

I saw Florence Loeber the
woman lawyer yesterday to
make arrangements for Mr. Davis
opinion & she said she grew
more confident all the time
on the Constitutionality of my
point. My idea is now
to get her to draw up im-
mediately a brief - even if
I have to pay ^{a good} ~~roughly~~
big price for it - then
I will see if I can get
Farrar + Benedict + Davis
& lawyers of that standing
to support my contentions
with their signatures. I
really feel as tho' the
damn was breaking -

Affectionately
Hale

Jackson, Miss.,
Jan. 9. '08.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Ever since you were here, it has been in my heart to write to you, but I have been so burdened with work that it has seemed impossible. I thank you, very much, for your communications, one of which came to day.

It has been decided not to attempt to get a bill for woman suffrage presented to this legislature, and I have so announced thro' the press. It was utterly useless to attempt anything. In the first place, not one member of the legislature

Jan 9, 1908

is in favor of it. Mr. Hightower,
of Oxford, who was elected to
the Senate, wrote me that
he endorsed woman suf-
frage, but he has since re-
signed his seat. In the second
place, the ex. com. of our state
Assoc. are not agreed as to methods,
and our organization is very weak,
as you know. In the third
place, prohibition is to be gained
an amendment is to be submitted
and the legislature and people
are impressed with that. Mr. as
suffragists, have been brought
most prominently before the pub-
lic. A tremendous, entering wedge
has been made which will lead
to eventual victory. Mrs. Thompson
is supplying the papers continually

Jan 9, 1883

with fine articles; Mrs. Somerville
has answered attacks thro' the
press, and I have worked like
a slave for woman suffrage
in Miss. ever since the 27th of
Nov. I want to hold a state Con-
vention some ^{a day or two} time in July,
if possible. At that time, I shall
refuse to stand for the presidency
of the State Assn. and shall
work to have Mrs. Somerville
elected to that position. Please
send this letter to Miss Clay.
I ask both of you not to mention
the contents. When is your state
convention to be held? I shall
be in Jackson, at 740 N. President
St., until July. Yours Cordially,
Belle Kossay.

I am sending you
Vardaman's message.
Send that to Miss Clay, too.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

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



OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
1800 PRYTANIA STREET

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

NEW ORLEANS, LA. January 15th, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I am enclosing Miss Kearney's letter in which she officially announces that nothing will be done in the way of suffrage work before the Mississippi Legislature.

I went down to see Mrs. Sommerville the other evening. She is in the city for a few days on a visit, and I mentioned that I had had a letter from Miss Kearney, and her decision in regard to no suffrage bill before the Legislature. Mrs. Sommerville then proceeded to tell me that Miss Kearney had had a very threatening letter from Mrs. Jones in regard to her leading any suffrage agitation while the prohibition question was such a live one. Mrs. Sommerville, as you know, considers that Miss Kearney has an ulterior financial motive in any work that she undertakes, and she thinks that she has drawn out of the race for fear that the threat made by Mrs. Jones might affect her securing engagements through the W. C. T. U.

Mrs. Sommerville further says that Miss Kearney has made herself very distasteful to people in the State. This you saw for yourself the few days we were in conference there. It seems a rather queer decision to me on the part of Miss Kearney, after her unnecessary declaration, from time to time, that if ^{no one} ~~anybody~~ else presented a bill she would, but may be it is just as well.

Mrs. Sommerville had had a very interesting interview with Governor Noel of Mississippi, and he pronounces my point very ingenious and probably very well taken, but he feared that more agitation

[Jan. 15, 1908]

#2

was necessary, and that the ~~question~~ ^{place} to work a thing like that, was through a constitutional convention. There are very great probabilities of a constitutional convention being held in Mississippi in the near future. It will unquestionably be held, unless this Legislature makes some reapportionment of representatives for the Southern counties of the State, which have grown enormously in the last few years.

Mrs. Sommerville is to get next week the legal opinion from her friend who revised the code of Mississippi. He has been so overwhelmed with work that he would not attempt to give an opinion on anything, even for love ~~or~~ money.

I have deposited your check, and will return it as soon as I know there is absolutely no prospect of work in Mississippi. Of course I do not regard Miss Kearney's decision as final, should a favorable opportunity present itself. I think some of the suffrage women could be brought to see the wisdom of presenting a white woman suffrage bill.

I hope, indeed, Kitty Reed will attend to getting the bill. I do not know when I have had as much disagreeable work as I have had this last month to do. Preparing Mrs. Park's tour has been anxious work, so much detail to look after, and then to be in active correspondence with the Reverend Olympia is enough to get on anybody's nerves. Such whole sale advice as she does give me, and given in the most offensive way, is, even with the South going dry, enough to drive one to drink.

With cordial regards, I am

Affectionately yours,

Wm. M. Gordon

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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

Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

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

OFFICE OF
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO January 31st, 1908



My dear Miss Clay:-

I received the enclosed from Mrs. Somerville. You see how she feels about Miss Kearney. I am sending these on to you and you will forward them to Mr. Blackwell.

