

The Woman's Journal

No. 3 Park Street, Room 16
6 Beacon St., Room 101B.

Boston, Mass., April 2 1909

Dear Miss Clay

Thanks for your letter of Mch. 31. ^{PM}
just received. I am glad you are safely
back from your western trip.

I think you do not quite understand
my position. I would not concentrate all my
effort on Presidential suffrage in any
State where there is a probability of being
able to carry a Constitutional Amendment. ^{when}
^{submitted} In South Dakota, for instance, I am glad to
have the constitutional amendment submitted,
because I think it not improbable that the
amendment may be carried, ^{there} if we must take
our chances of that. But what I should have
wished was that after the two thirds legislative
vote had been secured, an immediate effort should
have been put forth to clin^{ch} the advantage
by getting the majority vote necessary to get the
Presidential Suffrage, which, if attained, would
have made the success of the Amendment almost
certain.

But in Washington, with its two great cities and its
large lumbering & factory ^{and factory} populations ^{and for years} I think the
success of the amendment so unlikely that my
satisfaction is very small - in fact I almost
regret that it has been submitted to the voters,
because - the universal experience has been that

The great trouble will be to carry Presidential Suffrage until one of the Party machines takes the matter up in earnest; then will come victory. Hoping to meet you

defeat at the polls means a definite collapse of from ten to twenty years. And even where, as in Oregon, the Initiative enabled us to submit it ^{again} two years later, the greatly increased adverse vote indicated popular disapproval of its re-submission, altho our affirmative vote ~~about~~ held its own.

Now in Washington I would far rather have had the Presidential suffrage in the hands than the Constitutional Amendment in the Field.

But in States east of the Mississippi river, where there is no likelihood of carrying an amendment I regret to have it sought for. ^{For instance, if I} had a casting vote ^{in the Legislature} on ^{WP} that amendment ^{here in Massachusetts,} should feel tempted to vote against its submission,

knowing that the Referendum vote would be packed against us at the polls by the liquor dealers and the great corporations & that there would not be the ghost of a chance of our carrying it.

But as to the probable result of women's exercise of the Presidential suffrage, I reason thus:—

In all probability the women's vote would help to swell the majority party of men, or else ^{their aid would} convert a minority party of men into a majority. And that party ~~to which~~, with or without the women's vote, had carried the State, would forever after be faithful to its women allies, & remain a majority party of men and women ~~to~~ ever afterwards.

The adjoining States seeing one party or the other carried into power by or with the women's vote would follow example.

But especially I rely on the moral effect of the spectacle of a general vote of women to break down and make impossible any future opposition.

Yours truly, Henry Olcott

MRS. FRANCES W. MUNDS,
420 SHELTON STREET, PRESCOTT.
MRS. HARRIETT L. FOX, PRESCOTT.
MRS. MARY S. MCCORMICK, PHOENIX.
MRS. E. ST. CHARLES, KINGMAN
MRS. L. C. HUGHES, TUCSON.



Arizona
Equal Suffrage Campaign
Committee

MRS. T. W. OTIS,
117 NORTH PLEASANT ST., PRESCOTT.
MRS. PAULINE M. O'NEILL, PHOENIX.
MRS. REBECCA G. PHILLIPS,
325 N. FOURTH AVENUE, PHOENIX.
MRS. KATHERINE B. AKERS,
329 WEST FRANKLIN ST., TUCSON.

Phoenix, Ariz. Apr. 3/09.

My dear Miss Lely,

Your letter of Mar. 26. reached me yesterday. I was so glad to hear that you had arrived safely, as the storms have been so severe throughout the states that you had to pass through, that I was a little afraid you would be further delayed. Your postals however, informed me that you were evidently traveling just ahead of the last big snow storm, so you escaped the delay occasioned by that.

Your news in regard to the actions of Mrs. Bailey and Mrs. Feiley and others was only what I suspected was going on at the time when our bill was still in committee. I think that the ladies worked so hard against us, not, because they didn't want to vote, but because their husbands are afraid of the independent vote, as both of them are corporation

MRS. FRANCES W. MUNDS,
420 SHELTON STREET, PRESCOTT.
MRS. HARRIETT L. FOX, PRESCOTT.
MRS. MARY S. McCORMICK, PHOENIX.
MRS. E. ST. CHARLES, KINGMAN
MRS. L. C. HUGHES, TUCSON.



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Equal Suffrage Campaign
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[Apr. 3, 1909] 2.
MRS. T. W. OTIS,
117 NORTH PLEASANT ST., PRESCOTT.
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325 N. FOURTH AVENUE, PHOENIX.
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329 WEST FRANKLIN ST., TUCSON.

men. We shall try to keep those men from coming to the legislature again.

I have been resting since you left. I have not yet started on any active work, as I hoped to get some idea about the statehood question. Mr. Hamilton has now promised to call the bill or rather introduce the bill immediately after the opening of the long session (we have had that promise held out so long to us, that we are growing skeptical) I shall get into communication with Mrs. Munds and obtain a list of names from each county if possible, to find out just where we stand. I may however, wait with the cards until after the summer months.

The agitation produced by the new tariff schedule is becoming more fierce each day; Mr. Harrison having gone so far even, as to say that women can surely demand their rights after such high handed proceedings.

Harper's Weekly of Mar. 13 has a long article on Equal Suffrage in which Mrs. Clarence Mackey stands out prominently as an advocate of our cause.

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420 SHELTON STREET, PRESCOTT.
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MRS. E. ST. CHARLES, KINGMAN
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Apr 3, 1909 (3)
MRS. T. W. OTIS,
117 NORTH PLEASANT ST., PRESCOTT.
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325 N. FOURTH AVENUE, PHOENIX.
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One of the magazines, The American, I think has also one of Mrs. Mackay's articles, while the Los Angeles Herald each day has one or two letters on the subject.

Did you know that there was a standing committee on Equal Suffrage in the Senate? There was a long article in the Herald which I wanted to send to you but cannot find just now. It claimed that the members have never tried to bring out an Equal Suffrage Bill - it has always been kept in committee, so that the Senate would not have to go on record before the whole country. Mr. Beveridge is one of the members. -

The Legislature closed on 6.40 a.m. Friday morning, amid the wildest turmoil. At one time, there was every reason to believe that adjournment would come before the appropriation bill could be satisfactorily adjusted - but after a conference of 3 hours peace was once more restored.

Mr. Hampton kept the anti-cigarette bill in his pocket, and so killed it. There were 7 votes for it, but they lacked the

MRS. FRANCES W. MUNDS,
420 SHELTON STREET, PRESCOTT.
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rights for a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote to call it up. Mr. Dillan who owns a cigar & cigarette store at Prescott, and Mr. Mickelson who owns and operates a cigar factory & cigarette stand here were constantly in attendance on Mr. Hampton with large boxes of cigars.

The governor vetoed Mr. O'neil's "Chicken bill", after it passed the house at the 11th hour.

You have doubtless read of how the segregation bill is still an unknown factor in the law. There is a flaw in it, as the districts are not clearly defined. There is talk of testing it by holding an election.

Mr. Weedie was "crazy-mad" at the Governor because the latter vetoed the bills relating to the "Cary act" in regard to irrigation. He condemned the Governor so strongly that the resolutions passed were afterwards stricken from the records. Mr. W. promised to show him up in his paper, "The Florence Blade", as soon as he got home.

We have had a school election in which 1121 voted were polled. The fight was over the retention of the

MRS. FRANCES W. MUNDS,
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MRS. L. C. HUGHES, TUCSON.



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EM 3, 1909
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MRS. T. W. OTIS,
117 NORTH PLEASANT ST., PRESCOTT.
MRS. PAULINE M. O'NEILL, PHOENIX.
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329 WEST FRANKLIN ST., TUCSON.

present principal of the Central School, and it resolved itself into a fight for and against Dr. Hughes. - The latter's son-in-law Dr. Dameron ran and all of the saloon element worked against him, but the women came out and voted and Dr. Dameron was elected by 65 majority. Rather a close fight. -

I have inquired about your laundry, and finally left orders to have it sent direct to your address. Did you get it yet? I shall call again, when Mr. Shubin is there, as the woman at the desk does not know anything about it.

I knew you would enjoy your trip to the Canyon. It is a very wonderful, and to me, an ever changing sight, and I visit it whenever I go up that way.

After your long absence from home you will have to work hard to catch up with your correspondence. In your position, as the head of the Association, I am sure you are literally buried under the numerous letters and calls on your time.

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MRS. E. ST. CHARLES, KINGMAN
MRS. L. C. HUGHES, TUCSON.



Arizona
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1909
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MRS. T. W. OTIS,
117 NORTH PLEASANT ST., PRESCOTT.
MRS. PAULINE M. O'NEILL, PHOENIX.
MRS. REBECCA G. PHILLIPS,
325 N. FOURTH AVENUE, PHOENIX.
MRS. KATHERINE B. AKERS,
329 WEST FRANKLIN ST., TUCSON.

I shall have to communicate a piece of news to you, which will greatly shock you, in view of the fact that we were so familiar with the status of the case. Mr. Keightower died this morning from acute alcoholism. He never returned to Juma, as the saloon men here kept him supplied with liquor since the adjournment of the legislature. He was removed from his rooms, unconscious, a few days ago, and never recovered - although he had every care and attention at the Sisters Hospital. Doesn't this seem terrible, and more like a murder, by the people who were guilty of supplying him with the poison - for such it proved to be in his case. Since April 1st, our weather here has turned very hot, and we are all "picking" as usual, over the sudden change.

The Governorship is still up in the air with plenty of dark horses coming into prominence.

With kindest regards from the entire O'Neill family,
I am,

Your sincere friend
Pauline O'Neill

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329 WEST FRANKLIN ST., TUCSON.

Neill Ranch,
Phoenix, Apr. 6/09.

My dear Miss Clay,

Since receiving your second letter, I have made inquiries everywhere about your laundry. I was under the impression that Mr. G. Schuler had expressed it to you, as he promised to do, when it did not put in ~~an~~ an appearance the 3rd day after you left. Since then, I missed him at the hotel as he goes in at 4 P. M. and leaves at 8 A. M. when I found that I could not see him in the early afternoon, I left word for him to telephone to me, if the laundry was still missing. This evening I rang him up, and he says he has made a search everywhere, but cannot get a trace of the woman who took your laundry. He thinks that she probably delivered it to the wrong person. Now, he wants you to give a description of her, - her name, if you know it, - who recommended her, etc. - in fact any ~~as~~ item that can help us out in trying to trace the laundry. You say in your letter that you sent a

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MRS. L. C. HUGHES, TUCSON.



