

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 Prytanla Street, New Orleans, La.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass
Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

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.

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Philadelphia, Pa. June 22, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

Since writing my long and rather exhaustive letter, I have received one from Mrs. Upton in which she suggests a plan in regard to head-quarters clerks and the coming to head-quarters of Miss Hauser's sister. Of course we have known that Miss Hauser's sister for years, and have felt that she would be a great acquisition to our head-quarters' force if we could secure her, but since she has a good position, it did not seem wise to us to suggest a change of work for her, because it is so uncertain, and it never seemed wise to us to ask a young woman to leave a good position, which assured her regular employment to take up with ours, which we cannot agree will keep her employed for any definite length of time, but of course, if Miss Hauser is willing to take the chances, I think it would be a splendid thing to have her because she is versatile and will help not only in taking the entire charge of the finances, which are ever growing and becoming more and more complicated, from Mrs. Upton and so relieve her of some of the care which is rapidly becoming too much for any one woman.

I am not going to put this out in the form of a vote for I positively have not the time to get it done, but you will answer to Mrs. Upton direct what your opinion in regard to the matter is. I do not think however that she can take the place of Mrs. Boyer who would be so helpful in the Press work and I think the Press work should from the first of July be done from head-quarters, in fact practically whatever Mrs. Babcock sends out of any value just now is sent to us from head-quarters and I think we should try to send to the association that \$100. per month during the summer.

I am therefore writing Mrs. Babcock that as she kindly took the charge of the Press work until after the Oregon Campaign was over, that we will now relieve her of any further responsibility in that direction and that work should be done from head-quarters.

In regard to all the other questions which I have suggested, such as Progress, the Press etc. I wish you would write directly to Mrs. Upton. With a good woman at the head to take charge of the book-keeping and finances Mrs. Upton and Miss Hauser would be free to do the Press work which now requires prompt action. It is no use sending out William Wendall Phillips, George W. Curtis and Henry Ward Beecher and all the rest of it in these days of work, we have got to have somebody who can "sass" back immediately when mis-statements appear and do it in the same paper in which they appear without doing it all over the United States or somewhere where they have never heard of it.

In two or three hours we will have started on our way and I do not think there were ever two more unwilling women, starting for Europe than Lucy and I are, not that we do not anticipate meeting Mrs. Avery and being at the Alliance meeting, but we are too tired and we have not our work in shape and our clothes are not half ready, in fact everything was worn to shreds out in Oregon, and I never went away from home, to Europe at least, clad so shabbily as I shall be this time. I will try however to get in decent shape for the meeting at Copenhagen, but I rather laugh at myself, in my rather stout form clad in a dutch-made dress.

I am going to give Mrs. Upton my proxy during my absence so that if anything is needed to be voted upon she will have authority to cast my ballot.

Hoping all may be well with you, I am,

Faithfully

Anna H. Shaw

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Portland, Ore., June 12, 1907

My dear Miss Clay:

I was so surprised when I learned you were gone for I wanted to have a chance to talk with you a little bit, but I did not feel at all well either in body or mind any more than the rest of us, and so the time went by.

I wanted to thank you for all the splendid work you did here; for your loyalty and devotion to the cause, which kept you from home for almost a year and yet which resulted in such a sorrowful defeat. If we felt personally to blame for it of course we would be much unhappier than we are; but I think under the circumstances we did the best we could and so ought not to blame ourselves. And yet I cannot help feeling that I would like to have had some things a little different, so that even if the result had been the same there would be no cause for complaint. However, what is done is done and we have all learned a great deal by the experience.

I hope that I may be with you in your State Convention this fall and as soon as possible after I get home we may have a Business Committee meeting and get things straightened out. I want to say, that everywhere you went everybody was pleased with your work and felt that you did good. A letter this morning from Douglas County says that the good result there was due largely to the splendid work

June 12, 1906

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--2--

done earlier in the season in that county. So some feel grateful
even if others do not.

I trust that some day before long we may be in a victory togeth-
er and that this may not be our last campaign. With sincere thanks,
I am

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

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Philadelphia, September 18, 1906.

My dear Miss Clay:

I did not strike out all reference to the Temperance Discussion in my letter to Mrs. Coe, because the majority of the Committee voted it was right as it was. I did modify it a little, however, but think some reference should have been made to it, because it is the principal reason for the refusal of people to sign the petitions since Miss Pease states over and over again that they were signed very readily up to that time.

I feel as deep a regret as you do at having to give up the work in Oregon for I realize it will take years of hard work to get it back where it was when we left it. I really do not see that there is anything to be done. It is simply throwing away our money to attempt it under present conditions.

We could not wait because Miss Pease had to have our reply before her school opened last Monday.

I am glad the hot weather is over for your sake and that we shall meet as I trust, in Warren.

Faithfully yours,

Anna H. Shaw

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

August 2/1906

Hildesheim, Germany, July 22/1906

DEAR MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

Mrs. Upton's letters to the Business Committee, in regard to Oklahoma, impressed me with the fact that she is unduly exercised as to our obligations and the work that can and ought to be done there during July and August.

Before leaving America I carefully wrote Mrs. Biggers, telling her what I thought she could and what the State people alone must do, as it would never do for the National to seem even to be interfering, and that was for her, as State President, to send a letter to every local suffrage club, and to all other societies which she thought would co-operate with her in writing to their friends, men and women, urging them to use their influence, through personal appeal and by letter, to secure the election of the right kind of men as delegates to the Constitutional Convention; also to interview and learn the attitude upon our question of those elected, etc..

This is all the necessary work to be done at present, until we know the character of the men elected and what we may reasonably expect of them, and it is pre-eminently the work of local people. It would not entail a great deal of labor upon Mrs. Biggers. She could, as I showed her, write out a copy of a letter, ~~give~~ give it to a typewriter, who in less than two weeks could send it out to all the persons and societies necessary. Then, with one day a week for necessary correspondence, a stenographer could do all that

[Aug 2, 1906]

--2--

could possibly be done to advantage during these two hot months. To attempt lectures would be folly.

