

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

Honorary President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,  
7443 Devon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice President at Large, FLORENCE KELLEY,  
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Corresponding Secretary, KATE M. GORDON,  
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

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Auditors: { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.  
          { DR. ANNICE JEFFREY MYERS, 375 East 12th St., N., Portland, Ore.  
Chairman Press Committee, ELNORA M. BABCOCK, Dunkirk, N. Y.

OFFICE OF  
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO



New Orleans, March 30th., 1907.

Mesdames, Shaw, Clay, Upton and Avery:

My dear Friends:-

I am copying the inclosed, from a letter received from Mrs Boyer, relative to the Bibliography. You remember I was instructed to write her in regard to this Committee and in the event of her not being able to carry on the work, for her to suggest some one to carry out her plan.

"Now in regard to the Bibliography. You know I dropped all work on it when I went to Oregon. Have listed about 900 books, with reference notes for periodicals of importance. The work has reached the digging stage. Nearly all that has been done has been done through correspondence. To make the work of any value, it should have brief annotations, and these should be impartially made. (Fancy yourself making an impartial summary of "Has Woman a Soul"!.) To review 900 books would require at least three months. This would mean to scan 30 books per day on an average. Hard and constant work. Candidly, I do not know of any one who would do the work. Miss Florence Spofford would have the ability, but I do not think she would buckle down to the Job. I know that the titles she furnished me were made by some one whom she asked to help her. Miss Eva Channing sent me a few titles, but it was wearisome to her.

What will be actually necessary will be to send whoever has the work in hand, to make a thorough research of, first, the Boston Library, as many of the very oldest books are contained in it. Some of them date back to 1578, if I recall it correctly. These early works are surprising



[Mar. 30, 1907]

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to illustrate, how old the new woman really is. Then about one month should be spent in the New York Libraries. The last and the best field will be the Congressional Library. The librarian here has offered to assist us. It will require nearly one month to arrange, classify and make cross references, before the work can be placed in the hands of the printer. There is nothing like it on the shelves, so much of the work must be originated and original. If you wish I will write to Miss Spofford but I fear she will not accept the task."

"Some time ago I offered to do the attendant work if my expenses were paid. I would gladly make the labor a contribution, but indeed I cannot see when I can find time? That offer still holds good."

After I read the above, I concluded that we had better wait until the first opportunity presented itself, <sup>and</sup> when Mrs. Boyer would be free, <sup>to continue the work</sup> Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Harper could both do it, but I doubt if either of them would do it as well as Mrs. Boyer. She has a knack for this kind of thing. What are your instructions in regard to the Committee.

Very cordially,

Kate M. Gordon.



[Mar. 30, 1907]

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My dear Miss Clay:-

I have just gotten off my letter in regard to the National Council and the H'qrs at the Virginia Exposition. Now if I understand things correctly there is a negro organization in the Council and of course, if I know anything of coon nature these ladies will want ttheir organization to have the privilege of acting among the hostesses. Do you not think there is a little danger. I told Miss Shaw what I feared and voted ,no on the whole proposition.

I wish we could make this race question the power to enfranchise the white women of the south. Do you think you could bring any influence on the editorial opinion of Kentucky ,to see that the first step in the solution of this trouble is to make the white women of the south respected. Their enfranchisement according to Mr. Blackwell would give an overwhelmong ~~white~~ majority, in the second place the question of miscegenation , including as it does the <sup>double</sup> standard of morals will never be combatted until the white women of the south are in a position to create public opinion. This is doubly imperative with the influx of latin immigrants now flooding the ports of entry in the south and who have no race antagonisms. If something is not done we will be as mongrelized as Cuba. Do you catch my idea. I have not altogether developed my line of argument.

Hastily, *but - affectionately*  
*Kate G.*



189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

May 4th, 1907.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I returned on Monday from Richmond, where I had been for more than a month. I found your letter of March 30th, which by some accident had not been forwarded to me. And so I answer it now. Headquarters at Va. Exposition. Perhaps you noticed in Miss Shaw's announcement of the vote that I had voted exactly as you did; for I believed you had a better understanding about that than I had. Now after your letter I am particularly glad I did. I think the race question may be made a power in the enfranchisement of women. Something may be done in Ky., but the negro question is not as acute in this state as in those where there are more of them. It may interest you to know that the infant W.S. of Tennessee has had printed at its own expense 1000 of the Statements of Purpose of the Memphis Conference, of which I sent you a copy. So you see they realize the importance of that argument.

LIBRARIES. I think you are right about waiting for Mrs. Boyer to finish that work at some future time.

And now to Mrs. Duniway's proposition. I received your special delivery letter and sent it at once to Miss Blackwell. That same day I received Miss Shaw's enclosing the Oregon proposition. I enclose you a copy of my answer; and if you like, please send it to Mrs. Kelly, with such comments as you wish to add. My heart is fully set on carrying on the Oregon campaign. It would be an acknowledgment of a complete rout by the B.C. if we allow no campaign to come off in 1908, or if we have no hand in one which the Oregon people carry on. I agree with you that a very effective



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one may be carried on by letter writing, etc., particularly after the thorough educational one of last year. Moreover, in view of the exceeding difficulty of working at a distance and of the expense of such a campaign as we are now obliged to conduct in Oklahoma, I think \$2000 is very cheap for the submission of the question to the voters. It is worth running the chance of a victory. Miss Shaw is so opposed to helping Oregon that we who are in favor of it must do the thinking to work out a feasible plan to help there, if the offered one is refused by the majority of the Board. I trust, however, it will be accepted in its main feature of the \$2000 .

Please let me hear from you in regard to it.

Please give my regards to your sisters, and with love to yourself,

I am yours,



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New Orleans, La.