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APR. 6, 1909 (2)
MRS. T. W. OTIS,
117 NORTH PLEASANT ST., PRESCOTT.
MRS. PAULINE M. O'NEILL, PHOENIX.
MRS. REBECCA G. PHILLIPS,
325 N. FOURTH AVENUE, PHOENIX.
MRS. KATHERINE B. AKERS,
329 WEST FRANKLIN ST., TUCSON.

messenger. Do you remember who he was - and where he went. I am very sorry that this should have happened to you, and I am inclined to think that the person who had your room after you left is the one who took the laundry. I shall try to find out just who went into that room after you vacated it.

We are going to have Judge Sloan for Governor, and George Young for Secretary. There will probably be numerous changes among the recent appointees of Gov. Killeby, as the faction now in control is opposed to Killeby. J. B. Adams is trying hard to get the U.S. Marshalship and Joe Morrison is slated for U.S. District atty.

I have written to Mrs. Munds, but have received no reply as yet. As soon as I get a list of names I intend to start in on the cards.

I shall make this short as I want to get it to you as soon as possible, so as to obtain an answer.

With kindest regards, I am as ever,

Your sincere friend
Pauline O'Neill

Lexington, Ky. Apr. 7th, 1909.

Mrs. E. B. Van Hagen,

San Jose, Cal.

My dear Mrs. Van Hagen,

Well, I did not go down the Canyon after all. A lady whom I met, Mrs. Ketchem, who had suggested that we walk down together finally concluded that her nerves would not permit her to go around the sharp curves and over the narrow ledges. I found that I was over the weight which the guides thought perfectly safe for riding the mules and I thought it was doubtful whether I would be able to endure the long walk down and up again. You know there is a little Inn down on the plateau, called the Indian Garden I believe, where it is very pleasant to spend the night. Had I known of the possibility of breaking the trip in that way when I arrived at the Canyon I probably would have walked down, stayed all night at the Indian Garden Inn and ridden back on a mule the next day. It is less dangerous to ride up the mountain than it is to ride down; and I was told that this would have been the best plan if I were very anxious to descend into the Canyon. But after I learned of this method I had already been at the Canyon almost as long as I cared to stay, so I did not attempt it. I regretted that the roads were so bad that no trips were arranged for going to Grand View which is a drive always arranged for later in the season. I saw very thoroughly all the views to be had in the immediate neighborhood of the hotel. Besides the pleasant drives I took with you I walked twice to O'Neill's Point and Hopi Point.

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I trust you had a pleasant journey home. After leaving the Grand Canyon we were stopped for some hours before reaching Winslow by a wreck between two freight trains in which fortunately no one was hurt; otherwise my homeward trip was without adventure. I miss the beautiful sunny weather of Arizona as it has been still pretty chilly in Kentucky; but after all there is no place like home. My short acquaintance with you is one of the pleasant incidents of my pleasant stay at the Grand Canyon, and I hope I may have the pleasure of renewing it at some future time.

Very truly yours,

Laura Clay

BONIFANT
BONIFANT
BONIFANT
BONIFANT

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

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



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Warren, Ohio

Recording Secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell,
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Ella S. Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Dear Miss Clay

4-9-09

Thank you very much for the full and clear statement of the Arizona situation which I have just finished reading. I agree with you completely as to the insufficiency of sentiment alone among legislators. But what else can we get?

What can we use against the liquor power?

It is because we have some men in S. Dak. that I think we should make every effort in that State up to the day of the election to promote success no matter what has to be cut down for the purpose except that I should like to treat Washington in the same way as S. D.

Is it not amusing to see women rushing into politics about their stockings?

Yours faithfully
Florence Kelley

Lexington, Ky. April 9, 1909.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery,
Swarthmore, Pa.

My dear Mrs. Avery,

I have just received Miss Shaw's letter of April 7th telling of the situation in South Dakota. I approve of her letter of advice to the South Dakotan suffragists. While it is very disagreeable not to have the W. C. T. U. to work in co-operation with the suffragists yet I still hope that by tact and moderation they can work at least with fraternal feeling. I really do not know that the W. C. T. U. are to be blamed for wanting to be in the lead if they work in conjunction with the suffragists; for it seems they were first at the legislature and consented to have their bill modified at the wish of the suffragists, and when that effort failed again it was their bill which was amended and which was finally submitted to the electors. This being the case and their being stronger and better organized than the suffragists, it is not surprising that they should believe themselves better able to guide the campaign and better able to realize and understand the situation.. Perhaps they are so. At least I am ready to admit that they are under no sort of obligation to accept the leadership of the Suffrage Association unless they are really desirous to do so. I consider their ultimatum one impossible for the suffragists to accept; but on the other hand I see no occasion whatever for the suffragists to resent the ultimatum. At this distance it appears to me a very simple matter for the suffragists to accede good

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naturally to the W. C. T. U. acting on their own plan independently while the suffragists act in the same way on their own plans. Mrs. Pickler's attitude seems to me the one disturbing element. If she is not content with allowing the suffragists to go ahead independently of the W. C. T. U., but continues to try to subordinate them to the W. C. T. U., of course she will be a disturbing element. I trust Miss Shaw's advice will enable the Suffragist Association to steer clear of this trouble.

Since Miss Shaw feels that Mrs. Johnston's help is so necessary, and that we must engage it on her terms before the Seattle Convention, I hereby give my vote for paying her expenses as well as the salary which has been decided upon.

Very sincerely yours,

Dict.

Marlow, Okla. April 9-1909.

My dear Miss Clay:

Your letter of April 6th was received this morning and I was so glad to hear from you. It gives me pleasure to write you immediately just how things are with us now.

Mrs. Doyer and I went up to the convention of the school land leases at Enid fully expecting they would vote for an initiative petition but were disappointed as they decided to carry their cause to court instead.

The combination of the various interests intending to work for initiative petitions seemed to just naturally fall through and each one seems to be "going it alone" now.

Well, we (Mrs. Doyer + I) left Enid at 6 P.M. and I went with her over to Oklahoma City and in the morning (Apr. 2) went around to the Socialist Headquarters for me to meet the new Secretary, Treasurer, and attended a called meeting ^{by phone} of the Oklahoma City women at the office of Dr. Gay. There was a good and enthusiastic number of suffragists on hand but I was obliged to leave for train before they were through business. Mrs. Doyer went to station with me and voted me

she got back just as they were voting unanimously
to raise the money to pay her salary and keep her
here while getting up our petition. To go back a
little. I will explain to you now - although I did not
think best to do so when I wrote you before - that it
was Mrs. Bayer herself who guaranteed her expenses
provided the Nat'l paid her salary. She felt that it
would be all we could do to pay expenses of petition.
She says now that it will take all we can raise to take
care of the petition but she will stay any way until
they are well under way. When she wrote me they
had been doing some collecting, and where they had
hoped for some large sums, ^{got small}. She thought they would
be able to raise about \$250⁰⁰, but we must have more
for petition expenses. We will try - or trying - for
collections from others over the State but I fear we
will get but little that way.

There is a great deal of work attending the petition
and it requires 40,000 names for ours. There is a
little difference between our law and that of Oregon,
Mrs. Bayer says, and it prevents us from being able
to have petitions circulated by any one through

c. Apr. 9, 1909

the country who would be willing. I do not understand it well enough to explain to you exactly how it is.

Should we manage to get our petitions we think the National will surely help us in the campaign particularly as Washington does not vote until 1910 and also as they have stated that they expect to do most of their work themselves.

If we fail in getting our petitions it will certainly be from lack of funds and really Miss Clay we have learned to make every nickel - yes, postage stamps, do its entire duty.

You are right, I think, about the pledging of candidates. Where our first failure came was in doing practically nothing until the Constitutional Convention met.

There should have been most active work done before. I believe each candidate looked after as should have been done and then you and Mrs. Dayer with such help as our own women could give for the convention we would have come nearer carrying and not cost any more either. Perhaps not as much. But it is so easy to say "if we had done so-and-so". I believe every one did what seemed best under conditions - and that is all any one can do. But it should be a lesson for next

Time.

I really do not see how we can get along without Mrs. Bayer for the petition work, but the women of Oklahoma City are working like Trojans and with the help from the other organizations I hope we can accomplish it some way. Mrs. Bayer is so capable, so resourceful and has had so much more experience that it seems as if we could not get along without her. We only have some 5 or 6 weeks yet in which to get signatures, so it is possible (barely) that we can keep her, but at a sacrifice on her part.

Mrs. Bayer & the Oklahoma City women feel so sure that we will carry if it can only come up at a special election.

I was - was - especially anxious to succeed in getting the petition because, I hate to say it - for they are such good friends of ours, but I am afraid it would injure the cause more or less all over the country to have it undertaken by the Socialists alone and the result a failure as it would be of course. It will not be near as harmful for us to be beaten at the polls provided we supplicants - are authors of the petition.

Now, I wonder if I have made myself understood so that you can intelligently keep track of our work.

Thanking you for your interest in Oklahoma work and hoping your work by Miss Penfield will accomplish much good I am

Most sincerely yours Kate McDiggers.

Lexington, Ky. April 12, 1909.

Mrs. Florence Kelley,
105 E. 22nd. St.,
New York City.

