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

ANNA HOWARD SHAW PRESIDENT MOYLAN, PA.

JANE ADDAMS

1st Vice-President
HULL House, Chicago ILLS

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE 2ND VIGE-PRESIDENT GREEN HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, ILLS.

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THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
JESSICA GARRETSON FINCH, PRESIDENT
1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

February 20th. 1912.

Dear State President:-

The Congressional Committee have arranged for the Congressional Hearing in Washington for the morning of March 13th. and. as it is desirable to have as much interest as possible awakened, it is important for every State Association to send an official letter, and for as many individuals as possible in each State, to the State's members of Congress and Senate, calling to their attention this Hearing and asking them to be present. Will your Official Board immediately send letters to Congressmen and ask other suffragists throughout the State to us urge upon their own particular representative his attendance upon the Hearing.

It would also be a great et point gained if we could have the wives of the different Congressmen present, so that a letter addressed not only to the Congressmen but a letter addressed to the wives informing them of the Hearing, and inviting them to be present, might add to the interest. It would at least show the members of Congress that there were some women in all the States which they represent, interested in the Hearing and in woman suffrage.

It would be a good thing to call to the attention of the Congressmen the various societies of both men and women in their own State, who have passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage, especially if they are influential bodies.

If there are people from your State at the present time in Washington, or who are likely to be there at the time of the Hearing, it would be well to inform them in regard to it, that they might also be present and so make the Hearing as broadly national as possible. Heretofore we have always had these Hearings as at the time of the National Convention, and we have had speakers from the various States present, but this time we are obliged to take those whom we can secure at the least possible expense of travel and money, and so we have planned the Hearing at the regular time of one of the Official Board meetings that all the members of the Official Board can be present.

-Febrao, 1912, State President. It will be of interest to the various State Presidents to know that the reports from the campaign States are increasing in their encouragement. This is particularly true of Oregon, where the club women have organized and are taking up the work of the campaign, as so that it is not only being carried on inside the suffrage organizations but outside as well. The Wisconsin campaign is particularly interesting and reports from that State are very encouraging. Yansas reports increasing interest, and New yampahirs a is very much alive. So that there is hope all along the line, I carnot help feeling that, if the women of the States where campaigns are pending, will only onter into the work as actively as did the women of California, there is no doubt but we would carry at least three out of the four States where the voto will be taken this fall. The report from Ohio is also encouraging, since the Committee on Elections reported sixteen to one in favor of inserting woman suffrage in the new constitution. If this is any indication of the attitude of the whole Convention toward the question there is a great promise of an active campaign in the State of Ohio. So that there is marked out for us during the coming year enough to keep both our heads and our hearts very active, since those of us who have not campaigns on hand should feel an obligation to help the States where the amendments are pending. There is one matter which I wish to call particularly to your attention, and that is our National organ. The Convention voted at Louisville to continue the contract with "The Woman's Journal" to remain the National organ for the coming year. The officers and delegates from the various States were informed that "The Woman's Journal" was the largest and most expensive proposition undertaken by the National Association and that it foll behind more than \$600 every month in meeting its expenses, which amount had to be raised by the National Association to carry it on; in face of this knowledge the Convention voted to continue the contract. This vote pre-supposed that the various States voting would feel the responsibility of raising the money to carry on this great financial burden and to meet the obligation which "The Woman's Journal" imposes upon the Mational Association.