May 8, 1907.

Miss Laura Clay,  
Lexington,  
Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I wrote as strong a letter as I possibly could to Miss Shaw, and hope it was in time to influence the situation. I hope our intense feeling on the question will delay her sending an ultimatum to the Oregon Society, should the vote be a negative one. Unfortunately, my vote was very late, my visit to Baton Rouge delaying my receiving this important communication. I hope, however, for the best and will fight like a steer in order that we not desert Oregon. I do not think that Miss Shaw had any right to interpret the vote as she did. She allows her personal animosity against Mrs. Duniway to influence all her judgment in regard to the State.

You will be glad to know of what a splendid visit I had in Baton Rouge, our State Capital. I got before a very exclusive woman's club, a limited organization that was supposed to be decidedly Anti. You can imagine my delight when, after one of my Parlor Meetings, and having had questions fired at me for the space of nearly two hours, I took a vote, and out of <sup>12</sup>~~fourteen~~ who were present, only one stood actually opposed; two were doubtful and the rest enthusiastic believers. The same evening I made another Parlor Meeting address, where most of the girls were working girls of the better class. They all declared themselves in favor, and the two men who were present declared themselves



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converted. The next afternoon I gave another Parlor Meeting, and in spite of almost a cyclone and a deluge of rain, I had an audience of about fifteen. The outcome of the vote taken at this meeting was conversion to Suffrage as I outlined it. I did not formally organize because I think it a mistake to choose officers hap-hazard. If I can get Mrs. Boy<sup>a</sup>, the wife of the President of the State University there, to take the leadership, then we will have as influential a club in the State Capital, as we have in our Era Club in New Orleans. I was really delighted with results, as I had been warned to leave Baton Rouge alone. The only women who will hang back from organizing will be the wives or relatives of the politicians.

I thought you would be interested in the above news. I propose to do a good deal of organization work, and that salary that I am to get will enable me to do much in this line which, for the want of money, I have not been able to do in the past.

Cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon



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New Orleans, La.

May 6, 1907.

Dear Member of the Business Committee:-

The vote that carried the measure which instructed me to write to Mrs. Duniway and ask for a signed request for \$2,000 for the Oregon campaign was such a close one, and the feeling was so divided on the plan to be pursued in Oregon, that I think it well to express to the Committee my point of view in regard to the vote which Miss Shaw has submitted.

I do not feel that the situation is what she expresses in the vote as an alternative to Mrs. Duniway's proposition; that is, "In other words, do you vote \$2,000 to Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, to be used in such a manner as she chooses?" Now my letter distinctly stated that the National never voted money to be expended by the States, without specific directions from them; so that it would be impossible for us to vote out \$2,000 to Oregon, unless we knew just where and how it was to be used. I invited them, then, to sign a letter outlining their campaign, and if we then could see where we could help them specifically, we might do so in much the same way as we paid for Miss Pease's services.

I have, therefore, voted to write and say that the National would stand responsible for the payment of the signatures to launch the campaign. Mrs. Duniway has reported about 3,000 signatures secured; 5,000 more are all that are necessary. This will take \$250. For the present, I therefore vote \$250, and once the campaign is launched we will then see how we can further financially aid.

I am convinced that we carried the last election. I am fur-



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ther convinced that our educational work was not lost, and that there is a better chance in Oregon to-day, than in any other State in the Union, for a victory. We spend hundreds of dollars in States without any direct results, and I believe that \$2,000 more in Oregon is the wisest policy that we can pursue. The signatures of the women to this petition for \$2,000 are those of the most influential women in Oregon. Even though Mrs. Duniway is a terror, if we antagonize her, we antagonize, also, the only women who can lead us to victory. I, for one of the Business Committee, think there were grievous mistakes made in the last campaign, <sup>by our representatives</sup> and I beg that we do not make another one by not co-operating, in every way we can, with Oregon.

Yours for the Cause,

Kate M. Gordon.

My dear Miss Clay: I do not know what will be the result of the vote I hope not to leave Oregon in the lurch, altho I fear so. I really think Miss Shaw had no right to make the vote read as it does - I've sent your letter to Miss Kelley - see haste

I did not get back from B. Rouge till Sunday - hence delay in this matter.  
Kate



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1800 Prytania Street,  
June 7th, 1907.

Miss Laura Clay,  
Lexington,  
Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I realize, thoroughly, since the impudent letter received from Mrs. Duniway yesterday, that we cannot hope to do anything in Oregon. I have written her the enclosed letter, and will write to Miss Shaw to allow me, to save her the mortification and worry of dealing with the old devil, to handle the correspondence, and submit a full copy to every member of her Board, explaining why we feel that we can do nothing more in Oregon. I will then take up a correspondence with Mr. U'Ren, and see if he cannot secure the necessary signatures for the National, and have the campaign launched without old Duniway knowing anything about it. It is very evident that she is after \$2,000, and nothing but that is going to satisfy her.

Hastily and cordially yours,

*Kate Gordon.*



[ June 18, 1907 ]

In a letter just received the angel says: " I am now compiling all of our correspondence for publication, but will defer action for a time to await " National " developments".

[ Kate Gordon ]



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1800 Prytania Street,  
June 18th, 1907.

Miss Laura Clay,  
Lexington,  
Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I have had a letter from Abigail and although it is signed " cordially and lovingly yours," I consider that it contains a threat. I have come to the conclusion that we just cannot do anything at all in Oregon and that that last insulting letter to the National needs to be rebuked by simply withdrawing and leaving her the field. I think it is insolence referring to how she could raise the \$500. (See letter.) I would be downright angry did I not feel, as I have always felt, that the woman was not wholly responsible for her actions.