My dear Mrs. Kelley,

I have just received your two letters dated the 9th. From your expression that "it behooves the women of Arizona to work hard against the men who repudiated their pledges," I fear that something in my Arizona letters has conveyed the wrong impression. No man pledged himself before the legislature met for woman suffrage, but one of the men who express himself as personally in favor of suffrage told me that at least one hundred of his constituents had pledged him not to vote for woman suffrage. I mentioned this to show that the liquor interests are wide awake to oppose in chance for woman suffrage to creep in. Of the other two woman suffragists who voted against us we had interviewed only one and I cannot justly say that he had promised to vote for us, but as the conversation of both Miss Clegg and myself was plainly for the purpose of winning his vote for our bill to say the least I think he was very un-candid not to tell us that he would not vote for us. In fact I think his whiskey constituents got around him afterwards. The other gentleman we had no opportunity to interview at all before the vote, but his previous record had been for woman suffrage, his wife told us he was a suffragist, and when I saw him after the vote he did not disclaim

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being a suffragist but said that he thought the question was one which ought to be decided by the electors. Five men voted for us though I know the liquor interests made strong efforts in one or more cases to pull away from their votes from us. Now my point is this. That if we had some political power to make this a issue before election and showed enough strength to elect these men, even against the opposition of the liquor men, that we would then have them in a position where they could vote and probably would vote their own convictions. I am strengthened in this opinion in Arizona because some of these men had made previous records for woman suffrage had been opposed by the liquor enterests and yet were successfully elected. I believe some more work in Arizona would give us as fair a chance of winning there in the legislature or in the constitutional convention as we have now in South Dakota or Washington. A campaign of organizing in that territory and then carrying on a campaign of pledging before election would not cost us more than one fifth of what a campaign in a state costs us and we would be just as likely to succeed. I wanted to correct at once any misunderstanding which might have arisen from some of my expressions in my previous letters. No work at all had been done before I reached Arizona and I did not get there until the legislature had been sitting at least two weeks. I am

Very cordially yours,

Dict.

Lexington, Ky. April, 12, 1909.

Mrs. Kate H. Biggers,
Marlow, Oklo.

My dear Mrs. Biggers,

I have just received your letter of April the 9th and I admire the courage and self sacrificing spirit with your women have gone to work about the petitions. As you know I have always felt the deepest interest in the work in Oklahoma. Partly because it is the one southern state and the one Democratic state which has ever had such a campaign for equal suffrage. I believe that it is a part of our policy to make the politicians understand that both the great parties are interested to bid for the future woman vote. Therefore I have determined to expend one hundred dollars of the present years income of the Bruce Fund, of which I am trustee, to aid in getting the petition in Oklahoma, and I hereby enclose a New York draft for that amount. I desire you to use it at your discretion for this purpose. Please send me a receipt for it as coming from the trust fund because I keep a careful record of its expenditures. It is possible that I may be able to help more from this fund, and I wish you would keep me informed by short letters from time to time how your finances stand.

Please give my love to Mrs. Boyer, and believe me

Very sincerely your friend,

Dict.
Encl.

Swarthmore, Pa.,
April 13, 1909.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Mrs. Upton had some correspondence with Miss Shaw in regard to the question of whether she should raise the money for the campaigns in South Dakota and Washington as a part of the Susan B. Anthony Fund or not. The matter was not fully settled at the time of Miss Shaw's departure for Europe last week, and since then I have received a letter from Mrs. Upton containing the following statement :-

"I am not willing to solicit funds in the name of Miss Anthony and apply the same on South Dakota, at the same time considering we have raised a campaign fund, without having an interpretation taken of the vote at Buffalo, expressed by the members of the Committee."

I therefore send you the enclosed slip and request you to vote upon it and return it at your early convenience.

The vote at Buffalo was taken at the morning session of October 19th and is recorded as follows on page 63 of the Buffalo Minutes:- "Voted that money for general expenses and money for the Susan B. Anthony Woman Suffrage Fund be separated."

Personally, I feel that the money for general expenses does not include money for state campaigns and that it is perfectly legitimate to raise money for the campaigns as a part of the Susan B. Anthony Fund. I feel as Miss Shaw expressed herself to me lately, that I cannot yet believe that the name of Susan B. Anthony is not one to conjure with, and I think that the appeal for funds for the campaigns will be doubly strong if the resultant money is to be counted on the Susan B. Anthony Fund.

In regard to the question about Rockefeller, Mrs. Upton has asked this on a number of occasions, and there has never been a vote taken upon it.

Trusting that I may have your reply very promptly, I remain,

Cordially yours,

Rachel Foster Avery

Acting President, Natl. American Woman Suffrage Ass'n.

Lexington, Ky.

April 14th, 1909.

Mrs. Pauline M. O'Neill,

Phoenix, Ariz.

My dear Mrs. O'Neill,

I have received your letter of April 3rd, and also that of April 6th, and I hasten to reply to the last one, to beg you not to worry about that laundry any more. When I left, I knew I might have trouble to get it, leaving it at a hotel; but I did not think it worth staying over a day; and I certainly do not wish to trouble you about it. The woman whom I had been employing was sick; so I asked the colored man, King, to get another woman. I left the washing rolled up; and supposed she took it, as King said he asked her to do so. I do not know her name or address; but King told me her husband was very sick and that delayed the return of it. I asked the bell boy to send a messenger for it the morning I left, but he never reported back to me, and I doubt if he ever went. I mentioned it, to let you know that I had tried not to leave it to trouble you, as you had said the evening before that you would express it when it came in. Now don't think any more about it. My washing was of plain clothes and the loss is not worth worrying over. I shall not worry myself, and I certainly should regret very much having you do so. I have something of a great deal more importance to interest you. I take the Democrat, for I want to keep myself in touch with the Arizona news. I see that Judge Sloan is your new Governor. I am very glad to know that he is the judge who pronounced that it was perfectly legal for the Legislature to grant suffrage to women. He can never play the trick which

Gov. Brodie did. In the last day I have also read that President Taft promised the Arizonans in Washington that he would do all he can to have the Statehood bill passed early next winter. This makes me feel that we should be active in Arizona as soon next fall as the heat permits an organizer to go to work. From what I observed of the sentiment and other conditions there, I believe we have about as good a chance to win in the Constitutional Convention, or, if that does not come off next winter, in the next Legislature, as we have in any state; whilst a campaign of organization and pledging candidates before election would not cost more than about a fifth what a campaign for a constitutional amendment in a state costs. I intend to present this view to the National Convention which meets in Seattle July 1st-7th inclusive; and also to the National Official Board. As it was thought worth while to send me and Miss Gregg to view the situation I do not doubt it will be thought worth while to make a campaign there. Our Board has been deterred from doing anything more since the Brodie veto by fear of another veto; but that fear may be put to rest by having Gov. Sloan in the chair. We have now in Kentucky one of our National organizers, Miss Berle Penfield, with whom I am very much pleased indeed. She is a young woman, from Texas, and a graduate of Texas University. She would be able to stand as much stage coach riding as would be necessary to go to places off the railroads; and she is not afraid of tarantulas and rattlesnakes! I believe the Arizonans would be as pleased with her as the Kentuckians; and that she would be most interested in the campaign in Arizona. If I can get done what I think is desirable, I would say she ought to go into Arizona in September, and commence to organize;- that as soon as it seems certain that the statehood bill will pass, another worker should be sent, unless we can find a suitable one already in the Territory, whose business should be to run correspondence from a headquarters, pledging the candidates for the Consti-

[Apr. 14, 1909]

tutional Convention before election to vote for Equal Suffrage in the fundamental law. If there should be no Statehood bill next winter, the organizing would be all right to ~~start~~ start a pledging campaign for the next legislature; and the second ~~worker~~ need not be employed till the fall of 1910. Please let me know what you think of these suggestions; and what Mr. O'Neill thinks of them. It is true that the campaigns in South and Washington Dakota will strain the financial resources of the National Association. But on the other hand, as the election will come a year sooner in Arizona than it will in S. Dakota (where the vote will be taken in November 1910) if we should win in Arizona it would conduce more to a victory in South Dakota and Washington than ^{if} the money spent for it was added to what is spent directly in those two states. I believe this view would have a great effect in inducing the convention to vote to begin a campaign in Arizona. Therefore there is every encouragement for our Arizona Campaign Committee to go to work enrolling members on the Membership cards, finding out our friends all over the Territory, and, in short, making the preliminary preparations for an organizing and pledging campaign for next September.

I was shocked to learn of the death of Mr. Hightower, which I had seen in the Democrat before you wrote of it. Certainly, it does look look very much like a murder on the part of those who plied him with liquor for their own selfish purposes. I trust there will be proved a flaw in the Segregation bill. I would like to see the liquor interests beaten at their own game.

Please remember me to all your family, and believe me

Very cordially your friend,

CARL 17, 1909

Woman's Club
of Central Kentucky

My dear Miss Clay -
It is
with pleasure the
Board of Officers of
the Woman's Club
announces your
unanimous election
as Vice-President for
Madison County, and
sincerely hopes

You will honor
The Club by accepting

Very cordially yours,

Wary C. Shelby
Cor. Sec.

119 Ashland Ave.

April Seventeenth -

[Apr 19, 1909]

Memorial to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

When, in the progress of human organization, it becomes apparent that divergent lines of policy are developing, and when one policy becomes destructive to the purpose for which the organization was effected, thereby rendering co-operative action by the faction standing for the original purpose impossible, it becomes necessary that the said faction shall, in a manner which best serves the cause for which the organization exists, assert its right to recognition as the representative of the cause, when division becomes imperative:

Therefore, we, the undersigned ex-officers and ex-members of the Executive Committee of the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association, declare that two such opposite factions did develop in the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association, and that the President, leading the opposite faction, pursued a policy in conflict with the well-established rules of procedure in organized bodies, as well as in conflict with the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and we further declare that, rather than jeopardize the welfare of the campaign now in progress in the state for full suffrage, by a public quarrel, we have re-organized the forces loyal to the N.A.W.S.A. under the name of the South Dakota Political Equality Association, and we hereby ask the recognition of our auxiliaryship in the National body.

In order that the N.A.W.S.A. may judge of our right to such request, we submit the following causes which have led us to the separation:

After the Equal Suffrage Campaign in 1898, the President, Mrs. Anna R. Simmons, moved from the state, and Mrs. Alice M.A. Pickler of Faulkton, who was Vice President, assumed the duties of president. However, no work was done, and no convention was held until 1907. At that time Mrs. Pickler was elected president, upon her representation that she intended to take up active work. From that time until Mar. 1st, 1909, Mrs. Pickler was very inactive. She neglected to answer letters; in more than one instance state and national officers wrote to her two or three times on important matters before receiving a reply.

On this account some of the officers conceived the idea of electing district presidents, hoping thereby to get some territory organized, and an executive meeting was held at Pierre. Mrs. Pickler was not present at this meeting, but it was held with her knowledge and approval, and Mrs. Nina D. Pettigrew of Bellefourche was elected president of the district west of the Missouri River, and Mrs. Edith M. Fitch was elected president of that part of the state which lies east of the Missouri River, and south of the Northwestern Railway. Mrs. Pettigrew soon wrote to Mrs. Pickler asking some questions about the work, but received no reply until

International Woman Suffrage Alliance

International Woman Suffrage Alliance

President, **CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT**, 2 West 86th Street, New York, U. S. A.
1st Vice-President, **DR. JUR. ANITA AUGSPURG**, Paul Strasse 25, Hamburg, Germany.
2nd Vice-President, **MILLICENT FAWCETT**, 2 Gower St., London, England.
Secretary, **RACHEL FOSTER AVERY**, Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.

