December 1, 1917 to December 1, 1918 and the amount due on last year's pledge. Several of the states are delinquent in the payment of their pledges, as you will see from the list. The amount assigned to each state is a modest sum totalling \$32,420. This will leave the National officers the responsibility of raising \$62,600.

In the amount assigned to the several states, the dues of each state are included; that is the dues of each state will be made to apply upon its pledge. On the other hand pledges secured by National Officers or the National Finance Committee from any state cannot apply upon the pledge of that state. Naturally, if the National officers are to raise \$62,600 they will be obliged to do it from contributors within some of the several states.

Will not each state please accept cheerfully its assignment herein made and raise the amount as soon as possible?

When the amendment passes the Senate as we will hope it will do before January 15th, you will be able to say that you believe you are making the last appeal for aid for the woman suffrage cause. This ought to bring many pledges in sheer relief from further responsibility.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Carrie Chapman Catt,
President.

Copy.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 44

Issued by
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

SUBJECT:
MONEY RAISING.

January 2, 1919.

From east and west, north and south, state presidents are sending in their piteous complaints of no money with which to work. The story is the same in nearly every state. The workers have given their time and their money to various war activities; every pocket-book is flat and the suffrage work is languishing for needs of funds.

The National Association has always conscientiously considered that state associations ought to have the right to secure pledges from the people in their respective states, and that the state associations out of their funds should support the work of the National Board. Therefore, when you are poor, we are poor. When you have no money with which to work, it follows that we shall shortly have no money for our work. Ahead looms up the largest campaign we have ever known, and probably the greatest demand for money in all the history of the movement will be made upon us who at this moment are holding the official positions in the suffrage administrations, national and state.

The situation must be faced boldly. In Connecticut and Missouri there have been luncheons; in Connecticut \$13,000 was raised in pledges, the largest sum the women there have ever secured at one time. In Missouri \$7,000 was raised, and I believe this was the largest sum the women there ever raised at a suffrage meeting. What Connecticut and Missouri have done, other states can and must do.

Arrange a dinner, luncheon or other public meeting and with the intent of using the occasion for your money raising climax. Make your program attractive enough to bring out a good attendance.

Begin the preparation by making up your own budget and add to it your assignment on the national budget. Assume a portion to be raised by personal pledges; assign a portion to each county.

The success of securing pledges at such public functions depends upon careful preparation. A thorough-going campaign for pledges must be made beforehand. The wisest and the best informed workers must be sent to talk with people in person and to persuade them to make pledges for the state and national campaigns. Not only the amount, but the method of expenditure should be stated to the people to whom you appeal. You should set women at work on this problem in every county in the state.

A good plan for making the money raising of the meeting a bit spectacular and interesting is to have a large map of your state placed on a sheet in a conspicuous place at the dinner. This map should have the counties delicately outlined and if the geography of your state is so complicated that you may be unfamiliar with the location of your counties, the name of each county should be delicately indicated. These lines would not be recognized at a distance. The map itself should be cut up into counties like a picture puzzle.

You should assign to each county in your state the proportion of the total budget which it ought to pay. You should secure a committee in that county to raise that amount by cash or pledges in order "to put that county on the map". When you are taking your pledges

at the dinner, therefore, two people should be in charge of the map itself. When a woman from Smith County rises and says that Smith County will see that it is "on the map" by paying the entire amount assigned to it (say \$500) your map workers will pin or paste that county in its place. There may be some counties which will not be represented either by persons present or by pledges. You will then ask general contributions to make the amount necessary to put Brown County, which has no one present "on the map". When you have filled up the necessary sum of small contributions that county is put in place on the map. This plan, if carefully worked out, can be made a great success. Let it be a Ratification Map. Many details and picturesque features will suggest themselves to an alert committee and you will get the money you need for your state work, your ratification, and for the national pledge.

The mistake made in money raising at a public meeting or dinner or luncheon is always that not enough attention is paid in securing pledges in advance and properly arranging for them to be called off. You must have a good money raiser to secure the pledges even then. Another mistake usually made is that those who are engaged in securing the fund have too small notions of what people should give. Every person who can give a dollar or a quarter should be encouraged to do so, but it takes a tremendous pile of dollars to make ten thousand of them and perhaps you are going to need \$50,000. You must, therefore, go after the people who can give \$5,000, \$1,000, \$500 as a starter for your fund. Such people live in every state. If they are not interested now, it is your business to get them interested. There is no intelligent or educated person in this country who cannot be made to see the fact that American History is being made ridiculous every moment that our Republic delays application of its own principles while at the same time they are being adopted by the monarchies of Europe. It ought to make the blood boil of every self-respecting woman it would make the nerves tingle of every proud spirited American man.