State President. So far few of the States have responded, and none in proportion to the demand. If "The Weman's Fournal" is to continue as the sational organ, and if the Official Board are expected to carry out the vote of the Convention, it can only be done if the various States respond financially and make it possible. The Mational Measquarters is not a mint and carnot coin money. It can pay bills only when there is money in the treasury with which to do so: When the National treasury is empty the bills carnot be paid whether they have been voted by the Mational Association or not. What response will your State make and how for will you stand by your obligation, assumed by State representatives, to maintain the National Society in continuing "The Woman's Journal" as its official organ? This is the most important question facing us at this time and it will have to be set by the Official Board at its next meeting. What is the answer which we will receive from your State? The Literature Department of the National Association is an indication of the growing interest of the whole country in suffrage. On the first month of this year the receipts for literature were greater than those of the entire year prior to the opening of the Headquarters in New York. This, of course, means a great increase in the work of the Headquarters to meet and fill this obligation, and it also indicates the tremendous growth of our movement, and this ought to rejoice every one of our hearts. Through the generosity of a friend of our cause, the National Association is able to help in the various campaigns throughout the country and it is co-operating with all the campaign committees and rendering every assistance in its power. And now what is needed is that the States shall do their part in helping to maintain the National Association in its enlarging work and its increasing needs. Faithfully yours, Anna H Shaw

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

ANNA HOWARD SHAW PRESIDENT MOYLAN, PA.

JANE ADDAMS
1st Vice-President
Hull House, Chicago, Ills.

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THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY

JESSICA GARRETSON FINCH, PRESIDENT

1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

August 20th, 1912.

Dear State President:

From all the reports which have come to the National Headquarters, every organized and unorganized State has been doing aggressive work during the past year, notwithstanding that more has been done by the States where campaigns are not pending, both in sending workers whose salary and expenses have been paid by the State from which they came, and in raising mency for the campaign States, and especially in the donation of personal service by those who were, fortunately, able to give themselves to the cause free of all financial obligation,

Never in the history of the movement for suffrage have more generous responses been made by those who feel the oneness of our National movement and are not influenced by the fear that those living across an imaginary line shall gain an advantage over themselves, but who, with a spirit of real democracy, feel that while one weman is in political bondage all women are bound. This spirit of national democracy has made the campaigns possible in States which were poorly organized and which would not have been able to have borne the financial obligations, or to furnish the necessary workers unaided.

It has been very gratifying that, not only have individual and State societies been able to assist in these campaigns, but because of the Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Fund, the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund, a generous donation from a loyal and long-standing friend of our cause to the National President, and the estate of Mary S. Anthony, the National Association has assisted every State where campaigns are pending, with workers, with literature and with money. It has been the most remarkable year of suffrage propaganda in our history and gives promise of more victories than have ever occurred in one year of our movement.

State President,

The frequent claim that American women are not willing to give either time or money to our cause, as are those of foreign countries, especially Great Britain, is possibly, in a measure, true, but not in the sweeping sense in which the claim is made. The difference, if carefully investigated, would doubtless show that in Great Britain, all funds are reported through one treasurer in each national association, no matter where or how raised or expended. While in this country we have State and local societies and the money of suffragists is contributed to and spent by so many different organizations that the aggregate amount contributed cannot be known.

To ascertain, in a partial degree, at least, the amount expended in the nation for suffrage work during the year, the National Corresponding Secretary has sent to the various States a Questionaire, which, if correctly answered, will give approximately the amount which has been expended. The value of the information will depend upon the active co-operation of the States as a whole, and I have no doubt that when the report is made, the amount will amaze us all.

In making up the year's budget of work done in the States, the National President is very desirous of learning whether in your State you have made any demands upon your legislature for any form of suffrage, and she will enclose in the letter a series of questions asking you to reply as seen as possible, so that the grouping of different forms of legislation may be accurately made.

Your National President is about to enter the various campaigns, beginning in Ohio, then following on to Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas, giving nearly two weeks to each State. She expects to reach the National Headquarters in time to receive the news of victory from all of those whose election comes in November, and hopes to join with the victorious Ohioans in their rejoicing on September 3rd.

Because of this extended tour, which will prevent writing later, she is sending this additional message to the State Presidents, to remind them of the change in the National Constitution, requiring the annual dues to be paid at least one month prior to the National Convention, which takes place in Philadelphia, November 21-26. We hope this Convention, held in the city where the Declaration of Independence was given to the world, will be the most triumphant one in our history. All States will desire to participate in its exervises and deliberations. In order that your State may not be left out, it would be wise to send your dues, or if it is impossible to know the full amount of them, at least a portion of them, immediately to the National Treasurer, so that nothing may prevent your State or se Society having representation at the Convention.