1st Assistant Secretary, **DR. KATHE SCHIRMACHER**, 53 Rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris.
2nd Assistant Secretary, **MARTINA KRAMERS**, Kruisakade 92, Rotterdam, Holland.
Treasurer, **MISS RODGER CUNLIFFE**,
45 Albert Palace Mansions, Battersea Park, London, England.

Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.

[Apr. 19, 1909]

after the convening of the 11th session of the legislature. Mrs. Fitch, Mrs. Pettigrew, Miss Bower and Mrs. Pickler were chosen by the Executive Board as a Legislative Committee to work in the 11th session of the legislature for the submission of a suffrage amendment. Mrs. Pickler was chairman of this committee, but did not go to Pierre, and wrote Mrs. Fitch that it was not necessary for the committee to go until the 18th of January, although the legislature convened on the 5th. Miss Bower and Mrs. Pettigrew were ready to go in the beginning of the legislature, but out of respect to a superior officer, waited as their president advised. When they arrived at Ft. Pierre they learned that Mrs. Pickler had written Mrs. Jeffries, the State Corresponding Secretary, advising her to go to Pierre, confer with the W.C.T.U. legislative committee, and let the W.C.T.U. Committee go ahead and work for the suffrage amendment as they had done in former years.

Miss Bower, Mrs. Pettigrew and Mrs. Jeffries were not willing to follow Mrs. Pickler's instructions in this, because at the expense of the N.A.W.S.A., Mrs. Fitch a few weeks prior to the convening of the legislature, had visited prominent members-elect and secured promises of their support, if a suffrage bill were introduced; also a promise from her brother-in-law, Senator Andrews, to introduce a full suffrage bill in the Senate, and a promise from her father-in-law, Mr. Fitch, to introduce the bill in the House.

Miss Bower and Mrs. Pettigrew were, however, willing to confer with the W.C.T.U. and, if possible, agree with them upon a plan to be pursued, and immediately went to Pierre with that intention. A few hours after their arrival in Pierre they learned that the W.C.T.U. Committee represented by Mrs. Ramsey and Mrs. Simmons had gone to Senator Andrews and Mr. Fitch and secured their aid in the introduction of a tax-paying suffrage bill. This bill was introduced, and had been referred to committees. Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower also learned that Mrs. Pickler had been in communication with Mrs. Simmons, and Mrs. Pettigrew a few days after these events received a letter from Mrs. Pickler approving of the introduction of a tax-paying bill. This conduct of Mrs. Pickler in communicating with the W.C.T.U. Committee, and ignoring the Committee from her own organization led to very serious complications.

In addition to this, some of the officers of the State Suffrage Association had asked Miss Shaw for the assistance of a National worker, When Mrs. Pickler learned that her officers wanted such assistance she wrote Miss Shaw not to send a National speaker; and it was only after an urgent demand had been made by several other officers, that she wrote Miss Shaw to send the National representative. This also led to serious difficulty.

Not only at this time, but after, Mrs. Pickler has decided very

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E. M. 19, 1909

important matters without consulting the members of the Executive Board. More than once has she incurred expenses and drawn upon the Treasury for such expenses without the knowledge, consent or approval of the Executive.

After the tax-paying suffrage bill was defeated, a joint resolution submitting a full suffrage amendment to the people was passed, and then after years of inactivity, Mrs. Pickler suddenly became very active. The National President wrote very kind letters to all the state officers, and offered to aid the E.S.A. in the campaign, and advised that a council of officers be called. At least three officers wrote Mrs. Pickler urging that a council be immediately called, that plans for carrying on the campaign might be formulated without delay. These officers also asked that a National Organizer might be sent to aid us in making these plans. To these requests for a council Mrs. Pickler sent vague and indefinite replies.

At the same time she stated that she had established headquarters at Faulkton, that she had employed a stenographer, and that she had made other plans for the campaign. It was evident that she intended to make all the plans, and call the council of officers afterward. At the same time she wrote Miss Shaw not to send a National representative.

By telegraphing and writing to Miss Shaw, the other officers secured the help of a National representative, who visited Mrs. Pickler in her home, and urged the calling of the conference at once, assuring Mrs. Pickler that there would be serious trouble with her other officers if the council were not called. Mrs. Pickler finally yielded, and an Executive Board meeting was called at Mrs. Pickler's home, Mar. 23 and 24.

A copy on the minutes of this meeting is attached to this memorial, and shows that a Campaign Committee was elected, that this Committee was given co-ordinate powers with the Executive Board, and that the Chairman was given the power to call a meeting of the Campaign Committee, or to submit in writing any question to the members of the Campaign Committee and Executive Board.

The minutes also show that the basis of representation at the Huron convention was discussed, but that no action or vote was taken upon the question. At this point of the discussion the constitution was called for, and Mrs. Pickler stated that we have a constitution, but she failed to produce it. Subsequent investigation of the records shows that new constitution was adopted in the re-organization in Parker, S.D. in 1906, or since that time.

Four days after the council adjourned, Mrs. Pettigrew, who had been elected chairman of the Campaign Committee submitted a proposition to the members of the Executive Board and Campaign Committee, fixing the basis of representation at the Huron Convention; a copy of this proposi-

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tion, and a copy of the letter accompanying it is attached to this memorial. Ten out of fourteen members of the joint Committees, voted "yes" on this proposition, the entire campaign committee and a majority of the Executive Board favoring it. Mrs. Pickler wrote one of the officers who was not present, as follows: "You have doubtless received a circular letter from Mrs. Pettigrew, asking you to sign on a basis of representation for our convention. The circular is misleading as that was not delegated to the Campaign Committee, and further, than that, it was settled while we were in session at Faulkton, that we would follow the precedent established by Miss Anthony -- let everybody who belongs to our State Suffrage Association have a voice in planning our campaign, and I rule it out of order."

Mrs. Pickler also wrote Mrs. Pettigrew that she had decided the convention should be a mass convention, every person present having paid dues having a vote, thus declaring for a rule of the minority over the majority.

Again, at the meeting in Faulkton, a committee was appointed to go to Madison on April 1st, and ask for a hearing before the W.C.T.U. Executive Board, which was to convene at that time. Mrs. Pickler, Mrs. Pettigrew, Mrs. Fitch and Miss Bower constituted the Committee, and Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower went to Madison, obtained the hearing, and asked the W.C.T.U. to appoint a Committee to confer with them with a view to co-operation in campaign work. The W.C.T.U. appointed this Committee, which consisted of Mrs. Ramsey, Mrs. Simmons and Mrs. Safford. This Committee informed Mrs. Pettigrew and Miss Bower that the Board had instructed them to say that they would co-operate with the E.S.A. on condition that the E.S.A. would permit the W.C.T.U. to name the permanent Chairman of the Campaign Committee, name the town in which the Headquarters should be located, and make the convention of the E.S.A. to be held in Huron, a mass convention, admitting to full voting privileges, all who have paid dues in the E.S.A. at the rate of 25 cents per annum.

Since Mrs. Simmons was on the Executive Board of both organizations, was often in communication with Mrs. Pickler, and took an important part in the deliberations of the Executive Board meetings of both organizations, and announced that she was a member of both organizations, but that the W.C.T.U. was her first love, and since she reminded us that the E.S.A. was a weak organization, and therefore should not have equal power with the W.C.T.U. in a joint campaign, while she has never done anything to build up the E.S.A., it seemed to the undersigned officers of the Suffrage Association that there was a deliberate intention on the part of Mrs. Simmons to force the suffrage campaign into W.C.T.U. lines.

It also appeared to us that Mrs. Pickler's declaration that the majority vote on representation was out of order, was a part of a pre-concerted plan to deliver the campaign into W.C.T.U. control. Under her

STATE OF MICHIGAN, COUNTY OF ...
 I, the undersigned, Clerk of the Court, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears in the files of the Court.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance

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plan of representation, it would be possible for the W.C.T.U. to bring to the Huron convention a vote sufficient to take control of the campaign, and the undersigned officers of the Suffrage Association declined to spend time and money fighting a faction of our own forces.

Half of the members of the E.S.A. Executive Board, who are members of the W.C.T.U., and are in sympathy with W.C.T.U. control of the campaign, sustain Mrs. Pickler in her ruling that the basis of representation is out of order; and the undersigned, feeling confident that it would be impossible to carry the suffrage campaign to victory under the W.C.T.U. banner, have re-organized the suffrage forces loyal to the N.A.W.S.A., under the name of the South Dakota Political Equality Association. We paid our dues into the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association prior to Jan. 1, 1909, and being the loyal faction, have re-organized upon the broad lines upon which auxiliaryship in the N.A.W.S.A. is based, and we hereby submit copy of our constitution and bylaws, and declare that we are the auxiliary society, and pray that we may be so recognized.

(Signed) Nina D. Pettigrew, Pres. S.D.P.E.A.
(Chairman Campaign Committee S.D. E.S.A.)

Jane E. Waldron, Rec. Sec. S.D.P.E.A.
(Press Supt. E.S.A.)

Florence Jeffries, Cor. Sec. S.D.P.E.A.
(Cor. Sec. E.S.A. of S. Dak.)

Jennie M. Taylor, Treasurer S.D.P.E.A.
(Treasurer S.D.E.S.A.)

Jane Recker Breeden, Chairman Press Work, So. Dak.
Political Equality Assn.
(Auditor So. Dak. Equal & Suffrage Assn.)

Handwritten signature or stamp, possibly "N. D. P. E. A."

Small, faint text at the bottom of the page, possibly a footer or a stamp, containing names and titles.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or a stamp.