I think, myself, that Mr. Blackwell over-urged Miss Kearney to go down there and get in his plague take~~dit~~ old presidential suffrage bill. I think the \$100 he promised her was a big incentive, and how she can hesitate to return him his \$100 passes my ken. I further believe that my holding out the promise of another \$100, if the white woman clause went in, confirmed her in going down to Mississippi.

I have not yet given up the hope, towards the end of the session, bringing up the question of a white woman suffrage bill. The situation is very dark in Louisiana. Our old enemy, Sanders, has been elected; still, I never despair. When we go to Washington I will ask Senator Tillman to see you and me with a view to getting him to agitate for a white woman suffrage bill. We will have to get men to do this part of the work for us. Miss Loeber has been ill, and has not yet given me my brief.

I saw Mrs. Breckenridge for a few minutes one day. She had been to Dr. Joachim's office for treatment, and he telephoned me of her presence in the city. Strictly between us, he thinks her condition is such as would demand her going to southern California, taking rest and living in the open air. I hope she may be convinced of the necessity of doing so.

I am enclosing some of the stuff we are bringing out every Sunday. I have had another offer from one of our papers to conduct a column. You see I localize many of the points. Do you really think it pays for the effort? If I take an Item column it would have to come out Wednesday or Thursday and this one Sunday. When you have read this stuff send it on to Elizabeth. I want her opinion, also, as Press Chairman.

Affectionately yours,

Kate M. Gordon

Lexington, Ky. Febr. 4th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I see I have not answered any of your letters, from that of Dec. 14th to that received yesterday; so now I shall answer in turn, beginning with that of Dec. 14th.

Lawyer's Opinion. I am thoroughly agreed with you that we ought to see if we can get anything done for us by appeals to the courts; and I think it very important that we should have good legal opinions on your contention about the constitutionality of "white woman" suffrage. Therefore, even if you do not get any work done in Mississippi this winter, I wish to contribute to the expense of getting a lawyer's opinion, and I hope you will use at least \$50.00 of the check I sent for that purpose. If you do get a favorable opinion in time, I trust you will yet introduce a bill in the Mississippi legislature, for the educational effect.

I suppose Miss Kearney is a weak dependence, as her Ex. Com. seem to think, and as some of them are disappointed in not bringing in the bill, I hope you will have co-operation from them. All the news I see, of newspapers coming over to us, and candidates announcing for us, convinces me more and more that the time is drawing near when the politicians will take up our cause for their own interests. I am anxious, therefore, that we shall be ready with legal opinions on hand, to support all our contentions. I felt our disadvantage from not having one in our visit to Jackson. I think an interview with Sen. Tillman will be a fine stroke, and I trust you will be fortified with your lawyers' opinion before we go to Washington. I thank you for Mr. Golgthwaite's brief, which I am keeping, as you do not ask for its return.

LETTER OF JAN. 13th. I return the copy of letter to Mrs. Ballentine, as requested. Also, letter to Sen. McNary. I think it was an admirable idea to put the arrangements for the Hearing in Mrs. Ballantine's hands.

Letter of Jan. 31st. I will send on Mrs. Somerville's letter to Mr. Blackwell, and the clippings to Elizabeth. The clippings are admirable; and such press work is well worth the while, if you have strength to do it, or can get others to do it. For my part, I was forced by sheer physical disability to give up press work years ago; though we have been very fortunate in having such an able press sup't in Mrs. Obenchain; and in the last few years Mrs. Breckinridge has done most valuable and aggressive press work. I am truly sorry to hear such poor reports of her health.

Miss Shaw's letter, received yesterday, tells us the Michigan Con-Con. voted us down. The situation in Oregon seems the most promising of any before us. You observe that I voted to send the \$1000.00 asked for, and I may as well tell you that when I found the vote was against it, I wrote to Mrs. Coe and asked her if she would take charge of a contribution on the terms stated in the first communication from Oregon. I got answer that she would; and as soon as the petitions were filed I sent her the income for one year from the Bruce legacy, that is, \$300.00, with a hundred from myself. I felt that I would be laying up for myself a lifelong regret if I did not do what I could to continue the fight in Oregon. Whether we win this time or not, I believe it is our policy to give the enemy a fight every time we can.

Please remember me to your sisters. I trust you are escaping the prevalent grip, and your enemy, tonsillitis.

Very cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

1800 PRYTANIA STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

April 23rd., 1908.

My dear Miss Clay:-

Have you at hand that brief of Vere Gothwaite's that I sent you some time this winter? If you have, can you either forward it immediately to me, in order that I may have a copy made for Mrs. McCalloch; or if it is convenient for you to have a copy made of it in Lexington, it will save time to forward same.

I will not return the copy of your letter to Miss Shaw, as I wish to give it some study. Miss Shaw will be here today a week, and I hope to have some time for very earnest conference. Though she will be with us several days, it will be during the deliberations of the Federation, and I suppose no very practical results will come from the visit. Mrs. Kelley will also be our guest, and I hope I will be able to make ^{her} see this Oklahoma business from our point of view, and at least feel more comfortable about it.