State President,

Several new societies have been added to the Matienal Association during the last year, and more members have been added than ever before. The suffrage tide has risen and we are almost able to see the final victory.

Nothing could show the progress of our movement more than the attitude of political parties toward woman suffrage. They begin to recognize women as a political factor, to be dealt with and not to be ignored. The one million women voters, and the more than a million prospective women voters are convincing arguments to politicians which no amount of sentimental prejudice can refute.

With the prospect of all these victories before us, it is the duty of each State, having done all it can for the campaigns, to get its own house in order ready for an appeal to its own legislature for the submission of an amendment at the next legislatyre, whenever this is possible, and thus make each succeeding year more victorious than the last.

Keep your thoughts and prayers and help of every kind on the fields of conquest where the battle is now waging, and God grant us the victory.

Paithfully yours,

anna A. Shaw per H.

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

ANNA HOWARD SHAW PRESIDENT MOYLAN, PA.

JANE ADDAMS
1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
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THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY

JESSICA GARRETSON FINCH, PRESIDENT

1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

September 6, 1912.

Dear Member of the Executive Committee:-

The National Association is facing bankruptcy this very day. If you want to save it, please give heed to the following facts and then act immediately.

First read this letter from the President to the other members of the Official Board.

"August 17th, 1912.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

We have reached a crisis in our work which we must face and meet. It is learned by the Ways and Means Committee that the suffragists, and other friends, are so absorbed in campaigns that it is impossible to secure money for any other purpose.

I do not know whether you have been informed of the result of Miss Johnston's investigation into the Coggeshall bequest. She made a very careful investigation during her stay in Des Moines, and, while she feels that there is no doubt of the desire on the part of Mrs. Coggeshall's children that the bequest should be paid, yet the condition of Mrs. Coggeshall's estate is such that it is largely composed of landed property, and, until this property can be sold, bequests cannot be paid. Therefore, the prospects are that we may have to wait five years before we receive it, as it is within the option of the administrators to pay it within that time. I suppose this provision was made in order that time might be given to dispose of the land, and in order to secure the necessary funds.

c Sept 6, 19125

Miss Johnston is probably already at Cincinnati, trying to see what can be done there, but, personally, I have very little hope that anything can be accomplished. So that there is practically no prospect of any income from these bequests. She will continue her effort to secure money, and certainly, she has done a splendid piece of work in Chicago; but there she had the assistance of our National officers and good friends of suffrage, such as she can have nowhere else, unless it is in New York, and this not until after the people return from the country.

The condition of the National Treasury you all know from the various reports received from the Treasurer. We have not had to meet the conditions before this year which have placed us in our present financial predicament. With the expiration of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund last April, we have been deprived of the \$6,000 for the latter half of the year. With the cessation of the support of the Press Department by Mrs. Belmont, we have had to maintain that out of the general treasury and, with the increased expenses and burden of the Woman's Journal, added to the greater cost of increasing work of our National Headquarters, the out-go has been larger than ever before. While, on the other hand, the funds of suffragists have been poured into the campaign States, and they have, therefore, done practically little to maintain the National work during the year.

One cannot blame people for taking a deeper interest in something they see doing, as in campaigns. The general public do not see the millions of pages of literature created and handled at the National Headquarters, the small things, such as buttons, seals, mottoes, flags, and scores of others, the press work, and the thousands of letters of advice and counsel, all of which are tremendous aids in creating the propaganda which makes the campaigns possible. They only see the work after it is started in the field and the great meetings and the motor trips and the flying pennants and the newspaper reports of successful gatherings and various things done. It is very natural that they should think these are the only things that are done, and that they are utterly blind to those things which make them possible.