Apr. 19, 1909

Memorial to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, praying that the Member of the Executive Committee of the South Dakota Political Equality Association be ~~reorganized~~ recognized as the rightful representative of South Dakota in the National Executive Committee:

We do hereby give notice that if Mrs. Anna R. Simmons present credentials from the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association, and ask for recognition in your body, that said representative is not entitled to such recognition for the following reasons:

The business of the S.D.E.S.A. has never been properly conducted. Its interests have always been made subservient to the wishes of the W.C.T.U. of which the present claimant is a prominent member. Its conventions, when held, have always been delivered into the management of the W.C.T.U. and thus W.C.E.U. women have kept at its head to the detriment of its development. Previous to two years ago no annual convention was held for the preceding ten years; the claimant had in the interval removed from the state, and had again taken up her residence as a citizen of our state. Two years ago at the convention held in Pierre, when a few women came together to revive the suffrage movement, Mrs. Alice M.A. Pickler was elected president, promising to do active work, and through her influence Mrs. Anna R. Simmons was elected Member of the National Executive Committee. No convention has been held since that time. The said claimant has done her public work as a lecturer for the W.C.T.U.; she has organized no suffrage clubs, or has she in any way contributed to the upbuilding of the state suffrage association, or raised any money for the treasury of the state suffrage organization. On the contrary, she has always discouraged the growth of the state suffrage society, and given preference to the increase of influence of the W.C.T.U. When the late session of the state legislature convened, she came to Pierre as a member of the legislative committee of the state W.C.T.U., and with the knowledge and co-operation of the state president of the E.S.A. she and the president of the W.C.T.U. secured the introduction of a tax-paying suffrage bill into the legislature. This was done without any communication with the legislative committee of the Equal Suffrage Association and without notifying the officers of the E.S.A. who reside in Pierre, that she had come to Pierre to do legislative work for any organization.

By this action she must be regarded as an active worker for measures advocated by the W.C.T.U., even though they are contrary to the policies of the Suffrage Association. This has invariably indicated her attitude and action in all matters where the work or interests of the two societies touched. While she sat with us in the Executive Committee session lately held in Faulkton, by virtue of her claim that she was the Member of the N.A.W.S.A. Executive Committee, she repeatedly spoke of the W.C.T.U. as "we", while she referred to the suffrage association as "you";

MEMORIAL TO THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
PRAYING THAT THE MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH DAKOTA
POLITICAL EQUALITY ASSOCIATION BE REORGANIZED RECOGNIZED AS THE RIGHTFUL
REPRESENTATIVE OF SOUTH DAKOTA IN THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

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thus showing as she herself expressed it that the W.C.T.U. was her first love, and first in her consideration.

She appeared as a member of the W.C.T.U. Committee appointed to meet the suffrage association committee, and was the most urgent member of the former committee, in demanding that the W.C.T.U. locate the headquarters of the suffrage campaign, that the W.C.T.U. name the Chairman of the Suffrage Campaign Committee, and that the W.C.T.U. decide the basis of representation in the state suffrage convention, all of which we claim is actuated by disloyalty to the state suffrage association, and if conceded, will endanger the welfare of the campaign. We are obliged to state that the claimant has never encouraged the recognition of suffrage workers except such as have been identified with the W.C.T.U. She has repeatedly said that in the event of a campaign in this state, it would be better not to have any assistance from the National Suffrage Association. We claim that this is adverse to the requirements of the situation in our state, and is contrary to the judgment and wishes of those who are single-heartedly working for suffrage.

We claim that as the constitution of the National American Woman Suffrage Association provides that the Member of the Executive Committee of the N.A.W.S.A. must be elected annually, and as no annual convention was held last year, and no Member of the N.A.W.S.A. Executive Committee was elected by the South Dakota E.S.A. last year, that the said claimant is not entitled to act in such capacity, her term of office having expired by the lapse of time; and that for all these reasons herein stated, she is not entitled to a seat in your body.

(Signed) Nina D. Pettigrew, Pres. S.D.P.E.A.
(former Chairman Campaign Com. S.D.E.S.A.)

Jane E. Waldron, Rec. Sec. P.E.A.
(former Supt. Press S. Dak. E.S.A.)

Florence Jeffries, Cor. Sec. S.D.P.E.A.
(former Cor. Sec. S.D.E.S.A.)

Jennie M. Taylor, Treasurer S.D.P.E.A.
(~~former~~ Treasurer S.D.E.S.A.)

Jane Recker Breeden, Chairman Press Work S.D.P.E.A.
(~~former~~ Auditor of So. Dak. Equal Suffrage Assn.)

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Apr. 19, 1909

Hallefurcha, S. D. Mar, 27, 1909

In order that the organizers may be able to work up an interest in the State convention to be held in Huron in July, 1909, it seems necessary that a decision should be rendered at once in regard to the basis of representation in the Convention, and I therefore, as Chairman of the State Equal Suffrage Campaign Committee, ask a vote upon the enclosed proposition. An immediate return of the vote will facilitate the field work.

(signed) Nina D. Pettigrew,
Chairman Cam. Com.

On the proposition that the basis of representation for the State Convention of the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association to be held in Huron in July 1909, shall be four delegates for every organized county, one of whom shall be the County Chairman, and the other three delegates holding credentials signed by the County Chairman,

I hereby vote

Yes

No

Please indicate your vote by X mark opposite the words "yes" or "no".

RECEIVED BY THE STATE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, HURON, S. D. APRIL 19, 1909. THE STATE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, HURON, S. D. APRIL 19, 1909. THE STATE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, HURON, S. D. APRIL 19, 1909.

COMBINE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Swarthmore, Pa.,
April 19, 1909.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

I sent you quite a budget a few days ago in regard to South Dakota, not waiting for the arrival of the Memorials prepared by those who are forming a new association.

On Saturday morning the Memorials arrived, and I got them from the Post Office when I was on my way to the city for a couple of hours' conference with Florence Kelley.

As she had not had time before leaving New York City to receive the other budget on South Dakota I read aloud to her copies of the various things contained in it and also the full text of the Memorials. I did not have time to read with her the Minutes of the conference of the officers at Faulkton.

This letter will accompany to each of you copies of the two Memorials, the letter and vote sent out to the Official Board and the Campaign Committee ~~UNRECORDED~~ by Mrs. Pettigrew, and the Minutes of the conference of officers at Faulkton.

Mrs. Kelley and I are agreed in desiring to have the National extend its financial aid to the new association, and yet we both see that it is impossible, according to our own Constitution, to recognize the new organization as auxiliary to the N. A. W. S. A. so long as the W. C. T. U. faction holds on to the name of South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association. The National has accepted the dues of this Association for this year so that we cannot go back to the fact that there has been no real convention for election of officers and that apparently they have no Constitution. Any questions of this kind to be of any weight should of course have been raised before the acceptance of dues for the last few years from this so-called State Association.

My own feeling is that in spite of the matters set forth in the Memorials to the N. A. W. S. A., our organization will be compelled to receive the delegates of the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association at the convention in Seattle.

My hope is that that Association run by the W. C. T. U. officials will retain enough of its former feeling towards the N. A. W. S. A. not to desire our help except perhaps upon conditions upon which we could not give it, namely, that if they ask our help they will ask us to finance them and leave them to decide all the details of the expenditures. This is practically what they asked and expected of the National in the campaign of 1890, and the fact that the National refused to hand over this contribution to the campaign to the South Dakota officers (who were then, as now, largely from the ranks of the W. C. T. U.)

Apr 19, 1909

and refused to pay a salary of \$100. a month to a superannuated minister as secretary of the campaign headquarters, left them very much disgruntled towards the N. A. W. S. A.

I enclose a request for your votes on various points but aside from Jasbothe votes I trust that you will each send me your full opinion upon all the questions involved in the present situation in South Dakota.

Of course, if Miss Gregg and some of the South Dakota officers, when they wrote Miss Shaw the letters received on the Sunday before her departure (namely, on April 4th) had given the clear idea of the fact that the present Board of Officers of the South Dakota N. A. W. S. A. was very nearly divided, Miss Shaw's decision and advice would probably have been quite different from what it was when she and I both judged from the letters received (I happened to be at Moylea when they came) that Mrs. Pickler had only Mrs. Simmons on her side and that the rest of the Board were practically a unit in desiring a delegate convention.

I trust that you will let me hear from you very promptly, as Miss Gregg, Mrs. Pettigrew, Mrs. Jeffries and Mrs. Brecken all write that they do not know what to do or what line the work will take until they hear from the general officers of the National.

You realize that Miss Bauer having left the state, the National is now giving to South Dakota Miss Gregg's time and expenses and a salary of \$50. a month to Mrs. Pettigrew and \$75. a month to Mrs. Johnson, President of the State Federation. There has also been the question of Mrs. Johnson's expenses which Miss Gregg seems to feel that we should also guarantee since she is to go to the women's clubs to secure their co-operation, and therefore cannot well appeal to them on the first presentation of the subject, to contribute money to the work.

Since the appropriations made to the work now can be, in any case, only up to the Seattle Convention, a matter of a little over two months, I would be glad if you could agree to pay Mrs. Johnson's expenses, in addition to this salary of \$75. a month.

April 20, 1909.

In consultation with Miss Shaw's secretary, Miss Green, who comes to me daily with the most important letters for Miss Shaw, my own memory is confirmed (even tho I unfortunately can not consult my own copy) that just a day or two before she sailed, Miss Shaw sent out a letter saying she would guarantee twenty five dollars (\$25.) per month upon Mrs. Johnson's expenses. Mrs. Brecken in a letter just received tells me that Mrs. J. speaks Swedish and Norwegian which in her state is a decided advantage I should think. Miss Shaw asked the G.O.'s to appropriate this twenty-five dollars and I have no will think it wise to do so.

*Trusting you will "take a day off" for the study of this budget and will send me replies at an early day, I am yours truly,
Rachel Foster Avery.*

Swarthmore, Pa.,
April 21, 1909.

Dear Members of the Business Committee:-

I have just received a suggestion from Mrs. Upton, which seems to me the best thought on the subject. I am not yet in receipt of any from the rest of you but I think it best not to wait but to send this right out to you, with the hope that you may be willing to have it acted upon.

Mrs. Upton writes, - "If I thought the W. C. T. U. could win the state I would believe in withdrawing our forces and letting them have the full field but I do not believe they can carry it. On the other hand, I do not think the suffragists there, unless they are backed solidly by the National, can carry it. You can see how Rose Bowers has run away, how Mrs. Fitch has deserted, how Mrs. Johnson is sort of 'waiting to see', - showing that they, all of them, have no faith in their own strength. I do not think it is possible for us to wait and let things go on. I would suggest that the National pay the expenses of Mrs. Stewart to go to South Dakota, see the W. C. T. U. women, since she is a W. C. T. U. woman and knows all their ways, and the suffrage women as well, and if she can effect no compromise, to give us her opinion as to whether the new forces are strong enough to bring in the women's clubs, and so on. I know this will be a little bit of expense, but unless some one in authority goes there, we will drag along a few months paying out more than we would think of paying Mrs. Stewart, and be just exactly where we are now. Besides, all of the officers who were in Oregon said that we gave Miss Gregg too big a job. Then we blamed her for not being able to straighten out the tangle there which all the officers put together could not straighten out."