I told Mrs. Biggers that in September we would send either Dr. Woods or Miss Gregg, and asked her to state to Mrs. Upton her preference. It seems from her reply that she has no preference. I also said that later we would try to secure the best possible assistance from Colorado, etc.; that this help would be forthcoming just as soon as the Constitutional Convention was in session.

I did not, and do not now, think anything more is needed for the present. It is true Mrs. Biggers is not able to do the writing herself, and I did not think she would attempt it alone; but, after all the years of National organizing in the State, they ought to be able to manage that amount of work, and pay for it themselves, especially as I plainly directed Mrs. Biggers as to how it could be done.

As to Mrs. Woodworth's letters about the need of money, I think the National should hold no correspondence with Mrs. Woodworth about the work in Oklahoma. She is so unreliable, and, withal, such a kind of woman that we do not want to even assume that she has any authority to speak for the State, or let her feel that we recognize her in any authoritative ~~xxx~~ position.

Mrs. Biggers does only what nine out of ten of the women in the State do when she does her own housework; not, however, from poverty, but from lack of help. She has a beautiful home, and, while they are not what we would call wealthy people, they are far from being poor. Still, that is no reason why the State Association should not pay for the necessary clerk-hire for Mrs. Biggers.

I do not think there is any reason for anxiety, and, to spend a lot of money there would be folly. Still, we must do something, and the best I can think of is what I suggested to Mrs. Big-

Aug 2, 1906

--3--

gers for the State for July and August; then get either Dr. Woods or Miss Gregg to go there the first of September to watch progress and get things in shape for our work before the Constitutional Convention. I have asked Mrs. Upton to learn if it is possible for Dr. Woods to do this preliminary work, as she was the last National worker in Oklahoma, and probably understands present conditions better than anyone else; and failing in securing Dr. Woods, then to try for Miss Gregg as the one next best informed in regard to conditions there. This work should be begun as soon as the weather in Oklahoma will permit. Then when the Convention is gathering or gathered have Mrs. Bradford and Mrs. Grenfell, or Mrs. Meredith and Mrs. Grenfell, go to do the work with the Convention, and if Miss Gordon has returned I should add her. But get Judge Lindsey, if by any means we can do so; if not, then Mr. Shafroth to address the convention in our behalf.

This is the course we should follow, as I see it. I explained it all to Mrs. Biggers before leaving, but if Mrs. Upton or any other member of the Committee can suggest a better plan, I would be very glad to co-operate in carrying it out.

As to my attending their State Convention, I am perfectly willing to do so if it seems best, but as the date of that depends upon the time of the convening of the Constitutional Convention, and that may not be until November or December, there will be time enough to determine that after I reach home.

By the way, I shall reach home ten days earlier than I expected, as we have exchanged our tickets, and, instead of sailing September 5 as we planned, we shall sail from Christiana, Norway, on the Oskar II of the Scandinavian-American Line, August 23, reaching New York, D.V., September 23. I am very glad of the change, for I

[Aug 2, 1906]

--4--

want to get back to the work again.

OREGON: It was necessary for Miss Gordon to arrange for the Oregon clerk before leaving, for many reasons,- the principal one that of preventing discord among the various factions and securing a capable woman who would be loyal to the work. It was therefore perhaps well for her to promise that the National Association would be responsible for one month's salary, but I do not think we should do more than that, nor do I think there is any need of it. The Oregon people, headed by Mrs. Evans, were willing to pledge to raise \$100. per month for Headquarters' expenses, and if they are not compelled, from the necessity of the conditions, to begin at once, their enthusiasm will die out, and it will be much harder for them. We said they must manage to collect the petitions this time, but if we start right in doing it for them again we will have to carry it through as we did before.

If the plan suggested in Mrs. Duniway's rather remarkable and vaguely indefinite letter to the Business Committee is carried out, and Miss Pease goes to the Coast with her to organize, she will be doing just what we do not want done, and what Mrs. Duniway is utterly incapable of doing. With all her years of "unrequited toil and privation in Oregon", when we took hold of the State two years ago there was not a single organized local outside of Portland, and scarcely the name of a suffragist known to our workers. She is not an organizer, and does not possess the first characteristic of one. Everyone in the Headquarters during the campaign who witnessed Mrs. Duniway's attempts at organized or systematized work saw the utter failure she made; that she could not even be trusted to get her own matter which she wished to send out put into the right envelopes. One day she filled and sealed four hundred stamped and ad-

[Aug 2, 1906]

dressed envelopes, putting in some two or three of the same leaflets and no letters, in others the wrong leaflets, and in none of them the right ones; so that every envelope had to be carefully opened to save the stamps, as they were the printed stamps, and all done over again. She never once got a thing straight, and we all dreaded to have her touch anything, for it only meant that it would have to be ~~undone~~ done and done over again. She is undoubtedly an agitator, and as such has a following; but a leader or organizer she is not; on the contrary, she is a disorganizer, and the less she has to do with the committees or with Headquarters' work the easier it will be for those who take charge of the next campaign. The fact that we do not feel that Mrs. Duniway is a good adviser and manager is not showing any disrespect to her, it is simply showing that we are not without common sense, and are acting honestly by the work and the good of the cause. It is not necessary to let her manage or control things to show her respect. Neither do we need to send her, but whenever and wherever we can co-operate with her in any of her plans we should do it, and solicit her assistance whenever there is any kind of work in which she can be helpful. Her bitterness and hatred of the Temperance people, and her friendliness with the liquor people is in itself harmful. Say what we may, if we ever vote in Oregon, or anywhere else, it will be by the votes of the temperance and not the intemperate element of society.

