

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

PRESIDENT. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT. CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH,  
EVANSTON, ILLS.

TREASURER. JESSIE ASHLEY,  
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT. KATE M. GORDON,  
1800 PRYTANIA STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,  
LEXINGTON, KY.  
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,  
6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY. MARY WARE DENNETT,  
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RECORDING SECRETARY. ELLA S. STEWART,  
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLS.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE. IDA HUSTED HARPER,  
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE  
PRESIDENT. MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, BRYN MAWR, PA.

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION  
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AFFILIATED SOCIETY  
THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY  
PRESIDENT. MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 14th, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing a copy of a letter just received from Miss Gregg and I want to know what to do.

I have written to Mrs. Hoffman the State President, asking her if Kansas wishes to have Miss Gregg remain in the State, but I have told her that I do not know upon what conditions the National Officers can arrange to have her do so, but just as soon as I know their wishes we will inform her. In the meantime I want to know what to say when I hear from Mrs. Hoffman so as not to keep Miss Gregg waiting, so will you kindly tell me by return mail just what to say to Mrs. Hoffman.

I have telegrapher Miss Gregg to secure a more reasonable boarding place and to work under the directions of Mrs. Hoffman until she hears further from us, so that you will see the importance of an immediate reply. I think if we can let her remain in the State of Kansas it will be the best work she can do for the present and I am heartily in favor of it, always provided, of course, that the Kansas people want her.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

President.



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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 14th, 1911.

Dear State President:-

During the past week a plan for securing the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund has been sent to the Presidents of local clubs as far as the list is known to us. It now becomes the solemn duty of every State President to urge upon her members their obligation in this service. Four years ago it was unanimously voted at the National Convention in Chicago to create a memorial to Miss Susan B. Anthony of One hundred thousand dollars as the best recognition we could make of her life service in our cause, this fund to be used in campaigns throughout the United States whenever needed, and for carrying legal test cases to the courts. The first two years should have been utilized when our hearts were warm and our memories unclouded, yet they were allowed to drift past without any concerted effort being made to keep our pledge; but at the last National Convention at Washington it was voted to make this the year of reparation and to complete the fund before the next Convention. Miss Gordon was placed in charge and she has decided, with the approval and encouragement of the National Officers, to call upon all friends of woman's freedom to set apart the week beginning February 15th, Miss Anthony's birthday, for this purpose.

It cannot be that the memory of suffragists is so short that the splendid life service of those who pointed the way and blazed the path to equal justice, ending all the toil and privation, the ridicule and ostracism, both social and religious which always brands the efforts of the leaders in human progress. Let it not be said of suffragists we have forgotten our saviours as the world always forgets those who have sought to strike from them their fetters.



Jan 14, 1911

-2-

If Miss Gordon's plan is faithfully carried out the week of February 15th. will complete the fund and save the honor and integrity of the suffragists of the United States who solemnly pledged themselves to this service four years ago. If failure comes it will be hers who has not done her part, but let none of us feel that the work has been done and we have not been worthy to share in it.

May the week of February 15th. 1911, be a red-letter week of the fulfilment of our pledge, and at its close may we be able to announce through our National organ that the honor of the National Association has been vindicated and that Susan B. Anthony still lives in the grateful hearts of her country-women.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

President.



Jan 14, 1911

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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

COPY.

Topeka, Kansas. Jan. 12. 1911.

Dear Miss Shaw:-

There seems to be some very hopeful things about the situation in Kansas.

In the first place I think we have a very good leader in Mrs. Hoffman. As you know she is a woman of attractive personality, of broad ideas, and one who wins instead of antagonizes, and she seems to be drawing the women around her as no other woman has done since the terrible campaign. I am very much pleased with her, and with the way she managed the Convention.

I am, likewise, just as much pleased with the President of the W.C.T.U., Mrs. Mitchner. She is a woman of ability and strength, and in a remarkable way is holding the women of the Unions to the one idea of suffrage. She has insisted that they turn down all other measures as far as legislative work is concerned, and devote their efforts exclusively to suffrage.

Then there is a wonderfully bright woman in their ranks from Kansas city, Kansas, Mrs. Wallace, who is an excellent speaker, yes, an exceedingly witty, clever speaker, and she likewise is devoted to this one idea - "This one thing I do" - work for suffrage.

Then the wife of the Governor is not only a suffragist-like most Governor's wives who graciously lend their names, - but h she is a worker - one who is willing to go and interview the Legislators. She is a very strong woman and is deeply in earnest. She was present in both sessions of the Convention. So I do not think we shall find ourselves in a hole if the Legislature shall submit the amendment. For with the W.C.T.U. so well organized, with the Governor's wife a worker, and with the influence with Mrs. Hoffman has among the club women, I believe we could get very well organized for the campaign, and that we could do it quickly too.

On my way to Topeka I went to Kansas City, Kansas, to interview Mrs. O'Hare, the Socialist woman who ran for Congress. She was not at home and I, therefore, could not size her up, but from the way the Socialists keep her busy I should judge that she is a pretty strong woman and that her work among the Socialists would make a good many votes for us among the Socialist sympathisers who do not belong to the party, and the woods are getting full of them.



Jan 14, 1915

-2-

You have not given me any instructions as to whether you want me to stay here and help or not. I have not offered any suggestions except as I have been asked, but the women have all been very nice to me, and I suppose my staying here and studying the Legislature and the women who are working for it is the best and least expensive way of getting the information you desired.

A gentleman called yesterday and asked for a speaker to come next Sunday and speak before their organization of Jewish Men, numbering three or four hundred, and Mrs. Hoffman asked me to stay for that. So without any instructions from you, I agreed to do that because I thought it was such a good opportunity.

But I would like to hear from you right away, so that I shall not be unnecessarily piling up expense if you do not want me to do it. My hotel expenses are \$2.00 a day, I am with Mrs. Hoffman where a good many of the Legislators are staying, but we think we can get cheaper rooms soon.

Will you kindly wire me as soon as you receive this letter, care of the National Hotel, just what you desire me to do, so that I can make my plans and accept engagements to speak before organizations here in Topeka, or refuse them.

Lovingly,

(Sgd.) LAURA GREGG.



Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 11th, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Yours of Jan. 7th, is at hand. Have not yet received report from Miss Ashley. If you think there is a likelihood of calling a Beard meeting in February, I should prefer to defer action on a new system till the Beard meets.

I am very decidedly in favor of Miss Gregg's working elsewhere than in New York, if any other state wants her on any terms in which they pay any part of what her employment costs us. With campaigns in view in California, Kansas, Oregon, S. Dakota, Ohio, and probably elsewhere, it appears to me an ill-advised move to send her to New York, where there must be trained workers of many sorts; and where at present all the employees of the National are engaged, except what are occupied with the Woman's Journal. I trust that in our zeal for doing what appears to us the best work, irrespective of places, we will not forget that we have to deal with human nature as it is, and not as we think it ought to be; and that at least one of our first duties is to preserve a National feeling in the N.A.W.S.A. If our solitary and only organizer goes to New York, partly supported by the Asso. at large, it takes no prophet to foresee the feeling it will arouse in other states.