I have just heard from Mrs. Upton that Elizabeth Hauser is ill again, confined to bed with a trained nurse in attendance. She asked me to say nothing about this, so do not repeat it in any correspondence. The chances are, though, that all of our officers, with whom she has been in correspondence, has been told of the fact. I am very much worried about Elizabeth's physical break-down. The truth of the matter is, she has been Mrs. Upton's sheet-anchor, and last year's ~~ple~~ of work, without Elizabeth's guiding hand, is a sample of

[Apr 23, 1908]

what we have got to rely on in Mrs. Upton.

I think the policy that ^{the Ass'n will} we have ~~not~~ to adopt is less expensive Headquarters and less detail work, and more aggressive work in some selected State. Miss Shaw is considerably annoyed with me because I insist that ~~this~~ congressional work in regard to a sixteenth amendment is a waste of time and money. Did you see a clipping from Cannon when he was interviewed upon it and passed the same criticism? The only excuse for it is the amount of literature that we get free and distributed through the franks of the congressmen. This might have been justified when the conventions took place in Washington, but the same amount of money we ~~ex~~pend, and the States expend for representatives to the hearing, all the work of planning and executing same, put into a lump sum would give us money to get out some choice literature that would be of great ^{er} service than the hearing reports which we do secure.

Very cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon

EM 15, 1908j

VOTE SENT OUT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

April 6, 1908.

1. Are you in favor of returning to Mrs. Loines the \$50. she raised for the Anthony Memorial Fund?

No.

2. If not, are you in favor of paying it toward the Headquarters of the Interurban Association in New York City?

No.

3. If returned to Mrs. Loines to be used toward the New York City Headquarters, are you in favor of crediting it to the New York pledge toward the Anthony Memorial Fund?

No.

4. Remarks.

If raised for Anthony Fund it belongs there and only to be voted out by Business Committee. It is rank nonsense to take money with such strings.

(Signed) Kate M. Gordon.

VOTE SENT OUT FROM PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Σ April 15, 1908

March 31, 1908.

1. For how long a time shall Mrs. Boyer plan to remain in Oklahoma?

Depends on number of candidates willing to declare.

2. Are you in favor of Mrs. Boyer curtailing the press work in Oklahoma? If so, how much?

If necessary, yes. Possibly the Indian Territory work.

3. Shall Mrs. Boyer engage in the usual picnic work, which heretofore has been considered very important in Oklahoma?

I think Owen said this was no essential. I'd be guided by him.

4. Shall she under all circumstances use two cent stamps?

I'd take Mrs. B's advice.

5. Shall she work for the election of candidates who are favorable and secure others to assist her in working for their election?

Of course.

6. Shall she work to defeat those who are opposed?

Indirectly, not actively.

7. Shall we borrow money to pay the Oklahoma bills?

If necessary. It ought not to be if pledges come in.

8. Are you willing to sign a note with the other members of the Business Committee upon which money shall be borrowed for this purpose?

Yes, for such a time as I am a member of the Board.

(Signed) Este V. Gordon.

Dear Miss Clay, I thought you might like a copy of my letter
and also of Miss Lockens. You may see what paragraph of
her letter I answer.

M^r. Culloch & M^r. Culloch,
LAWYERS.

1104 MERCHANTS LOAN & TRUST BLDG.
CHICAGO.

FRANK H. McCULLOCH.
CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH.

May 5, 1908.

Miss Kate M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street,
New Orleans, La.

My dear Miss Gordon :-

I received the Mrs. Johnson Ward article and Florence
Loeber's letter from you a few days ago. I return the latter
as you request. Miss Clay copied and sent me the Vera Goldth-
waite article. I will keep the two articles to talk over with
Miss Shaw on our trip. These articles both prove that women
ought to be enfranchised. They prove the injustice of our dis-
franchisement, but there is little in either of them to prove
that women are now legally entitled to vote.

That citizens of each State should be entitled to
all privileges and immunities etc (Art. 4 Sec. 2, U.S. ^{Supreme} Court)
has never been construed by the Courts to apply to the elective
franchise. *Minor v Happersett*, 88 U.S. 171-174. If this were
not so, an illiterate Ohio negro voter could vote in the South,
women from Wyoming could vote in Indiana, and unnaturalized
foreigners from the West, vote in Illinois.

What ought to be the rule differs greatly from what is.
If Mr. Goldthwaite's scholarly paper could have been presented
to the Supreme Court, - years ago, when the *Minor* case was argued
or the *Waite* case, the Judges might have been convinced, but now
it is definitely decided otherwise.

If we base our claim to the ballot on this fact, that
women voted under the English Common Law, we must remember that
if we follow that precedent, only women freeholders, a small
fraction of the sex, would be allowed the ballot, and then for
only a few officers, with elections many years apart. If there
were anything in the argument, the English women today might
profit by it.

