Richmond, Kentucky. July 27th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am in receipt of your two letters of July 21st. In regard to the program, what you suggest seems to me admirable; but I am not going to give you any advice about it. Your programs always have been good; and with your sisters to when advise with, I think you can do better

without any suggestions from me.

without any suggestions from me.

About the Oregon letter, I do not see how you can answer differently that what you outline. For it is impossible to promise aid until you can get a vote to do so, and that is impracticable till some time has chapsed. It may be well, to know how I stand on the subject. I am still of the opinion that it is well worth \$2000.00 to have the question presented to the voters in Oregon at every regular election till we win. I observe from a clipping sent from an estern paper the antis get weary of sending money and certainly the array of names on the Oregon A.O.F.M. W. is certainly weaker than when we were there. Thile we do not seem to have gained voters it is most encouraging to see that our 35,000 friends held firm. Time is favorable to us; discussion always helps us; and I shall look with hope to the election of 1910. I think it a great help that the women of the state are willing to help themselves. I know they can wield influences which are not in the reach of outsiders; and they can carry on a campaign for immensely less money then we can do. I do not know another state where we could get a submission of the question by the expenditure of \$2000. I am therefore heartily in favor of our voting to employ. Hise lease, without expressing a word of what we will do further. It seems they are going to get their own signatures, and that is right. I great many should be obtained by voluntary work, and can be, if undertaken in time. I observe from the Oregon paper there is some feeling of making it compulsory to get the signatures by voluntary workers, I suppose as a guarantee of a real wish of the people for amandments.

Now I know you agree with me that it is desirable to continue work in Oregon; and while it may not be possible for you to promise aid from the National, it may depend a good deal upon how you write as to whether you can keep those people in good humor or not. Ars. Duniway has had her lesson, and she may be more tractable. You know that friends sent her (or rather the O.E. Suffrage Asso.,) \$800 in all, so she cannot camplain that she had no help. She seems willing to ask it again; and as for her unruly tongue, I do not see how she can do us more injury than she has already done. I consider that to quarrel with people with whom we having none but business relations that to guarrel with people with whom we having none but business relations is almost suicidal, when our business interests can be helped by passing insults in silence. Mrs. Duniway favored me with some pretty severe comments, I understand; but I never took them into consideration for a moment when I thought I had an opportunity to further the suffrage cause by overlooking thought I had an opportunity to further the suffrage cause by overlooking them, or rather ignoring them. I want to do the same this time; and, personally, shall do so, by helping again, if necessary, with the Bruce legacy and what more I can do myself. I would greatly prefer to donate through the National; but unless you manage with all the tact of which you have an abundance I feat you will not be able to make the majority of the Board vote to help Oregon as long as Mrs. Dundway is alive". But I did not notice that she retarded the last campaign any. The Oregon people know her too well to give her ways as much consequence as some outsiders accord them.

very freely to you, because I wish to help you to make your enswer as conciliatory as possible. When I sent on a donation to Mrs.Coe I said that if we did not win this time I would be ready to help as far as in my power the next time. Thus you see I have already pledged myself. My idea is to redeem this pledge by donating again a year's income of the Bruce legacy. I am telling you this so you can make use of it in your Letter, if you choose. If you care to do so, you can say that while a vote must be taken from the Board, before assistance is promised, you are expowered the write that I can send a monthly payment of Miss Pease's salary till the Board meets, this being in redemption of my aforesaid pledge. But I want you to act about this according to your judgment, in which I have great confidence. I must pay something to that campaign; and I would like what I do pay to make for friendly feeling among all suffragists.

I have receiver a letter from Mrs.Boyer. She asks me to enclose the letters which I send, of which she has sent a copy to Mrs.Upton. I think letters which I send, of which she has sent a copy to Mrs. Opton. I think she is making some headway. I am glad she is so much recognized as an Oklahoman that she is sent as a regular delegate to the convention of the Wederation of Labor. I notice that most of the letters are from Republicans and Socialists; but there are 32 from Democrats, which is encouraging.

Please remember me to your sisters, and believe me Very cordially yours, P.S.Direct my letters to Richmond. My.

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.

OFFICE OF
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

--
National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio July 21st, 1908.

hesitate to reply until I have had an expression of opinion from those Officers still in America. My idea is to say that no definite action can be taken in regard to organizing Oregon until the Officers meet in October. I can explain fully to these Oregonians that we are so financially situated that it will be impossible until we know what our resources for the next year may be to definitely decide upon a plan of action. Let me know at once whether you agree with this point of view until we can hear from Miss Shaw, Mrs. Avery and Mrs. Kelley.

It is practically the same proposition that we offered them at the close of the campaign in 1906, but Mrs. Duniway is so absolutely impossible to work with that we do not know what she will construe later as the meaning and intent of this proposition.

You note that they speak of " speakers at the close "additional need "help." This is something for us to be on our guard about, for it may be the old lady will go on the war-path about that time, \textsup Unless we are her wrath with thousands of dollars she will carry on an insulting campaign in the newspapers, and destroy every chance we may have for a victory.

Cordially yours,

841 Lovejoy St., Portland, July 9, 1908.

Wien Este M. Gordon, Gor. Sec. N. A. W. S. A. My dear Miss Gordon:-

We have already ordered our patitions, and have reopened our carpaign for 1910, the next state election being changed to November of that year.

Our women are rallying splendidly. Two great defeats have opened their eyes to the necessity of standing together as suffragists under our venerable State President, who has held our associstion loyal to the W. A. W. S. A. through all difficulties. I onclose a copy of the State Constitution that you may see the law that is guiding un.

Having once more made peace emong ourselves the State Association desires the National to employ hiss Myrtle E. Pense as State organizer and Sational field Secretary, from Aug. 1st, 1908 to November 8, 1910, the National to pay her a salary of \$60 a month, and the State Association to pay her expenses. Wise pease plans under the above proposition, if accepted, to organize each county by precincts, to arrange for monthly parlor meetings to be held in every precinct organized in the State, and order and literature for use in said precincts from the National Readquarters.

We find that the approximate cout of securing the sig-

natures will be about \$600, half of which we now have in the treasury, and we can secure the remainder by subscription. Thout September 1910 we hope to secure a few speakers, prefer they men, from the fuffrage States, to apeak at man's political mes ines; and we may at that time need sort additional help, but we will help ourselves as far as possible through premination, and incidentally the National through dues and denations.

This leaves us all well as I hape it will find you.

The whole family send best regards to you.

Year, sincerely, viola 2. Co a, (Ers. Henry Walde)

July 21st, 1908. Dear Member of the Business Committee:-It has been no little source of worry to me to know how this Fortieth Convention of ours was to be made especially com-memorative of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the First Woman's Convention All through the talk about it there has been mentioned made, and yet these specialized programs are always difficult to handle.

To begin with, the pioneers while attractive from one point of view, with their weak voices do not make very desirable speakers; then each person has some particular one that they think ought to be remembered, and if they are not, woe-be-tide the poor Program Chairman. More than this, we have had so many pioneer events that the whole thing has been worn thread-bare.