The fact is we have already in Oregon ten times as many campaign committees organized as we can hold together. Then why pay an untried organizer like Miss Pease to organize more, only to let them die? What is needed is that Miss Pease should get to work at once, and by immediate correspondence get in touch with the existing committees, and set them to getting petitions filled. The Committees

[Aug 2, 1906]

--6--

already formed may be very poor, but use what we can; and even poor as they are, they are as good as any which can now be formed. I think Mrs. Upton should be instructed to inform the Oregon Association that after the first month the National will expect the State to pay for the Headquarters' management, and I think \$65.00 per month as much as a beginner and untrained worker should receive. That is what we agreed upon with Mrs. Evans as a very fair wage, and, as even the best and most valuable secretary at the National Headquarters, after ten years of service, receives only \$75.00, we should scarcely pay that to an untried and untrained worker.

MEMORIAL FUND: I am greatly impressed, as are Lucy Anthony and Mrs. Avery, with Miss Gordon's plan for our National memorial for Miss Anthony, and the more I think of it the more I feel it is pre-eminently the one our Association should adopt. I do not, however, agree with Miss Gordon that we should suggest it to the States this fall, - on the contrary, we should say nothing to the States until next winter at our National Convention, for two reasons: 1st, Miss Thomas should have the whole field until January for her fund, and no word should go out from us that would make her feel that we were interfering with her in any way, or failing to help her carry out her plan. If anything were done by us now it would create confusion, and perhaps cause a conflict in some ways. We need both funds, one quite as much as the other. I think the successful carrying out of ours, if we decide upon it, depends largely upon the success of Miss Thomas.

2d, If we go before the States without a well defined plan, something which has been thoroughly worked out, there will be so many conflicting that it will be impossible to launch any one successfully.

Aug 2, 1906

I think a committee should be appointed to carefully draw up a plan and submit it to the Business Committee, and then have it in shape to be presented at the Executive meeting of the next National Convention, and then brought before the Convention on the afternoon of the Memorial Service for Miss Anthony. We could interview as many wealthy friends as possible, and have a number of large pledges ready to pledge at once, and then get the States to pledge to raise a certain amount, giving them until the 60th anniversary of the first suffrage convention, or until Miss Anthony's 90th birthday if the other date was considered too short a time in which to raise it. I think, however, the sooner it is done and the harder it is pushed after we begin the better.

I went with Miss Anthony when she was planning about the fund she thought of raising a few years ago, and we went to the library together, got the books telling of the Peabody fund and its management, and read them carefully. Her idea was to have the fund she thought of raising managed in the same manner, by a board of trustees, self-continuing, who should be paid nothing for their services, but who should have their expenses paid once each year to meet to go carefully over the investments and the management of the expenditures. That or some plan like it should be followed with any fund raised.

The plan would have to be carefully worked out, and I will submit a vote at this time, asking the members of the Business Committee to vote as to their opinion of this form of memorial and on the committee, and the replies will be returned by the time I reach home and the committee appointed at once to begin the plans. In the meantime, we can reply to any inquiry which comes to Headquarters, or to any of us personally, that plans are being considered by the Business Committee, a committee having been appointed

Aug 2, 1906

--8--

for that purpose, and that, as an association, we will not accept any outside plans, but will have one of our own to present at our National Convention.

As the suggestion for this form of memorial came from Miss Gordon, technically she should be made chairman of the committee to draw up the plan if one is appointed, but as she is not expecting to return to America until late in the fall, and when she does return will be so busy with her secretarial duties, she will have no time for it, so I am going to suggest Mrs. Avery as chairman; and, to save time, will submit a list of names of members, asking you to vote in the order of your choice. I am going to say frankly I would like to be on the Committee, for I think I talked more with Miss Anthony and understand her opinions in regard to a memorial and a fund better perhaps than any other member of the Board. As President, I have a right to be a member of all committees, but I would like to be appointed to this one. Therefore I am going to submit my name. Of course you will add any name you wish to the committee, I only suggest these because they can easily get together and are deeply interested and close to Miss Anthony.

Senator Palmer wrote Miss Anthony two years ago that he had left money to our association, and I am glad to know that he has not changed his will. I think all bequests should go toward this fund.

MISS MARY ANTHONY: I think it would greatly please Miss Mary Anthony to receive the Business Committee letters, and am glad Mrs. Upton suggested it. She is discretion itself, and

E Aug 2, 1906

--9--

knows as well as anyone how to keep silent about the Association's affairs.

You will be glad to know that Mrs. Avery is full of zeal to get into the work again; and, as Miss Gordon does not expect to return to America until perhaps December, Mrs. Avery is going to undertake the arrangements for the program for the National Convention, and has written Miss Gordon to meet us in Copenhagen, where we can talk over plans for the meeting. You will also be glad to know that Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. Mary Hutchinson Page are to be with us as delegates at Copenhagen, and that the American delegation will be more than full.

This is the most restful, quaint and picturesque town I was ever in, and both Lucy Anthony and I are feeling much better and more like living again.

We leave for Copenhagen August 2, and are hoping the Convention will give an inspiration to our work everywhere.

Trusting you are all taking life as easy as you can, I am

Faithfully

AHS.-R.

Anna H. Shaw
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OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Philadelphia, September 17, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

Enclosed is a copy of letter which we received this A. M. from Mrs. Coe. You will see how little appreciation she has of the work of the situation in regard to the position. The Oregon Association has placed the work in that State. She seems to throw all feeling of responsibility upon the National and does not suggest the possibility of the Oregon Association undertaking the work with any vigor.

It is very easy to understand how hopeless the task is when there is such a feeling of responsibility on the part of the Oregon women. Mrs. Porter, the lady to whom she refers as willing to take the Presidency with the consent of Mrs. Duniway, is a very nice little woman but one not at all familiar with our work and in no sense able to cope with Mrs. Duniway. Still I feel that she will grasp the situation as well as the present encumberent and perhaps a little better. She did a great deal to help in the folding and mailing of the leaflets during the last meeting of the campaign.

In regard to the replies of the business committees, all of the members were unanimous in voting in favor of giving up Miss Pease as far as the National is concerned and advising the Oregon women to continue the work. Miss Clay and Miss Blackwell offered suggestions in the letter to Mrs. Coe and I had made some but sent the letter before I received Mrs. Coe's this A. M. The letter ought to go to Mrs. Coe as I had sent the telegram to Miss Pease and every day's delay was a great hindrance.