Very cordially yours,

*A. M. G.*



Copy

Σ June 18, 1907

Portland, Ore. June 7th.

My dear Miss Gordon:

I infer, from your esteemed favor of 29th., ult that you were not informed by President Shaw that she had sent me a conciliatory letter, requesting a proposition from our Committee in regard to our plan of work. It was to consider her request that I called the Executive Committee on March 11th, with the result you know. Our Committee desired to avoid repetition of the "terrible attacks" by the press upon the National method of campaigning when it submitted its very reasonable proposition for cooperation, which your Committee rejects.

No, dear Miss Gordon, we made no request for supplies, in ~~an~~ our stranded condition, that your Committee was "powerless to grant". It is our special work to secure the enfranchisement of women in Oregon. A victory here would mean much to every State in the Union; and we know you can assist us, in our way, if you will. The voters know it and they are our court of last resort in this struggle.

I need not remind you that I loyally upheld the National banner during the late campaign, altho I was as well aware then as now that its method of beating the bushes in every precinct was arousing the ballot armed enemy to vote our unballotted women down.

The "Dunniway bull" whom a prominent member of the National Com. boasted in a letter to Dr. Jeffries, that it was coming to Oregon to "take by the horns" dodged the lariat and fell obediently into line loyally carrying the National banner at the end of the procession, on the tips of its little "horns".

Then, I went to California, in the Autumn of 1905, to avoid nominal restoration to my vested right of leadership while the Nat'l battle was on, well knowing that "he who fights and runs away, may live



[June 18, 1907]

to fight another day." But I am again at my post, where I have promised our dear faithful Mrs. Coe, our advisory Board (see opposite page) and influential other old-time coworkers throughout the State, to remain till my work (so nearly completed in 1900 that victory was in sight) is restored, at least to where our National Officers found it in 1905, at the time of the National Convention.

I could easily raise the five hundred dollars --needed right now for petition work-- by publishing our correspondence with the National Committee; but I hesitate, knowing it would not redound to our National glory; and I still have hopes of retaining at least a show of harmony in our work before the world.

A copy of our correct form of petition will be sent to H'quarters as soon as it returns from the State printer, at Salem. We are going right ahead, determined to carry out our plan-- with Ntl co-operation, if we can, without it if we must. Our voters are well aware of the financial ability of the Ntl Com. to aid us in restoring our work to the position in which it found it prior to Ntl coalition with the State W. C. T. U., or Prohibition party. I know the Ntl Officers disclaimed this, but its White Ribbon organizers and speakers told the whole story, even when they didn't say a word. Actions speak louder than words.

Now, my dear Miss Gordon, please understand once for all, that I hold no animosity towards any National Officer. I have even forgiven our gifted President for accusing me of lying, when she knew better. God bless them one and all. We must bury all differences, real or fancied, and stand in solid phalanx, with our faces to the foe, till victory shall perch upon our banners. Then Oregon's victory will be your triumph, as well as our gain. Let us profit by our blunders and be careful to avoid them in the future, hoping all things, proving all things and holding fast to that which is best for all concerned.

Cordially and lovingly yours,



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New Orleans, La.

July 5th, 1907.

Dear member of the Business Committee:-

This accompanies the plan that Mrs. Catt submitted to the Convention for action and which, by an oversight, did not reach the Committee until after the Convention was over. We voted, you remember, to place it into the hands of Mrs. Kelley, Chairman of the Congressional work; she to confer with Mrs. Catt and decide whether the suggestion be adopted. Unfortunately, a combination of circumstances made it impossible for Mrs. Kelley and Mrs. Catt to both be in New York at the same time, and the conference never took place. Miss Shaw will send out a vote for your opinion in regard to its adoption.

You will remember that we have on hand a systematic effort to secure a 16th Amendment, and whether a petition, such as Mrs. Catt describes, would or would not be of service is for you to decide.

I have written Mrs. Kelley asking her opinion upon whether a call on the President by two or three prominent women, *to enquire* and asking whether such a petition would influence him, would not be the wiser way of working such a scheme.

Very cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon



E July 5, 1907

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New Orleans, La.

*Miss Shaw!*

Dear ~~Member of the Business Committee:-~~

I write this letter with the request that it may be presented to the Business Committee. I regret exceedingly that I could not have had it in your hands before the first meeting of the committee was held, but my own personal affairs have prevented promptness in the matter.

I trust you will pardon me for offering a suggestion. I should not do it if I did not feel that an opportunity might possibly be overlooked and an occasion passed whereby great good to our cause might be secured. I want to beg of you to make the chief object in the plan for the coming two years a united national effort to arouse sentiment in favor of the 16th Amendment. This idea is nothing new, of course.

When I first came into the National Association, seventeen years ago, the Association had then been going to Congress for many years asking for this very thing. Now and then the hearings had then been strengthened by petitions and in an earlier day these petitions had been very reasonable in length and influence, but in my day they had largely been dropped and State work substituted. Since that time we have had our regular hearings, but always with the understanding among ourselves that there was no hope in Congress and that we only did it for the sake of propaganda.

This spirit naturally affected members of the Committee and Congress. All these years I have felt that when the time came, it was well worth while to really make a serious effort



Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 8th, 1908.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am in receipt of your letters of Aug. 4th & 5th.

I am much concerned about the report that the Oregon women contemplate asking suffrage for tax-paying women only. I am strongly opposed to any such qualification. If they do put their petition in that form, I shall not feel bound by my pledge to contribute a dollar. I would not donate my own money with such a qualification, much less any of the Bruce trust fund. I feel very strongly that the poorer classes of women need a voice in the government for their own personal protection even more than people with property need a voice in taxation. The conditions surrounding the industrial occupations of women, and their own personal safety seem to me one of the strongest arguments for the ballot in the hands of women.