Last night, however, I sat down and studied out the situation. I took the deliberations and the resolutions as passed at that First Convention, and I came to the conclusion that it wight at that First Convention, and I came to the conclusion that it might be well to have Mrs. Blatch give a twenty minute speech and be the central figure of that evening's program, and then to divide up the rest of the evening in five minute speeches, given to the resolutions rest of the evening in five minute speeches, given to the resolutions passed on that occasion, each one of these resolutions to be handled by a pioneer if she is able to do it, but if not, for her to delegate by a pioneer if she is able to do it, but if not, for her to delegate it to some young woman to treat the resolutions from the point of view of then and now. For example, Mrs. Stanton's resolution: "Review of then and now. For example, Mrs. Stanton's resolution: "Review of their sacred right to the elective franchise," was the onthe one that mot with any apposition among those radicals. This persons the one that mot with any apposition among those radicals. ly one that met with any opposition among those radicals. This per-haps would be the one that we would have Mrs. Blatch speak to, and she would be accorded more time. However, take for instance the one which says: " Rethe fact of the identity of the race in capability and responsibility."
All of us who can recall liss Clay's splendid address on " Counterparts," know how she could bring out the salient points of that address and make it apply to this resolution.

Now, what I want to know from you all is whether this treatment of the pioneer night would not afford a good way of honoring the occasion, as well as afford an opportunity for contrasting conditions from the time when these pioneers, despised and reviled, claimed the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to the right for opportunities which are looked upon as commonclaimed to place today. Duffalo being an active Anti-suffrage field, I think this would create a great opportunity for propaganda. Let me know at once what you think of the idea of developing this plan. Very cordially yours, Kate M. Gordon.

Lexington, Ky.
July 17th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Call for the next convention, I will undertake it, hoping my prompt acquiescence will relieve you of at least a little of the burden of preparing
for the Convention.

I am going to Richmond, Ky., tomorrow; so please address me there till further notice. I went to Atlanta last week to the Georgia Suffrage convention, which has delayed my going to Richmond. The convention was a small affair; but I suppose they were able to elect the best available officers. We had Mrs.J.H. Sibley declare in favor of suffrage for the first time, and that may bring the W.C.T.U. in line. Also, Mr. Witham, a delegate to the Prohibition Convention, gave a good suffrage speech. He has been appointed one of the National Committee by the Prohib convention.

I see Hearst has refused to support Bryan; and Compers fears the Indep ndents may draw off enough Democratic votes to injure, perhaps ruin Bryan's race. When you have time, give me some inkling of how politics are oing in Louisiana. I feel that I cannot swallow Bryan; but since Compers s going to support the Dem. platform, perhaps my sympathies should go that way.

cordially y urs.

National American Woman Suffrage Association MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN Honorary President, Susan B. Anthony, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y. Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, 7443 Devon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa. Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio. Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky. DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore. Chairman Press Committee, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y. Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON, i 800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

OFFICE OF
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

source.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO July 31st, 1908. 2000 Miles

Windon.

My dear Miss Clay: -

I am enclosing you a copy of my letter to Mrs. Coe. You will note that it is purposely very non-commital. I want to see just how much truth there is in this situation. They have \$600 in their treasury, and if they are really and truly anxious for this work to be launched under Miss Pease, all in the world they have to do is to pay for those three months, and certainly if they show a disposition to help themselves, I think the majority of the National Board, if it remains what it is, will see the wisdem of employing Miss Pease as a National organizer. You will note that I let them know that they had had generous assistance rom the National, and that the future held out hope from the same

I think it would be better, if it can so be arranged, to have the National employ Miss Pease. I do not think it advisable for you to assume the responsibility of paying Miss Pease's salary, particularly when they have money lying in the treasury. There is considerable time yet in which to secure the signatures. If Miss Pease's work is at all successful in the different precincts of the State, there will be no need to pay to secure those signatures.

I agree with you that there is no more than Oregon. 35,000 favorable votes is a pretty food showing. think we did wisely, thanks be to old lady Duniway, when we actually out adrift from her in the Wast campaign. I think in was one

of the hardest lessons she ever had when she realized there was no one to place the blame for not carrying a campaign, when she had absolutely full freedom in the management.

serious letter to Mr. U'Ren, and see if we can find out from him what would be the best conduct of a campaign. Save your money for what he may tell us to do. It may be, by keeping up a little semblance of the women doing a little organizing work and then having Mr. U'Ren as our real campaign manager, that we will win out. Understand it is he that carried the Initiative and Referendum, and who has gotten Proportional Representation through. Mr. Coording to him article, written by Lincoln Steffens in the March number of The American "in 1910 conditions will be such in Oregon for people to have a square deal." I am counting a lot on that.

I did not want to write to him, however, until this campaign was a thing of the past. I did not want to let that old hag find out that I had written to him, because if things had leaked out she would have immediately spread broadcast all manner of vile stuff, accusing me of having been the one to have meddled and lost the situation. Mr. U'Ren has always been very friendly to me If you can get that American magazine and read the article, do so. It may be that I can find it among my papers. Everything that Lincoln Steffens says in that article U'Ren told me himself. He fought the devil with fire. He never tried to justify the things that were done, except that the situation was so corrupt that it was it or nothing.

I sometimes think that we suffragists, in order to get a square deal at all, will have to get someone to fight for us on lines that we would not fight curselves. I fear I am growing Jesuitical enough to feel that the end justifies the means. This is awful to say, but I feel so at the present moment.

Affectionately yours, The Gordon

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

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

1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS Warren, Ohio



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

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY New Orleans, La.

August 6th, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay: -

I have just had a letter from Mrs. Biggers in which she says the following: "I have just learned that there is a possibility of having to stop our campaign here. It would certainly be suicidal for Oklahoma's success in securing suffrage for many, many years. am hoping some miracle may give the sinews of war to Mrs. Upton to the end that we may continue." The day previous I received the enclosed copy of a letter sent by Mrs. Boyer to Mrs. Upton. I do not know the character of the letter Mrs. Upton has written that would bring forth this letter from Mrs. Boyer, but certainly Mrs. Upton would not stop the work in Oklahoma without submitting a definite vote to the Business Committee.

Now, I have written Mrs. Upton and endorsed her borrowing from the Garrett Fund until the Convention meets, but I sent that vote thinking that it was meant to cover our Oklahoma expenses. It seems to me that if we can draw out of the Garrett Fund to supply

speakers for a college evening program in Buffalo, we can logically draw out of it for continuing the only work that the Association is now doing which is calculated to have any real political effect.