The Official Board must simply admit the fact and meet it, and there is but one way to do it, and that is to cut out every expense possible by reducing the official force at Headquarters, and the

#3. r Sept 6, 19125 Woman's Journal office, even if this requires cutting down the work done by the National Headquarters, and reducing the size and increasing the price of the Woman's Journal. I wish the Board would instruct those in charge of the National Headquarters, the Woman's Journal office and the Press Bureau, to reduce, as far as possible, the official staff, and to make such other changes in the work as will reduce the expenses. We are \$10,000 in debt now, and the amount is growing at the rate of \$1,800 per month, with no prospect whatever before us of securing the money to pay it. When we had hopes of raising the amount to meet these expenses, we could continue honestly in incurring them, but we can do so no longer. Therefore, immediate action is necessary, and the opinion of each member of the Board upon the subject is imperative. Will you kindly vote at once so that the work of reduction may begin immediately. Faithfully yours, (Signed) Anna H. Shaw, per J.A. President." On receipt of this letter the Corresponding Secretary answered by the following:-"Spofford, N.H. Aug. 20, 1912. Dear Member of the Board:-Miss Shaw's letter on the financial situation has been forwarded to me. You may have already voted, if not, it may help to consider these points. Why not send a copy of Miss Shaw's letter to the president and secretary of every branch association, and ask if they wish the work cut down, if not, what they will do to save it, and ask for an IMMEDIATE answer? Enclose a stamped envelope and a vote slip, send the letter to the other members of the Executive Committee also. If this is NOT done and we go to the Convention with the work largely curtailed, the majority of the delegates will not realize the difference and, as usual, will not take any responsibility.

- seht 6, 1912-#4. Again if the work is to be cut down, why not cut down the part which produces most of the deficit - the Journal - instead of the Headquarters work, which is largely literature and which pays its own way? I have long felt that the members of the Association should somehow be made to feel responsibility and not leave it all to the Board. Faithfully, (Signed) Mary Ware Dennett." The suggestion for referring this very serious question to the members of the executive committee was approved. Hence we ask you to proceed as follows; consult with as many responsible members of your association as you can reach inside of THREE days, then make your decisions and vote on the enclosed slip; mail it to Headquarters if you are within twenty-four hours of New York; if farther away, then send a night letter-telegram voting on the questions in order. Put the NUMBER of the question before each answer to avoid mistakes. Since many members of the Executive Committee are away at this time of the year, we are sending to the Secretary as well as to the President of each branch association, in order to have the responsibility for this important decision rest upon a really representative body of members of the National Association. The total number of people who can be reached will be probably no more than the full membership of the Executive Committee. In making your decisions, please bear in mind these significant points:-1. If the work goes on till Convention, it must be supported either by contributions or by loans; which are preferable? If the work is cut down now, it will be exceedingly difficult to expand it again after the Convention. It would mean "breaking in" a new office force. The deficit is about \$10,000. This is the amount of the uncollectable Coggeshall legacy. The deficit comes mostly from the Woman's Journal. The literature department is selfmaintaining if the value of the unsold stock and uncollected bills are included in the assets.

E Sept 6, 19123 #5. The paid office forces consist of the following: Woman's Journal: Managing editor, Circulating manager, Miss Blackwell's secretary, Book-keeper, Stenographer, Subscription clerk, Advertising agent, Asst. Stenographer, Filing and order clerk. Headquarters: Corresponding Secretary (who is also Chairman of the Literature Committee) Editor of Literature department and

Chairman of the Literature Committee)
Editor of Literature department and
general assistant.

Manager of shipping dept.
Asst. " " "
Helper" " "
Two stenographers.
Saleswoman and information clerk.
(who is in attendance in the main
office and whose duties are
manifold.)
Book-keeper,
Chairman of Press Bureau,

5. One stenographer has already been dismissed, a saving made possible by the fact that Miss Shaw will be away campaigning till Nov. 1, also the helper in the shipping department, (service which costs the least and is most easily replaced of any.)

Asst.