I think it was absolutely necessary to refer to the newspaper contention, because that was really the cause of the refusal of the people to sign according to Miss Pease. Up to that time, they signed but since that time, it was impossible to get many signatures and that men were signing fictitious names, so it seemed as if there was a con-

[Sept 17, 1906]

(2)

certed action in regard to it. We all deplore the necessity of giving up the petition work in Oregon. Personally, I think it is one of the greatest blows we have had. The position the Oregon Society has placed us in since the campaign, is in my mind, worse than the defeat itself and I do not think we should pass over it without making any reference to it in our letter to that body. We have all done the best we could to help them and they simply would not be helped. Neither would they do anything themselves.

If that had been the only letter which had been sent out and I had not written several others to Mrs. Coe and several others of the Oregon Society, begging them to cease their contention and to stop all present attacks, yet they kept on just the same and paid no attention to the appeals not only of myself and Mrs. Upton but several who are on the ground and are doing their very best. I think to pass it over and not pay any attention to it, would be poor policy. The letter has gone and I did refer to it and shall be very sorry if any member of the committee thinks it was not a wise thing to do.

There is one thing I am trying to find out and that is whether or not the names that been been collected on the petition will be good after the new secretary of State comes into office. If they will, they can be held and utilized if the petition work is taken up next year.

Mrs. Blackwell suggests and if I believe it could be done, would heartily agree with her, that the petition work might be pushed by the National and then let us stop our work. Under present circumstances, I do not believe any amount of pushing could secure those names before the first of January. Conditions are so strained and this A. M. another Oregonian of Sunday, September 8th has been received in which Mrs. Donaway has resurrected an old lecture and has read she says, at the request of some woman from Wood River and its bitterness is something unthinkable. I think the only dignified thing for the Association to do, is to keep quiet until this contention ceases or until the good Lord in his mercy, relieves us of the cause of it.

[Sept. 17, 1906]

(3)

A telegram has just been received from Dr. Woods in reply to my urgent request to go to Oklahoma, that she has sprained her knee and that it will be impossible for her to even step for four weeks. I expect Mrs. Boyer to come and see me to-morrow in response to a letter I had from her a few days ago, saying that she might be able to go out into the field for suffrage. It seems to me that Mrs. Boyer would be the best to go to Oklahoma to help Mrs. Pigger. I know she has the only objection of being an Eastern woman but what Mrs. Pigger needs is advice from a level-headed woman who knows something about the work and Mrs. Boyer's experience in Oregon ought to have given her a great deal of knowledge and I think it has.

The ~~only~~ ^{most} thing which is needed in Oklahoma just now, is for some one to get hold of the newspapers, one who knows how to deal with newspaper editors and Mrs. Boyer is fitted for that work. If Mrs. Meredith were free, she could do that part very well. She says she cannot go until after the election in November and Mrs. Boyer must have someone before that time.

I am saying this before Mrs. Boyer comes, because after she arrives, I will not have time to write a business letter before leaving to-morrow evening for the West. I will write a little note, enclosing in this, telling Mrs. Boyer's decision.

Faithfully yours,

Anna D. Shaw

[Sept 17, 1906]

C O P Y.

Dear Dr. Shaw:

We had our first meeting Saturday afternoon, to begin work anew. It was a very good meeting. Miss Pease has done good work and I feel that you couldn't have a better or more competent worker in the field than Miss Pease. They have had to thro out so many names that at present they have only 900 and something verified, with about 1000 more names to go over. So you see there is a great lot of work to do. From past experience, we know correct names are hard to get. It takes time. If you feel you can afford Miss Pease at \$65 per month and will promise her work through the school year, she will give up her school, otherwise she must teach. I don't think you could do better than keep Miss Pease, as it must be someone who can be depended upon to give their entire time to the work. If you wish to keep Miss Pease at \$65 for the year or ten months, wire me at once and I will let her know. Her school begins a week from to-day, September 17th.

I have been looking hard for a new President. Thought of Mrs. Waldo and Mrs. Dye of Oregon City. Mrs. Waldo has given her time to the Grange and Mrs. Dye says she cannot and that it should be a Portland woman. Also tried to get Dr. Pohl but she has her hands full.

Saturday I saw Mrs. Potter, you remember her at headquarters and at the Heilig Theatre, her husband is a very tall slim man with black hair, they are people of good standing and she has promised to be President if elected. This is agreeable to Mrs. Duniway also. We all expect to work just the same, although not holding office.

Our treasury is very low. We paid out \$56 plus for postage this summer and have paid Miss Pease \$62. This take all we have and we still owe Miss Pease \$100. Now, I understand you are to help pay Miss Pease for her work this summer. If you will send her direct or to me, a check for \$100 we would be even. If you cannot, we will do the best we can to get it a little at a time. Wish you would write me about what you expect to do in this matter.

We feel we should get the names all in by the first of January, before the legislature meets. This is important but without the entire time and help of Miss Pease,

Sept 17, 1906

(2)

we cannot do it. These matters should be acted upon at once. I wrote you a month or two ago, hope the letter reached you.

Trust this will find you well and rested after your summer abroad. Wish best wishes from Dr. George, Wayne and Earl, I am, with best love,

Viola M. Coe.

September 10, 1906.
Portland, Oregon.

P. S. Give my love to all the "Headquarter" girls. Wish I could attend your October meeting. Dr. is going east soon but I am not sure of myself. Am very busy with the new house.

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.

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1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

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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.

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Philadelphia, Pa. Sept. 8th, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I rejoice that I am home again, even though I am facing this pile of correspondence, which is piled on my desk, higher than my head.

There is little hope of arriving at a satisfactory solution of many things, however, without holding a Business Committee Meeting, where they may be settled. I have consulted with Mrs. Upton and find that it will be convenient to call a meeting beginning the morning of the 11th of October. I am reserving four days at that time, and can use as much of that as the business requires. Can you be present? While it is not absolutely necessary that every member should be at this mid-year meeting, still as many as possible should come, so do arrange your affairs if it is within the lines of possibility for you to do so in order for you to be present. Please let me hear from you if this date is satisfactory.