I have written Mrs. Upton to let me know what she has written to Oklahoma that has created this fear of the campaign being drawn to a close. If they draw it to a close, I for one will not consider that we have been fair to the Oklahoma women. Let me know in a few words what your oninion is on the cityotian. in a few words what your opinion is on the situation. I am getting heartily sick and tired of Mrs. Upton's seeming impotence to deal The truth of the matter is that responsibly with any situation. Elizabeth has been her balance-wheel all through the good servide that she has given the Association, and now that Elizabeth is not to be depended upon, she is as vacillating as a weathervane. Just think of a woman working in a campaign, giving out the best that is in her, creating a situation out of nothing, seemingly, and then to have a letter like this thrown in upon her and taking the spirit out of her, which would I know be my frame of mind if I was in Mrs. Boyer's position. It is not fair.

I do not know that it is fair for me to burden you with all this anxiety of mine, but I have to have an escape valve, and you just have to bear the burden of this responsibility.

You are Three cheers for your serving as 6lerk! right in what you say, - that you have established a precedent, and a

precedent goes a powerful long way in these matters.

Have I written to you that Mrs. Woolsey has accepted?

Seems delighted at the invitation, and I for one am going to make a great deal over her. Kitty Reed Ballentine, Tom Reed's daughter, has also accepted. She is a young woman of reamskable ability and level headedness, and I thought it was well to identify her with the I also extended an invitation to Grace Ballentine, who conducted so successfully the Des Moines case. It was Miss Mills who suggested that she be invited, and the suggestion was such a worthy one I acted upon it.

With cordial regards from all, I am In great haste,

goods

Richmond, Ky.
Aug. 10th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have just received your letter with a quotation from Mrs. Biggers' letter. From the previous information from Mrs. Upton, I suppose Mrs. Biggers overrates what Mrs. Upton proposes to cut off. As I understand it, Mrs. Boyer has expended more than the \$60?00 per month voted, and Mrs. Upton has written that she cannot pay the excess. I enclose the letter from Mrs. Upton, which has created this impression on my mind, and my answer to it. It had never occurred to me that Mrs. Upton had suggested that the campaign should not go on, within the limits of the expense of \$60.00 a month, according to the Committee vote at Moylan. You remember that vote was to continue the campaign there till the next legislature adjourned. I shall not give my consent to the campaign being shortened, unless the developments scone shall convince Mrz. Boyer, Mrs. Biggers and the majority of the B.C. that a continuance is wasted time and money. I suppose Mrs. Boyer feels that \$60.00 a month for expenses for office and hired help is so inadequate that it is tantamount to closing the campaign; but I hope we may avert too great economy by subscriptions, such as I have made. I shall be willing to make still more efforts, if Mrs. Boyer's report, after the primary ejections, are hopeful.

I hope you agree with me that the vote at Moylan is binding, however distasteful it may have become to the minority of the Board, until there shall have been an opportunity of the majority to devise means for continuing the campaign, if it should turn out that we actually have not the means to continue it. If we have the means, I do not think the minority, no matter who they may be, have a right to turn down the majority vote on their own responsibility. I cannot believe that any such an idea is in the mind of any one; I think there is the misunderstanding which I mention.

Please return the enclosed letters.

Thanking you for promptly kattings letting me hear of this snarl,

Cordially yours,

Richmond, Ky. Aug. 4th. 1908. My dear Miss Gordon, I am in receipt of your letters of July 31st.

I do not know the old Northern pioneers well enough to suggest names for making speeches on the original resolutions. If it is at all in accordance with your views, I think it would be well to invite Mrs. Olympia Brown to speak to one of the resolutions, - preferably one relating to the religious situation. Yes, it would suit me just as well to go to Miagara Falls after the convention as any other day. I mislaid your letter regarding the expediency of paying fifty dol-lars for readinds from the Convert. I would like that feature of the pro-gram very much; but Mrs. Upton is deploring the state of the breasury se much that I must leave it to others to decide about it. I suppose, however, that you must be allowed some funds for the program; and I think this would be well expended. cannot say now who are certain to go to the convention from 'y. I have not the list of our delegates with me. I will try to send them soon. pect Mrs. Kate Primble Woolsey may go. I enclose your letter to Mrs. Coe. I think it is very well worded; and I trust will make for peace. I note what you say about writing to Mr.H'Ren. I took the Oregonian during the campaign; and was thus able to keep up very well with Oregon Hews. I observed that Mrs. Llewelling, of the little city of Milwaukie, has News. I observed that Mrs. Llewelling, of the little city of Milwaukre, has brought a suit against him. You remember she is the mother of that Miss Olson, who made such a favorable impression upon att of us. I spent a night at their house then I spoke in Milwaukie; and she then spoke very slightingly of Mr. U'Ren, though she did not go far into the particulars of the grounds of the suit she has now brought against him. In that she states that he got a great deal of money from her late husband, by pretence of being a spirit medium; that he finally persuaded him to take him into partnership in the nursery business; that he grossly neglected his duties in that business; and that ut ir Dlewelling's death, he owed him \$1200.00(Ithink), which he and that at Mr. Mewelling's death, he owed him \$1200.00(Ithink), which he had not paid, and for which she was now sueing him. Mr. W'Ren made what I considered a very lame reply; and I gathered he was in very bad odor in Oregon. I have the newspaper clipping at home in Lexington, having intended to send to diss Shaw. He is a man whom one could not trust further than one can see him. The heat yesterday and today is fierce. I hope you are standing it well. Cordially yours,

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

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

My dear Miss Clay:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS Warren, Ohio



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

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

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

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

New Orleans, La.

[Aug 4-5, 1908] de- fids furl- occurred ti me that the "Callo" ti the Ollier Couventions might - Serve

as an arristance to you - of 20 min me t I miel Jornara Une to you.

Alice Blackwell vrilez me Aregon is to ask for day-paying nomen to be givent the Franchiel. If this prove there I Hope you till not feel bound by your

pledge til arrest- in de gralifiese Campaign which will all.

tagouile the labor bole

Affectionalely Gordon

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, Susan B. Anthony, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

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Corresponding Secretary, Kare M. Gordon,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

Chairman Press Committee, Elnora M. Babcock, Dunkirk, N. Y.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO AUGUST 20th, 1908.

Dear Member of the Business Committee: -

Mrs. Upton's letter in regard to the Oklahoma situation has been delayed receiving a reply because I had written to ers. Biggers to know why she was so alarmed for fear that the campaign there would be drawn to a close.

In replying to me, Mrs. Biggers says that she feels Oklahoma is a very hopeful State, and if they should fail to - Keef their promises, after interviewing condidates and committing themselves to supporting friends as far as possible, that for many years the saffrage work in the State would be very much original. Both she and Mrs. Biggers raised the good point that if we can have an amendment submitted by the legislature a majority vote alone will carry it; whereas, the socialists, who are pretty determined about bring ing such a compaign, will have to unde rithe Initiative and Referendum law secure a majority of votes cast, which is tantamount to defeat.

I was talking to a very intelligent socialist here in New Orleans, and I asked him where they expected to make their most determined stand, and he said, " Oklahoma." Now, he did not know that I know anything about Oklahoma, but it raised a fear in my mind at once that we should do overything under the sun to try and get woman suffrage vote submitted, - not as a socialist measure, but as a general measure, - in order to secure the easiest method of carrying the amendment.