In Miss Loeber's letter she cites from 103 U.S. 370,
a statement which is not there. I do find it however so quoted
as apparently 103 U.S. in *Ex Parte Yarbrough*, 110 U.S., 666. In
neither of the two cases was the question before the court as to
the right of women to vote. The first was concerning the right
of a negro accused of crime to have negroes on the jury and
the latter was a question of punishment of officers who had
refused a negro man the right to vote, and the question of women
was not before the court. ^{what} The judge said in the
latter case as ^{the fourth} amendment (in 1883, twenty-five years ago)
~~it~~ was obiter dictum, or to translate it into the language of
the street, it had nothing to do with the case. I do not con-
sider that the courts have yet passed upon your plan for the
enfranchisement of white women. Yours is a new proposition.
I will send copy of this letter to Miss Clay.

Yours truly,

Catherine Waugh McCulloch

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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

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OFFICE OF
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

May 5th, 1908.



My dear Miss Clay:

Mrs. Kelley, Miss Shaw and myself are agreed that we can make no partisan demonstration in Iowa, and your letter arriving when it did, gave a majority vote to that opinion, so that business is settled.

I was shocked at Miss Shaw's appearance, and Mrs. Kelley and myself believe that she must be suffering from either some form of kidney trouble, or possibly an anemia, which may take a pernicious form. I wrote my fears to Mrs. Avery, and asked her to see if she could have an expert examination of Miss Shaw before she leaves for Europe.

Mrs. Upton has written me that Elizabeth has been ordered to remain from work for over a year, and it is a question whether she will ever be able to do suffrage work again. This is a calamity, for I regard Elizabeth as Mrs. Upton's balance-wheel, and consider Mrs. Upton's eccentricities of the last year largely occasioned by the fact that Elizabeth has not been herself nor as much in touch with Mrs. Upton.

Miss Shaw asked me to write to you and find out whether you thought it would be possible to go to Headquarters for several months this summer, and be as it were a support to Mrs. Upton. We have written Mrs. Upton that if Elizabeth is really in the condition that she has written her to be, then the only thing that remains for us to do is to take Laura Gregg out of the field, place her in charge of the press work, and keep

May 5, 1908

The press work

that going without a break. You know, some of Laura Gregg's best work has been along press lines.

Miss Shaw seems to feel just as badly as ever about Oklahoma. However, she was relieved when I promised not to leave the Board; but I let her understand that I thought our half of the Board had as much right to an opinion, and were quite as capable as the other three members. We discussed who would succeed Mrs. Sperry, for, of course, we cannot carry such useless lumber as she is, just for the fact of having a Western representative.

The question of Western representation was discussed, and she said that she felt sure that you would take a very firm stand against not having ~~the~~ Western representatives. Of course, if the extreme West could supply some very, very valuable member to the Board, we might overlook the disadvantage of the tremendous travelling expenses involved for this representative to attend our Business Meetings. We would also feel that the delay in much of our work, in getting a letter there and back again, was offset if the woman was of peculiar value. But, as things now stand, we were all agreed it was the woman, and not the section of the country that she comes from, that should be taken into consideration. I undertook to find out whether you were really so wedded to that idea of representatives in different parts of the country. I did not believe you were, because, logically, our position is untenable, having two representatives from the South, which is the least undeveloped part of the country along suffrage lines.

Let me hear from you on this point.

Very cordially yours,

Harri H. Gordon

[May 5, 1908]

C O P Y

Phone Main 3398

Florence Loeber,
Attorney at Law,
624 Gravier St.

New Orleans,
February 25th 1908.

Miss Kate Gordon,
City.

My dear Miss Gordon : -

After a long and earnest study of our cherished idea relative to the enfranchisement of the white women of the South, I find to my great disappointment that it will be impossible for us to make the point, for it would be, under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, in direct violation of the 15th. amendment of the Constitution. The cases are strong that there shall be no discrimination between individuals, in the elective franchise, by reason of race, color or previous condition of servitude. I had hoped to show that as the right of suffrage was not given by the Constitution of the United States but was left to the States, that the extension of the franchise by the State to one class of citizens was not a dis franchisement of another class. I thought too, that our position might be made stronger by making the clause read, "the white native born women", so that the question could not be raised of discriminating against color, etc.

However I have now reached a decision of the Supreme Court which meets the issue point blank and says that any such clause would be unconstitutional. I will quote the paragraph from the case, which you will see actually goes so far as to say that such a provision would in effect confer upon the negro the right to vote. The Court says :

"While it is true that this article (15th. Amendment) gives no affirmative right to the colored man to vote, and is designed primarily to prevent discrimination against him whenever the right to vote may be granted to others, it is easy to see that under some circumstances it may operate as the immediate source of a right to vote. In all cases where the former slave-holding States had not removed from their Constitutions the words "white man" as a qualification for voting, this provision did, in effect, confer on him the right to vote, because, being paramount to the State law, and a part of the State law, it annulled the discriminating word white, and thus left him in the

May 5, 1908

-2-

enjoyment of the same right as white persons. And such would be the effect of any future constitutional provision of a State which would give the right of voting exclusively to white people, whether they be men or women."

Neal vs Delaware, 103 U.S. 370.

In such cases this fifteenth article of amendment does proprio vigore, substantially confer on the negro the right to vote, and Congress has the right to protect and enforce that right.