This is the lesson that men and women must learn, and if you have no other way to teach it to them you must send deputations of men and women to talk face to face and house to house with those who ought to be interested in our campaign.

I beg of you, dear presidents, adopt this plan, Go at it at once and raise the money we all need.

The National Convention will probably be held in April. There the state pledges will be given as usual, and you will state your pledge naming the amount paid and the amount due. Every state will get its credit in the national report in this way and its consequent place in suffrage history.

There is no time to lose.

Our amendment did not get through before Christmas as we hoped because the New Hampshire senator would not capitulate before a petition signed by two-thirds of the legislators. He now promises his vote if his legislature will instruct him by resolution. We are now after that resolution and believe we shall get it and that the Senate vote will come before the fifteenth.

-----eoeo-----

Assigned for payment December 1, 1918-Octo 21, 1919.	Amt. Paid. December 1, 1917. to Dec. 1, 1918		Amt. Due.	Amount. from Individuals.
Alabama	\$500.00	\$300.00		\$50.00
Arkansas	500.00	250.00		10.00
Connecticut	2,000.00	1, 738.00	\$262.00	930.00
Delaware	100.00	246.10		25.00
District of Columbia	250.00	220.40		538.00
Florida	150.00	50.00	150.00	110.00
Georgia	150.00	100.00		50.00
Illinois	1,500.00	900.00	600.00	3,790.00
Chicago E.S.A.	1,500.00	1,250.00	(Extension time granted)	
Indiana	2,000.00	300.00	700.00	75.00
Iowa	500.00	500.00		135.00
Kentucky	500.00	500.00		150.00
Kansas	500.00	100.00		
Louisiana	250.00		250.00	6.00
Maine	100.00	70.00		10.00
Maryland	1,000.00	1,000.00		51.00
Massachusetts	2,000.00	1,500.00	1,500.00	13,222.00
Michigan	1,000.00	250.00	750.00	996.00
Minnesota	1,000.00	1,500.00		30.00
Mississippi	120.00	100.00		37.00
Missouri	1,000.00	95.84	904.16	360.00
Nebraska	500.00	100.00	900.00	125.00
New Hampshire	250.00	250.00	(Extension time granted)	200.00
New Jersey	1,000.00	100.00	1,400.00	730.00
New Mexico	50.00			
New York .c.	6,000.00	11,300.00	700.00	3,751.00
North Carolina	150.00	150.00		
North Dakota	150.00	150.00		130.00
Ohio	2,000.00	1,725.00	275.00	27.00
Oklahoma	100.00			
Pennsylvania	2,000.00	2,000.00		4,035.00
Penn. W. S. Party	300.00	385.00		
Rhode Island E.E.A.	250.00	28.91	171.09	
Rhode Island W.S.P.	250.00	250.00		
South Carolina	100.00	100.00		
South Dakata	100.00		150.00	
Tennessee .c.	500.00	700.00		
Texas	500.00	522.75	227.25	
Vermont	100.00	60.40		10.00
Virginia	250.00	250.00		55.00
West Virginia	250.00	125.00	125.00	100.00
Wisconsin	1,000.00	1,000.00		110.00
	<u>32,420.00</u>	<u>30,167.40</u>	<u>8,164.50</u>	<u>29,848.00</u>

Note Amounts received by National Treasurer for Oklahoma not included above.

Massachusetts - \$600.00
 Kansas - 437.50

Amounts remitted on account of campaign not included in total of Amount Due.

Copy.

Nashville, Tennessee.
January 2, 1919.

Mrs. John G. South,
Frankfort, Kentucky.

My dear Mrs. South:-

In view of the fact that the necessity for the existance of our National Association may soon come to an end, I have been asked to submit to the southern states a proposal to unite in presenting to Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt illuminated testimonials bearing the President's message to the Senate on the Federal Amendment.

It seems particularly appropriate that these testimonials of our gratitude and appreciation for life long service to the cause of women should come from the sixteen southern states, the seat of so much bitter opposition. They will enable us to say to the world - the spirit of the new south has been misunderstood by our representatives in Congress; we are glad and proud to acclaim ourselves loyally an integral part of our nation today.

The two illuminated testimonials with frames would cost \$300.00 and, if every southern suffragist would contribute twenty-five cents it would enable us to do a beautiful thing at a crucial time in the history of our movement. We believe that victory awaits us at an early date, and that when it comes, we shall owe it first of all to Woodrow Wilson. Therefore, it does not seem foolishly extravagant to, at this time ask each southern state to contribute \$50.00 toward these testimonials.