New, in regard to Mrs. Boyer going over the \$60 limit for expenses, I did not understand that this \$60 was to pay for the

conduct of the campaign. I thought it would apply only to actual cifice expenses, rent, stenographer and crainary peatage such as writing to members of the Association and so on, but certainly not to include the postage for writing to candidates and following up that kind of work.

sider that we could legitimately draw from the Chrrett Fund for the conduct of this special campaign: interviewing candidates which is new work, but if the majority of the Committee do not agree with me, then I suggest that we write to Miss Thomas and get permission to borrow such an amount until our Convention meets and we can have a plain financial talk with the members of our Association who are I think so at sixes and sevens in regard to the finances of the National Association.

Oklahoma at this stage of the game. I believe in following Owen's advice, and unless both Mrs. Boyer and Mrs. Biggers are agreed that the game is not worth the candle, then I think it should be our pelicy to continue it at least until the Convention meets, when if the Convention as a whole does not care to sustain the policy of the manifest of the Business Committee, It rests in their power to elect others who will carry out their desires.

Mrs. Upton invites the Committee to instruct either Mrs. Avery or Miss Gordon to write to Mrs. Beyer telling her she must keep within the appropriations. I object to Mrs. Upton asking for these instructions. She is in charge of the organization work and has been from the very beginning. It is her duty to carry out whatever may result from the centiment of the Board.

Cordially yours,

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, Susan B. Anthony, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

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Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky. | Dr. Annice Jeffrey Myers, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore. | Chairman Press Committee, Elnora M. Babcock, Dunkirk, N. Y.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO August 20th, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay: -

I am very glad that you have written as you did to Mrs. Upton, and I am glad that you sent a copy to each member of the Business Committee. I think her whole letter of the 11th is as silly and childish as it can be.

I did not understand that the \$60 was to be the actual limit that Mrs. Boyer could have. I did not for a mement think that she could conduct a campaign entirely and wholly on this amount: support headquarters, pay for a stenographer, rent a machine, etc, etc., and I think when she gets to thinking upon the subject she will realize what a foolish stand she has made, for this was her to place this idea when she blew about that strict limitation; she should certain-her the leavely have done ly have itemized, as one with a vast experience, just what the expenses would be. Both she and Miss Shaw seem to be perfectly happy if they can have a little dinky organization going on in this State and that State. They seem to be more interested in getting employment for Mrs. Day, up in Maine, than for any work in a State where a possible campaign could be brought about. It is fairly getting on (Lucie mearly 700)_ my nerves to think of the \$6,000 Headquarters we maintain and the little active work the Association gets out in the year. plies of some of my State president letters show how absolutely inefficiently our organization was working. If it were not that organizations other than the National Association were doing the work for us in an indirect way, I would be in the depths of despair. Willing to spend thousands on a college organization to please Miss Thomas; not willing to supplement thousands, already spent, in the only practical work that we are doing!

I see no evidence of extravagance in Mrs. Boyer's management. In a letter received from Mrs. Biggers she comments upon what we all know- the happy faculty Mrs. Boyer has for pleasing all kinds of people. I think she is an invaluable woman, and worth a good deal more to the Association than a hundred dollars a month, which seems to be so grudgingly given. I hope, however, things will drift along until the Convention time.

As to a vote upon the situation, I do not know how that is to be accomplished unless Mrs. Avery assumes the responsibility of it, because Miss Shaw is very positive about her sole right to this prerogative. I think, however, that as long as Miss Shaw and Mrs. Kelley are away we need have no fear of a vote being taken to undo the situation in Oklahoma.

I think you have been very generous in regard to the whole situation. I do not feel able to contribute specially to this situation, as Louisiana has done her full share in contributing to National funds and almost all of the money is in.

It is like drawing eye-teeth to get definite information from those to whom I have extended invitations to speak at the Convention.

Vours very cordisally,

Mare H. Gordon.

Are you still troubled with faceselve f it so try "Betiel-Cell a

French preparation which is
applicated for neural give or

Cheumatre Bain.

Richmond, Ky. Sept. 26th, 1908.

Miss Kate M. Gordon, Warren, Ohio.

I am very much obliged to you for sending me the letters of Miss Pease and Mr.W'ren. I am so interested in the Oragon campaign. I re-enclose these letters to you, as you may need them for reference. Also, I am sending the clipping of Aug. 30 to which Mr.W'Ren reference. refers, and a letter and clippings just received from Mrs. Duniway, which may give you some items of information. I enclose her speech, which no doubt you have seen, on account of the remarks she has written on the mar-doubt you have seen, at your convenience. I put the clippings gin. Flease return all to me, at your convenience. I put the clippings

I do not think I received any notice that I was expected to speak at the New York convention; and I am too busy to prepare any thing for it. Do not put me on the program. I am busy on my farm now, and I am going to the Ohio convention in Columbus. Tell Mrs. Upton for me that I am coming to that convention largely for instruction in convention work, for the bento that convention largely for instruction in convention work, for the bento that of our Ky.work; and that she may expect me therefore on the morning effit of our Ky.work; and that she may expect me therefore my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. I am going to give my speech, Countertrain from Cincinnation of the 29th. parts there; and she can put me on the program at any time she wishes. It does not make any difference to me, and it may make it easier for her to arrange her program. I wish to devote my main thought to studying the aspects of the Ohio convention.

Are you noticing that our arch-enemy in Oklahoma, Haskell, is catching it heavy from Hearst? It may do our cause good. I am very glad that we

continued our work in Oklahoma.

I am glad you are at Headquarters for awhile; I think it may be easier for you to do your program work there just now.

I am saving time by sending messages to others at Headquarters through I am saving time by sending messages to others at Headquarters through you; so please tell Elizabeth Hauser than I have nothing of importance you; so please tell Elizabeth Hauser than I have nothing of importance to write for the ante- convention press notives, and shall not send the three hundred words she asks of the state presidents.

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

Very cordially yours,

Dear wember of the Business Committee: -

I presume you have all received the program for local clubs. Mine has just arrived, and in looking over it I confess I was shocked when I saw, under the topics for discussion on "Woman in the Ministry", this subject: "The true place of woman in Religion, - neither Eve, the mother of evil; nor Mary, the Mother of God!"

I do not know who is responsible for allowing such a breach of judgment to occur, or whether the Literature Committee is in charge of the programs or not, but I do feel that immediate orders ought to be given to recall this program- magnificent in every other respect- and have this topic removed. The idea of an organization, working to secure members, trying to extablish thru doclarum. local suffrage meetings a question which shocks to the very core the whole body of the Christian church, and would rally to its support only the Unitarians and Jews. I have never met the Rev. Annis Eastman, but I doubt now the wisdom of her judgment. I guess she is a better Unitarian than she is a suffragist, if this is the way she give work for use in a suffrage club program. However, some one is at fault in not properly with this program.