110 U.S. 665;

Therefore you see it would be useless for us to attempt to make the point. I am as disappointed as you for I was just as anxious and made every effort to use it to bring us nearer our goal. With best wishes for a pleasant trip,

Cordially yours,

Florence Loeber.

There is no such statement
in Neal vs Delaware, 103 U.S.

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

May, 1sth., 1908.

Miss Kate M. Gordon,

New Orleans, La.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Your letter of May, 5th. is at hand, and I am glad to know that the request from Iowa has been settled. You distress me by what you say of Miss Shaw's appearance, perhaps the trip to Europe will be good for her.

It is indeed a calamity that Elizabeth's health has failed us. You write that Miss Shaw asks if it would be "possible for me to go to Headquarters for some months this summer, and be as it were a support to Mrs. Upton" I think at present that I might be able to go for some weeks, not earlier than July, and I would be willing to go if I were really needed to help to bear responsibility with Mrs. Upton. My going however, would be entirely conditional upon whether or not Mrs. Upton expressed a wish to have me. It is probable that I would not be able to do but very little, if any real work, but I might be of help in sharing the responsibility that must come upon Mrs. Upton, now that Elizabeth is sick.

I should regret very much to have Laura Gregg taken out of the field and set to Press work; with her retired from organizing we would literally have not an organizer in the field if we accept the little that is done by Mrs. DeVoe in Washington. I have been wondering if you talked to Mrs. Kelley and Miss Shaw about your thought that Headquar-

ters might be run with less expense; it seems to me that now might be an opportunity to see if it could be done; and at any rate it would be a good opportunity to bring in some new worker. I am not at all confident that Miss Gregg could fill the place. The Boards accepting her executive ability on report came near proving a serious mistake in Oregon. What I would like to have done, is to keep Miss Gregg in the field fulfilling the engagements already made at some expense for preliminary work, and to allow the complete control of the Press work to remain in Mrs. Upton's hands until she can find some other suitable assistant. Mrs. Upton has a taste for news paper work, and business is never so pressing in Headquarters in summer as in other seasons. There are so many young women now employed in Press work that I think we surely could find some one to do that for us, whereas I do not know where we could turn to fill Miss Gregg's place as organizer.

I am very, very glad to know that you promised Miss Shaw not to leave the Board, I feel relieved as well as she, and I am sure that she willingly admits that you are quite as capable as any of the other three members.

Yes, Miss Shaw was right in what she thought would be my stand against not having a western representative. The fact is that our Board is not organized perfectly on any ideal; for the ideal of economy and convenience would be Headquarters where all the members could live all the time, that, ofcourse is impossible. The other ideal is to have all sections represented; it is true we are equally far from obtaining that ideal at present, though I think it is no more illogical to have two representatives from the South, who are separated as far as the states of Louisiana and Kentucky than it is to have two from the same city and three from states almost adjoining. I admit that I have a great fear that a Board selected without reference to the different sections of the country as far

May 8, 1908

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as is compatible with our means would soon lose very much of its influence over sections of the country where there was not even an attempt to obtain a representative. We have absolutely no means to command the allegiance of any part of the country; all we can do is to use such persuasion as we can. I would like to say, in this connection, that when Miss Hauser went to the convention in Oregon she came back converted (as Mrs. Upton told me to the effect that the West did desire a representative on the Board) and I am strongly of the opinion that the out-cry against importing foreigners into the Oregon campaign would have been much more general if that State had not been represented.

I have just got your letter of May, 6th. enclosing Mr. Bryant's reply to you, and I entirely agree with you in what you say about giving publicity to it.

Let me hear soon again from you.

Very cordially yours,

Dict.

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

May 18th. 1908.

Miss Kate M. Gordon,

New Orleans, La.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have just received yours of May 15th. and am glad to know that Elizabeth's condition is not as bad as we feared. I think your plan for getting the Press work done during Elizabeth's vacation is excellent and practicable, I am sure I would be willing to do what I can, and Mrs. Obenchain, I think, would do so too. I found enclosed check for \$100.00. Whenever another situation comes up in the South I shall be gratified to have you call upon me to give what aid I can. I realize that it is a great thing to have a representative Southern woman like yourself studying the situation in the South; that is what we ought to have in every section. I want to say that I thought your joint letter to the nominating conventions is a really fine document, I wrote Miss Shaw that I had no criticism to make except that I thought the word "elective" should be placed before the word "franchise".

Yes, I think our Federation of Women's clubs is tending strongly to suffrage. The State convention meets in Paducah on June 2d. I am going as a delegate as I feel that I can encourage them in the school suffrage work if they need any encouragement. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge is also going. The delegates to the convention in Boston were elected last June, and if the convention had known that Mrs. Breckinridge could

go to Boston, as she now says she intends to do, it would have been an easy matter to have had her elected a delegate. However, as our State convention comes before the General convention, I hope yet that there may be a vacancy which we can have her to fill. I had expected to go to Boston myself as alternate, if Miss Shaw considered it desirable, before I learned that Miss Breckinridge was going, but I now think that it would be better for me to endeavor to have Mrs. Breckinridge go instead; she is in touch with many lines of club work and her position as one of the editors of the Herald makes her observations of considerable importance in central Kentucky.