Rachael Foster Avery, who returned from her protracted stay in Europe, returned on the same steamer with Lucy and myself, is planing to be with us, as she is acting in the place of Miss Gordon in her absence.

In order that the work may be transacted as rapidly as possible, it would be well for each member of the committee, to bring the points which she wishes to present, carefully annotated and classified, then if we devote certain hours to a subject, finish it and begin with another, we can get through a great deal of work, but unless this plan is followed, it will be impossible in three or four days to do all that it is necessary to do.

An immediate reply is very necessary, as the time is short.

I am very glad to be in close touch with you all again and trust the Summer has dealt kindly with you.

Faithfully,

*Dear Miss Clay,
How do you do. Write me
a line about things.*

Anna H. Shaw

181 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Sept. 10th, 1906.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am glad to get your letter this morning, announcing the call for the business meeting, which I think is necessary. I trust you have returned refreshed in body and spirits. My health is excellent, though I have had a trying summer on account of the heat in Lexington, where I have been compelled to remain on account of my building. However, the weather now promises to be less hot.

I see nothing now to prevent my being on hand the morning of the 11th of October. You do not state where you expect the meeting to be held, whether in Warren or Philadelphia. Perhaps you are leaving that for a later decision. I think Warren is best, because since the Press work is now done there, as well as other departments, I think the Business Com. should take every opportunity to inform itself personally of what is needed for the greatest efficiency, so as to give as intelligent opinion as possible at the convention. Not that I think four days is ample for this, but it is better than no visit at all.

You ask me to write about things. I have nothing to say now that may not as well be said at the meeting, except about Oregon, where there seems so much disturbance that instant action may seem necessary at any time. I have written continually to Mrs. Upton that I believe we ought by all means to keep our hold on the petition work till the petition ~~is~~ is filed with the Secretary of State. Unless we help, I fear the Oregon people will not get it done. If it is not done now, we lose all the enthusiasm of our

expensive campaign, together with what organization we have been able to effect. After the petition is in, I am willing, if the factions have not quieted down, to leave Oregon for awhile; we are not really needed there till the spring of 1908. But it seems ruinous to me not to get the petition in as speedily as possible, whether all the Oregon people wish it or not.

I have nothing at present to say about Oklahoma, except that I am one who thinks the campaign there should be as vigorously pushed as it is in our power. I am hopeful of that territory as of any other field we now have before us.

I wrote to Miss Lucy on Saturday, in answer to one of hers that I did not think demanded an answer till her return.

Please give my love to her and also to Mrs. Avery, and believe me

Always cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Mt. Airy, Sept. 12, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

I have hesitated about writing you my personal opinion in regard to the Oregon situation until I received direct information from Oregon. Soon after I reached home, a letter came from Mrs. Dunaway, in which on her own responsibility apparently without any consultation with the Oregon State Association, she makes a proposition for the National Association to place the work of the campaign in her hands, provide her with funds and in co-operation with Dr. and Mrs. Cole she will conduct such a vigorous campaign that she will make it possible for the National speakers to have such a magnificent series of meetings just before the election in 1908 as they have never witnessed in their lives. She states in this letter that "she will positively not allow a long continued campaign of education, such as was carried on this year which will show the enemy where to strike us in order to defeat the amendment." In her letter she used some very strong language against the Temperance people and she enclosed a lot of clippings showing the kind of a controversy which she has been holding with the Temperance Women.

I was heart sick at the horrible situation before I received this letter and when I received it I knew that all effort there was at a stand still and that the best thing we could do would be to finish collecting the names, then stop work entirely until it was time to open a short and rapid campaign before the election in 1908. The reason I thought it would be best to wait until we finished collecting the petitions, was because she said in her letter that 6000 names had already been collected to the petitions and I confess I did not believe it and when I read it and Mrs. Avery exclaimed that is splendid, I said, let us hear from somebody else first before we accept the statement.

I have waited until to-day when letters have reached me from Oregon a long

Sept 12, 1907

one from Miss Pease and another from Dr. French. In making a partial report of the work which she has done since she took charge of the campaign on the 25th of June Miss Pease says "3963 petitions have been sent out, of which 215 have been returned. The signatures secured and returned are 2622, the petitions verified up to the 1st of September are 81, the names on the 81 verified petitions are 964, after verification, out of more than 1200 before verification". This has strengthened my conviction the one which I confess I have had all summer, ever since I learned that Miss Gordon had placed Miss Pease in charge of the work under the conditions which prevailed after we left Oregon. I hope that nobody will think that I am for a moment blaming Miss Gordon she had to act promptly and did that which she thought was for the very best good of the work. Now whether it was or not cannot change the situation.

At the meeting which I attended before leaving I made the statement that when we began the campaign before, we told the Oregon women we would not do anything as a National Association until they had collected the names and when time went on and they had not succeeded in collecting the names but upon their positive assurance that they would do so, we sent our manager and organizers to the state. They failed to keep their pledge and I have felt that the wise thing for us to have done would have been to refuse to go to the state at all until those names were collected, but as we did not do it, we did the best we could. Now then this spring I emphasized that point and said the National would not pay for the collection of the names on the petitions, that that must be done by the Oregon people themselves and with such organization that we left them in their hands and with such enthusiasm that there was it would not have been a hard matter, but it seems after I left and before the next meeting conditions had changed and already Mrs. Dunaway had begun to create her trouble in her attacks upon the W. C. T. U. and other women so that for some reason or other the women who promised to raise the money refused to do it. Then Miss Gordon feeling that something must be done, employed Miss Pease, as you know, with the pledge that the National Association would pay her salary. As soon as I heard this I protested that it was not a wise policy ^{to continue} and sent out a vote to the Business Committ

Sept 12, 1906

-3-

asking whether they voted to pay Miss Pease's salary for one month or for a longer period of time. In a letter to the Business Committee later Mrs. Upton quotes me as sending out this vote as though it were not within our power to decide the matter since Miss Gordon had employed Miss Pease. It did not appeal that way to me, for I did not think that Miss Gordon could employ Miss Pease without a vote of the National Committee for a longer period than was absolutely necessary to get a vote back upon the subject and thinking that I was wrong, Mrs. Upton agreed with Miss Pease to pay her salary until my return and now just as soon as I am able to get hold of the threads of the condition there as I have to-day through letters which have come from Miss Pease and Dr. French, on my own responsibility I sent this telegram Tuesday morning :-" Do not resign from your school. Can you engage substitute for a short time?"