In the copy of the letter received from Mrs. Boyer the other day nothing was said of the fight in Garfield County. I have had two letters- one from Mrs. Biggers, another from Mrs. Boyer- and they both report that Ellis was defeated by three votes. Mrs. Biggers attributes the victory entirely to Mrs. Boyer. As soon as I am able to do it I want to write to Senator Owen and ask him whether the line of conduct of the campaign has been what

he expected it to be.

In a letter received this morning from Mrs. Upton, her opening comment is that "we did not decide at Buffalo whether we would have the sub-committees which we have had or not; otherwise the letters would have only to go to Miss Shaw and Miss Gordon I have never been in favor of the devision for reporting of work to sub-committees. I think this division is the only line of work where a Board meets regularly and receives reports of committees' work, but such a Board as ours needs to know many things of importance that are going on, else when we come together too much time has to be taken up trying to find out how one thing is bearing upon another. It is the only way, as I said before, that a Board doing active work, in any one locality, can accomplish results, but the reports of these committees are made whenever these meetings are held.

I wish to state to the Committee that I received
Miss Shaws Business Committee letter from Lincoln, and finding
that she fielt that the vote taken to have Miss Gregg do the work
in Colorado, as outlined, had been taken without due consideration
of expense and so on, I have suggested to Miss Shaw, as one of
those voting on that side, that I would move to reconsider the
question. If the vote is carried for reconsideration, which I am
sure it will, then it will leave the question open to the Committee
to decide where Miss Gregg's efforts can best be of service in
building up the affiliated membership, which, by the by, was not
my amendment, as was printed upon the amendments slips, but was am
amendment submitted by vote of the Buriness Committee at Moylan on
recommendations.

a suggestion made by Miss Shaw.

I do feel that Miss Mills was the actuating power that led both Mrs. Crossett and Mrs. Capwell to consent to this thing being done. She was unpardonably rude, I thought, in her comments when Mrs. Avery and I were before the Committee, and she was unpardonably curt through the whole Convention to me, I suppose because she was not invited to make an evening address. Mrs. Williams requested of me not to have her, as that part of the country had heard her over and over again. She resented being asked to take part in the Suffrage Symposium, and as I felt it would be a breach of confidence to Mrs. Williams to tell her why she was not invited, I suppose- unless I care to have an open rupture with her- I will have to endure some of the little flings that I have had to endure throughout this Convention. I can readily understand why there is such friction in the State of New York, if this is her attitude Hydrocan Hackment and Hally of the sads.

I think may be it would be a comfort to Mrs. White if any of the officers - who feel so inclined - would write and say that you understand thoroughly that it was a mistake, and say some nice little thing about the Hospitality Committee and its work.

Very cordially yours, H. Gordon

Dear State president:

In sending out the letter in regard to Dr. Siewers' resolution: to write a letter to the President asking for a recemmendation of woman suffrage in his message, I instructed the letter to be sent out without re-reading it, having my secretary sign it in order to have it immediately delivered. In looking it over

the other day I noted that the instruction in regard to the tele-

out about a week previous to the appearance of the message. They

grans was not specific enough. These telegrams are to be sent

act as a reminder of the letter, and should be "short and to the

Very cordially yours,

Point".

Yate M. Gordon.

November 17, 1908. Dear Member of the Business Committee: -

I see by yesterday evening's paper a reference made "that in view of the fact that as a Republican Congressman has been elected in Arizona, the President should recommend statehood for Arizona.

> This calls to mind a point which I wish to make to the Business Committee, and that is that there should be some one in Washington to look after securing a clause for weman suffrage in the Enabling Act. Now, I feel this ought to be an Arizona woman. I do not know what the capabilities of these Arizona women are, but Mrs. Catt does, and if she could recommend a capable woman for the part I would recommend that we even pay her traveling expenses to and fro from Arizona, to be in Washington and look after this work. If Miss Shaw agrees with me, I would like to see this proposition considered by a vote of the Business Committee.

> > Very cordially yours,

(Signed) Kate M. Gordon.

per L.C.

December 29, 1908. My dear Miss Clay: -Miss Shaw asks me to read this memorial and send it on to you, but I have had a copy of it made, so you need not consider it necessary to return same. My suggestion to Miss Shaw is to immediately take steps to secure an amendment to the memorial, asking that the women of the District be enfranchised. Failing to accomplish this, then I think we ought to throw every bit of influence and power we may have in securing the defeat of this extension. The recognition of the national suffrage principles, referred to by Blair in his letter, will be just as much recognised if we deafeat the thing as if we should carry it. If the District women have placed over them that great negro majority - which the city of Washington contains - they never will be enfranchised, and there is good opportunity for us to do some fine educating, working the negro prejudice for all it is worth. I hope you agree with this point of view. Very cordially yours, Hate M. Fordon

189 N.Mill St. ?Lexington, Ky. Dec. 15th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon.

I fancy you have fallen into a "Comedy of Errors" by the letter Mrs. Avery enclosed to me yesterday in the envelope which I now send to you. I got the letter you wrote to her a few days previously; but somewhat stupidly imagined it was a copy meant to let me know how you stood on the question of the Tashington headquarters. I thought nothing more of it, until I received Mrs. Foster's note yesterday, when I sent it at once to her with an explanation of my mistake.

I am glad you have written to Mrs. Boyer for the Oregon documents. I know she has them, and I thought at the time I sent the leaflet it would be better to have the exact copy. Miss Blackwell writes she wishes me to get the Brewers' manafesto; and I am doubtful whether I can get any thing more than I have sent her. If you have secured he official document, will you kindly let me know, where you got it, so I can get one for Miss Blackwell? She writes that she is overhurdened. Also, shen you get the documents from Mrs. Boyer, it may save mistakes to send her a copy.

I enclose aacopy of a letter I wrote to Mrs. Upton yesterday. As you

see, it is in answer to one from her in reply to a protest I made against

putting "National" before "organizations" in the amendment to the constitution which passed. I think it injures the usefulness of the amendment; and even if it did not, if the convention did not pass it that way we ought not to alter it. It seems the minutes make no mention of such an amendment; but the minutes are not perfect, and we may have to depend upon recollections of it.

I suppose Roosevelt, in that letter, was trying not to offend Lyman Abbott, and lose the chance to be editor of the Cutlook. Yes, it makes me ver angry to see such a cause called "not important".

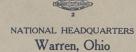
I am wishing you all good luck in original ideas for Southern work. I shall wish to help you all I can; though I fear I need not warn you that I may not agree with you. It seems my fate to disagree generally; but if people will only not get angry with me I am pretty suite not to get angry with them on account of a difference of opinion.

She is a fine comen; I am so pleased you met my friend, Belle Bennett. She is a fine nomen and helps our cause in her own way. I am sorry I am not familiar enough with the Apiscopal clergy to give you any names off-hand. I will try to

find out suitable ones for you. Remember me to yourmsisters, and believe me

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

President, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.
First Vice President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
Second Vice President, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
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3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

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

Swarthmore, Pa., December 15, 1908.