And that brings me to the answer about your proposition to have Dr. Prince Morrow speak on our platform. I realize there is some danger in having such a delicate subject presented in a political convention (for such I feel ours to be); but on the other hand, I know we need something to show the popular mind that there is a real need for the ballot in the hands of women. You remember that Mrs. Stone used to say that the reason the Temperance question took so much stronger hold on women than their own enfranchisement was because "it was easier to see a drunkard than to realize a principle". There is a vast deal of truth in her saying. Our cause does not touch the popular feeling because so few women realize the connection between the ballot and the rectifying of evils. Now that the social evil has been so organized as to attract the attention of nations it is probably not injudicious for us to let the fact be known from our platform. I think with you that we are strong enough to bear it, if a mistake should be made; and if none is made, I think it may be the means of our touching the popular chord which is so necessary for the spread of our principles. Therefore, I am going to vote for you to go ahead with the program as you propose. This is a concession on my part; for you know I am strongly opposed to other issues being incorporated in our platform; and it is difficult to listen to such descriptions of evils without the temptation to declare ourselves in favor of their becoming one of our objects to suppress. When the evil relates to women and children I am willing to incorporate it; but usually a convention insists any sort of limitation or I voted for the adoption of endorsement of the Initiative and Referendum, under the belief that it would help the suffrage cause; and now it is with the utmost difficulty that the Business Committee can be persuaded to continue work in the only two states where that law is in effect. Many of the members would prefer to have a campaign in states where there is only the old method of bringing the question before the voters. I trust that in arranging this part of the program you will use all the precautions in your power to induce the speakers to bear in mind that they are addressing a suffrage convention, and that ~~xxxxxx~~ their treatment of their subject must be subordinated as much as possible to the interests of the suffrage cause. We can help their cause, if we can get the ballot; therefore, it is to their interest to present their subject in such a manner as to expedite our getting the ballot.

I do not know anything at all of the personality of Mrs. Minerva Welch, of Colorado.



In answer to your letter about legislative work;- my opinions on this subject are in a constant state of re-adjustment. All my work has been done for civil bills, apart from any suffrage, except school suffrage. You know the Ky. F. R. A. last legislature turned that over to the Fed. of W. Clubs. I think we did well to do so. They failed; but they learned much which only the suffragists knew before. Next time, I shall advise them to question candidates before election. Our state is so evenly divided between Democrats and Republicans that before election may be sufficient to bring the necessary pressure. In states where there is only one party, the questions should be asked before nomination, as Mrs. Boyer is doing in Oklahoma. The F. R. A. had intended last winter for the F. R. A. to ask for a submission for a constitutional amendment as our part of legislative work, having left school suffrage to the F. O. W. Clubs; but at the request of their chairman of legislative work, who was also our Cor. Secretary, we left this undone, as she feared it would prejudice the legislature against school suffrage, which seemed to have an excellent chance of passing. I am now convinced that both associations mistook the method of procedure. It would have been more consistent if the F. R. A. had put in its bill; and the moral effect would have been beneficial to the school suffrage bill. As I heard of one of the legislators saying, "It is well to ask for a great deal, and then the legislators are afraid not to give a little; whereas if little only is asked, that little is refused". I believe this is a sound principle in working with legislatures; for they are always striving to meet the popular demand; and they have no other rule of action. Hence, ~~by the way, it is our policy to prove that the people are ready for large concessions to us.~~ I understood this well enough, perhaps, to have gone on with our F. R. A. bill last winter; but I felt that gain the alliance of the Federation was worth some sacrifice, till it, also, learned the lessons I already knew. Their legislative chairman, Mrs. Roark, though our Cor. Sec., had never done any of our legislative work. They probably would always have believed that the F. R. A. interfered and displeased the legislature. Some of the legislators would certainly have told them that; and women must learn to make up their minds independently about these points.

I agree with you that it is best to have the bills looked after by some one on the ground; but as you found out for yourself, this is such wearing work that few are to be found to undergo it year after year. I know that much can be done by an occasional visit to the capital. I have just said that my opinions are in a state of constant re-adjustment. I think the California method lately adopted, as I understood from Mrs. Sperry, of interesting some member to push the bill has much to recommend it. Our women wear out in going to the legislature, as they have done in Iowa. If a friend in the legislature, honest and earnest, if possible, cannot gain anything, then it seems useless for women wearing themselves out trying. They had better reserve their efforts for working outside. I believe questioning candidates is more fruitful work, and is certainly much easier. Now that I have come to this conclusion myself, I observe in reading an old W. Journal, that the Australian woman (whose name I forget just now) says that was the only line of work of many tried which seemed worth the trouble of having done.

I would recommend a close study of the methods of the Anti-Saloon League. It is having phenomenal success; and while I do not approve of following blindly any society, its methods seem nearer meeting our requirements than any other of which I know.



[Aug. 8, 1908]

3.

I would recommend always engaging the assistance of any other organized body of women to join in with the Suffragists in asking for bills. You remember how delighted Miss Shaw was with the way Mrs. Arthur, of Michigan, had done this in the appeal to the constitutional convention. I have done it with great success in asking for measures for the benefit of women in our State University. There are now many women's societies which will unite with the suffragists for specific petitions, if they are approached with tact and deference.

I thank you for your offer to send the previous calls for the convention. I had already thought of getting help from them, and have two of the previous minutes with me, which I think are sufficient for that purpose. You need not be surprised if you see some sentiments transferred bodily from the Memorial to the National Conventions, which I think is a fine document.

Do you think it would do to draw attention, in the Call, to the fact that the liquor interest is the consistent foe of our cause? While the suffragist know this well, I have found good Temperance people who did not know it at all. I want you to give me your opinion on this point.