A letter from Miss Blackwell, received last evening, tells me that she has written to Governor Vessey a private and personal letter inquiring his position on the following points:

1 - Among the women active in the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association, who are those having the best judgment and the most political commonsense?

2 - Of the women who can go around and speak and organize, which ones do you think really think would be vote getters and be able to do valuable work for the amendment?

3 - If a large proportion of those who take a prominent part in the campaign in the name of the W. S. A. are well known W. C. T. U. women, will this be detrimental to the success of the amendment?

Journal of the National Woman's Suffrage Association

Apr. 21, 1909

4 - What would be your own idea of the wisest and most effective way to make the campaign?

Miss Blackwell promises the Governor that she will consider his advice, should he give any, confidential if he wishes it, and will not mention it to any one outside our National Board. At the same time, she says she cannot promise that some inkling of what he may say may not get back to South Dakota, because, where a board of eight persons know a thing it is always possible that something may leak out.

Knowing the close relations of Governor Vessey to Mrs. Pickler, Mrs. Simmons, and other W. C. T. U. women, I am rather uneasy over Miss Blackwell's having written the Governor, because I think it quite likely that her letter to him will be submitted by him to the W. C. T. U. faction of the South Dakota B. S. A. However, the thing is done and I never believe in crossing bridges before I come to them or in crying over spilt milk.

Miss Blackwell also voices the feeling suggested in Mrs. Upton's letter that we ought not to take the situation wholly upon Miss Gregg's view of it. She says, - "She is as good as gold, but when Miss Shaw got to Oregon and found how unwisely in some respects she and Gail Laughlin had been running the preliminary campaign there, I know Miss Shaw felt that her judgment could not wholly be relied upon afterwards."

I have had a little of this feeling myself, although of course I was abroad at the time of the Oregon campaign and heard only the reports of Miss Gregg's condition and actions at a certain stage of the campaign proceedings. I have felt since then, however, that she had so entirely recovered from that peculiar condition that we could count a good deal on her judgment in regard to conditions in South Dakota, but I think Mrs. Upton's suggestion is a perfectly splendid one, and hope that the Board will authorize the expenditure of the necessary money to send Mrs. Stewart. Her position as an officer on the National Board, a former president of a state W. C. T. U. and the wife of a prominent Prohibition speaker, combine to render her invaluable as a mediator in the present crisis in South Dakota, and I surely consider it is a crisis in the work there. If we cannot harmonize things there we will find ourselves impaled on one or other horn of a dilemma: - either the campaign will be run along W. C. T. U. lines or else we will have to finance the straight suffrage workers, and that will be at an immense disadvantage in raising money from outside people to finance a campaign where the workers in the state are divided. Mrs. Stewart is so calm and level-headed that if any mortal can harmonize the divided forces I believe she is capable of doing it, and I think that I should be willing to give her carte blanche as a representative of the National Board, thought, of course, I

[Apr. 21, 1909]

should want to hear from her first as to how she feels about the matter.

In this same mail I am writing her personally, as, of course, we must all realize that as State President in Illinois she has been working very hard lately and may feel that the work there demands her presence and will forbid her taking up this work at this juncture. I shall say all I can to impress her with the necessity of going to South Dakota, should the Board so vote.

By the time you receive this letter you will have had the budget containing the Memorials from the new league in South Dakota (the existence of which is, of course, not yet made public) and will have had a little time to consider the matter. I hope you may be willing to telegraph me your vote as to the advisability of Mrs. Stewart's going to South Dakota at once to consult with both factions of the divided Board of the S. S. A. and with Governor Vessey and other outside friends of the movement.

Cordially yours,

R. J. Avery.

R. J. Avery

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1909
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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MAY 10 1909
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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

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



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Warren, Ohio

Recording Secretary, Alice Stone Blackwell,
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, Ohio.
Auditors: { Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Ella S. Stewart, 5464 Jefferson Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Lexington, Ky. April 22, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board,

As I was sent out to Arizona to study the situation there you will realize that I have it very much upon my mind and heart. I am taking an Arizona paper in order to keep me in touch with the situation. Articles in it are constantly repeating the statement of Arizonans who have visited Washington that the prospect for statehood next December is very good. They say that President Taft has promised that he will do everything in his power for its success; and that Mr. Hamilton has said that he would bring in his Statehood Bill early next December. It seems therefore that a campaign in Arizona claims our immediate attention. Though Miss Shaw is absent I am writing to call your attention to it so that we may be ready for prompt action. As I wrote before I believe the suffrage sentiment in Arizona is good and the situation hopeful. The Governor who is to succeed Governor Kibby is Judge Sloan who was the Judge who handed down the unanimous decision of the territorial supreme court in 1899, affirming that it was within the power of the legislature to grant full suffrage to women. It is impossible therefore that he should veto a suffrage bill on the same ground on which Governor Brodie did. He seems a man highly esteemed in the territory and I have no reason to suppose he has any objection to woman suffrage. This is one encouraging feature in the present situation.

Secondly: The last legislature passed a law making a requirement

Apr 22, 1909

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for voting that the voter should be able to read the English language and write his own name. This does away with the ignorant vote which is usually solid against woman suffrage.

Thirdly: The women have exercised school suffrage since 1887; and I understand the right is pretty generally exercised. I heard no assertion that the women did not use the right, and I heard of some instances in which they used it very advantageously to the schools.

My idea of what ought to be done is that an organizer should be sent into the northern part of Arizona in the beginning of September working her way towards the south as the weather grows cooler. I believe one organizer could visit all of the fourteen counties and enroll suffragists on the Card Enrollment system, which by Miss Shaw's concurrence I have already introduced into Arizona. I would ^{have} the organizer carefully instruct the suffragists in the importance of pledging candidates for the Constitutional Convention before election in favor of woman suffrage; and also to look out constantly for men to head the county committees, as I am convinced that we need the active assistance of men to carry on a campaign of pledging candidates.

Then as soon as it is ascertained that the Statehood Bill would pass through Congress I recommend that a second person be employed to be at headquarters in Phoenix to co-ordinate the work of the county committees, and to look after our interests in the Constitutional Convention which is to sit in Phoenix; in short to establish headquarters in Phoenix. I think it is of the utmost importance that we should have a man either at the head of this department of the work or in the closest touch with the person who is at the head. Whilst I was in Arizona I made inquiries if it would be possible to find women who could do campaign work for the suffragists; and I came to the conclusion that there was not. The W. C. T. U. has to employ organizers from out-

EAH. 22, 1909,

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side of the state, and I suppose would have to do so also. It may be that we would have to send a woman to take charge of the headquarters in Phenix, as Mrs. Boyer did in Oklahoma. If so I think Mrs. Boyer would be an excellent person to send to Arizona. In any case however I wish to say that I am firmly of the opinion that the provence of such a woman would be to co-ordinate and rally the efforts of women only; and I consider it an essential point of my advice on this situation that I recommed that we employ a man or men to rally the men and to lobby in the Constitutional Convention. I am convinced that these two parts of the campaign are beyond the powers and training of women and that we waste opportunities for success by depending upon women to do so.

Such a campaign as I have outlined I calculate would cost something like a fifth or a fourth of the amount which it seems to be necessary to expend to carry on a campaign in a state where the question has to be submitted to the electors. In the point of economy therefore a campaign in a territory has greatly the advantage.

As far as the sentiment of the people goes I believe our chances are about as good in Arizona as in other states which I have visited. If the prospects of statehood are disappointed next winter the organizer's work will not have been thrown away as it would be a preparation for the next winter at which time the chance of statehood would again revive and in which there would certainly be a legislature. And you see I do not recommend opening the headquarters at Phoenix with other workers unless statehood seems to be very certain.

I have been exceedingly pleased with what I have seen of the ability of Miss Penfield. I believe that she could take hold of the situation in Arizona and be successful in it. I would prefer her for several reasons over Miss Chase of whom I spoke in a previous letter.

[Apr 22, 1907]

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Miss Penfield is young and strong and the fatigue of the long rides etc would not be too much for her. Moreover she is accustomed to a similar climate in Texas and to conditions of life very like those in Arizona. I believe she would please the people and could readily adapt herself to all their points of view. I have taken occasion to talk to Miss Penfield and good deal about Arizona, and I believe she would throw herself into the work with a great deal of enthusiasm. I would be very glad if the Official Board felt itself able to express an opinion about sending Miss Penfield to Arizona early in September. For she has told me that she expects to go to the Seattle Convention and that she is trying to persuade her mother to go there also for her summer holiday instead of going east as she has been thinking of doing. Miss Penfield thinks she must see her mother some time in the summer. I have asked her if she felt she could work through the summer in a climate as cool as Washington, and she says that she would be willing to do so, and would not need a vacation if she could meet her mother there. I propose therefore that we should donate Miss Penfield's services to the Washington campaign after the convention until its time for her to start to Arizona. A tour might be arranged for her through California, both to diminish expenses and to help that state. I would particularly like her to work some time in Los Angeles because there are a great many Arizonans who go there to spend the summer, and Miss Penfield might make some helpful acquaintances among them. She could then begin work in Arizona in September as I have outlined above. If you feel that the Official Board could express an opinion about the employment of Miss Penfield next year and to have her work in Washington for the summer as I have said, it might have a great influence in inducing her mother to go to Washington so that Miss Penfield would not have to cross

E Ah 22, 1909

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the continent again to spend a vacation with her mother.

I shall be glad to have a reply to this letter, either at once, or as soon as Miss Shaw returns. I shall make a copy of my letter for Miss Shaw so that she can consider it as soon as she comes back.

Very cordially yours,

Diet.

REQUISITION
BOND

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H. H. VAIL, V. PRES'T
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300 Pike Street, Cincinnati, 22 April, 1909.

Miss Laura Clay,
189 North Mill St.,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay,-

I beg to acknowledge your valued favor of the 20th inst., and desire to thank you for your kindly interest in educational affairs, in Kentucky, and more especially in the immediate future of the Eastern Kentucky State Normal School.