Miss Kate M. Gordon, New Orleans, La.,

Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.,

Dear Miss Gordon and Miss Clay:-

I am sending this letter in duplicate to you at the request of Miss Shaw who has asked me to write you in regard to the Washington Headquarters.

While there was only one vote on the subject during the whole Business Committee meetings at Buffalo, there was surely a great deal of time given to its consideration. Mrs. Spencer's plan was, of course, impossible because of the large cost involved and our lack of funds to undertake it; but some of us, at least, felt very strongly that this is the time for us to get a footing in Washington with the idea of being a sort of hostess to other organizations of women who do not feel the necessity of headquarters in Washington and yet send committees or individuals there in the interest of bills relating to women and children, or, in some cases, to matters of general interest to the whole country.

I believe it was with this idea in their minds that the majority of the general officers, in response to Miss Shaw's first letter, telling of the house at 1823 "H" St., N. W., voted in the affirmative.

When Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas, at the breakfast in their room, in considering the appropriations of the Thomas Garrett Fund for the present year of the fund (which will end May 1st, 1909) proposed to hold the final \$1600. of the fund for possible headquarters at Washington, the general officers acquiesced in this as desirable, and afterward, in appropriating the money at one of the sessions after the close of the Convention, we voted \$500. to add to this sum. At that time I know we had the feeling that to undertake the headquarters would require more money than this \$2100. which was available, but afterwards, when we found a house which is desirable for our purpose and at such a reasonable rent, it seemed entirely feasible to those who had the matter most at heart to undertake it now with the funds in sight. The appropriation of these

[Dec15, 1908] this includes her table board -2funds would be as follows: For rent, \$45. a month 540. To salary of manager, \$60. a month X To running expenses, including light, heat, wages of a maid and board of the maid, about \$60. a month If we had to run the headquarters for a whole year on this amount it would be too close a margin, but since Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas feel that this is a desirable time to open such headquarters and since Miss Garrett herself has seen and approves of the house, I feel very sure that when the first of May comes and the time for appropriation of the next year's Thomas Garrett Fund, they will favor heartily a larger appropriation from it towards the support of these headquarters. Our work is becoming better and more widely known, and the question arises in the minds of a great many people why we have our headquarters in so small and unimportant a place as Warren. There are, as we all know, many reasons for this but they do not appear on the surface, and the general consensus of opinion in the minds of outsiders who raise the question, is that our Association and the work it represents are unimportant because of our having no headquarters in any real centre. The day is coming when Mrs. Hereon headquarters in any real centre. The day is coming when Mrs. Upton will no longer be able to do the work which has gradually been accumulating in her hands at the headquarters, and when that time comes we ought to be able to move that work to Washington. This house that we have taken is large enough to allow room for considerable clerical work and to store a good deal of necessary printed matter and parapharmalia of work. matter and paraphernalia of work. With a view to a further appropriation the first of May from the Thomas Garrett Fund, I think it will be perfectly legitimate to use a portion of the present appropriation for part of the furnishing of the headquarters. I mean to talk this over with Miss Shaw and ask her to have a conference with Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas on the subject. I have already one or two promises of the loan of furniture for the upper part of the house but I think the rooms where the desks will be and the rooms used for social purposes ought to be furnished in a simple way but in a way which will be attractive and will have a certain kind of unity about it which would attractive and will have a certain kind of unity about it which would be impossible if the furnishing were contributed by different people. Miss Cillett has agreed to loan a piano and I myself will send a desk and some bookcases, and also probably some bedroom furniture. The desk is a large roller-top desk, which is just the kind that we will need in the rooms appropriated to desk-room for organizations.

There is no need to worry lest either Mrs. Bradley or any of the Washington people should be called upon to represent the Organization there in any official capacity. When we count upon Mrs. Bradley "representing" us when no national officer or official representative is there, it is only in the sense that she is a cultured woman and has been a suffragist for many, many years and has a certain familiarity with the work and workers of the National American Association, and is therefore, entirely capable of answering intelligently any questions which might arise between-times. Wiss Gillett has no desire whatever to usurp authority there, nor would any Washington woman be desired by any of us on the Board to stand as the official representative of the N. A. W. S. A. at the headquarters.

One of the uses for these headquarters in the immediate future will be to finish the National Petition work there. Mrs. Catt will probably go abroad in February and the New York Petition Head-quarters need not be continued very long after she leaves. She is making a herculean effort to get the whole petition work well under waybefore her departure and I am willing to go to Washington with it for the last part of February and the whole of March, if it seems best.

There is also a possibility of a campaign for male local option in the District of Columbia, and in case this should be precipitated it would surely be the duty of the N. A. W. S. A. to aid the District women in a campaign for woman suffrage on the same basis. The headquarters would serve this purpose without in any way departing from their national character.

To return for a moment to the question of the funds:
The \$500. appropriated from the National Treasury was of course intended for a year, that would be until next fall, say the first of October, a year from the time when the appropriation was made. The \$1600. could legitimately be used between now and the first of May, and this fact leaves us a margin to count upon in running the head-quarters from about the 26th of December (the house will not be ready to hand over to us before that time) until May 1st. Of course we will endeavor to secure the furniture, most of it from other sources, but we will have to use some of this money for the furnishings which must be bought.

Cordially yours,

Rachel Foster Avery

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

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Second Vice President, Florence Kelley,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
Corresponding Secretary, Kate M. Gordon,

1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS Warren, Ohio

Recording Secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell. 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass. Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio. Auditors: { Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky. Ella Sears Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

New Orleans, La.

December 14, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay: -

I am sending you the carbon of my letter to Mrs. Avery. on me It is a sad commentary to have had this thing occur; still I suppose after one handles hundreds and hundreds of letters these things will sometimes happen.

Three years ago, when MissShaw was so excited over letter the salary business and Alice Blackwell 's minutes Mrs. Upton kept firing in letters about MissShaw, and I not knowing Mrs. Upton at the time as I do now was sympathizing with her in the way Miss Shaw was treating her in the matter. I finally wrote to Mrs. Upton that I thought the best thing to do was to submit the whole case to Miss Anthony, for Miss Shaw was absolutely tokayed on the subject of volunteered the information the salary. I included in that letter that I would take Miss Blackwell's word for the correctness of those minutes and for our action upon them just as soon as I would take anybody's word on the committee, and that I thought there was neither rhyme nor reason in the way Miss Shaw treated this question. I fully expected an explosion from the lady, but I wrote and told her then just pretty much what I of alle look the Creticesine vere told Mrs. Avery ... well. Strictly speaking I suppose I had no right to criti-

cize, and yet I do feel that when we know none of the essentials, to be told a lot of details shows a lack of grasp. What I object to in the National work is the tremendous lot of correspondence that never matefializes into anything more than correspondence. We do not clinch and we are spending a tremendous amount of money for the amount of work

Wiers Shan

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OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Miss Clay--2-Dec. 14/08.

New Orleans, La.

that is accomplished.