I have received another encouraging letter from Mrs. Boyer. I enclose it to you. Please return it.

Please let me hear promptly Mrs. Coe's answer to your letter of inquiry about the property qualification. If she should write to me about my pledge of assistance, I want to be informed on this point.

Cordially yours,



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OFFICE OF  
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

August 6th, 1907.



Miss Laura Clay,  
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I will leave Friday morning, I think, for Warren. I want you to know that I have received the opinion of one of the most influential lawyers in the South, upon the constitutionality of Southern States writing in the words "white female," and to quote from him, he says, "I am of the opinion that the insertion of the words "white female" in any Southern Constitution would not be finally declared illegal."

I am now going to get the opinion of the Professor of Constitutional Law in Tulane University, and if he upholds me, then b' Jinks, I am going to jump the track and start out and work for the enfranchisement of white women in the Southern States, and, as I told you, incidentally it may lead to the repeal of the Minor-Happersett decision and the recognition that the 14th Amendment does enfranchise women, subject, of course, to whatever restrictions the States may equally place upon their voters.

*return to the* If this thing develops any, I would like to see you on my ~~way~~ South. I think we have a great opportunity for work, if I can but launch it properly.

Affectionately yours,

*Kate M. Gordon*



Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 6th, 1907.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I received your most interesting letter and enclosure yesterday. I showed it to Mrs. Ennett, because she has studied the Federal Suffrage question so much that if there were a lawyer to whom I could ask advice in this part of the country she could tell me of him. But she does not know of any one. In fact, I think the negro problem is not pressing enough in Ky., where the proportion is only about 15 per cent., and gradually decreasing, as it is in the states where there are more of them. I am in full sympathy with any thing which could make those Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments conduce to the success of the woman suffrage cause; but I have not much hope that any state will work them for the benefit of women. Our only chance is that they might see an opportunity of white supremacy in it. I believe they would have given women (white) suffrage in Mississippi, or S. Carolina, or in your own Louisiana, constitutions, if they could have seen the possibility of it. That makes me fear that the Constitutional obstacles are insuperable. However, there are constant changes going on in the views of the best informed persons on all these questions; and if you can get any lawyers or politicians to give this subject thought there is a chance of success for us yet.

Do you know Miss Belle Kearney personally? She has this question of white supremacy very much at heart, and Mississippi is a state which takes a great deal more interest in it than Ky: moreover, there is a great deal of suffrage sentiment there, though unorganized. I know Miss Kearney to be a very bright woman; but I do



not know her mental characteristic sufficiently well to advise that you should co-operate with her. If she was satisfactory to you, however, I think she would be a strong and valous ally.

I think your idea of the newspaper a grand one. I am nothing of a newspaper woman, but anything I can do, I will do cheerfully.

I am glad you are going to Warren. I think you will be of great service there. Many opportunities seem to be opening to us, though we have hard times in Oregon, and though the prospect in Ok. is not so bright since the alteration in the Initiative law.

Well; I wish you all success in all your undertakings.

Please remember me to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially your friend,











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OFFICE OF  
THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO

August 2, 1907.



Miss Laura Clay,  
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I have been very busy considering the enclosed idea,- whether the introduction of the words "white female;" in ~~those~~ qualifications to vote, would affect the constitutionality of such a constitution.

Here is the point of view that I am getting an expression of opinion from a good many lawyers upon. As I have explained my point, each one of them has declared that there was a ~~legal~~ point *would* ~~to be considered~~ *ing*. If I can get any consensus of opinion, then I am going to combine this with the movement for the suppression of miscegenation.

I know Mrs. Bennett has always been interested in the Federal Suffrage Bill. Is there any eminent, legal opinion that you know of who would give an unbiased opinion upon whether there was a ghost of a chance in trying to work this scheme?

I have said nothing to the other Officers about it, but if I thought we could get the South enfranchised by working this scheme, I would be perfectly willing to sever all connection with the National to do it. My great hope lies that if the constitutionality of such a qualification was attacked, through the 15th Amendment, that we could reopen the whole decision of the Minor-Happersett case. In that event, then all women would be enfranchised, except for those restrictions that the States would provide.



#2

[ Aug. 2, 1907 ]

I leave for Warren, Ohio, next week. I hate awfully to go, because I am doing splendid work here in New Orleans, in a quiet sort of a way; work that I wanted to continue uninterruptedly in order to be able to give some practical figures on an Increase of Membership report.

I have had some very encouraging news from the Business Manager of the Evening Journal in New York City in regard to launching a paper. He says if we handle it as I have outlined it that New York City can easily yield us \$50,000. Do not speak about our paper plan too generally until it is launched.

Yours affectionately,

*Harry M. Gordon*



[Aug. 2, 1907]

# National American Woman Suffrage Association

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Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

OFFICE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY  
New Orleans, La.

The leaders of woman suffrage have always contended that a woman's constitutional right to vote was identical with that of a man's, under such a form of government as ours, but when the 14th Amendment was added to the Constitution, Section 1st seemed particularly to guarantee to women the right of suffrage.

(Section 1.) "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In Section 11 occurs, for the first time, the word "male" in the Constitution, and it has been the fear of this Section, in the forming of our recent Southern Constitutions, that occasions<sup>ed</sup> many anxieties<sup>there</sup> in regard to its constitutionality.

When the 14th Amendment was passed, Miss Anthony and a number of other prominent women, believing that the 14th Amendment unquestionably entitled women to vote, attempted to vote in the fall elections of 1872. Among these women, a Mrs. Minor of St. Louis, Missouri, not being permitted to register, brought suit, and the decision of the Supreme Court was, "The Constitution does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one, but the franchise must be regulated by the States."