When you have time I would like to see a copy of Mrs. McCulloch's opinion on the Washington case; she wrote me that she had given you one but did not say what it was.

I am always glad to hear from you. Please remember me to your sisters, and believe me,

Very cordially yours,

Diet.

CUBAN E. ANTHONY WOMAN SUFFRAGE FUND

Monday, May 18/1908

Receipts to April 27-----	\$12,499.69
Patience Michinir, New Jersey, -----	5.00
Dunkirk P. E. Club- N.Y.-----	4.10
North Collins P.E.Club, N.Y.-----	2.00
Kentucky E.R.A., by Laura Clay, al.on pledge	70.00
Mrs. Flora T. Neff, Indiana,-----	.80
Mary Lippincott, Pennsylvania,-----	20.00
(Janet E. Richards, Washington, D.C.-----	37.50
((al.on Life Membership.	
Hannah M. Pickering-----	1.00
Mora S. Jones, Kentucky,-----	1.00
Mrs. J. Richton, Ohio,-----	10.00
Mary C. Willis, Conn.-----	1.00
Jane C. Hitz, Washington, D.C.-----	10.00
Mrs. Richard Williams, N.Y.-----	1.00
Friends E. R. A.-----	5.00
Montgomery County W.S.A., Maryland-----	1.50
Auburn E. E. Club, N. Y.-----	15.50
Edith Selden Williamson, New York,-----	5.00
Mrs. Ensign Newton, Ohio,-----	1.00
Mrs. Adelaide Ballard, Iowa,-----	5.00
Long Ridge W.S.Club, Conn.,-----	5.00
Oklahoma W.S.A.-----	200.00
	<hr/>
	\$12,801.79

DISBURSEMENTS:

National Treasurer-----	\$12,309.19
Oklahoma Organization-----	290.00
Cy. on hand-----	392.60
	<hr/>
	\$12,901.79

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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OFFICE OF
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

May 15th, 1908.



My dear Miss Clay:

I wrote to Miss Shaw that you would be willing to go to Warren for a few weeks sometime after the first of July, provided Mrs. Upton expressed a wish to have you,- that you did not know whether you could do the real work, but you were willing to share the responsibility of office with Mrs. Upton. I also mentioned that you would regret very much to have Laura Gregg taken out of the field.

Since writing that letter I have had a letter from Headquarters from Miss Minnie, and she by no means seems to be as blue about Elizabeth as Mrs. Upton's description led us to think was the case. In consequence, I have written Miss Shaw that I thought we could readily arrange for some of our press workers to keep the material for the newspapers running, and the Headquarters group see that it was properly circulated. I suggested that in all probability Mrs. Obenchain would gather up the material for one month; I thought Dorothy Dix would for another; that you would, if you go to Headquarters, do it for a month; Laura Gregg for a month, and I would be willing to contribute my part. Then, with Alice Blackwell ready to call upon in an emergency, I felt that there would be no interruption of the press work, and that Elizabeth could be given a six months' vacation if needed, and the Association would save \$100 a month by so doing.

I enclose check. This was deposited when you sent it, and everytime I have written I have intended to draw against it and

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[May 18, 1908]

return it. I can assure you that if ever a situation comes up in the South, and that I need a little money for it, I will not hesitate to call upon you. I thank you very much for so generously sending it in anticipation of its need.

I think Miss Shaw was very much impressed in her Southern trip with the kind of people that had taken up the suffrage question. She writes me that in Atlanta a Mrs. Warren Newcomb Boyd, who presided at the meeting, particularly impressed her. Jennie met an Atlanta girl at the Charities & Corrections, and she said very decidedly that it was simply impossible for the present suffrage forces in Georgia to lead successfully any movement much less suffrage. However, I feel that indirectly there are so many forces working for us. Take your own State, for instance. As far as I can make out your whole Federation is fairly riddled with sentiment, and that is sentiment that will express itself very pronouncedly in the near future.

Very cordially yours,

Walter H. Gordon

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

May 6th, 1908.



Dear member of the Business Committee:

I enclose his Royal Nibs' reply to my letter asking that he express himself upon his position on woman suffrage.

I now think that we should give publicity to his point of view. I think both the Woman's Journal and Progress, as well as our Press Department, should comment upon him, and contrast his position with Johnson, of Minnesota. We have nothing to gain by being obliging; we must be aggressive.

Very truly yours,

Kate M. Gordon.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

April 29, 1908.



Miss Kate M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania St.,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Madam:

As the question of suffrage is not a national issue, and will not enter into the coming campaign, I do not think it wise to discuss it. Never having been called upon to vote upon the subject, I have been an interested observer of the experiment without giving to the subject the study that one should before taking a position upon it.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Bryan.

Copy.

Lexington, Ky.

June 29th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

In reply to yours of the 22nd I answer that I would be very pleased to have Mrs. Kata Woolsey to speak on our platform in Buffalo. I hear from the Covington suffragists that she has spoken with a great deal of success at open air meetings in Covington and Cincinnati. She is a bright woman, and though I should not like her to have the direction of our work any where, I believe she would make an interesting speech for us.