The Board of Regents feel deeply the sense of responsibility which present conditions impose ^{up} on them. The selection of a president to succeed Dr. Roark is a very important matter and I hope we may be able to make a wise decision when we take the matter up. I believe there will be no disposition to act hastily. Fortunately the school is being quite satisfactorily managed and we feel no uneasiness about the efficiency of the organization as now constituted. As yet we have had no conference with Mrs. Roark regarding her plans for the future, nor do we desire to press the question until such a time as she may be prepared, after mature deliberation, to discuss such matters with us. I may also state, I think with propriety, that no applications from others who may seek the place will be given a moment's consideration for some time at least, and not until after we shall have very carefully considered all of the many perplexing problems involved in determining the proper course to pursue.

Thanking you for your kindly interest, I am

ER.

Sincerely yours,

P. W. Grinstead.

Apr. 23, 1909

Vote sent out from the Office of the Acting President,
Swarthmore, Pa. April 20th, 1909.

1. Do you believe the General Officers are empowered to give an opinion as to whether the N.A.W.S.A. can finance during the coming Campaign in S.Dakota, the newly organized South Dakota Political Equality Association.

Answer. I am opposed to the new organization. I do not vote to promise to finance it. I am willing to finance the workers we have engaged, if unity is preserved; not otherwise.

2. Do you vote to give an assurance to the S.Dakota Political Equality Association that the N.A.W.S.A. approves of the formation of this Association, in view of the impossibility of working with the other officers of the S.Dakota Equal Suffrage Association?

Answer. No; I am utterly opposed to countenancing faction.

3. Do you vote for the appropriation of twenty-five dollars per month on the expenses of Mrs. Johnson (President of the Federation of Clubs) in addition to the salary of seventy-five dollars per month already appropriated to her?

Answer .Yes.

Signature. Laura Clay.

Date, April 23, 1909/

Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association

ORGANIZED 1869.

Auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association

President, Rachel Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.
Vice President, Mary B. Luckie,
333 E. Broad Street, Chester, Pa.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Mary R. Newell,
938 N. 63rd St., Philadelphia, Pa.
State Member of Executive Committee of the National
American Woman Suffrage Association,
JANE CAMPBELL, 413 School House Lane, Germantown.

Recording Secretary, Mary C. Morgan,
4418 Osage Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Treasurer, Matilda Orr Hays,
705 Pitt Street, Wilkinsburg, Pa.
Auditors: { Minora F. Phillis,
P. O. Box 484, Sheridanville, Pa.
Rebie Van Artsdalen, Ivyland, Pa.

Swarthmore, Pa., April 23, 1909

Dear Friend:-

I am going to send this letter in duplicate to Miss Gordon, Miss Clay and Mrs. Stewart, all of you members of the general officers of the N. A. W. S. A., and each of you president of a state association.

I am having a little trouble in my own state work with the president of one of our strongest county organizations. You know that Pennsylvania is not very strongly organized but this county organization (which shall be nameless) is made up of about eight clubs, aggregating a membership of about three hundred.

At our State Convention last November, at which I was elected President, the President of this county, (whom we will call Miss Jones) sent a proposition to the State Association to undertake a campaign for an amendment to our State Constitution to pursue it by means of petitions. At the same Convention, of course, the lines of work proposed by the National at Buffalo were brought forward and the Convention, by almost a unanimous vote, resolved in favor of the National petition and against Mrs. Jones' proposed petition to the State Legislature.

In spite of this action on the part of the State Convention, Mrs. Jones proceeded to get out her petitions and urged the local clubs, who composed her county organization, to go to work at them. The local clubs, however, did not take up the matter very strongly and she carried it to the State W. C. T. U. Indeed, she wrote me that it had already, before the meeting of the 1908 Suffrage Convention, received the approval of the Pennsylvania W. C. T. U. She also wrote at one time that she considered herself pledged to the clubs of her own county to carry forward this work and that she proposed to do so whether the State organization approved of her or not.

A little later she found a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature willing to present her petition and to make the proposal for an amendment to the State Constitution. The matter did not make a ripple on the surface of Pennsylvania politics which are, as you probably know, exceedingly corrupt and well repre-

[Apr. 23, 1909]

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resented in that way by the present Legislature.

Several months ago I was present at a meeting of the county organization of which Mrs. Jones is president and expected to have the matter thrashed out there, but although I discussed a number of lines of the State work, which is based on the National's suggestions largely, nothing was said by Mrs. Jones in regard to the State Petition, and so I supposed the matter had lapsed into inaction. It seems, however, that Mrs. Jones is pursuing it and urging it upon the attention of the local workers, and I expect to be present at the annual meeting of the county association and am urged by one of the other state officers who lives there to go to that meeting in May armed with as much information as possible in regard to two points, first, what is the duty of an auxiliary county association to the state association? Second, should a county president have it in her power to carry forward a line of work which was distinctly voted down at the State Convention and still retain her position as County president, and consider her county association auxiliary to the state association?

I am consulting my own State Board of Officers on this subject, but would very much like to have your opinion as a state president. Of course, the matter does not enter into the relations of the State to the National Association, but I felt that I could come to you who have been state president so much longer than I have, and who may possibly have had just such a knotty problem to handle, with the reasonable hope of getting some light on the situation.

Trusting that you may have time and inclination to give this matter your consideration and to let me have a reply not later than the 10th of May, and thanking you in advance for any help that you may be able to give me along this line, I remain,

Yours very cordially,

Rachel Foster Avery, N.S.

Swarthmore, Pa.,
April 23, 1909.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

Here is the result of the vote sent out to you some time ago. You will see from this that all those heard from give a unanimous vote that money raised for state campaigns is not to be considered money for general expenses. It is also unanimous that the treasurer can solicit money for such state campaigns and the money received can be counted on the Susan B. Anthony Fund. On the third question the vote is very much split up, there being two distinctly opposed and two distinctly in favor and three in favor but under certain provisos. It would seem, then, that if any one of these three provisos should be fulfilled, namely (a) provided no conditions attach to the gift; (b) if it could be credited to a friend, and (c) if Mr. Rockefeller should offer it:-we might consider the question carried in favor. Since the question involved in vote four is carried by four to three it would devolve upon Mrs. Upton, as the treasurer, to approach Mr. Rockefeller upon the subject. Question five is lost, so there seems no necessity of explaining to Mrs. Kelley the exact meaning of it, which was evidently not clear in the way in which I stated the question.

Here is a question in regard to the Call for the Seattle Convention. Mrs. Upton writes on April 20th as follows:

"Now, I have just had a brilliant thought. That is, not to have any call. The Call originated when there were no general organizations. A question arose to be discussed or be disposed of and it was necessary to have the people who believed in it get together. The object of such a meeting was therefore printed and people were urged to assemble. Political parties do not issue calls; I doubt if the other great national associations do, and why don't we stop it? We used to need them to advertise our convention, to give information, and so on. Now we have our organ, we have our railroad folders, we have our press work and we do not need the call. The matter was in Miss Shaw's hands and I suppose she turned it over to you."

I cannot feel like agreeing with her on this although I feel that it might possibly be wise to omit a call for the conventions, but I think it has become such an established custom that it would be better not to omit it without a vote of the convention itself. Miss Shaw approved of the suggestion that we invite Prof. Frances Squire Potter to write the Call this year, and I am sending her a letter to that effect. Any suggestions which you may have in connection with this matter will you please send to me at once, and if Prof. Potter consents to write the Call I can then immediately forward them to her.

Encl.

Cordially yours,

Rachel Foster Avery.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance

President, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 2 West 86th Street, New York, U. S. A.
1st Vice-President, DR. JUR. ANITA AUGSPURG, Paul Strasse 25, Hamburg, Germany.
2nd Vice-President, MILLICENT FAWCETT, 2 Gower St., London, England.
Secretary, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.

1st Assistant Secretary, DR. KATHE SCHIRMACHER, 53 Rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris.
2nd Assistant Secretary, MARTINA KRAMERS, Kruiskade 92, Rotterdam, Holland.
Treasurer, MISS RODGER CUNLIFFE,
45 Albert Palace Mansions, Battersea Park, London, England.

Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.

Lexington, Ky. April 23, 1909.

Dear Member of the Official Board,

I am in receipt of Mrs. Avery's letters concerning the situation in South Dakota and the budget of letters from South Dakota workers. I feel the situation there is so serious that it is important that each of us should know the opinion of the others. In my judgment the first and foremost thing for us to do is to ward off a conflict between the two factions in the E. S. A. As it appears from all sources that the faction favored by the W. C. T. U. has probably the larger number of people in sympathy with it and as the main point of difference appears to be the basis of representation in the Huron Convention, in a previous letter to Mrs. Avery I had advised that we use all influence with Mrs. Pettigrew to yield promptly and gracefully to Mrs. Pickler's choice of a basis of representation and thus avoid a chance of conflict at the Convention. If the W. C. T. U.'s have the majority, they having paid dues to the E. S. A. and acting under its colors, it seems to me perfectly legitimate that they should have the control of the details of the campaign. We know perfectly well that in every state a large number of our members are W. C. T. U. people, and it would be altogether out of place for us to try to discriminate against them in South Dakota simply because they are there in larger numbers than they have been in other states. We have nothing to do with the opinion on other subjects of persons who join the E. S. A., pay dues, and come to its conventions. While I am opposed to any outside organization controlling our suffrage campaign, yet when even the same women

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work under the E. S. A. colors and are able by force of numbers to out vote those who are not W. C. T. U's, it seems to me that they have the plain right of all majorities to rule. If Mrs. Pettigrew and her committee are willing to make this concession I see no reason why we may not yet be able to come to a working understanding. There seems to be no difference of opinion as to Mrs. Pettigrew's having the authority to go on working and organizing until the Huron Convention, upon plans which seem to be agreeable to all. By that time she will have been able to show what she can do as a campaign manager, and it may be that the convention will recognize her merits as such; if not it would certainly be better to have another manager than to have a division in our forces. I wish to say that I am opposed to the Official Board recognizing any faction in South Dakota, and I shall not vote to promise that the National will undertake to give financial aid to such a faction. In fact, I think it open to doubt whether the convention in Seattle would endorse such a pledge. We must remember that at Seattle there will probably be large delegations from California, some from Oregon, and a large delegation from Washington, and in all of these states there is considerable opposition to the National taking the management of campaigns from the state leaders. If we now appear as the leaders of a faction in South Dakota it seems to me we will greatly discredit ourselves, and will only add to the alarm some of the states already feel at National campaign leadership. Rather than have anything to do with a faction in a state campaign I would advise that we withdraw altogether. There seems little or no chance of victory in such a case, and we had better save our money and our prestige by declining altogether to go into such a campaign. I trust, however, that by warding off a division in the convention we may find a working basis for unity and good feeling. By not opposing the rule of the majority in the Huron Convention it will leave that large faction willing to go on with its work. And it seems to have in view its own financial resources,