In order to do our work Miss Pease would be obliged to resign from a position which pays her \$81. a month as a teacher and I do not think as an association we would be justified in asking her to do this even if we thought it wise to employ her, but under the present circumstances it seems to me both cruel and wrong. In her letter she says "The women here all seem to be afraid of Mrs. Dunaway and will not oppose her, that is the woman who will make good leaders. She does not care how much she blackens a reputation and people are afraid of her."

To my mind, the woman of all women whom I would like to see at the head of our Association in Oregon and whom I called upon before I left, urging her to take it is Mrs. Waldo, who is at the head of the Woman's Department of the Grange movement and Miss Pease says of her:-"I quote from Mrs. Waldo, who will make us a fine leader who said to one of our friends that her husband would not permit her, if she decided to take up the suffrage cause to accept the presidency for her or any one else accepting this position would have to fight Mrs. Dunaway and it is safer to keep her as a friend." In a conversation between Mrs. Waldo and myself she said "In two years and I am free from the Grange, I will be willing to accept the Presidency

C. S. H. 12, 1906

if I am wanted or needed. In the meantime the best thing to do is to educate the women through the parlor meetings. It is useless for any one to work against Mrs. Dunaway. I will lecture in every Grange of the State, distribute all the literature that is sent me to our 6000 members and raise a fund in all of the Granges to help carry on the campaign of 1908."

This is practically what Mrs. Waldo told me when I called on her but she could not work with Mrs. Dunaway in the State Association.

Miss Pease says that at one meeting of the Suffrage Association Mrs. Dunaway screamed almost like an insane woman:- "I want have a halter placed on my neck and again I will be the leader or I will break up the whole thing. The W. C. T. U. must keep out of my way, so help me God."

Some men were coming into the meeting at the time, but one of the members stopped them in the hall, and held them in conversation there while the other members closed the meeting. At the next meeting she did almost the same thing, although Mrs. Coyle was present and tried to hold her down.

Mrs. Coyle does not dare even to call a business meeting of the Executive Committee not knowing what Mrs. Dunaway will do. She says further Mrs. Dunaway is working to get Mrs. Coyle out and herself into the Presidency with full power to act and carry on the campaign as she pleases. If she cannot do this she says she will organize an Oregon forward Suffrage Association to fight the Oregon State Suffrage Association.

Miss Pease has sent me a package of clipping some of which written by Mrs. Dunaway are almost unthinkable in their coarseness and vulgarity as in their untruthfulness and vindictiveness. Miss Pease says that up to the time when Mrs. Dunaway's articles began to appear in the Journal and Oregonian and other papers of the state it was comparatively easy to get names, but since that time men are refusing to sign or are signing with fictitious names, and while before this she adds:- "We were met with courtesy and our workers did splendidly, one woman getting 170 signatures in two and one half hours, others did almost as well, but now one woman spent an entire

[Sept 12, 1906]

day in getting only 17 and another interviewed 50 men and get only two and practically the petition work is stopped all over the state." She adds: "Since the 6th of August I have had to beg, plead and do everything I possibly could to even get the Committees to send any petitions containing signatures. People are perfectly disgusted." Then she quotes from a lot of different letters of women who have been helping her up to this time who sent all kinds of excuses for not doing anything more. She says articles are getting more and more bitter as the fight goes on and she thinks that the editorial in the Oregonian was written by Mrs. Dunaway's brother for the sole purpose of stirring up strife. She said Mr. Scott told some one that he knew his editorial would stir his sister up and get the women to fighting and that they would kill the cause themselves.

In her letter Dr. French says practically the same thing as Miss Pease, that it is much harder to get signatures now than it was for the first petition and that men are insulting and unpleasant to the women when they ask them for their names and point to the trouble which exists among them at this time.

Taking all these facts into consideration and knowing Mrs. Dunaway and her motives as we do, I have come to this conclusion that there is nothing for us to do but to stop right where we are. We told the Oregon women this spring that they must collect the signatures. Now then it seems to me our plan should be this, to throw the responsibility entirely upon the Oregon women and say to them that we are willing to pay Miss Pease up to this point, because we had hoped that ~~at~~ ^{by} this time they would have so adjusted their difficulties that they would raise the money which they pledged to raise at the meeting immediately after the close of the campaign; that at that time I emphatically stated that the National would not again pay for collecting the names, that that was the work which the Oregon people themselves should do and now that we would withdraw from the state and wait for them to collect the names before we rendered any further assistance. It seems to me the only way to quiet the difficulty down which exists there at present is to let Mrs. Dunaway see that there is no money back of it and that she has not the support of the National in her attack upon the Suffrage women, nor upon the W. C. T. U., nor the financial

6

[Sept 12, 1906]

support of the National in carrying on an independent campaign antagonistic to the State Association. If we simply drop the matter now I think it is the best way to silence her and then perhaps in a year we will be able to take hold of it again, but from my own standpoint, I think it would be better for us not to touch Oregon so long as Mrs. Dunaway is in the position to do the harm as she is at the present time..

I suppose that you are all aware the signatures of these petitions must all be in and the petition filed before the last of December because the name of the Secretary of State upon this petition is that of the present Secretary who goes out of office in December and the new Secretary of State is installed the first of January, consequently these names unless the full petitions were in would be of no value whatever. Now when we take into consideration that with the first enthusiasm the willingness of people to sign in the beginning and the fact that they are refusing to do it now and more than two months time has passed and they only have 3000 names and since there are only 664 verified names out of over 1200, I do not think it is possible to raise the remainder of the necessary number ^{18000 and have them filed} before the first of January and all this work will be lost and have to be done over again and in the mean time this same trouble will occur, I think if we stop work entirely it may be one of the things to help defeat Mrs. Dunaway's election to the State Presidency. If she thinks we will not stand back of her with money to carry on her work she will not be so eager for it.