You ask us to make suggestions for the program, however crude they may be; so, feeling that it is crude, I ask what do you think of having a suffrage drama played at Buffalo? I suppose we meet in a theatre; and Miss Robins' plays, and some others, have had a fine run in England. Perhaps the Buffalo women could get up an amateur company; and I have seen very successfully acted by amateurs.

I am so interested in what you write and what I see in the Journal of Miss Jeanie's fight in the interests of the children. I shall watch the outcome anxiously. It is a great work you have commenced by your visits to your Legislature. You must not let your courage fail; I have been through the wars with the Legislature, and I think I have not done a shrewder piece of business than that of putting some of this Legislative work on the Women's Clubs last winter. They have found out the difference between pretty speeches from men, and legislative action favorable to their most reasonable requests, and it is bearing fruit. Many are converted to the need of full suffrage.

I am still in Lexington, paying almost daily visits to a dentist and to a specialist, in the endeavor to be relieved of the pain in my face; so far, with only partial success, though I am hopeful of getting rid of it entirely.

I have promised Mrs. McLendon to go to Atlanta for the 9th and 10th of July, to speak at the Georgia Suffrage convention. Miss Augusta Howard is to be one of the speakers. I shall be glad to see her, after her long withdrawal from the suffrage work.

Wishing you and Miss Jeanie all good luck, I am

Very cordially yours,

Lexington, Ky.

June 8th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I received your letters of May 29th and June 2nd on Saturday, on my return from Paducah, where I attended the State Federation of Women's Clubs; but I was too tired to answer till today. REPUBLICAN CONVENTION. I approve of what you have done about the convention in Chicago. I am sorry we did not get things going in time to have perfect unity in what we asked for; but as it is, I think you did the best that could be done.

I am sorry, that being under the impression that the Chicago women would do all that was to be done in the Republican Convention that I had taken no steps at all to send letters to Republican delegates. So now, though your letter reminds me to do so, I do not see how I can secure the names of the delegates and send the Memorial you ask me to do. My being absent last week delays the matter too late to remedy now.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. I hope your effort will succeed in getting Gov. Adams to make some move in our behalf; though if Bryan gets the nomination all our efforts will come to naught. Gov. Adams is true blue, as his conduct in Oklahoma and elsewhere proved. No, I could not go to Denver, even in an emergency. I do not feel particularly fitted for convention work; and there are several reasons I should not undertake anything more this summer. You know this is the season I must give some attention to my business on my farm. Mrs. Upton has written me a very satisfactory letter about my coming to Warren, the gist of which is, that while she would like to have me, it is not necessary to have me. Therefore, I shall wait till

my other summer work is under way, or until there seems some necessity for my going. Mrs. McLendon, of Georgia, wishes me to come to the Suffrage convention in Atlanta, the 10th and 11th of July; and I am thinking of going, to help to keep their courage up. I voted against keeping Miss Elizabeth Hauser on half-pay; but did vote to allow Mrs. Upton to engage some one in her place; and expressed my preference to employ Miss Bertha Coover to bringing Mrs. Day away from the engagements she had already made/.

I enclose a copy of a resolution passed at Paducah, by the Federation. I did not draw it up, or make the motion, or, indeed, have any active part in getting it passed. I heard afterwards that there was some dissatisfaction with its having passed, but it received no negative votes, and I trust all were satisfied after further consideration. It is not much, but it shows that Club women are no longer afraid of the word Suffrage. "Since the N.A.W.S.A. has invited the General Federation of Woman's Clubs to send a delegate to all future hearings of this Association upon Bills to Congress asking for a submission of a Constitutional Amendment forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex; and since we believe this to be an educational measure in a wider sense, and that we as intelligent women should be thoroughly informed upon this important measure before reaching a definite conclusion, I move that we, the Ky. Federation of Woman's Clubs, signify our desire to accept this invitation".

(Signed) Mrs. Lafferty.

Cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

June 2nd, 1908.



Dear State President:-

Have you made any effort to have the delegates to the National Conventions reached and get their influence in support of a plank in the national platforms endorsed? If not, there is not a moment to lose for you to have the letters written or the interviews held with the delegates to the National Republican Convention.

A committee in Chicago will attend to all the details of a hearing, and will present our memorial, but this is not half so effective as when the States themselves have brought personal pressure to bear. I enclose copy of the memorial. Just write a few lines to these delegates and urge them to support it.

The Democratic Convention will not meet until July 6th. Mrs. Upton will send out to you from Headquarters a sufficient number of the memorials for you to enclose in your letters to the Democratic Convention, but as the time is so limited for the Republican Convention, I am asking you to have type-written the required number (26) to send to your Republican delegates.

Very truly yours,

Kate M. Gordon.

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

June 22, 1908.



Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

For the last three weeks I have been sitting daily at our State Capitol, dividing my time between trying to secure the passage of a school suffrage bill, and an amendment to our Constitution of Article 210, which prevents none but qualified electors from being appointed to office.