I believe Mrs. Avery is big enough to set aside the personal. If she is not, well I am not going to grow gray over the matter. I am not the only one on the Board who thinks she has lack of grasp. Miss Shaw has been behind me for the last fifteen months to "prod Rachel on the S.B.A.Fund". Possibly this mistake will rouse the lady to the importance of the task which was a self-assumed one. All's well that ends well, and I hope this criticism will not end with disastrous fesults.

I am very anxious to get down to that minister work.

Hele you were at hand to read

Alice Blackwell's (daughters) message from her faster — I wrote he wrote he wrote he wrote he wrote back she charged him.

What what I had pretten the said "I will not deny the lease and "I will not deny the long for 83.

December 14, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Avery: -

Your letter explaining the mix-up that ocurred in sending Miss Clay's letter to you received, and while I regret it very much in one way I do not in another, for I believe good will come out of the criticism.

Ant work as this Washington headquarters should have been launched without serious debate or consideration by our National Board. You understand, we give attention to Mrs. Spencer's idea. Mrs. Spencer outlined her plan in detail for our consideration, but her plan was completely laid aside as too extravagant. Beyond the offer made by Miss Thomas at breakfast, sandwiched in with talk of a black mammy as a servant and holding out the charm of acting as chatelaine, as it were, to the National work, there has never been one word more said on the subject, except the assurance expressed by both you and Miss Shawthat you had very definite ideas on the subject.

Miss Clay urged me very strongly, after the invitation was extended, to go to Washington should these headquarters become a reality. So when the first letter came, I wrote immediately to her to know whether she had had any letter that I had not received, for I was confident there must have been some other development before the National Board would undertake a scheme that would involve thousands of dollars without further consultation. I had a few lines from her to state that she had not had any letter and that she felt as I did that there had not been serious enough consideration of the project.

Mrs. Avery--2- Dec. 14/08.

Now, of course, if there has been a donation or a promise of money from Miss Thomas, the whole situation is altered, but the responsibility remians the same for the fact not having been reported to those of us who must decide this business; hence, I suppose in my irritation I criticised the description of detail on your part, as a "lack of grasp."

Now I am going to say plainly to you what this unfortunate circumstance makes it necessary for me to state. Review the work since the Chicago Convention. See what little work has been accomplished that we set out to do. There seems to be no clinching of anything we start off, and little or no work is accomplished. There is a lack of definiteness. Take our special committees, - once we have them appointed there seems to be responsibility between the National and their work, until they come up at the convention and make a report, and these reports are all well worded and that is about all they do.

None of the States are carrying out definite plans launched and mother
do Uny ed by the Nationals, nor keep in touch with the National Board. has been my feeling, and it has worried me considerably, and I suppose I felt especially annoyed to learn all of the details, even, as I said to the extent of the burner in the back room when there was not one 'essential outlined. I mean by essentials, where the money was coming from over and above the \$2100 that I knew was in sight; and second, what responsibility was going to be placed upon Mrs. Bradley in the name of the Association.

I have been disappointed in the way you let the

Mrs. Avery -- 3-Dec. 14/08.

Susan B. Anthony Fund. I know that you blame yourself for it, but I was so confident, from all I had heard of your ability to do, that I was disappointed when month after month you seemed absolutely indifferent to the great task that you had so splendidly assumed. I knew that it was not indifference, because I know that anything connected with Miss Anthony in your mind is sacred, and hence I accounted for it by an actual "lack of grasp" as to the importance of the work first as I way it appeared to me is this way for you, to be so interested in details without furnishing as the more important information.

of view- was last year in regard to that International report. I had under auful pressure completely overlooked the thing and got it ready within six hours. In my anxiety and fear of it being too late I telegraphed you to let me know whether it had been received, in order that I might forward if weeks another copy to Amsterdam. I waited anxiously for a reply to that telegram and fully six weeks afterward you sent me a postal saying that you knew you ought to have sent it sooner, but you just did not. These are the things that have confirmed me in my expression of opinion.

Another thing that confirmed me- from a selfish point

More Want for Miss Shaw, I do not think there ever was an officer who wanted to help her war and was hadren tried to the best of
My ability to be of the grantest assistance to her. Even when I do
not agree with MissShaw on many points, I have tried to see things from
her standpoint, primarily because we forced the presidency on her when
Mis. Cast unfairly gave short notice of her retirement; but at the same
time I do not feel that my allegiance to Miss Shaw requires me to yield
to her opinions in essentials and points of conviction, and I do feel

Mrs. Avery--4--Dec. 14/08.

that in this Washington matter we have actually gone off half cocked.

I do not regard you as stupid, but T do feel that you have not in the last year exhibited a grasp of the work which I have every reason to believe- from what I have heard of your work- you have the ability to command. I do think your long absence in Europe, the complete change in the situation from when you were at the helm, added to the fact that your family interests divide your attention, may account for it, and nobody will rejoice more than I if, as you say, you feel the cloud clearing away. I hope that in reviewing the situation you will pardon the criticism, but make allowance for the annoyance of getting such details without one of the important facts. You will understand that this criticism would never have been made to anybody outside of the Official Board, and possibly it never would have been made had it not been for the criticisms that were passed last year on those members of the Board who voted for work in Oklahoma, crediting them cullis beuluxe with not having any grasp of the financial situation. I felt that we were certainly building on a very uncertain foundation and for a matter of fact. I still feel that way about this was returned.

I hope that you thoroughly realize that in making this criticism that it does not affect my personal regard and esteem for you, and that personality does not enter into it, for I regard you with the highest esteem and admiration, even if I have been disappointed in the work accomplished by you since my working association with you. I believe, too, that you are free from the personal, and can understand that in criticising you for this "lack of grasp," as I expressed it, in no wise interferes with my affectionate regard for you, and I hope that it will make no difference in your feelings toward me.

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5464 Jefferson Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

New Orleans, La.

December 8, 1908.

My dear Miss Clay: -

Evedently the Washington headquarters have been rented and rented without forethought at all as to the line of work to be pursued or anything else as far as I can make out. Miss Shaw writes me now that she admits that we did not discuss the subject sufficiently in Buffalo, but having voted and appropriated money for the house in Washington, if it is to be of any use to us this winter it will have to get started. Now, if my memory has not gone back on me entirely, we voted \$500 just to show some interest on the part of the Association because of the interest shown by Miss Thomas for these headquarters. Your emember I tried to bring the point up for discussion, and Miss Shaw and Mrs. Avery had very pronounced views, they said, but I thought they had very hazy ideas. And now to go and rent a house without telling us where the money is coming from besides the \$1600 appropriated by Miss Garrett and that \$500, does seem to me about as wildgoose a business as I have ever heard of. I am not willing for Mrs. Bradley, or anybody else that I do not know, to represent the Association officially.

As for Mrs. Avery's letter, such detail as even the lighting of a back room by one Welsback burner just shows you the absolute lack of grasp that the woman has in undertaking work of this kind.