Miss Pease's school began the 17th of this month and it seems to me she ought not to be detained by us from beginning her work any longer than is necessary. I will send you a copy of the report which she sent me of the work done and you will see that she has received but fifty cents from the Oregon Association; although she has turned in nearly \$12. I think we should pay her salary from the time she began, 25th of June to the 25th of September, ^{or before her school begins} but no longer. I am going to ask you to telegraph me immediately on receipt of this letter so that I can telegraph Miss Pease your decision as to whether she is to go on with the work or stop. I

[Sept 12, 1906]

-7-

enclose a copy of the letter which I think we should send to Mrs. Gee, President of the State. If you do not approve of this letter say so in your telegram. You will see the importance of answering this question immediately.

Since dictating the above I have received this reply to my telegram from Miss Pease:- "Have not resigned, cannot engage a substitute."

This you see will indicate that Miss Pease must begin the work in her school on the 17th and that she is not able to secure a substitute for some reason; hence you will see the importance of reaching her before that date with the result of the vote cast by the Business Committee. I shall enclose a vote which I shall ask you to send in addition to telegraphing. However, I do not think it will be necessary for Miss Blackwell or Mrs. Kelly to telegraph as their replies if immediately given would reach me by letter as soon as a telegram would from Miss Clay or those who are farther away; although it would be absolutely imperative that their replies should come immediately.

I want to say in regard to my personal feeling toward Miss Pease, that I consider her a very valuable woman and that she would be an excellent worker after having had a short drill under some one who has more experience and I ~~will~~^{should} be very glad to have her in our National work, but as I said before, since we cannot guarantee her a continued position and she is a young woman who has to earn her own living, we have no right to take her from a position which pays her well and place her in a position from which she might very soon be financially embarrassed. Her salary should be paid at once, because doubtless she needs the money, especially if she has been paying local expenses out of her own pocket. In regard to this local expense, I should correspond with Mrs. Gee. I do not think the National should pay them. The State Association has money in its Treasury and is abundantly able to raise more if it chooses.

Faithfully,

Aura H. Shaw

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

Mt. Airy, Sept. 13, 1905



Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe,

President Oregon Suffrage Association,

My dear Mrs. Coe:

The situation in Oregon at the present time compels the National Association to take the following position, and I think you will see the wisdom and justice of it. You will remember that at the meeting of the Oregon Association just after the close of the campaign in stating the position of the National Association I said that it would not be reasonable for securing the names to the petition for the next campaign and in view of that fact the Oregon women pledged an amount of money to employ an Oregon woman to take charge of the petitions and the Oregon headquarters.

After I left Portland for some reason still unknown to me a reaction took place and in view of the exigencies of the cause Miss Gordon pledged that the National Association would pay Miss Pease's salary for a time until the Oregon Association perfected its plan of action. We did not for a moment believe that the Oregon Association could fail to see the advantage of utilizing the enthusiasm and machinery which the National had at such labor and expense placed in its hands and that it would take hold of the work immediately and prosecute it with vigor. We have waited a long time to hear that the Oregon Association would keep its pledge made at the *pro*- campaign convention and assume the work and the financial responsibility for it. In view of the fact that three months have passed and in the face of present conditions the National Association declines to longer continue to pay the salary of the Oregon headquarters Secretary and to assume the responsibility of the petition work. They feel that this responsibility should be assumed by the State and that before it asks any further assistance of the National the names to the petitions

Sept 12, 1906

should be filed with the Secretary of State. We cannot believe that the State Association will not cheerfully assume this work and as the petition work has been begun that they will carry it on with vigor and file the names with the Secretary of State before the expiration time limit, when this petition will be of no value which is the last of December.

Will you kindly let us hear from you in regard to the attitude of the Oregon Society in regard to this matter?

The newspaper controversy which has placed a weapon in the hands of our enemies such as they have never had before is the most deplorable situation which could have followed our campaign. The attack upon the Women's Christian Temperance Union is so unwarranted and unreasonable that it is amazing that any sane woman could have made it. From the beginning of the campaign to its close all over the state they aided us in getting up meetings, in advertising, in making our audiences and enthusiasm and in every way rendering efficient help. While it may be that some few of them were not wise in the manner in which they worked, still as an organization and a whole they did more than any other organization in the state to help us in carrying on the campaign outside of the city of Portland, and we owe them a great debt of gratitude instead of such an unreasonable assault which has been made, but all this ought not to affect the attitude of the Oregon State Society. It owes it to the Suffragists of the United States to take advantage of the conditions which their money largely contributed to create in order to carry on a successful campaign for the next two years. The question now for the Oregon women to decide is whether they will do their duty by themselves, as loyally as the other women of the Nation has done it for them and if they will stand by what has been accumulated in the form of machinery for carrying on the work and utilize it, or whether they will because of contentions among themselves allow it to be dissipated and valueless.

We held a meeting of our National Business Committee in Warren, Ohio on

Sept 12, 1906

-3-

the 11th of October, and we would like to have the reply of the Oregon Association before that time in order that we may act upon it at our business meeting.

With sincere regards,

Faithfully,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Mt. Airy, Sept. 13, 1906.

Dear Members of the Business Committee.

Since reaching home I was met by such a pile of correspondence that I was appalled and did not even say how do you do, or that I was glad to be at home on the same side of Atlantic with yourselves.

I did not tell you anything of my plans and I am not going to write a very long letter now, for I sent you one yesterday long enough to make your head ache for a week.

We are going to give up our house this fall and be with Mrs. Avery at Swarthmore. We dislike to give up the roominess of our home, but for many reasons it seems best. One advantage which will occur to the National Association will be a saving in expense as Mrs. Avery is to do Miss Gordon's work in her absence in Europe and as I am away so much, one stenographer will do for both of us. When I leave home on the 18th of this month I shall not return until after the first of November and that will give Mrs. Avery a good change to get the programme correspondence under way.