Jennie is having the time of her life fighting the combined interests of labor and capital against her bill as factory inspector for the women and children of the State. The bill put in by the representatives of labor and the mill interests was an infamous one. While she was asking in her bill for a nine hour day for women and children, these labor representatives stood for a ten hour day, while bills were pending for an eight hour day for men. May be you do not think we made suffrage propaganda out of this. I wrote Gompers; I brought him into it and we had about the warmest time that it is possible for you to imagine. Jennie's bill has gone unanimously through the House, amended though to satisfy the mill interests; it awaits final treatment at the hands of the Senate.

The Governor has pledged to call a conference of governors, labor interests, manufacturing interests and women's organizations of the Southern States, to confer upon a uniform child labor law; and we have determined to call a great representative force of the church women, the federated

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clubs, the mothers' clubs and the suffrage organizations of the Southern States, just prior to this conference. I think it will be a very, very important character of suffrage work before we get through.

It is very questionable whether our school suffrage bill and Article 210 will go through; but, as I told the Committee the other day, it was one of the biggest sticks they could give me with which to go round and use in favor of full suffrage for the women.

The newspapers, even the Times Democrat, have rallied to our support wonderfully. Two splendid editorials have been written by them in support of school suffrage. The Item, of course, has gone on record as endorsing woman suffrage in full.

National Convention: My intention in starting out to write this letter was to get some advice from our officers on this side of the water relative to a request made by Dr. Sievers to have MRS. Kate Trimble Woolsey speak at our National Convention. She writes me that she has been doing magnificent work in Cincinnati and Covington, and has electrified her audiences. I know that some of our women are dreadfully against Mrs. Woolsey. While I think her extravagant in a way, and while she wears too many diamonds in English fashion, I have always found Mrs. Woolsey a very attractive woman. I consider her book, even though it is founded on a false premise, one

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of the most convincing pieces of suffrage literature that we have, and I always have thought we treated with scant courtesy her offer for the proceeds of the book to be given to the National. I understand from Miss Clay that her mother is one of the most valuable women in the suffrage ranks of Kentucky, and I personally would be very much in favor of extending an invitation for her to speak at Buffalo, provided, of course, it have the endorsement of the officers, as well as the Buffalo Committee.

List of Names of Speakers: Will you kindly include in your reply to me, which I hope will be an immediate one, a list of names from which to make a choice of speakers? The arrangement so far has been for a college day, to include Jane Addams, but I wanted, however, a list of those specially attractive to our officers, to submit to the Buffalo women and our Program Committee when I get down to business, which I hope will not be deferred, because of this Legislature work of mine, beyond next week. I wish also that you would all tax your ingenuity a little and send some suggestions, even though crude in form, in order that I may develop an interesting program. I must confess, with the fearful amount of work that is on my hands at the present time, the thermometer ranging up in the nineties, sitting in the old Legislature and realizing as I never realized before what a helpless lot we are, that I have not much energy to plunge in on a program.

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June 22, 1908.



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National Political Conventions: I have received from Mrs. Wooden a report of how the Chicago women were received by the National Republicans: "As soon as Mrs. Henrotin learned that Hopkins was Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, she tried to come in touch with him, but he left immediately for his country home, and on Monday could not be found, and finally Mr. McCulloch located him the morning of the meeting. As soon as the interview was given, at which Mrs. Henrotin asked for the committee's hearing, he asked them to take seats in an adjoining room, as he was very busy organizing his Resolutions Committee which was assembling very rapidly. In a short time he came to them and told them the committee was ready to hear them, giving absolutely no time for her to assemble her committee."

"Miss Addams was telephoned and started immediately in a cab. Mrs. Henrotin spoke very ably for a few minutes, and then announcing that Miss Addams was on her way, they were calmly told their ten minutes were up, but that when Miss Addams would come she would be given a few minutes, which they did grant, and it is said that she made a very forcible, earnest appeal, but to no avail."

Now I hope our press department will ring with what I consider little short of an insult to the womanhand of our country. There was absolutely nothing in that request of ours that could not have been granted in that lying platform of the Republicans, for it is a tissue of lies from one end to another, and one more, recommending woman suffrage, would not have hurt them. I can understand thoroughly that they can refuse when we involve them in a sixteenth amendment request, but it is a slap in the face to every woman when they refuse to consider our question as one worthy of importance, and yet bother to insert that lying old clause in regard to the negro. I am going to make use of it in my suffrage column that appears weekly in one of our local papers.

Very cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon.

C O P Y.

[July 25, 1908]

July 22, 1908.

Kate M. Gordon,
Corresponding Secretary,
National American Woman Suffrage Association,
1800 Prytania Street,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Madam: -

The Board of Directors of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Alumnae Association at a meeting on June 3rd declared itself in favor of the franchise for women on an equal basis with men, and inasmuch as women need this voting power to secure highly important legislation for their own benefit and that of children and for the country's good, they desire^{at} this time time to record their sympathy with earnest, careful and wise movements directed to the end of securing the speedy enactment of the necessary suffrage laws in our country.

Very truly yours,

C. M. Dick,
Corresponding Secretary.