

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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

PRESIDENT, ANNA HOWARD SHAW, MOYLAN, PA.

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

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

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

AUDITORS { LAURA CLAY, 189 NORTH MILL STREET,  
LEXINGTON, KY.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, MARY WARE DENNETT,  
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

{ ALICE STONE BLACKWELL  
45 BOUTWELL AVENUE, DORCHESTER, MASS

RECORDING SECRETARY, ELLA S. STEWART,  
5464 JEFFERSON AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLS.

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

## AUXILIARIES

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

FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION  
PRESIDENT, MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MARYLAND

## AFFILIATED SOCIETY

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

TELEPHONE 6855 BRYANT



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK

August 28th 1911

Dear Miss Gordon

The last paragraph of your Board letter of August 18th might perhaps be answered still further, in addition to Miss Ashley's letter of August 21st.

You say, in reference to the trip of Miss Gruening and Miss Fleming: "Referring to Mrs. McCulloch's astounding news in her letter to Miss Shaw, I wish to report I was not one of the 'most active suffragists' included by our National Corresponding Secretary. I received no such communication, and await with interest and anxiety the authority of such action without the sanction of the Official Board."

I am sure your apparent suspicion and resentment would be lessened, if not entirely removed, if you realized the facts.

It would, of course, be a help in the work, if your instinct and your first thought were born of confidence and co-operation instead of suspicion and resentment, but that not being the case, I will, for the present, continue to make explanations.

The facts are these:- in her letter of June eighth, Miss Ashley wrote to the Board, in connection with the financial appeal, as follows:- "Also, later in the season, we hope to send somebody out to explain the situation, and to visit the right people, and to try to get money in hand before the Convention; she can, at the same time, push The Journal. I sincerely hope you will approve these plans, and if you have any others, do please suggest them."

This distinctly asked the sanction and help of the Board. There were no suggestions whatever from any members of the Board, and indeed no replies except from Miss Clay, who said that any such plan was part of a treasurer's work, and so long as it was constitutional, would, of course, be legitimate.

After waiting an amply reasonable time for suggestions from the Board, the plan for the trip was completed. It was necessary

[Aug 28, 1911]

Miss Gordon, ---#2

to do this promptly in order to secure the services of Miss Gruening and Miss Fleming. Had we waited to report all the details to the Board, we should have lost the opportunity entirely.

There was no attempt whatever to cover the whole country, nor to include all the active Suffragists in the limited area which they could have time to cover, or to which we could afford to send them.

The women to whom we sent letters were selected from among those who had been the most frequent correspondents with headquarters, and had shown the liveliest interest in the work. The State President was included in each case, of course.

Letters were not sent to members of the Board, for the simple reason that we knew their whereabouts in September and did not have to inquire, and the Board members know our problems and needs and require no one to explain.

It was, however, a foregone conclusion that the girls would get in touch with Mrs. McCulloch and Mrs. Stewart when in Illinois, and with Miss Clay, if they went to Kentucky, but we had not planned to send them west of the Mississippi or as far south as Louisiana.

We did not think it wise to explain in advance that their errand was primarily a money-raising one, hence the somewhat mysterious sound of the letters.

I trust this clears away the fog.

Sincerely yours

Mary Ware Deuel

Corresponding Secretary

MVD/MMB

1800 Frytowne Street,  
August 18th. 1911

Myar Member of the Official Board:-

I think Miss Shaw's letter of August 18th is misleading and I do not see why my refusal to have the S. B. A. Fund pay past expenses places her in an uncomfortable position in regard to the promise of \$1000 made to the President of California. I have distinctly stated in a recent letter that I had no objection to the S. B. A. Fund money being used in California so why cannot the money be sent. I do object to having it liberate the Anthony \$1000 (and if the Anthony why not the Bruce) a debt contracted before the fund was collected. I want to be able to make a statement that the money I am responsible to the donors for served in a campaign and did not pay ~~xxxx~~ campaign bills contracted for before its collection.