I am gratified that you sent a telegram to Gov. Brady. I look upon that conference of woman voters as one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Also, it was well to recognize Gov. Baldwin, even if he is not for full suffrage.

I note what you write about divisions in S. Dakota and California.



New that we are clear of complications with any of the states by reason of campaigns, I think it is the part of wisdom to take the position that the National Board will not mix itself up with internal dissensions. We tried that out in S. Dakota. I am thankful that they are not laying the whole of the blame for their defeat on the National. As far as my vote and influence go I shall use them to urge the National to let the states run their own affairs, quarrel as they choose to do, without any reference to the National, and run their campaign as suits themselves. It worked very well in Arizona, as far as I knew, and would have worked very well in Oklahoma, if it had not been for the tangle about what was promised to Mrs. Boyer. Besides, even with dissensions, Washington had a splendid victory, after our Board left them to themselves. Let us give what money we can, what speakers we can, strictly under the management of the home women; and no advice at all, or only what is urgently asked. You know I have held to this opinion for some time; and I am more strongly of the opinion than ever. There is enough work for the National to do ~~XXXX~~ <sup>without</sup> running campaigns where the women do not unanimously submit to our leadership. Even if they did, I think they had better be thrown on their own resources. The men are beginning to help nowadays, and I knew they will stand no outside interference.

I go to Cincinnati Saturday to attend a dinner given by the Cinn. College Equal Suffrage League, which they think will have an influence on the prospective campaign in Ohio.

We had a unanimous vote for suffrage from the Kentucky Federation of Labor yesterday. Have sent papers to Headquarters and W. Journal. We are certainly coming on in Kentucky. Have sent an increase of dues for at least ~~three~~ <sup>two</sup> hundred members, and are still growing.

Very cordially yours,



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TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 10th, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

This morning's mail brought me a letter from the Massachusetts Executive Committee, a copy of which I am enclosing.

As we have already voted to accept the invitation from Louisville, unless the majority of the Board think it best to change the vote, would it not be well for us to write to the Massachusetts Executive Committee and thank them for their invitation and ask them to keep it open to lay before the Convention next fall in the hope that they will accept it for the following year, if it seems wise to take our Convention to the East again.

Next Saturday's *Woman's Journal* will report a meeting which was held yesterday by the anti-suffragists and the counter-demonstration by the suffragists in New York city. It was most interesting and amusing. This afternoon Mrs. Reynolds of Colorado will answer Mr. Barry at the meeting of the Woman Suffrage Party, while I go to Yonkers, N.Y. to-night to speak. It is the home of one of the leading anti-suffragists who assured me she would be present at my meeting. I told her if she were there I hoped that she would ask some questions, since they not only refused to be asked questions yesterday but when Mrs. Myers made an absolute misstatement of the article which appearing in Pearson's Magazine about Mrs. Blatch, Mrs. Catt and myself, I rose to ask permission to correct it but Mrs. Myers refused to recognize me and had the curtain dropped immediately upon the stage. Their best policy seems to be to make a misstatement and then to run before we have a chance to force them to correct it.

We are all making desperate efforts at Headquarters to get out Miss Gordon's plan for the Anthony Memorial Fund, but it is a big job and I hope will bring about big results; we certainly need them.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna Howard Shaw*

President.



Jan 10, 1911

COPY.

January 9th, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

At our last Board meeting I brought up the matter of the National Convention, and it was voted, with one dissenting voice, that the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association invite the National to hold its next Convention in Boston in October. The one dissenting voice was Miss Blackwell's. She was of the opinion that the Convention should be held in the West.

The M.W.S.A. will pay for the use of the Hall throughout the Convention, and the hotel expenses of the eight National officers during the Convention.

During this discussion it developed that there was much interest in having the Convention in Boston and that much good to our work here would result therefrom, and that we should do our best to make it a success.

Hoping that the National Board will accept our hearty invitation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) Mary Hatcheson Page.



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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 7th, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

The work has been so pressing in the last few days in regard to many things that I have not been able to write you of the various things which have been done, in which you are all, of course, interested.

It is impossible to make copies of letters from the various States which are having all sorts of differences of opinion, and from others, all of which would be interesting, but we would have to double our office force to do it, so I am simply going to tell you of a few things which I have done.

You all know that Miss Penfield asked to be relieved of her work for three months at least, to go to her home and assist her father who was ill. We have just received a letter from her stating her father is somewhat better, but she will need to be at home during the three months. Since there is no National work on hand and we will be relieved of her salary and expenses for that time, of course, it is somewhat of a relief to us that, since she had to be called home, it occurs at this time.

Miss Gregg, immediately after settling up the affairs in Arizona, went to Kansas for a rest, and she really needed it for she had taken none during the summer at all and has been hard at work, and I asked her to find out, as far as she could, just how much there was in the newspaper reports of the activity of the W.C.T.U. and the State Association for their effort to secure the constitutional amendment in Kansas during the present session. I received a letter from the State President, of Kansas, Mrs. Hoffman of Enterprise, Kansas, asking me to come to their State Convention at Topeka on the 14th. of this month and to bring Mrs. Belmont with me, or to send Mrs. Belmont. I do not know whether she thought Mrs. Belmont was an organizer in the National Association or not. Of course it was impossible for me to go and I wrote the President that Miss Gregg was in the State and suggested that she invite her to address the State Convention. Miss Gregg is to speak for them on the 14th. at which time their campaign is to be launched.



[Jan. 7, 1911]

Official Board.

For the last year or more I have received letters from different people in Kansas City, Mo. urging me to go there and speak for them. These were not from suffragist associations but from the D.A.R. and other women's clubs, and they assured me that, if I came, it would be possible to organize a suffrage society. There has also been great activity in St. Louis among a group of suffragists who have sent in their dues as a State Society of Missouri, and we urged them to secure the co-operation of any other suffrage association in the State, and I think they already have two, and the leader in St. Louis is going to Kansas City to see what can be done there. We have not heard from Mrs. Mulkey the old President, and I think that fact, and that the old society did not send in dues, relieves us of any obligation to Mrs. Mulkey or her society, which did not exist in reality, and we can recognize this new society as a regular society.

The New York State people have asked for Miss Gregg for the next two months to work for them and they will pay her salary if we pay her expenses, or they will pay expenses from Kansas, if we will pay the salary. Of course it would be much cheaper for us to let them pay the salary. I have asked Miss Gregg to stop in Kansas City and see what chances there are to organize, and if the request for me to go from these different societies is really of sufficient importance for me to take my time to do it. I am fearfully rushed this winter and did not want to go anywhere unless I am absolutely obliged to do so.

Now I am going to enclose in this a vote to see whether you are willing for Miss Gregg to come to New York and work. Personally, I think if they are going to have a campaign in Kansas and they want her to remain there it would be a great deal better for her to do so, but in that case we would probably have to pay her salary, and I think the request for her should come from Kansas and that we should not offer her to them.

I sent a telegram in the name of the Association to Governor Brady of Idaho, in regard to the convention of women voters called for the 14th. Of course I do not know what that convention really will amount to, but I felt it was as little as the National could do to recognize it and the work it might possibly do.