6. Any other curtailments in the office forces will seriously cripple the work, so if they are voted, it must be with this fact distinctly realized.

Hoping you will be able to let some light in upon a dark situation, and that you will not fail to answer as requested above,

Faithfully yours,
Anna Howard Shaw,
Jane Addams,
Sophonisba Breckinridge,
Mary Ware Dennett,
Susan W. FitzGerald,
Jessie Ashley,
Katherine Dexter McCormick,
Harriet Burton Laidlaw,
Alice Stone Blackwell.

Branch of International Woman Suffrage Alliance and of National Council of Women

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Anna Howard Shaw
Moylan, Pa.

1st Vice-President
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2nd Vice-President Charlotte Anita Whitney 2121 Webster Street, Oakland, Cal.

Corresponding Secretary Mary Ware Dennett 505 Fifth Avenue, New York



WHITE STATES . . FULL SUFFRAGE SHADED . . . PARTIAL .. DARK . . NO

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College Equal Suffrage League M. Carey Thomas, President Bryn Mawr, Pa.

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NATIONAL AUXILIARIES: Friends Equal Rights Association Mary Bentley Thomas, President Ednor, Maryland

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The Equal Franchise Society Mrs. Howard Mansfield, President 535 Park Avenue, New York

Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York

March 27th, 1913.

Dear Member of the Executive Committee:-

By a fortunate combination of events, conditions have so changed in Washington that it seems a most favorable time to take advantage of circumstances, such as have never before been offered to us by the National Congress. The great change in public opinion, and the attitude of political parties all over the country, have resulted in a very different attitude on the part of politicians toward favorable action on The outrageous attack upon the suffrage prothe question. cession has aroused Washington as never before. There is manifest an intense zeal, both by the old and the new suffragists. We have the active co-operation of Washington people, especially the wives and daughters of members of Congress, as shown in the parade and pageant. There is an apparent desire on the part of the new administration to really do something for suffrage, as shown by the increase of the suffrage committee from five inactive to nine active members, at least eight of whom are pronounced suffragists, and a guarantee that the bill will be reported to this Congress.

All these things, partly due to changing conditions, and partly to the prompt and energetic activities of the National Congressional Committee, have brought such a hopeful situation that it has seemed wise to the Official Board to hold the next National Convention in Washington, simultaneously with

EMar. 27, 19133

Executive Committee.

the opening of Congress - December first - and, at its close, have the Congressional Hearing. It is impossible to have a National Convention in November and a Congressional Hearing in December, if the Hearing is to be truly representative of the whole country, and at this Hearing it seems important that all the States should be represented.

There is but one difficulty in the way and that is the By-law which says the Annual Convention shall be held between Election Day and Thanksgiving. This is not in the body of the Constitution but is a By-law only, and, as December first would be only four days after Thanksgiving. the postponement would be insignificant.

Our Congressional Committee feels that it is very important to open our Convention on the opening day of Congress; that it would, in a sense, ally Congress with the suffrage movement from the first of the session.

I am explaining all these points so that you may understand why the Official Board ask for the vote of the President and Members of the National Executive Committee of your State, as to whether or not the time limit of the Convention dates may be thus extended.

An immediate reply is important. You will find an addressed envelope enclosed.

Faithfully yours,

Amak Shaw President.

Branch of International Woman Suffrage Alliance and of National Council of Women

President Anna Howard Shaw Moylan, Pa.

1st Vice-President
Jane Addams
Hull House, Chicago, Ill.

2nd Vice-President Mrs. Desha Breckinridge Lexington, Ky.

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College Equal Suffrage League
M. Carey Thomas, President
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The Equal Franchise Society
Mrs. Howard Mansfield, President
535 Park Avenue. New York

Friends Equal Rights Association Mrs. Ellen H. E. Price, President 3316 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Telephone, 4818 Murray Hill

3rd Vice-President Caroline Ruutz-Rees Greenwich, Conn.