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as some of its leading members declare they do not desire aid from the National. This will be certainly a great relief to our financial responsibility. At the same time we can be loyal to the faction which desires the aid of the National by promising to continue the salaries of the workers whom we have already engaged. There seems no doubt that all will be glad to have Miss Bower's services and Mrs. Fitch's. If the Mrs. Johnson, the President of the Women's Clubs, is at all the talented woman we think she is, undoubtedly the Huren Convention would be pleased to have her services, especially as she can speak in the Scandinavian languages. If they should not desire Mrs. Pettigrew as manager of the campaign, yet they no doubt would be pleased to have her as a speaker; and I noticed that Miss Gregg expressed some regret that Mrs. Pettigrew would be taken out of the field by her duties at headquarters so she also could be placed satisfactorily to all parties. If there should be any persistent opposition to Miss Gregg I see no reason why we should not withdraw her from the state, as there are certainly many other places where she could be most useful to our Association; but if they want her she could also be continued there. On the present basis of expenditure Miss Shaw thinks we are paying nearly \$500 a month, and counting eighteen months to November 1910 that will amount to \$9,000, which will be a large sum for us to raise. If the other faction has resources of its own, this amount is a liberal help from the National, and we can contribute it in a manner loyal to our faction and at the same time acceptable to the other faction by simply adhering to the plan on which we have already started, if we can only ward off this disastrous division.

I have observed in all this correspondence some fears of the W. C. T. U. being too prominent in the campaign, even though they do work under the I. S. A. banner. Since it was undoubtedly the temperance people who have succeeded in submitting this amendment I do not know that such a fear is justified. We are proclaiming everywhere that it is the liquor forces

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which constitute our greatest enemy; and just now there is a remarkably strong prohibition feeling sweeping over the whole country. This being the case it may be that the temperance issue will not in the least injure our chances. Whether it be so or not it is impossible for us to keep it out of the campaign. Therefore it is no obstacle to our conceding much to the W. C. T. U. with a good grace. I have just received Mrs. Avery's letter with Mrs. Upton's suggestion that we send Mrs. Stewart to try to harmonize the conflicting elements. I think the suggestion is admirable, and I hereby give my vote to Mrs. Stewart to go to South Dakota. From the reasons indicated above, however, I do not think that we ought to give Mrs. Stewart carte blanche to promise anything or to hold out the expectation of anything beyond the time of the Seattle Convention.

Very cordially yours,

Dict.

Lexington, Ky. April 24, 1909.

Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser,
Warren, Ohio.

My dear Miss Hauser,

On opening a closet little used just now I found the whole dozen of the photographs which I requested you kindly to order for me some months ago from Mr. Porter of Youngstown. If any notice of their being forwarded was ever sent to me I have never received it, so finding them was quite a surprise and I should think of an accident. There was no bill of any sort attached to let me know to whom to send the money for photographs and expressage.

Please let me hear about it and I will promptly send the money.

Cordially yours,

Dict.
Encl. (2)

Please send political leaflets, namely, 100 Love For Its Enemies. 100 Progress of Equal Suffrage, by Alice Stone Blackwell. 100 Dr. Thomas on Woman's Ballot, 100 Woman Suffrage Endorsed, 100 Why Women Should Vote, by Alice Stone Blackwell, 100 The Unanswerable Argument, by Lida Calvert Obenchain, 100 Ballot in the Schools, by Grenfell, 100 The Wage Earner and the Ballot, by Nathan, one dozen Do You Know, ten of Professors Potter's speech at the Convention, 100 of the leaflet, not the pamphlet, on What Great Men Think. I have given away the copy you sent me and I may be giving the name wrong.

I dislike to make any objection to any point in the new leaflets which on the whole are wonderfully pointed and excellent. But I am impelled to say that in the little leaflet called, Yale Students and Women, I consider the second part called the Social Problem, both antiquated, and in the light of the horrible developments of the white slave trade, misleading to the general public. While not denying the truth that low wages is one cause of the fall of working girls the latest revelations say that in more than twenty percent of the unfortunate slave women enter that life by no will or consent of their own, but are entrapped and kept in slavery by force. This is the great fact which ought to be forced on public attention. While Wendell Phillips's article written many years ago expresses the idea which is the prevalent one that women enter this life without compulsion to avoid what they consider greater hardship of toil and self denial.

Can't our Literature Committee get out a leaflet showing these harsher facts as well as the fact that low wages is also a fruitful cause of this awful destruction of womanhood. I would like to help

Lexington, Ky. April 26, 1909.

Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery,
Swarthmore, Pa.

My dear Mrs. Avery,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 23rd relating to the little tangle you are involving one of your county presidents. I cannot say anything about the legal or parliamentary points between the action of your county president and the vote of your State Convention. But I have a clear idea of what would be my own policy under similar circumstances and I cheerfully give you the benefit of my views. In the first place, I recollect always that we have no possible means of using any sort of compulsion upon our members, our organization is held together entirely by the free will of the members and by the ability of the officers to show that unity of action is the best means for attaining our common object. Therefore unless your state and county constitutions show that the action of Miss Jones is unconstitutional I would continue the attitude of non-interference with which you say you have so far treated the subject. Really I see no way in which you can prevent any individual from circulating any petition which she may choose to do if she can find persons willing to sign it and a member of the legislature willing to present it. If you think the matter is likely to be misunderstood throughout the state the recourse is open to you of having it mentioned in your State Convention and as much publicity given to the convention's decision as you think the occasion demands. That will make

2.

it clear that the state will not be responsible for any legislative campaign that may be precipitated. I would advise that you should allow the very largest liberty possible in the matter, for as we have had proved in South Dakota the W. C. T. U. has its own views on this question and is a body strong enough to go ahead as it pleases. Some of our members will instinctively be attracted by the appearance of strength of the W. C. T. U., though I believe it is clear to any careful thinker that the Suffrage Association is the best leader in a suffrage campaign. We must remember however that we really have no precedent to show us the way to certain victory, and therefore the largest liberty for experimental measures is plainly for our benefit. Perhaps some course of action may be initiated that will be helpful. If this should come about through this action of Miss Jones's, or through actions similar to this, the quiet attitude of the State Association will make it possible for the state to give a dignified acquiescence in the move if it should turn out to be a helpful one. If however it should turn out to be useless, as I suppose it will, I think it best for the State Association to let the County Organization find it out for itself, and not instill any antagonism or bitter feeling into the matter. In short, under the circumstances I should allow that County Organization and that County President to do just as they pleased, only protecting the State Association by making it plain, in a suitable way, that they were acting on their own responsibility and that the state was in no ways involved in their action.

Very cordially yours,

Dict.

PRESS DEPARTMENT
National American Woman Suffrage Association

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Chairman

WARREN, OHIO April 26, 1909

My dear Miss Clay:

I will write to Mr. Porter and tell him to send you a bill for the pictures. He is very slow about sending out statements.

I note what you say about the quotation from Wendell Phillips and will report it to Miss Blackwell, chairman of the Literature Committee and editor of the P. E. Leaflets. We have had suggestions from several people along the same line as yours, that is relating to the White Slave traffic, etc. A woman doctor has been sending communications along this line to Progress but she does not send any address. She mails her letters in New York City and there is no mark on envelope or letter to show where she lives. She is not on any of our lists so we have no way of tracing her. It is very annoying for she evidently has enough information on the subject to help us to the right kind of material. But her letters are practically anonymous.

Your literature will go today.

Yours most sincerely,

Elizabeth J. Hauser

I am glad you find Miss Penfield so satisfactory. Our correspondence with her has been most satisfactory.

Marlow, Okla. Apr. 28-1909

Dear Miss Clay:

When I wrote you just before starting for Chickasha I thought I would write you just as soon as I returned but I came home sick and for a week scarcely sat up at all. Am not well yet although much better and able to get at my usual round of work again.

At Chickasha I found the women ready and willing to get at the petitions.

Mrs. Stephens of Oklahoma City has gone out into the old Okla. territory part to be gone several weeks. Where she can get some one to help with the work she will go on to another town. Mr. Laskey has gone out into the western part of the State. Quite a number of people have offered to help get signatures. It was decided to offer \$10.⁰⁰ per 1000 names where necessary. Mrs. Stephens and some others work that way paying their own expenses. They will not make much more than expenses I think but it was our best way we thought. Those who work at home will work for nothing. Then

we have the Socialists, the M. C. T. U., and something
from the Labor people.

In a letter received a few days ago from Dr. Gay
of Oklahoma City - (perhaps you remember her)
who is taking charge of that end of the business
while Mrs. Stephens is out; she expressed herself
as of the opinion that the work had a good start
and she was most hopeful of success.

There will be quite a number of Initiative petitions
and also some refusing laws passed by legislative
back to the people.

Most sincerely yours

Kate H. Biggers

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Mr. John Graham Brooks
Cambridge, Mass.

Vice-Presidents
Mrs. Frederick Nathan
New York City

Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth
Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. B. H. Trumbull
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Office: 105 E. 22d St., New York City

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Dear Miss Cary 4-30-09

Your letter of 4-22-09 has followed me to St. Paul, Minn. whence I write.

1. Governor Sloan's position weighs heavily, with me, in favor of a campaign in Arizona despite my disappointment as to Senator Owen in our Oklahoma Campaign!

2. So does the disfranchisement of the illiterate (and I assume) at the Mexicans.

3. So also the fact of a partial disfranchisement of women.

E Apr 30, 1909

4. I agree with you as to the need of enlisting men, though I expect it to prove very difficult.

5. I have no confidence whatever, however, in men lobbyists in our cause. I think we can never carry a convention vicariously.

6. I agree with you as to miss Fairfield.

In other words, at present writing, I agree with you on five out of six of the main points of your letter.

Yours sincerely

Florence Kelley

I have to write briefly because my mail is huge.

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