I also sent a telegram in the name of the Association to Governor Baldwin of Connecticut who, according to the first reports in the papers, recommended full suffrage for women, but later we discovered it was only suffrage for tax paying women. That is a step in advance for a state so conservative as Connecticut.

I am going to enclose a vote asking you to vote on Miss Ashley's letter in regard to the doing away with the old order system and adopting the new system suggested by her.



[Jan. 7, 1911]

-3-

#### Official Board.

The South Dakota situation is more complicated than ever. They have, without dissolving their State Society called a State Convention and re-organized a new committee called a campaign committee. They did not elect any State Officers at their so-called State Convention but just the Chairmen of this campaign and gave her absolute power to appoint her own treasurer and secretary, accordingly taking the entire work out of the hands of the State suffragists. Of course this has aroused a good deal of protest from the Sioux Falls people, none of whom were given any recognition although they were the ones who did a large part of the work during the campaign, and now there are two camps in the State. I will try to send you a copy of Mrs. Johnson's letter which she wrote after I wrote her asking for some information in regard to the situation, also a letter from Mrs. Sheldon of Sioux Falls, and then you will know something about the situation and what we can do in regard to it.

The situation in California is also becoming very much strained and a new organization has been started there called the Independent Campaign Committee Organization. There is a revolt against the existing State Society by some of the older suffragists. Where two or three are gathered together in these days they want to organize a new society. The new do not like the old and the old do not like the new. The active do not like the inactive, nor the progressive the other progressives who work along a different line, and so it goes. A letter from Mrs. Park, however, who certainly is a good, loyal suffragist and worker, assures us there is little harm to be anticipated from these divisions and she thinks the work is going along splendidly and that there are fair prospects of a submission this year and, if the question is submitted, the prospects are that California will not want to be out done by the State of Washington and there will be some chance for us there.

I suppose by the time you get this letter you will have Miss Ashley's report, which I understand is nearly ready.

The enfranchised States women have not paid their dues any of them, probably due to the fact that they intend to organize an association of their own, but, otherwise, dues have been very generally paid in all the States and, on the whole, there is an increase in membership and in dues. If it had not been for the Maryland people throwing out a large part of their Association the increase would be quite marked but it takes a great many hundred to make up the loss of nearly a thousand members in Maryland.

Immediately following this letter will be one in regard to the method of organization demanded very generally at present over the country in which there is a slight difference of opinion on the part of Mrs. Dennett and myself on one or two points which we will each explain.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*



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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 19th. 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing you a copy of a Resolution passed by the W.C.T.U. of California, which was sent by Mrs. Sara J. Dorr, the President, and I would like to know what you think about the request which she makes to our Association. I think it would be impossible for us to carry it out, but of course we will have to say something in regard to their attitude. The thing I would like to say to them would be to ask them to quit working for any other department of the W.C.T.U. until we get the suffrage and particularly in the States where suffrage amendments are pending, as I understand they are going to do in Kansas.

A telegram received from the State President of Kansas states they would like to have Miss Gregg remain in the State and work and as soon as I hear from a sufficient number of the Official Board to know what our decision in regard to terms is, I will correspond further with them. I think it is by far the best thing Miss Gregg can do just now for the Association as long as we have no special plans of our own and we have to pay her her salary until the expiration of our contract with her.

I have just returned from a trip in Massachusetts where I had some very successful meetings. The work seems to be going on in the different States, but very few responses are coming back in regard to funds. When the New York State people granted the National the opportunity to have a table at their fair, I began to write around to a good many business firms and ask for contributions and we are getting quite a generous response. I am hoping that we will make a sufficient amount from the Fair at least to help to tide us over for a little while, of course as we only have one table we cannot make but a small proportion of the profits but a few hundred dollars would be a great help at the present time. I wish we could make as much as Mrs. Mackay did with her Tableaux. I saw her yesterday and she says they took in between three and four thousand dollars. Since it is reported that one dress worn by Mrs. George Gould cost \$2,000 I don't suppose the profits were very great, except that those rich women provide their own clothes, but if, instead of spending it on a gown they had given it to the cause outright, what a help it would have been, but still I don't suppose they would have given anything for the cause in any other way.



Jan 19, 1917

-2-

Official Board.

I thought you would like to know the final decision in regard to Miss Gregg and I would like to know what to do in the W.C.T.U. matter.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

President.



Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 18th, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I have just received your letter of Jan. 14th, with copy of Miss Gregg's enclosed. I think her letter describes a hopeful condition and I am decidedly in favor of our giving Miss Gregg's services to the state, if the Suffrage Asso. desires it.

Now as to terms: If Kansas is going to have a campaign, which of course we do not know yet, I think we ought to do as we did in the case of Oklahoma and Arizona, - that is, tell the Kansans in the start what the National can do for them, and let it be known that beyond that they must not expect anything more, unless they can themselves get voluntary contributions. I think this is very important, for I do not see how we are going to meet great demands, and states must not precipitate campaigns in the expectation that the National will finance them. I think if there is a campaign we might offer to give Miss Gregg on the same terms we did in Arizona. But before the campaign is decided on, as I am not particularly desirous that the National should help to precipitate one in Kansas, I would like them to pay her expenses, if you think they will do so. But I should not stickle on that, if they frankly take the whole responsibility of inaugurating the campaign themselves, as they seem to intend to do. I would advise, therefore, that you offer Miss Gregg on the best terms you can get now; and tell them that after a campaign is decided on, the National will donate Miss Gregg on the terms we gave her to Arizona. I would tell them right now that that is all the National will promise to do for the campaign. I believe Miss Gregg can do better service in her own state than in any other; and as we



are going to keep her in our employ, I think that is the best disposition of her for the National.

Perhaps the other members of the Board may not think it as important as I do that we should notify the states that we are setting a limit to what we can do for them in campaigns. But we must remember we will probably have Ohio on a campaign, perhaps immediately; for when I was in Cincinnati Saturday at the banquet of the College Suffrage League I was told by Mr. E.L. Hitchens, of the State Federation of Labor, that the Legislature set the time of the election of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and that there was an effort to get the time set for this coming April. If that is done, the campaign is on us at once. We must help there some. Again, everything in California points to a campaign there, and possibly some help from the National will be expected. At least, it is pretty certain that donations from Eastern suffragists will go there, and the National will be cut off just that much. Also, Oregon has already prepared its petition for two years from last fall. If Mrs. Duniway should abandon her "Still hunt" policy certainly Oregon will expect help. In fact, I expect several campaigns in 1911 and 1912, and more and more each year. Until we knew that we shall have money it is only fair, in view of the fact that the National has always helped in campaigns, to tell the states at once the limit of what we can do for them.

Very cordially yours,

P.S. I am going to Richmond, Kentucky, this afternoon, for an indefinite time. If you have occasion to telegraph to me, be sure you telegraph there. Letters will be promptly forwarded, so you can continue to send them to Lexington.



# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

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## AFFILIATED

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY  
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 23rd, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I have carefully considered the points of difference between the suggestions of the committee named by the Advisory Committee and myself in regard to the enclosed plan, and I feel very strongly that to change the name of our auxiliaries from clubs or leagues to Women Suffrage Party will tend to change the name of State Associations ultimately and ultimately also of the National Association, and that, to my mind, is an absurdity. A "party" implies votes and voters and it is impossible to conceive of a woman's party where women are disfranchised. The name 'Captain' also implies ward politics or war and does not appeal to me as dignified or proper title for a woman in charge of precinct suffrage work. With the statement of the Committee that it can be definitely shown that the name 'Party' has influenced legislators or candidates, I do not agree. It is true that the political work which the organization has done has impressed these men more or less, but they would have been impressed by the work under any other name, and particularly under the name of our own Association if it had been used.

The use of the "Woman Suffrage Party" by our Association will lead to endless confusion. It is claimed by some that an effort is being made to form a National Association of the Woman Suffrage Party and our women will be confused as to which is really the party to which they ought to belong, some going with one and some with the other, without realizing to which they are attaching themselves. Then we are known by our name under which forty years suffragists have organized and carried on suffrage work and won victories and built up the cause until the work done by the Woman's Suffrage Party is possible. I can see nothing but endless confusion with this variety of names. As to the National Association not getting the full benefit of this method of work without the name, I do not agree. If the method of work is not sufficient motive power in itself and depends upon a misfit name for its success, the name will not long hold its power over the people.



[Jan 28, 1911]

-2-

Official Board,

What we are really seeking is a method of organization which appeals to people and by which we can build up our Association and do the most practical work, but we are not seeking for a new name. This is my own feeling in regard to it and it is very strong, for it seems to me by adopting this name we are undermining our old Association and taking up an entirely new one which has not been fully tried, nor are its methods tested to any sufficient degree so as to make us willing to make so great a sacrifice. However, I am ready to stand by what the majority of our members think is right, but I shall, nevertheless, do it with an aching heart if we take the name of Woman Suffrage Party instead of our own Association.

Much time and thought has been given by this Committee to this plan, and it is very carefully worked out and it is very simple, as simple as it can be made, and our women are asking for it, and I, therefore, beg of you that you will give it your very earliest attention as each day's delay is interfering with the success of the organization.

Let me hear from you as soon as possible as to whether you are willing that this plan shall be sent out as a suggested method of organization by the National Association to its clubs. State also whether you approve of the name 'Party' and 'Captain' or whether you prefer to substitute the name Political District Organization and Chairman, or some other name in the place of Political District Organization.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna O. Shaw*

President.



Jan 19, 1911

COPY.

San Francisco, Cal. Jan. 9. 1911.

Rev. Anna Shaw,  
Moynan, Pa.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

At our last state convention the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

Believing that the ballot in the hands of women is needed for their protection, especially for the great number of wage earning women, we, therefore, pledge our support to the cause of suffrage; and ask our women to work for the submission by our state legislature of a suffrage amendment to our constitution; and, in view of the fact that the W.C.T.U. of Northern and Southern California include in their membership nearly ten thousand suffragists with a following of as many more, we hereby memorialize the National American Woman Suffrage Association to take the initiative in inaugurating a simultaneous parade of suffragists to be given in all the cities of the land.

We very much hope that your executive committee may take favorable action on the foregoing resolution.

Fraternally yours,

(Sgd.) Sara J. Borr, Pres.

(Sgd.) Anna E. Chase, Cor. Sec.



Richmond, Kentucky.

Jan. 28th, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw,

I am in receipt of your letter with enclosures from the Committee on Political District Organization. I answer your questions and the suggestions of the Committee.

(1) I agree with you that the names "Woman's Party" and "Captain" are not desirable recommendations from our Board, and vote accordingly. I like "Political District Organization" as well as any other, and prefer "Chairman" to any other for its purpose. In addition to these votes I wish to make some comments on the points recommended.

I do not believe any supplementary organization is desirable to be recommended to states where there is no campaign imminent. It is too comprehensive for the workers interested. This description applies to the larger number of states at present, and should be those to whom our principal attention is given, for the reason that when a state is sufficiently advanced to have a campaign it is sufficiently advanced neither to require or accept much advice from the National. Such states surely ought to understand methods sufficiently, either by practice or observation to adopt those which meet their own conditions best. That is a reason why we should be very careful not to introduce hasty changes into the organization which may confuse rather than help those states which are real-dependent upon the National for direction.

I am entirely in favor of recommending membership on the basis of sign-membership cards, without dues as an obligation. The Ky. E. R. A. has roughly tested this plan and it works well. I am perfectly willing



to recommend this to all states. I do not think it desirable, however, to recommend different dues for representation either in the state or National. I believe it will be very difficult to adjust this so that there will be complete justice, easy to be decided, between the clubs which pay dues on each member and the 500 groups of the political party. Let each group of whatever sort pay the regular dues to the state or National, as a means of contributing to the revenue, but allow them the privilege of paying dues on only so many as they choose. If they do not choose to help with the finances they will not pay dues anyway for the sake of representation, in the state, at any rate; and in the National it is not desirable that what is essentially a campaign for organization should have it in its power to direct the policy of the National by a payment of money. In Kentucky we have found it easy to rouse ambition for each club, by its own methods, to raise enough money to pay the dues of all the enrolled members which it could claim, without collecting dues from each member.

With these explanatory remarks, I vote on the proposed plan as follows:

- (1) I do not approve of the names "Woman's Party" and "Captain".
- (2) I am willing to recommend supplementary organization only to states where a campaign is imminent.
- (3) I heartily approve recommending to all states enrolled membership, without dues as a necessary qualification for membership.
- (4) I recommend that dues from all groups be equal, and that each group be encouraged to raise money sufficient to represent the regular membership dues both to the State and National, as a means of financial help to state and National work. Representation to be based on dues paid on bona fide enrolled members.
- (5) I approve of organization on the lines of political divisions; but consider precincts too small for the requirements of states where no campaign is in progress or imminent. The county is better in most states. In



3.

Jan 28, 1911

states even a larger unit is requisite at present.

I do not approve of recommending very radical changes in the state organizations until there is opportunity for discussion at a convention, as to give all a full chance to understand what the changes are and how they are likely to work.

Very sincerely yours,



Jan 26, 1911

COPY.

THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF BALTIMORE

4 West Eager Street,

January 23, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw:-

I am extremely sorry for the inconvenience of uncertainty in regard to the Democratic Convention. Your judgment was quite right. Roars of meaningless enthusiasm and unlimited terrapin and champagne seem to have been the chief features. My request for a hearing was never answered, otherwise I would have telegraphed.

It gave me great pleasure to receive your letter which I read before our Board and now give you the following results.

Our reluctance to form another state society arose partly from wishing to avoid the recognition of the other society as representing the State, and we hoped to tide over the interval until the annual meeting when our claims could be officially substantiated. With the prospect of the meeting being held in the fall, and the infusion of other influences, the Board has reversed its decision. These influences are, that the Just Government League is forming itself into a state society on an independent basis with no intention of joining the National, but with every appearance of using Mrs. Funck's position in order to block any other organization in the State. This being the case, it seemed a clear duty to us, to whom the solid, steady and permanent workers seem to look, to define our position at any cost. In the future Maryland must have a responsible and broad State Organization and we feel that the responsibility of preparing the way is forced upon us. We are, therefore, calling a meeting of the delegates who were rejected last fall and to whom our society gave the power of presenting a plan for re-organization, with the representatives from Montgomery and Talbot Counties who wish to come in with us, and we will immediately take up the subject of State organization.