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Susan W. FitzGerald
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Corresponding Secretary
Mary Ware Dennett
505 Fifth Avenue, New York



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1st Auditor Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw 6 East 66th Street, New York

2nd Auditor Mrs. Joseph Tilton Bowen 1430 Astor Street, Chicago, Ill.

Publishing and Sales Department Press and Information Bureau 505 Fifth Avenue, New York

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
Chairman, Mrs. Medill McCormick
Headquarters,
Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

August 20, 1915.



Dear State President:-

I am sending you a copy of a letter just received from Miss Kate Gordan of Louisiana. The language of the letter, I think you will all frankly admit, is hardly such as should be addressed to the National American Vomen Suffrage Association by an organization which is in ne way affiliated with the National body. That Mrs. McCermick did not answer the letter does not in the least surprise me, for I should not think that any self-respecting officer would consider it her duty to answer a letter addressed to her in such terms by an officer of an association so recently formed, especially since that officer is fully aware of the work of the Mational Association for many years. In fact, almost from the beginning of the organization it has been the oustom of the Mational Association to appear before the different National political conventions and seek to secure a plank in favor of woman suffrage. The Mational Association is not at all aware that it has given up its prerogative in this direction to the newly organized Southern Conference any more than it has given up its congressional work in behalf of the Mational amendment to the Federal Constitution to the newly organized Congressional Union.

That the President of the Southern Conference should assume that the continuation of our usual line of work is an interference with its rights is rather astonishing. On the contrary, it might well be assumed by the National Association that the Southern Conference, in taking upon itself the work of the National Association, has exceeded its prerogative. I think the time has come when a definite statement should be made by the officers of the National Association in regard to these newly organized groups throughout the country and I am going to make this statement upon my own responsibility, since the members of the Official Board are absent in different parts of the country. If, after we are able to confer, the other officers do not agree with me in this matter, we will immediately inform the various state associations.

8/20/25.

One after another new society is springing into existence taking mean themselves particular lines of National work, and without being in any way affiliated with the National Association assume immediately that the National Association must relincuish all of its previous lines of terming over any part of its regularly established National work to any organization outside of its body which it has not authorized to act for it, and that at the coming National Political conventions the National Association will undembtedly persue its regular plan of expealing to the different political parties for endorsement. And it will also seek to secure the ecoperation of all or any of its affiliated bodies in carrying out this plan. Since the appeal of Mrs. McCormick, as Chairman of the Congressional Committee, was made to members of the National body, you will no doubt again that she was within her rights as Chairman of the Committee in asking the cooperation of any society or of any individual affiliated with the National Association in carrying out any noticy which the National Association and I have no doubt that Mrs. McCormick will continue her offerts in this direction so as to bring to bear, at the next political convention, every possible influence within the power of the National Association upon those bodies.

These constant attacks upon the National efficers by outside groups which are in no wise affiliated with or responsible for the conduct of the National Association ought to cease. They have been continued altogother too long and the time has come when the National officers feel that they should no longer submit to interference of this sort when exprepred in the tone of the letter received from the President of the Southern Conference.

I wish to sek the presidents of the affiliated associations in the south whother or not they approve of this letter of Miss Gordon's to the Chairman of the Congressional Committee and to the National Board, and if her action was taken after consultation with the presidents of the southern states or whether she Mas assumed, without consultation, to speak for all states affiliated with the Southern Conference which are also affiliated with the National Association. An immediate reply will be appreciated by the Mational efficers.

Faithfully yours,

Inna Howard Shaw. Opesident:

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PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

Chairman, Charles T. Hallinan

Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Antoinette Funk

Headquarters. Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

November 10,1915

Miss Laura Clay, %Kentucky Equal Rights Asso., Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

There was held at our National headquarters yesterday a conference at which were present the leading women who had charge of the campaigns in the four campaign states. The conference was an exceedingly helpful one and many wise suggestions were made in regard to future national work as the result of experiences in the past campaigns.