Aug. 2, 1907

Now the point that I would raise is this: Wherever the question of woman suffrage is discussed in the South, it is generally admitted that if the privilege was extended to white women it would be desirable, but the extension to women generally, enfranchising negro women, would be not only most undesirable, but *fructus* complicates the situation. Therefore, women, no matter how qualified, must forever remain subject to the will of voting men. Tax-paying, educated women could very honorably and permanently solve *difficultly* the ~~situation~~, but these qualifications make it impossible to carry an election where we have to bid for the votes of the masses. It is equivalent to failure, and allows tremendous latitude for the demagogue to work the classes' prejudiced feeling. However, I believe that if our Southern States honestly want to enfranchise white women the means are at hand, or, if denied, we can furnish a boomerang which will reach *upon* the aforesaid Minor decision, and show that the 14th Amendment does enfranchise all women. Let the States of the South write into their Constitutions the authority for white, female suffrage. This provision certainly cannot affect the representation basis guaranteed under Section 11, which distinctly states "male;" hence, there is no fear of that *objection*.

The other conflict comes about in the 15th Amendment which says, "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce the Article by appropriate legislation." Now if women have no voting rights as *U. S.* citizens, absolutely so declared by the Supreme Court in the aforesaid Minor case, certainly the negro women cannot have a right abridged which they have not and never did possess. If the States



#3

choose to enfranchise women, they certainly are not abridging any rights which the negro women now enjoy. You cannot possibly destroy what does not exist. Of course, I admit it is a specious argument, but not more so than the decision of the Supreme Court previously referred to. If so declared it would reopen the question of the 14th Amendment, which may lead to the enfranchisement of the women of the United States.



Aug 2, 1907

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#2

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Mary Simpson Sperry,  
2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

August 16, 1907.

DEAR MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The National Convention voted to adopt, as the most fitting memorial to Miss Anthony, the raising of a fund of \$100,000 to prosecute her life work.

You are all well aware that with the growth of sentiment which needs to be crystallized in definite forms and definite ways all over our Union, the financial demands of the Association grow constantly greater and greater. Independent, therefore, of this memorial fund, the necessity for holding a fair or some other money-making scheme was discussed several times by the Business Committee as an emergency that would have to be met in the near future.

There has gone abroad among the greater number of suffragists the idea that the \$60,000 fund raised by Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett was something the Association could use in any line of work. This is absolutely a wrong idea. That money, which covers a period of five years in its collection, was specifically collected to do work outside of the ordinary routine of the Association. It was to permit of us doing work which was in a measure experimental, which we often felt justified in attempting, but which for the lack of means we never dared attempt. Consequently, as far as the Association's work goes, this fund, if properly used according to the ideas of those who raised it, should never be put to anything like organization or State work of any kind.

I have suggested to the Business Committee, and received its unanimous vote in support, that we publish as a memorial to



Aug. 16, 1907

Miss Anthony a one-day edition of a newspaper, and that we make of this paper such a high character of work that it in itself will stand as the memorial, do a great work of propoganda, and be the means at the same time of raising a very large sum of money, which should not fall below the \$100,000 mark.

I speak with some littæe experience. In a six weeks' effort in New Orleans we raised, through a wonam's edition, \$13,000 for a local charity. Had the organization been a little more perfect, and the work systematized a little more, the same amount of effort would have readily yielded \$20,000. The plan consists simply in securing a local for one day; then to have two working committees, one to secure advertising and the other to work up a circulation, which reacts to the benefit of the advertising committee. The circulation department consists in organizing the city into wards and getting workers to secure subscriptions. There is no reason in the world why, if this thing is properly handled, every city of a population of 200,000 that publishes a paper should not bring in at least \$10,000.

The Material, or what we know in newspapers parlance as "stuff", would be the same in each city. The only difference in the editions would come in the local pages and in the advertisements. This "stuff" should be written by experts only. The other cities, where papers are not published, will have to work to secure subscriptions; and I think that we should place the cost of the paper at ten cents, making it within the reach of all. All the details will be given later to you.

Upon the enclosed slip, will you please vote whether you are in favor of the National Association Adopting this form of me-



Aug. 16, 1907

morial? Let me know further whether your State would be willing to try to secure the publishing of such a paper. It means one of the greatest movements for popularizing our cause that has ever been attempted in the history of our work.

Mrs. Avery and Miss Shaw will be in Warren on the 27th. Give this matter your immediate attention, in order that we may have some idea of the attitude of the Executive Committee toward the project.

Yours for victory,

Walter M. Gordon.

Corresponding Sec.

My dear Miss Clay:  
Do you think  
Mrs Breckenridge ca. get out  
the an editor - or ed. her  
influence get one in L'ville  
A good circulation + Advertising  
Com. in several places of in  
the State might give a fine  
financial return by getting the  
paper out in Lexington.



Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 18th, 1907.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have always been much impressed by your scheme for the newspaper, and enclose my vote accordingly. My only fear is that Ky. cannot do much for it, because I am so little of a Press woman. However, I am in great hopes that you can interest Mrs. Breckinridge, and that she will get out an edition of the Lexington Herald. If you wish me to do so, I will go over to Lexington and see her about it; though I should wish you to write her a letter yourself, explaining the plan. I think several of our local would work well on the sociizing committees, though the Covington and Newport clubs could do better work for the Cincinnati edition, if you get a Cinn. paper, since those two cities are identified in business interest with Cincinnati, rather than the rest of Kentucky.

I shall be eager to hear further from you.