There is one possible difficulty, Maryland is full of feeling for local municipal franchise for women, not specially fostered by any one, but which must be organized and directed; I therefore, enclose to you a plan for legislative organization which has been passed on by our society, and which you see includes a state wide bill. I suppose there will be no difficulty in your recognition of us, if, in providing for municipal franchise, we will work for a State wide franchise also.

Can your central office send us a copy of the simplest form of a State Constitution which commends itself to your wide experience?

We are deeply grateful to you for your sympathy and interest and as you see, we are adopting your point of view. Mrs. Harper is creating a very favorable impression in Baltimore and is helping the cause very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) Elizabeth King Ellicott.



VOTE SENT OUT BY THE PRESIDENT.

January 25th 1911.

1. Do you vote to hold a meeting of the Official Board this spring?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. If so at what time?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you vote to re-engage Miss Penfield for the coming year?

If not shall I write her that we are uncertain whether or not we will be able to use her and her time?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Are you in favor of re-engaging Miss Gregg for the coming year?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Do you consider the engagement of Miss Gregg and Miss Penfield continues until the next convention or until one year from the time that they were engaged?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



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## AFFILIATED

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY  
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 25th. 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

In view of the fact that we are not to hold our National Convention until October, is it your wish that we should hold an Official Board meeting during the spring? If so, at what time would best suit your convenience. Mrs. Stewart has expressed her hope that we will not take the month of February, as her husband is to be at home at that time, but she would be at liberty in March. March would suit me much better than February as my time in the latter month is very largely filled in speaking in different States, and I am doing everything I possibly can, working day and night, toward trying to help to raise the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, and perhaps by March we will know better whether we will have any money to work with in campaigns during the coming year, and then we can tell better what we can do. If there is not a generous response to this appeal for the Anthony Memorial Fund, I am personally opposed to the National Association taking up the burden of campaigns in any of the States, but I do feel it is our duty to get out literature and be able to respond to that sort of call from the State in which campaigns were pending, and it looks now as if every State in the Union was going to have a campaign.

The vote so far received from the various members in regard to Miss Gregg is that it seems wise to have her remain in Kansas if the Kansas people wish her. I had a telegram from the President of Kansas saying that they did wish to keep her and I have now written Mrs. Hoffman in order to get a definite statement as to the conditions upon which Miss Gregg shall remain in the State. I have also had one or two letters from Miss Gregg which seem very encouraging, she says the Governor's wife goes with the State representatives to interview the different members of the legislature and there seems to be a great deal of enthusiasm, but she says there is absolutely no organization. Miss Gregg also states that, if the Kansas women cannot pay her expenses during the time that she is in Topeka looking after the interest of the bill she will be glad to donate her expenses for a time as her part ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the campaign in Kansas, but she would like to charge the National for the expenses and make the donation through the National treasurer. But I judge from the telegram I have received from Mrs. Hoffman that Kansas expects to pay her expenses, if the State pays her expenses then she can make her donation in some other way.



Jan. 25, 1911

-2-

Official Board.

I have also received letters from Miss Penfield and says her father has recovered and that she is ready to go back to work again in April. Now the question arises - do we want to engage Miss Penfield in April, if we do, of course, the place in which she will work will depend very largely upon the campaigns which are being carried on and the States which we decide to help, if we decide to help any of them.

You have all seen the glowing accounts of the Convention in Tacoma where the National Woman Voters Council was organized. As a matter of fact this convention practically amounted to nothing in itself, it was composed of three delegates who had the proxies of two other who were snowbound and Governor Brady. Mrs. De Voe was elected President of the Council by the three voters, one Washington woman, an Idaho woman and a Colorado woman, Governor Brady presiding. The papers confuse the two conventions, the State convention which was held at the same time and this Council meeting which was held at the home of the Washington delegate Mrs. Morris. But I was rather amused on receiving a letter from Dr. Eaton who said that they had a "magnificent meeting of the Woman's Council in Tacoma". But then we have all known for many years Dr. Eaton's ability to see things large. I hope, however, that some good results may come from the council and, if it had been organized in the right spirit I am sure much good would come from it, but, from the reports in the papers, which, of course, we cannot really depend upon generally, but also from letters I have received from other people, I judge there was the same sort of tactics followed by Mrs. De Voe, Dr. Eaton and their friends at the Tacoma meeting which was followed at the Seattle meeting when we held our convention there, and the papers are full of charges and counter-charges of all sorts and a number of women have appealed to the Governor<sup>s</sup> of the States<sup>s</sup> who appointed the delegates protesting against their ~~re-organization~~ <sup>organization</sup> to this council which they have repudiated. It makes one rather heartsick that so early in the game the Washington women should display such antagonism to each other, but then we had no reason to expect anything else when we knew who was manipulating and managing the whole affair. I only hope the Anti-suffragists will not get hold of this matter and exploit it for their certainly would have good grounds for rejoicing.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*



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## AFFILIATED SOCIETY

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY  
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

January 26th, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I received from Mrs. Ellicott. When she and her Association were excluded from the Maryland State Suffrage Association, you will remember I sent a letter to the Official Board asking what we could do as a National Society on their behalf, and the decision was that we were to receive their dues the same as we received the dues of the State Society and hold them until the matter could be settled. I made very careful inquiries within and without the groups interested, and I find that it will be an absolute impossibility for them ever to work together, and that the only hope of doing any good work in Maryland will be to recognize both groups, or as many more as please to organize themselves. I think the time has come when we can no longer expect all women to work in one society in the State. Every woman nowadays who gets together half a dozen people wants to form a State Society if she does not want to form a National, as many of them do, and as many of them are. Now we must either bind them to us or else they will go to some other group, just as this group in Maryland threatens to do. We simply cannot allow States to disfranchise great groups of other women whenever those in power want to control elections, or for any other reason, and then leave these expelled groups high and dry in the air without binding them to us in some way, and my opinion is that the best thing to do is to let them organize into other State societies and join the National Association on exactly the same terms and conditions as those enjoyed by the society which has excluded them.

I knew it is our custom to have but one State society and that was the tacit understanding, but I don't think that we can adhere to that any longer, we have either got to have more than one State society or some other National Association will be formed, or in fact is being formed with the earnest hope and desire of taking in every dissatisfied group they can. It is no use to ignore the fact but there is a determined effort to organize another National Society and every inducement is being held out to Mrs. Ellicott and her friends to unite with them, and if we do not make some way by which we can help them, they will do so and nobody can blame them.



1911

-2-

Official Board.

In looking over our constitution, there is nothing in it which prevents our taking in more than one State society, and I do not see why we may not at once accept the expelled group in Maryland. The interesting thing about this expelled group is that it is comprised of all the original suffragists in Maryland, Mrs. Bentley Thomas and her entire county, and all the women who for so many years kept the work alive. If we accept the action of the present State society we will have excluded from our body the women who have been loyal to our National Association more than twenty years. It seems to me that on careful reading of the constitution we can receive the excluded group at any time, just as we could receive a new society in any other State.