On the steamer coming home Mrs. Avery, Lucy and I worked out the outline of the programme into a pretty good working shape, so as to have it ready to send out immediately on our arrival to the other members of the Programme Committee for suggestions and changes. We would also be very glad for any suggestions from any member of the Business Committee, for we want the very best programme possible for our next convention.

You will remember that Mrs. Springer of Chicago gave the Illinois Suffrage Association \$1000 to offer in prizes in schools and colleges for the best essays on Woman's Suffrage. It has been suggested that an oratorical contest of those winning the prizes shall be given one evening at our National Convention. Mrs Stewart

Sept 13, 1906

made this suggestion and it quite appealed to Mrs. Avery and myself as something new in our convention, but particularly because it would interest the young people and let them feel they had a share in it and then it would be the best medium of advertising throughout the state of Illinois that we could possibly use. It would also help in bringing out audiences, because of the sisters, cousins, aunts and especially the fond parents of the young people, would be on hand. Do you see any objection to giving one evening *to* this kind of ~~an~~ meeting.

You have all probably been informed of the great success of the International Alliance Conference in Copenhagen. After leaving Copenhagen, Luncy Anthony and Mrs. Avery's daughters and I went overland directly to Christiania, while Mrs. Avery went to Stockholm on some Suffrage business. In Christiania a meeting was hastily arranged for me and the night before we sailed I addressed a packed audience, much to our amazement, as the time for planning our meeting was so short and right in mid-summer it was scarcely thought we would get out a good audience, but when we reached the hall before it was time to begin, every inch of standing space was packed and we had to have some one make a way for us to get to the platform. I spoke in English without an interpreter and while there were probably many among them who did not understand all I said, the majority understood enough atleast to make them appear like one of the most interested audiences I ever addressed.

Miss Quam the President of the Suffrage Organization of Norway presided, while the President of the Norway National Council occupied the platform, as well as the other leading officers of both Council and Suffrage Association. It was a most interesting meeting to me.

After it was over, following the custom of the people abroad there was a supper, provided and little speeches and toasting and compliments lasting until the small hours of the morning. It was very interest but terribly wearisome for one who had to go on board the ship next day.

During the four or five days in Christiania we met many of the Norwegian

[Sept 13, 1906]

Suffragists and a delagation meeting us at the Station at our arrival and on the night of the meeting telegrams were received from Sweden, Denmark, Holland and several other of the surrounding countries. They do things on a big scale over there and are as ingenuous as earnest children. They are full of hope that at the next session of their Parliament some measure of Suffrage will be granted to the Norwegian women.

This is just a personal friendly How do you do letter after you receive my other communication. I hope it is not too late to bring to you my sincere regards for your loyal and splendid co-operation.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw

181 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Sept. 14th, 1906.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th inst., and have already sent a telegram in answer to question Nos. 1 and 5. I acquiesce in your recommendation to the National to discontinue our support of the work in Oregon; but it is with great grief that I do so. Nothing but the outrageous dissensions there, and their injurious effects on the temper of the people reconcile me to this course. I may say, in addition, that I do not think Miss Pease has an adequate idea of how to get those petitions. I observe that she has never sent out but about 4000 petition sheets. Our experience teaches that 30,000 or 40,000 should have been sent out. Many persons will get five or six names who will not persevere and get a sheet of twenty names full. But I fear there is no one available in Oregon who can control the conditions which have developed there. And that being the case, I consent with pain to cease our efforts for awhile. I beg that you will make a point of urging that they will continue the petitioning, that they will take good care of the names already secured, and that careful investigation be made whether or not the name of the Secretary of State is an essential part of the legality of the petition.

In my telegram I asked that all reference to the newspaper controversy and the W.C.T.U. be omitted. While your remarks were just enough in themselves, I think a letter which purports being the expression of the views of the Business Committee should be absolutely impersonal, and free from supervision of any thing which has not been done with the assent of the National representative or of the auxiliary state association. Besides,

the situation there is so complicated that I believe the greatest care should be exercised that not one word which should add fuel to the fires of dissension shall proceed from any of the National officers.

I enclose my votes on the voting slip. I am greatly grieved that it has come to the pass that I must vote to stop work before the petition is filed.

I hope you will not be quite overwhelmed with all the work that is piled upon you.

Cordially yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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President, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
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OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



Mt. Siry, Sept. 13, 1906.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:

Since dictating the former letter a letter has come to me from Mrs. Upton which she sent to different members of the Business Committee stating I suggested that she should take charge of the Oklahoma campaign and that I would help her in any way I could.

Mrs. Upton evidently misunderstood just what I did say to her, for I had not the remotest hope that she could take charge of the Oklahoma campaign. No one could do that who did not go to Oklahoma and while I would rather have Mrs. Upton with the feeling which she has in regard to the possible success of our cause in that State as a helper for Mrs. Vigger, than any one else, I know it is absolutely impossible, and therefore I would never think of suggesting it. What I did want was that she should take charge of the correspondence between the National Association and Oklahoma. As I am to be in the field it will be practically impossible for me to do it, because letters which come from Oklahoma should be answered promptly for the next three months and any suggestion that is to be made to the Oklahoma people should immediately be sent out, both of these conditions are impossible while I am in the field unless some one who has at headquarters or has a home office can do it.

I hated even to suggest this to Mrs. Upton, because I knew what ^{she} had enough to do without it, but it has to be done and I do not for the life of me see who else could do it. If Mrs. Avery were familiar with the conditions and had been in touch with the work for the last year or two, she would gladly do it, but as it she could not possibly be helpful in the matter owing to her lack of information. But in this letter to me Mrs. Upton says she will keep track of the correspondence until the Business Committee Meeting, at which time it will have to be settled. After

[Sept 13, 1906]

-2-

the first of November I shall be at home for some time and I may then be able to help out.

Faithfully,

Anna H. Shaw