Last winter, when we voted money for Oklahmoma, such letters as I got from both Miss Shaw and Mrs. Upton in regard to the Board voting away money without due reflection, but if we four have ever voted money with less feflection than has been voted for these Washington headquarters,

Attinual American Homan Suffrage Aganciation

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

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

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Warren, Ohio

**Corresponding Secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell.
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

**Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Auditors: {
Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.
Auditors: {
Stewart.
5464 Jefferson Avenue, Chicago, Ill.}

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Miss Clay--2-Dec.8'08.

New Orleans, La.

I give up the ghost. Of course, it is another thing entirely if Miss Garrett is financing the thing, but even then there is a danger, for we have not the proper woman at the helm.

I would have liked to have had Mrs. Spencer's idea carried out. A trained woman, ready with statistics, an original thinker-just such a woman as she outlined in Dean Breckinridge- as our representative would mean something; it lends a dignity to our work. If this Mrs. Bradley is such a wonder, why in the name of common sense has she hot been brought to the front before. I have never heard her in the work these last eight years. For the Association to vote to put her in charge of what ought to be- if it is anything at all- one of the most important positions in the Association, passes my ken.

I am just heartily sick and weary over the total lack of grasp that seems to be exhibited, but as I have not voted in favor of the plan I am not going to worry any more now, and I will try and make the work that I am interested in materialize; that is, of course, the specialized literature to the ministers of the country.

I received your circular, and while it contains the information I wanted, I was in hope that you had the original stuff, the actual circular and ticket from which we could make a copy. I am writing to Mrs. Boyer for it today, and I hope that she has it in the scrapbook which she so faithfully kept at that time. It would make a more telling stroke than simply this printed matter, which though an exact copy would not be as striking as the duplicate of the original mat erial sent.

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OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Miss Clay---3-Dec.8, '08.

1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

New Orleans, La.

I learned that Miss Bennett was in the city and made an engagement to see her Sunday evening. Needless to say that I was perfectly charmed with her, and the thing that interested me beyond anything else was the immense power that the woman had in her, which seems to be the impression she conveys everywhere. Them, of course, we were delightfully congenial, and she was much pleased with the line of work I oultined as my intention in reaching the ministers of the country. I had gone up to ask her who was the minister par excellence in the Southern Methodist churches to whom to appeal for support in this work. She said the Rev. Lamberth and Bishop Hendricks. MacArthur is recommended to me among the Baptist leaders, and who do you think is the most powerful Episcopalian bishop or minister. I want to get several points of view in regard to the most influential man in the different denominations.

Aren't we getting a lot of advertising out of the Antisuffragists. Sometimes I feel like just giving up the sponge and not
working, and these old fool antis start out which just fires me with
the desire to work that much harder. There is one thing certain, that
if ever I do fail in my suffrage work, it will be because of the weakness of the flesh. I am sure the spirit will never fail me to do
everything I can along this line. But there is very serious doubt in
my mind whether a little more independent line of work in the South
would not be better in the long run.

I am seriously contemplating writing his Royal Nibs, William H. Taft, in view of the fact that he is so "obsessed"(this

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Miss Clay--4-Dec. 8, '08.

New Orleans, La.

seems to be the new word) with the idea of winning over the South to Republicanism that I am going to put a bug into his year that if he could give any reasonable assurance that the fifteenth amendment did not apply to women he could get his South divided any old time. The Democratic South is nothing else but a concise way of expressing antinigger.

What do you think of that dumb-fool, Roosevelt? I do not know when anything has made me so mad as his declaration of belief in woman suffrage, and then following it up with that remark that " it is not a matter of importance." Such twaddle as we have to listen to from these representatives of the people!

Affectionately yours,

Lace M. Gordon

189 N.Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Dec.5th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have just received your letter, and was in the milst of a long letter to Miss Shaw when it came. I am enclosing my copy of my letter to Miss Shaw, because I would like you to know what I think on some of the points on which she asks the vote. It is my only copy, so p please return it at your convenience.

No; I heard nothing about the Washington Headquarters except the letter of which you had a copy. You and I answered it pretty much alike.

I enclose a leaflet gotten out in Oklahoma containing the Oregon laquor letter. The letterin which the Brewers admit alliance with the social evil appears in the report of the United States Brewers Association meating in convention in Milwaukee, June 9th, I908. I got a copy and sent to Miss Blackwell at once; and I think you can find it in a file of the New Orleans papers of that date, as it was Associated Press news. It may not be suitable for our purpose, though, as it is only the reporters story of what President Liebman said.

I thank you for your message of sympathy to Mrs. Bennett. Mr. Bennett had been an invalid for years, and his death was not unexpected.

Cordially yours,

My dear Miss clay: -

I have been so very busy that I did not get an opportunity to read progress until last night, and I learned of the death of Mr. Bennett. Will you kindly express to Mrs. Bennett my sympathy. I do not personally write, because I feel that letters of condolence chould only pass between the most intimate of friends People, however, have such different ideas on the subject that I am sometimes torn with doubt in regard to the proper way to act. I judge, from what you told me of Mr. Bennett's ill-health, that this death was not unexpected.

Will you kindly let me know as soon as possible whether you have the literature which the liquor dealers sent out during the Oregon campaign. If you have not it at command, then I will tackle sister Boyer for it.

Did you receive a Business Committee letter or any definite communication from Miss Shaw in regard to the headquarter establishment in Washington? I received a letter asking for a telegraph reply in regard to the renting of a building in Washington, and there was considerable explanation given in regard to the capability of a Mrs. Bradley to act as housekeeper. Beyond this there is not a suggestion of what the work will embrace, or The the Spencer plan was completely thrown aside as too comprehensive and too expensive. Miss Shaw has never said one word to me in regard to Miss Thomas' offer- whether she thought me fit or not for the position. I have no idea, of course, of going to Washington, but I am consumed with curiosity to know who is to be in control of affairs. I did not telegraph as instructed, I wrote immediately that I could not vote to hire headquarters until I knew something

more definite.

Now, it seems to me we are going off half-cocked on this proposition. Washington is certainly the ideal place for our mautaur headquarters, but are we going to establish two headquarters? My idea of the work that the Garrett-Thomas people wanted would be Something Executive semi-social and wholly political, and T certainly will not vote for that kind of work to be done by anyone the Association may chance to be able to get.

I note that in the heading of the petitions Mrs. Catt has not accentuated that the amendment to the Constitusex. It reads, simply to enable women to vote. I see that my protest has not been altogether unavailing. She writes me that of course it will not have any influence in getting what we want; it is just for the general moral effect. I hope before three more conventions run around that they will all see the absolute silliness as well as wickedness of working that old sixteenth amendment racket.

Do you note that there has been nothing reported to the Business Committee of Mrs. Boyer's work in defeating Ellis? When I think of all the truck that is reported, this seems to me petty.

Do send me the liquor people's literature by the first mail, if you have it. I must get down to this feature of specialized work.

Affectionately, flat H. Gordon