The fact that the National officers have declared that they are unwilling to be responsible for reintroducing the Shafroth resolution into the present congress unless ordered to do so by the National Convention cleared away the antagonism and opposition aroused by the Congressional Union, and the fact that this amendment was not to be introduced and pushed was emphasized as a basis upon which harmony could be secured at the National Convention. If you had been present, you would have realized the strong feeling of all the women present upon the importance of introducing but one resolution before the National Convention to offset the misstatements and attacks of the Congressional Union and to guarantee a harmonious coming-together of our national affiliated societies.

After the close of the conference, the National officers who were present met with Mrs. Funk who brought up the question

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of the federal bill, and the question was asked should that be reintroduced before the National Convention or should we wait until the National Convention had met and their instructions in regard to it had been given. It was the opinion of the National Officers that if that bill were introduced before the National Convention the Congressional Union would pounce upon it and again make their claims before they could be contradicted, that it was a second measure to take the place of the Susan B. Amthony bill. Therefore, we decided that since the convention was to be held so soon after the opening of Congress that it would be wiser to wait until the convention met and we had discussed this question further, before reintroducing it. The Official Board did not take upon itself the authority to over-ride the instructions of the last convention because it was introduced last year, nor would they assume to dictate the policy of the Association for the coming year, under the circumstances they thought it wise to wait until that policy had been fully defined, before taking any further

Miss Laura Clay.

I am writing you this letter to let you know that this was not an arbitrary act on the part of the members of the Board, but knowing the circumstances as we do, and the very critical position which is facing us by the Congressional Union rushing into the states where the campaigns have failed and the women are disappointed, and in every possible underhanded way, through misrepresentation and deliberate falsehood, seeking to win over the state societies or the strongest members of the state societies, to divide the interests in the state. It was the consensus of opinion of the women assembled yesterday, who have just gone through these terrific campaigns, that the only hope for holding their women together was to assure them that there was to be no two amendments introduced into Congress before the National Convention met in Washington, and then not unless the National Convention authorized it to be done.

While I have, and always have, believed in the federal amendment. I do not believe that introducing it the first week of the National Congress would avail anything for us that could not be secured after the National Convention met, and it would save these states from rupture, for the work is being pushed with all the energy of those young women who have nothing else to do but to break up existing organizations rather than to build up an organization of their own from the outside.

I hope that you will understand the attitude of the National Board and of the conference in regard to the wisdom of this action, and that you will not feel that it was any lack of regard for the federal bill or for the instructions of the National Convention. Since our main object is to secure suffrage,

Miss Laura Clay. #3. 11-10-15. we cannot jeopardize the greater for any lesser advantages - at least for a few days. With sincere regards and in the hope that you will be present at the National Convention and help to decide its policies for the coming year, I am Faithfully, Anna H. Shotor President. AHS/MB.

#### COPY OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT CONFERENCE HELD ON NOVEMBER 9, 1915.

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Whereas, Under the leadership and encouragement of the National American Woman Suffrage Association eleven states have won full suffrage, many states have won partial suffrage and organizations have been formed and maintained in nearly every state: and

Whereas, The experiences of the past year have deepened our conviction that state work and Federal work go hand and hand, and zre mutually necessary. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the state organizations of the four campaign states of 1915 wish to express our appreciation of the steadfast support of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and to reaffirm our loyalty to the state work of that organization; and further be it

Reselved, That we hold ourselves ready to support the National American Woman Suffrage Association in the work of its Congressional committee on behalf of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, which it has been pushing vigorously in Congress for the last forty-five years and which is developing greatly increased strength, with the accession of suffrage states.

Those present at the conference were:

Official Board represented by - Dr. Shaw; Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers: Mrs. Stanley McCormick; Dr. Katharine B. Davis; Mrs. Susan W. FitzGerald.

Congressional Committee - Mrs. Antoinette Funk; Mrs. Laura Puffer

Morgan; Miss Ethel Smith.