Trusting you will have a pleasant and helpful meeting in Warren, I am

Affectionately yours,



MISS BELLE KEARNEY  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
LECTURER · WRITER · TRAVELER  
"THE OLD SOUTH AND THE NEW"  
"RUSSIA AS I SAW IT"  
BUSINESS ADDRESS  
109 BOWEN ST., PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Sept. 22, 1907.

My dear Miss Gordon, —  
The treasurer of the  
Miss. W. S. A., who has been doing  
all that superb press work for us  
in the state for months, insists  
that the time is propitious for  
us to introduce a bill in the  
next Miss. legislature, which meets  
in Jan'y., 1908, for some form  
of enfranchisement for women.  
Mr. H. B. Blackwell agrees with  
Mrs. Thompson and is urging  
me to go to Jackson for that  
work next winter. My own heart  
calls out loudly for it and I  
will go if the way can be made  
possible for me to do so. I am  
offered one thousand dollars



MISS BELLE KEARNEY  
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"RUSSIA AS I SAW IT"  
—  
BUSINESS ADDRESS  
109 BOWEN ST., PROVIDENCE, R. I.

[Sept 22, 1907]

to lecture in Nebraska during  
Jan'y, Feb. and March. If that  
amount can be raised for me  
to go to Jackson and do sup-  
ply work in the Miss. legis-  
lature, I will do so, and cancel  
my engagement with Nebraska  
Mr. Blackwell says that he will  
give \$100.00 toward the fund.  
Please send this to Miss Laura  
Clay and ask her to destroy it.  
Do not mention this letter  
to any one else except, of course,  
Mr. Blackwell, if you desire him  
to know of it. Ad dress me as at Mr.  
My illness of typhoid fever cost me  
one thousand dollars. If it had  
not been for that calamity,



I would have gone to Jackson to  
work for woman suffrage  
"without money and without  
price". The people of the state  
expect us to make a decided  
move in that direction. A dozen  
me always as at the head of this.

Yours cordially,  
Bill Kerney.



MISS BELLE KEARNEY  
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R. I.  
Miss Alice  
to come out  
Sept. 22, 1907.

Dear Mr. Blackwell, your letter, which  
came yesterday, was a great pleasure.  
I do hope that arrangements  
~~that~~ can be made for me to go to  
Miss. next winter. My heart longs  
to be there. See enclosed from Mrs.  
Lily W. Thompson. It's not publish  
but destroy. As you see, she agrees  
with you that the time is propi-  
tious for us to push our legisla-  
<sup>work</sup><sub>in</sub> I know that the people expect  
us to do so. Show the enclosed to  
Miss Alice. It will now be impossible  
for me to go to Boston, as I am very  
busy and very tired in preparation  
for my departure; but I shall be  
most happy to have you come out to  
this beautiful spot to see me, if  
you feel equal to the journey.



If you decide to come, go to Attleboro  
and there take an electric car mark-  
ed Providence and Attleboro, or  
any of the Providence trolleys, and  
get off at Baker's Corner. There we  
will meet you. That point is only  
one mile from this farm. Be  
sure to write which train you  
will leave ~~Attleboro~~ Boston on for  
Attleboro, that we may calculate  
exactly upon which car to look  
for you at Baker's Corner.

I am staying with Mr. and Mrs.  
Ellery Robinson, returned mission-  
aries from India. We shall be  
delighted to see you any day  
except Saturdays. Mr. Robinson  
uses the house on that day.  
Remember me to Miss Alice. <sup>Her</sup> <sup>last</sup>  
letter from Miss Clay was most encouraging.

Yours sincerely,  
Belle K. Brown.



State Motto: Standing, Having Done all Stand.

National Motto: For God and Home and Every Land.

President,  
Mrs. Agnes L. Eifort, Ashland.  
Vice President,  
Mrs. J. H. Foster, - Ashland.  
Secretary,  
Mrs. A. H. Peers, - Ashland.  
Treasurer,  
Mrs. M. L. Jackson, Catlettsburg.

Boyd County, Kentucky,  
Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Motto: Be ye Doers of the Word, and Not Hearers Only.

Badge—A Bow of White Ribbon.

Watchwords—Agitate, Educate, Organize.

Time of Prayer—Noontide.

Methods—Preventative, Evangelistic, Social and Legal.

Ashland, Ky., Sept. 25, 1907.

Dear Miss Blay,

I am anxious to find out something about the character of Mr. Winfrey, Democratic candidate for the office of supt. of public instruction. Supt. Cassidy can probably give you the information, but as I do not know him, I preferred asking you. Maybe you think I'm expecting to vote this year, but it is the same old round-about way of getting what we want by our much harped-about "quiet influence".

Our state W. C. T. U. convention opens here Oct. 4<sup>th</sup>. I wish you



2.

could be with us. We hope Miss White will go to our E. R. A. at Madisonville. It is a long trip, but there are some fine women there.

Mrs. Pritchett is to be at the M. C. T. U. convention as a delegate. I wish we might do more <sup>in conventions</sup> for the suffrage cause. It does seem to me we might agitate for school suffrage at least, for we have a few women who are not yet ready for anything farther, it seems.

Yours most sincerely  
Mrs. Agnes L. Eifort  
Ashland,  
Ky.  
Stouelhurst.



Richmond, Ky.

Sept. 17th, 1907.

My dear Miss Gordon,

On my return last night I found awaiting me a letter from Mr. Blackwell, in which he tells me he has written one to you of similar import. I enclose a copy of my answer to him.