There are a number of people who are looking for the death of our present National Association and are deliberately planning for it and working towards that end seeking to secure it, and instead of making it hard for people to join us we have got to make it easy.

The constitution reads:- "Any State Women Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association etc. Section 2, Article 3 of the Constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

I have written Mrs. Ellicott that I have submitted her letter to the National Board and she will hear from me as soon as I have received instructions from you.

Have you kept watch of the organization of the progressive republicans in their effort to form a new society. Do you not think it would be a good plan for us to seek endorsement by them?

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

President.



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TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

February 24th. 1911.

Miss Laura Clay,  
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I am very glad that you called my attention to the fact that our dates which we gave Miss Robinson for our National Convention over-lap those of the National W.C.T.U. I was not aware of that fact, and since in a letter just received from Miss Robinson I find that the hall has not been engaged, I think it would be better to change our dates, if we possibly could, so that our Convention would end in time for the women to go from it to Milwaukee and attend the Nation W.C.T.U. convention if they desire to do so. I am writing to Miss Robinson asking that our dates be set to begin Thursday 19th of October and close on Tuesday October 24th. The reason I put it off until the end of October was because I wanted a good college day and the colleges will not arrange their regular courses and get them adjusted before the 18th. and I was particularly anxious that the college meeting at Louisville should be a good one for two reasons. I think it would have a good effect upon the entire community, and it would also encourage the College Woman's League, of which Miss Robinson is President, as she is doing so much good work for the Convention.

But I think that it will be possible to arrange to hold the Convention from the 19th. to the 24th. instead of from the 26th. to the 31st. October, just one week earlier. I think, so far as we can, it is a good thing for us not to interfere with each other's dates, although I presume it would make very little difference with our convention, but so far as possible we want to show a spirit of friendly co-operation in the work I shall, as far as I can, select according to your members the delegates to the International from different parts of the country.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*  
*Per. J. C.*



Lexington, Ky.

Febr. 22nd, 1911.

Dear Miss Shaw,

I hasten to return my votes on the voting slip. I think the financial plan is most hopeful.

I have heard from Miss Virginia P. Robinson, of Louisville, that you think Oct. 26th - 31st the best for our convention. Those dates suit me very well, only I am sorry to see they overlap those of the National WPC?TU? in Milwaukee. Perhaps we cannot avoid this, but I would like to hear from you about it.

Cordially yours,



[ Feb 20, 1913 ]

Out of this list we are to select nine, including the National President. The College League, The Friends Equal Franchise Society and Mrs. Mackay society each select one delegate, making our twelve.

Unfortunately most of the best speakers and workers are from New York city, although there are two or three from other parts of the country who are doing excellent work for the Association, but most of these names from other parts of the country know little of suffrage and have done very little for it. Mrs. Winslow is a very desirable representative as she is a Swedish woman and formerly a woman of social position in Stockholm, her brother is United States Consul. She could probably do us much service but she has taken her sailing at a later date but would change if she were made a delegate. I don't know anything about the Missouri representative, she might be made an alternate. Mrs. Dennett says if we take either of the Massachusetts women for delegates Miss Lessing would be better than Mrs. Pequignot and that she could make a good alternate.

Of course we all know that Mrs. Ivins, Mrs. Belmont, Mrs. Nathan, Mrs. Townsend and Miss Cameron have done magnificent work in New York. Both Miss Anthony and Miss Adams of Pennsylvania are devoting most of their time to suffrage work.

Will you please vote immediately that I may send the result to the different people named in the list. In adding up the votes when they are returned I will take the first nine highest votes for the delegates and the remainder for the alternates.

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# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT, CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,  
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ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,  
6 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, IDA HUSTED HARPER,  
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

## AUXILIARIES

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AFFILIATED SOCIETY  
THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY  
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4990 MURRAY HILL



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

February 20th. 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

In next week's edition of the Woman's Journal will appear a plan for the organization of political assembly districts which was prepared by the Advisory Committee and changed to be adapted to the majority vote of the Official Board. There were practically five votes against using the name "Party" and "Captain", substituting for them "District Political Organization" and some other name for leader or organizer, according to the wish of the people who were organizing. We kept the plan waiting for a long time to get the votes returned from the Official Board. May I suggest that so long as the vote is arranged and sent out to the Board it ought to be returned as early as possible, and yet we have waited several weeks for this vote. All have voted so far except Miss Gordon, who, when she was here expressed herself as opposed to the name "Party" as a misnomer for a woman's organization and, therefore, should be counted in the negative; but I much prefer to have her vote on paper, but as it has not yet come we were obliged to publish the plan without it, counting her according to her expressed opinion when she was with us. Miss Blackwell, Mrs. Dennett and Miss Ashley voted in favor of the name Political Woman Suffrage Party and the titles "Leader" and "Captain", the other members practically voted against them.

I am sending you a copy of a new plan which has been suggested for raising money for the work of the Association which, if it can be followed, will no doubt bring us in a good revenue; in fact some of the people are very enthusiastic over it and even those who are the least enthusiastic feel that with co-operation and even a moderate degree of loyalty on the part of suffragists a good revenue can be obtained for the Association, in fact a sufficient revenue to run and pay the ordinary expenses of headquarters. This seems like a strong statement but we have had the advice and counsel of one of the managers of one of the leading magazines in this city and he says that with such a constituency as we have we could easily make from twenty to thirty thousand dollars a year; and so we could if we had a constituency which felt any



[ Feb 20, 1911 ]

-2-

Official Board.

responsibility whatever toward the National Association except to vote that the officers shall do a lot of work without giving them any means with which to do it, but if we can make our constituency feel their obligation in this matter, and I hope we shall be able to do so more and more, I think we will be able to establish a permanent method of raising money. Those of you who have read anything about the University City near St. Louis know that the hundreds and thousands of dollars which have been accumulated by that man have come through this kind of work, except that he has been dishonest, but as we expect to be honest we will not count our money by hundreds of thousands but by hundreds. It is a well known fact that every family of suffragists take one paper or magazine, or something of that sort and some take a dozen; other families have friends who take magazines or papers and who renew their subscriptions annually. Now, if suffragists would just knuckle down to work and get all these people to take their magazines through us we would clear from 10¢ to 50¢ on every magazine taken. Of course it would take the time of one person to look after it but that could be done on a percentage basis and that is the way we are starting out. Miss Pope, a young lawyer in partnership with Miss Ashley, is the one who thought of the plan and she has consented to take it in charge for a time to see what can be done, and so far she has taken in enough to pay for all the expenses of printing the circulars and subscription blanks, so that at least we are starting out in the plan without any extra expense to the National Association. But we want the approval of the Official Board in order to send this letter - a copy of which I enclose, broadcast. Miss Pope has such of the various magazines and secured for us the agency. Now the best part of this scheme is that we can get magazines and other periodicals as cheap as anybody else can for our subscribers and by subscribing through us they will be able to raise money for our work and not let it cost suffragists a dollar, and if we could raise even three or four thousand dollars a year for our headquarters work without costing suffragists a cent, it certainly would be a plan worthy of our adoption. In addition to subscribing for the magazines for people it would put us in touch with people outside of our own Association and perhaps get them to take some of our literature and interest themselves in our work. What I want is by return mail, if possible, to get the vote of the Official Board approving this method of raising money and then we will make an appeal through the Woman's Journal.