New York - Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; Chairman Empire State Campaign Committee; Mrs. Raymond Brown, President New York State Woman Suffrage Asso.; Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Chairman of Bureau of Manhattan of the Woman Suffrage Party; Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren; Mrs. Richard Aldrich Mrs. Thomas Wells.

#2. Massachusetts - Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, president of the Massachusetts State Suffrage Association; Mrs. Gertrude Halladay Leonard; Mrs. Wirt Dexter; Mrs. Claude U. Gilson; Mrs. Susan W. FitzGerald.

New Jersey - Mrs. E. F/ Feikert, president of the New Jersey
State Suffrage Association; Miss Esther Ogden; Mrs. Robert
S. Huse; Mrs. W. B. Donnell and Mrs. Mina VanWinkle,
president of the Woman's Political Union of New Jersey.

Pennsylvania - Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, president of the Pennsylvania State Woman Suffrage Association; Miss Hannah Patterson, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of Pemsylvania; Miss Mary Ingham and Miss Anna Snyder, both of Philadelphia. Connecticut - Miss Carolie Ruutz-Rees. College Equal Suffrage League - Mrs. Ethel Puffer Howes.

189 N.Mill Street, Lexington, Fy. April 13th, 1918.

Dear Miss Shaw,

Your letter of March 12th reached me after some delay in the mail on account of a mistake in the postage.

I appreciated particularly your thought that I had been mindful of Mrs.Colby's devotion to the cause of suffrage; for I had had to disagree on some fundamental difference in the bills we were working for that winter in "ashington; and I was not able to make her see my point of view, or admit its importance; so I think she did not feel that I had been friendly. I am glad that Mrs.Brown has written such an attractive memorial volume of her life. I presume you have seen it.

I thank you for the little souvenir of our beloved Miss Anthony which you enclosed. How her great heart must be rejoicung if she is permitted to know what is going on in the cause now ! However, I must say that I think the N.A.W.S.A. is departing from her broadminded and liberal spirit in not fostering with equal care the two great roads to the accomplishment of woman suffrage. I hold that our N.A.W.S. A. constitution, as well as the constitutions of its several auxiliaris ies, encouraged the membership of many who never were in sympathy with the Federal Amendment; and led them to believe that each method would have equal and fair field for working out its success. It is true, that that constitution has not been changed; but it is true that the policy of the National is no longer impartial. You know that I am strongly attached to the States Rights doctrine; and I would not now troubbeyou with a repetition of my views were it not on account of the great facts of this war. The Federal Amendment proposes a revolutionary whange in our electoral system; and if it were now enacted into law, it would have the effect of extendings in the majority of the states the right of a vast untraind and inexperienced voters to decide the

policy of our nation in this war. Even by itself this great fact might well lead prudent persons to doubt the wisdem of allowing these issues to be decided by inexperienced voters. But there are also to be considered the facts that our electoral systems in many states actually allows practically unnaturalized citizens, many of whom are suspected of being enemies, to vote. The recent discussions in Congress have showed us that there is well-founded reside to suppose that the Germans have 400000 trained and subsidized propagandists and spies in this country. It is certainly a reason to be cautious to reflect that if these propagandists have the opportunity of working among millions of unsuspicious and untrained voters, no amount of native intelligence or sincere patriotism on their part will save multitudes of them from falling into the snares set for them I wish in these troubled times we might take an example from England, where, though har women are far better politically educated than the American, and where their electoral system does not permit such indiscriminate voting of these who are alien in heart, yet has not thought if prudent in times of war to disturb the electorateby the intreduction of too great a number of untrained voters. In America this danger is indefinitely increased by the fact that the whole electoral system must also undergo a radical transfer from the supervision of the states to the supervision of the Federal government by the laws made by Congress.

I scercely know whether or not I should make these remarks in a letter designed to acknowledge your kindnes in your recent letter; but the imminence of the decisions at the Indianapolis Ex.Jom. meeting decides me to set aside such considerations, and to think only of what is for the wisest and safest for our counsels, both for our beloved country.

Thanking you again for your kindly expressions and the little souvenir, I am very since rally,