Now I know that you never have taken any stock in Presidential ~~sufr~~ suffrage. Yet it is clearly constitutional for the legislature to grant it with any qualifications it chooses. And on receipt of Mr. Blackwell's letter it occurred to me that this might give the opportunity for the entering wedge for your scheme. You know you asked me if I could think of any way to bring the question to an issue. Would not this afford the desired opportunity, if Miss Kearney asked for Presidential suffrage for white women only? Mississippi is the only state except Carolina where the negroes are in the majority; Miss Kearney is an enthusiast on the subject of white supremacy; Mississippi is her own state, and any extravagance or injudicious management of a difficult problem would be forgiven her in her own state which would not be forgiven if the same errors were committed by one from outside the state. All these things lead me to think this is an opportunity not to be neglected. But as you see from my answer to Mr. Blackwell I intend to be guided in my course by you. I think \$1000 is high for three months' work, and I do not see how the money is to be raised. Probably the northern friends would not assist if the effort is made for white women only. But at the same time I think \$1000 is cheap if it affords a victory, and forms the entering wedge for your wider and more ambitious scheme. Therefore, I write to say that I think the proposition should receive your very careful thought. It might be expedient for you not to appear in this work at all except in helping in the financial part. I do not think much outside help is necessary, if Miss Kearney gives her entire time to it.



2.

If Miss Kearney visits the members of the Legislature in December or sooner, she will have a reasonable chance to judge whether there is any hope for victory. If there is, we surely can raise the funds for further work; if there is not, then probably there would be no need to pay the whole \$1000. I hope you will think carefully of all these things. If you decide to endorse Miss Kearney's plan, I will promise for myself one hundred dollars for the experiment.

I heard nothing further from Mrs. Breckinridge after you left, though she called for you once over the telephone. I shall see Mrs. Roark now as soon as possible, and will let you know as soon as anything definite is arranged. But I thought it imperative to write at once concerning Mr. Blackwell's letter.

Please remember me to your sisters. I did enjoy your little visit so much.


Very sincerely your friend,



# National American Woman Suffrage Association

(MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN)

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

  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
Warren, Ohio

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

September 6/1907

DEAR ABSENT MEMBER OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE:-

I am really filled with horror when I realize that I did not inform myself whether Miss Shaw would report action of the sub-committee, which met last week at Headquarters. I have, however, been busy putting into effect the deliberations of that meeting; have prevailed upon Mrs. Upton to take a week's rest, which, strange to say she has acceded to; and also prepared copy for the October number of Progress, in order to relieve her. So you will fully realize that "I, too, have not been idle".

DUNIWAY: It was voted that each member of the Oregon Executive Committee receive copy of the full correspondence in reference to offer made Oregon, and the treatment of same by Mrs. Duniway. This will open their eyes to the impossibility of dealing with Mrs. D.

ANTHONY MEMORIAL: It was voted that, in launching the newspaper effort, wherever a city or State floats one of these newspaper editions, one-half the profits are to be shared with them. It was voted also that where the suffragists felt that greater interest could be awakened in the project through launching it with some other charity, they be authorized to do so, and share their half of the profits with them.

WASHINGTON: It was voted to offer \$50.00 a month, for five months, to the State of Washington, for organization work by Mrs. DeVoe, provided the State raised the same amount.

RHODE ISLAND: It was voted to offer Rhode Island \$25.00, \$50.00 or \$100. for work to be done in the State, under the guidance



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of Mrs. French and Miss ~~Gray~~<sup>Garvin</sup>, provided the State raise a like amount

S.DAKOTA & MINNESOTA: It was voted to give Miss Gregg to South Dakota for two weeks, and also to Minnesota.

MASS MEETING: In conference with Mrs. Catt upon holding a great mass meeting in New York in October, after due deliberation, and with Mrs. Catt's hearty approval, the meeting was abandoned in favor of securing full co-operations of the National for a meeting to be held in New York in 1899 on the occasion of the International Suffrage meeting.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT: A committee was formed to wait upon the President, and ask whether the plan of circulating a petition recommending to Congress a 16th Amendment, as per Catt plan, would have any influence upon him in recommending same to the 61st Congress. The meeting was asked for at Oyster Bay. The President instructed his secretary, Mr. Loeb, to say that he could not meet such a committee at Oyster Bay, but would do so the middle of October on his return to Washington. He, however, agreed, if it would be of equal value to us, to consider our business in writing. The committee voted to do this. A reply from him a day or two ago states that petitions really are of no value, and expresses a desire to meet our committee in Washington. I am awaiting instructions from Miss Shaw in regard to replying to him, accepting or declining same. I suppose we will have to accept it, as a matter of policy.

It was voted, in case the President did not consider that a petition would influence him, to immediately put into effect Dr. Siewers' plan of having the clubs write and telegraph him, asking for a recommendation of the 16th Amendment.

WASHINGTON cont'd: I forgot to state, in making our offer



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to Washington, that as they had agreed to float a newspaper, we said in the event of it being a large financial success we would expect them to return the money advanced.

MRS. BOYER: Voted that Mrs. Boyer be instructed to close Headquarters in Oklahoma September 15, and, after a holiday which she desires to take, to engage her services for the Association until June 1/1908, at \$100. a month and expenses, expenses to be under the direction of the N.A.W.S.A.

Voted that Mrs. Boyer be sent to Pittsburg, in order to launch a newspaper there, and through a series of parlor meetings to arouse the sentiment which we feel must exist in such an influential center.

Cordially

KMG.-R.

Kate M. Gordon



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2100 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

September 6/1907

My dear Miss Clay:-

I expect to leave Warren Monday or Tuesday, the 9th or 10th. I do not know whether they will want me to go to Toledo in the interest of the paper or not. I would like very much to have you meet me in Lexington for a few hours, on my way South, and then we could confer with Mrs. Breckinridge upon the publication of the paper. Our offer to share one-half the receipts creates a possibility for the States to inaugurate a financial footing for future work, if they will but see their way clear to it.

Cordially yours

KMG.-R.

Kate M. Gordon