Feb 20, 1917

Official Board.

The New York State Fair was held last week on February 14th.. As you all know the Committee permitted Miss Lucy Anthony to have a Susan B. Anthony National table, at which we could sell the few things we have left belonging to Miss Anthony and what other things were contributed, and turn the money into the National Treasury. For several weeks Miss Anthony has devoted herself to this work with untiring zeal, and with the money which she secured from relatives and personal friends for the Anthony Memorial Fund and the sales at the table, she will be able to turn in to the National Treasury something in the neighborhood of \$800.00, much of this was solicited from her personal friends and relatives for the Anthony Memorial Fund. As there was but one half day and evening sale at the Fair, and the day was an unusually stormy one, the sales did not amount to as much as we had hoped; if the Fair could have continued another day I am sure they would have more than doubled the amount of sales, and I am sure they will be able to do so yet when we have a post sale a few days later on. We were greatly disappointed in not selling a painting which Mr. Keith of California had done for Miss Anthony some years ago, we appraised it at \$700.00. We hoped to sell it to the Metropolitan Art Gallery or to Mr. Hurst, but have not yet been able to do so, when this is done the money will be turned into the treasury also as will all the money we can raise from the sale of Miss Anthony's belongings. Miss Lucy Anthony has taken great interest in this sale and has worked very hard and she hoped to raise about a thousand dollars for the fund and the treasury and I have no doubt she will do so before she gets through.

Several people sent things to the Fair but unfortunately two of the most expensive things which would have brought the largest amount of money we were unable to sell, in fact I have come to the conclusion that unless people are willing to take chances at a Fair, it is impossible to sell everything over a dollar in price, everybody wants the cheap things. There was one magnificent prize Indian Basket worth at least \$30.00, it did not sell, and there was a Satsuma bowl which the lady who sent it said was worth \$40.00, that did not sell either but we are hoping in some way to sell them yet. Everybody was very kind and helpful and Lucy was able to find a number of good sales people and I had my three nieces there at work for two days getting things ready, and altogether we succeeded in making a very helpful showing for our National work.

Mrs. Dennett and the headquarters force had charge of the literature table which was a separate affair entirely, and at least we had an opportunity of showing everybody samples of the vast amount of literature we have and the work we are doing. I think this literature table under the direction of Mrs. Dennett was a very great success and helpful to our work.



Feb 20, 1917

-4-

#### Official Board.

The Fair itself was one of the most beautiful I have ever seen and the most attractive hall and the impression made on everybody who came was good for the work. The thing that rejoiced me perhaps as much as anything was the splendid spirit of co-operation shown by all those who took part. All of the suffrage societies in the city co-operated with the State except the Womens Suffrage Party which declined to take any part in it, the others, even Mrs. Blatch, co-operated. We are all glad the Fair is over and now I am looking forward with anxiety to the return from the Anthony Memorial Fund. Just what that will count up to in the treasury I do not know, but at least it will be something toward paying the campaign expenses for the past year and perhaps have something left over for the campaign expenses for the coming year. I do not know of a single State which has taken up the work and made any personal and direct effort throughout the State and it certainly was the obligation of every State. So far as I know all effort which has been made has been largely made through Miss Gordon and myself and Miss Anthony, others have done local work, but the States have not taken up the work with any spirit so far as I know, which should have been shown. After the unanimous vote to make this the special work for the year. I have come to the conclusion that it is a great piece of folly for people at one period of effort in a great cause to raise a fund to run the work of the future, to my mind it is infinitely wiser to raise money as we go on because if the work grows each year the people who are doing the work at that time can raise the money to carry it on and I, for one, am going to refuse to do anything with this effort to raise money for future work. I did not approve of the vote at Washington to use this money for just one purpose but, since the majority did, I have done everything I could to stand by that vote and help to carry it through; but now that the effort has been made I want to register my determination never again to work for a fund for future efforts but shall do what I can to raise the money to carry on the work year by year as long as I am in any way associated with it.

I am enclosing a list of names of people who are going to Stockholm, as far as I know them. Two weeks ago I asked the Woman's Journal for those who are going to send in their names and this is the result; if there are others who are going they have not sent in their names, and I feel that it is quite late enough now to send out the list, especially as some of these are willing to change the date of sailing if they are appointed delegates; others will go if they are delegates but will not go if they are not. As you will notice, most of those who are going come from New York, which is unfortunate but there are many throughout the country. We are entitled to twelve delegates including the President



Feb 20, 1911

-5-

Official Board.

and, as I intend to go, it will leave eleven delegates to be elected aside from myself.

I am sorry to say that a good many of these people who are going are not very desirable delegates; they know little of our work, have been in it only a short time, and are not women who will make a very decided impression of our strength upon the women of the old world. There are enough desirable ones among the group, but unfortunately many of them come from New York city, and I suppose as far as possible we will have to scatter our vote throughout different parts of the country. I have grouped these names under States and I hope your vote will be influenced somewhat by the character of the women and the work which they have done and are doing for the Association and the standing they hold in the States from which they come. I am going to ask you to make a list according to your preference 1, 2, 3 and so on, and return it just as soon as you possibly can. One woman especially is waiting to change the date of her sailing, she is a Swede and the sister of the Swedish Consul of New York and a very good suffragist.

Will you authorize Mrs. Bennett, Miss Ashley and me to fill in any vacancy in the delegation if a very desirable person comes to the front between this and the time of the Convention? I understand there are a number of distinguished Americans in Europe some of who expect to be at the Convention and will you authorize the filling of a vacancy from the most desirable women present?

Faithfully yours,

President.



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CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, MISS CAROLINE I. REILLY,  
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

## AFFILIATED SOCIETY

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY  
PRESIDENT, MRS. MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

February 28th, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

The answers which have come from the State Presidents, who have answered at all, in regard to Mrs. Dennett's letter asking their opinion in regard to making the suffrage literature pay for itself, have all been in the affirmative, and more and more we are trying to work to that end. But one thing is quite apparent and that is that unless we can turn the money which comes in from the literature back into it again we cannot hope to make it self-supporting. In fact that is the only way it ever can be self-supporting. Heretofore we have been obliged to use the receipts from literature to pay the running expenses of the organization. This has been done for years and so each year we have been obliged to make large appropriations for literature and it has seemed to us that these appropriations have not been returned to the Treasury from the proceeds of the sales, and yet they have been very largely returned, so that when we make an appropriation say as we did this year of \$1500.00 for literature, we really do not appropriate it in the same way in which we do when we appropriate a certain sum of money for salaries, because for the literature department it comes back to us and is used for other purposes. I think we should begin to look forward to the time when every dollar which is received for literature shall be put right back into the literature and so both the standard and the quality of our literature kept up. I hope you will be thinking about this matter and that very soon we will be ready to vote that all money received from literature shall be set apart for the literature fund.