If your Association will agree to do this will you not appoint a Chairman at once to undertake the collection of funds? In case you agree, the work will be done by the same man in New York who prepared the illuminated testimonials for the Queens of Belgium and Roumania, which were signed by Dr. Shaw.

Hoping to have a favorable answer by return mail, I am.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) Anna Dallas Dudley

(Mrs. Guilford Dudley,)
(Nashville, Tenn.)

P.S. If your state will join me in this movement, I am sure you will at once recognize the valuable publicity for the Federal Amendment we can secure through it.

I know I can count on you.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

MRS. O. F. ELLINGTON, Rec. Sec'y,
721 W. Morkham St., Little Rock, Ark.

MARIE LOUISE COLLENS, Co. Sec'y,
1309 Berlin St., New Orleans, La.

MRS. H. B. BARTLETT, Treasurer,
155 Audubon Boulevard, New Orleans, La.

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
419 Camp Street, New Orleans, La.

KATE M. GORDON, President,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

LAURA CLAY, Vice-President at Large,
Lexington, Ky.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS
MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS

MRS. JAS. M. McCORMACK,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. W. M. STONER, 2d Auditor,
1538 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

March 14th 1919

To the Executive Board of the National American Woman Suffrage
Association;
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,
171 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Mrs. Catt:

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference asks for a short
conference with the Executive Board for Miss Clay and myself
at one of the pre-convention meetings which I presume as former-
ly is still the custom.

I will arrange to be in St Louis at any time most convenient
to the Board and would appreciate a reply by telegram (my expense)
if the conference will be accorded.

Very truly yours,

BOND

WWEBWIFT

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
120 PAINE AVENUE
NEW ROCHELLE
NEW YORK

August 12, 1937.

Miss Laura Clay,
193 North Mill Street,
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Miss Clay:

It is a long, long time since I have had a word from you and for a long time I have had the intention to write to you and to express my goodwill and greetings. I have heard about you from women whom I chance to meet occasionally and I have learned that you are a master hand at bridge, - that is wonderful.

I have been reading some books about old age and I have also talked with some doctors and the general opinion seems to be that longevity is a matter of inheritance. In that case, the question arises as to where the ancestors got the old age which they passed on to their descendents and is it true that only those who have old age in their ancestry are likely to live to old age themselves?

I enclose a brief questionnaire. I shall be very glad if you will fill it out or have some one do it for you. I especially want to know what you, yourself, think about the chief causes which have permitted you to attain an age beyond that of your earlier friends. It used to be an interesting bit of humor to say that suffragists never died and I think it is really remarkable that so many of them have lived to so good an old age. One woman upon my list, a New Yorker, is 105 and not one is younger than seventy. Several are over ninety.

I promise you that I will not use your name in any public presentation, should one be made, and I shall not reveal your age to anybody. I mean to make a summary chiefly based upon the causes of longevity and the effect of inheritance.

Hoping that all is well with you and that you find some satisfaction and pleasure in life, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Carrie Chapman Catt

CCC:HW.

FORM LETTER SENT TO 100 SUFFRAGISTS

E N. 7

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
120 PAINE AVENUE
NEW ROCHELLE
NEW YORK

I have been reading a book about old age. It is a big book called "SENESCENCE" by G. Stanley Hall. It is not a new book, but it contains a very great deal of information about habits of ancient people concerning the aged. It may interest you to know that there were many tribes which ate their members when they considered them passed their usefulness.

I learned that a great many books about old age have been written, but writers say that they are not able to get the facts from the people they wish to interview. Some are so proud of being old that they make their age older than it really is and some hesitate to confess to their age and make themselves younger than they are. The one thing that seems to be accepted as a fact by the doctors is that longevity is an inherited trend. If this is true, then it follows that only those who have longevity in the family stand any chance at all of living to an advanced age. I do not think this is true.

I am therefore attempting to make a little study and have selected one hundred suffragists, none of whom are younger than seventy and several of whom are in the nineties. I enclose a questionnaire. If it interests you to assist in this study, please fill it in.

I am asking you to give your correct age and I solemnly swear to you that I will not tell another human being what it is. I shall not give your name to the public nor say anything about you. I shall merely make a summary of the answers received from the hundred suffragists.

Out of these questions I want to find from you, so far as may be done, what is the cause of your longevity and whether you have lived longer than your ancestors and thus set a new basis for those who come after you.

I want very much to learn how much your interest in the suffrage or other causes has stimulated you toward an advanced age. Anything you can tell me will be gratefully and confidentially received.

Very sincerely,

Carrie Chapman Catt
Carrie Chapman Catt