Mrs. Dennett has written you in regard to the salary of Miss Ferrins and I fully concur in what she says both in regard to Miss Ferrins and the other office workers. When I read Barry's article in Pearson's this week and realized that these young women work day in and day out month after month and never think of having a day off, I wonder from what office Mr. Barry got his information. They are certainly exceptional not only in the quality and quantity of the work they do but in the personal interest they take in the work, for each one of our young



C Feb. 28, 1916

-2-

Official Board.

women in the office acts as if she felt the work of the Association was her special business in life and she does it with a cheerfulness and interest which adds greatly to the value of the work she does. There never was a more loyal and faithful little soul than Miss Ferrine and I feel that we have too long accepted her services without giving her proper compensation. I am going to enclose a vote in this letter.

In corresponding with members of the business committee in regard to the date of the National Convention, Miss Clay informs me that the date suggested from October 26th. to 31st. interferes with the National W.C.T.U. and so I have written Miss Robinson asking her to change the dates to October 19th. to 24th. inclusive in order to escape this complication.

Miss Robinson wrote me that the hall had not been engaged and that it would not make any difference to them as to dates, so that, if nothing new occurs I think we had better definitely set the dates from October 19th? to 24th. inclusive.

All the votes except Miss Blackwell's are in in regard to delegates for the International Council meeting. There are such a variety of votes that it will be somewhat difficult to settle upon them, but as far as we can we will follow out the plan of getting the delegates from as many different parts of the country as we can.

Faithfully yours,

*Anna H. Shaw*

President.



Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 3rd, 1911.

My dear Miss Shaw,

Yesterday I received your letter of Dec. 30th, containing the final vote that the National Convention shall be held in Louisville the latter part of October. I am very much pleased with the result; and I have written to our Committee in Louisville advising it of the decision about the month, and suggesting that it fix as soon as possible the days, so as to pre-empt them, as it were, and forestall any other organization which might think of taking them. I also wrote that I expected they would receive advice from the National member of the Local Arrangements Committee on various points; so if you have any suggestions to make they will be expecting to hear them. Let me also know any you think of, for we have divided the responsibility between the Louisville people and the rest of the state; and I am ex officio the chairman of the committee for the rest of the state, as Miss Virginia P. Robinson, 1710 Resewood, Louisville, is for Louisville.

Since the vote was taken I have received your letter of the 29th ult. concerning the W. Journal, and later received the circular letter from Miss Ryan, and also one from Miss Blackwell. Miss Blackwell has written both to you and to me that she would like the proposed Committee to visit the Journal, therefore my objection to such a visit is withdrawn. At the same time I shall not vote for it, as I am satisfied that every thing which can be learned by such a visit can be learned much cheaper by correspondence. Miss Ryan explains some points satisfactorily which are raised in your letter. If there is any official visit made in the name of the Official Board I wish to say that I shall



consider it due to the members of the Official Board, including myself, that a formal and complete report be made to each member of it. I am not willing that any official action shall be taken, to which by my office I shall seem to be a party, and I be left without any official information of what was done. I consider it a great mistake in the present management of business in Headquarters that the merest scraps of information come to the members who are not in New York, the principal source of this information being through the columns of the Journal. It seems to me that you are feeling so much what appears to you a lack of sympathetic effort on the part of some members of the Board simply because those members of the Board have very little touch with what is going on.

I am particularly sorry to find that any situation wrings from you an expression of discouragement. Whatever may be the hardships which oppress the Official Board I feel that our cause is now so hopeful that it is like a mariner giving up hope just in sight of land. I have been wondering if you were in any way alluding to me when you say some have been giving to campaigns and not through the National. If that is the case, I believe a few words of personal explanation will relieve any soreness of feeling as far as I am concerned. I have given nothing to any campaign except a little donation of \$10.00 to Mrs. Craigie in her campaign in S. Dakota, because I have been such an advocate of her Committee, and was at that time its Ky. member. In Oklahoma I had interested myself and tacitly pledged help before I had any idea that the National was going to be so hard pressed for money. Even if I had not been ignorant, I am sure you would not have expected anything I gave to Okla. for general purposes when I refer you to the National minutes to show that Ky. has not fallen off in anything it has usually paid to the National, and that all I personally paid to Okla. was not of my income but of my principal, which I could get at readily because I had it awaiting investment in a savings bank. I have known all along that most of what I was donating was of my



Jan 3, 1915

If there has to be a visit made at all to enable Headquarters to have a complete understanding of the situation in the Journal office it seems to me it would be better for Miss Ryan to come to New York rather than to have three persons go to Boston. The visit might help to put her in touch with persons and business people who could give help to the Journal. I remember she told us in Washington it was her hope to travel some in the interest of the paper.

I am very sorry that the situation of the finances wrings from you an expression of discouragement. Whatever may be the hardships which oppress our Official Board just now I feel that our cause is now so hopeful that discouragement is like a mariner feeling it just in sight of land. It takes some time for any association to realize a new condition; and I suppose none of us had an idea of how hard a year this was to be for the National finances. I observe you think the officers outside of New York have not been as helpful along this line as you think they might have been. If you have any of that feeling towards me I am confident a few words of personal explanation will remove such soreness of feeling. I have given nothing to any campaign except that in Oklahoma save a small donation to help Mrs. Craigie in her campaign in S. Dakota. As I was the Ky. member of her committee I thought it was due her. The minutes of the National will show, I believe, that Ky. has paid all it has usually done to the National. As to my personal help to Oklahoma I will say that I had interested myself and tacitly pledged help before I had any idea that the National was going to be so hard pressed for money. Even if I had not been ignorant of that, it happens that I should not have been likely to give to general purposes what I gave to Oklahoma, as all I have given has come out of my principal and not out of my income. I had it where I could readily get at it, waiting in a savings bank for investment. I have known all along that most of what I was donating was



[Jan 3, 1917]

3.

principal, but since I have examined my books at the close of the year I find that the whole of it was such. As to the Bruce fund, the \$1000.00 loan was voted by the whole of the Board; and of the interest of 1909 and 1910, amounting to \$400.49 I paid to the Oklahoma campaign only <sup>in the two years</sup> \$264.00 and the rest to the National treasury. So I do not consider that I have been unmindful of its needs.

I had intended to give careful thought to the state of the finances after I receive a statement from the treasurer, and write some suggestions fully. But if you think you will call a Board meeting in Febr. I suppose I had better reserve full discussion till that time. If we are to have a Board meeting at all this winter I believe it would be best to have it as early as it can be arranged, and therefore I prefer Febr. to March. I am turning over in my mind whether we ought any longer to hold out hope to states having campaigns that we will give any financial help unless we have money in the fund Miss Gordon is raising. The last year has proved that it is a burden greater than we can bear without some such limitation; and I see that there is a probability that both California and Kansas will have campaigns in 1911 besides others which may become possible.

Hoping to hear anything you may have to suggest about the arrangements in Louisville, and wishing you a Happy New Year, I am

Very cordially yours,