Of course my letter sent out to the Federated Clubs from H'qrs. did not say "the time the money was to be used". But it was intended to convey in its spirit that any donation to Miss Anthony's Memorial was for present or future campaigns, certainly not past campaigns. There was no vote taken by the Convention in 1910 that I knew anything about. Before the Business Committee prior to the Convention the Board approved my continuing the plan of Collection and I was to have been <sup>given</sup> ~~giving~~ a hearing before the convention. But it never took place so I do not see when the vote Miss Shaw refers to occurred. There was however a vote taken at Buffalo when we rescinded the original vote which made the S. B. A. Memorial Fund the the \$11 annual revenues spent for current expenses. We then consecrated any money donated specifically to the Memorial Fund to campaign purposes. In this regard I recall that Mrs. Lewis gave Miss Shaw a certain sum in the early months of 1910 which Miss Shaw spent in current expenses but which she wished credited to the S. B. A. Fund and this I refused to do.

[Aug 18, 1911]

I regret I am not in a position to give a report of the amount collected in the S. B. A. Fund. I reported and sent to the Treasurer in April over \$300 0 and since then amounts that will make my collections approximate \$3500. These collections do not include the amounts sent direct to the Ntl Treasury or from Clubs in response to my letter until I have a statement from the Treasurer I cannot say what amount Miss Shaw feels as her collections are ~~exempt~~ exempt from the condition that they should be applied to present and future campaigns and not lost ones. As I have always tried to observe the spirit and not the letter, I feel that Miss Shaw's ~~letter~~ letter sustains my contention for while she says "I made no such conditions, I simply stated it "was to be used for campaign purposes. The donors knew there were at that time several campaigns in active process." Those campaigns are active campaigns to-day not lost ones and I think we can use the fund and should use the fund for them but we have no moral right to use it to pay Oklahoma indebtednesses incurred before the fund was collected. And that what the payment of the Mary Anthony legacy amounts to. I dismiss without consideration the ~~kind~~ implied reflection which ~~makes~~ <sup>says she</sup> Miss Shaw fails "to see the logic which makes a thing right when it is in favor of a person whose work we appreciate and wrong in favor of another."

As the convention is so close at hand I will reserve the right to make no comment <sup>on</sup> the Boyer -Blackwell feature of the criticism I think I can vindicate my position there too.

Referring to Mrs. McCullech's astounding news in her letter to Miss Shaw, I wish to report I was not one of the "most active suffragists" included by our Ntl Corresponding Secretary. I received no such communication, and await with interest and anxiety the authority of such action without the sanction of the Official Board.

Very truly,  
Kate M. Gordon.

August 16, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

I was very glad to receive letters from the members of the Board and to realize that a majority see my point of view in regard to the expenses of the S.B.A. Fund being paid out of the National Treasury, as well as not being used to pay campaign indebtedness antedating its collection.

In regard to the point raised by Miss Shaw on the \$1400 contribution by the College League, I wish to express as my point of view that the College League has assumed that contribution towards the rent, and in so doing they must have felt that they were getting a proquid quo for what they were paying, at least so I judge from Miss Thomas' letter to me. We must not lose sight of the fact that in paying us that amount they are using the services of our Corresponding Secretary, whose salary is paid for by the National Association. Furthermore, we were forced, under the exigencies of the situation, to rent headquarters much larger than were necessary for our use; therefore, if that responsibility can be turned into a financial asset, I do not see why it should relieve any of the others from paying their share of the rent. Anyway we look at it, the National officers have been careless in committing the National Association to hire rooms for at least three months beyond the Convention, and it seems to me that if we could go to the Convention without having placed the National Association under any financial obligation whatsoever, we would only be doing our duty in the matter. Therefore I see no reason for not accepting the \$1400 from the College League.

I wish furthermore to state that I think Miss Shaw ought to have an understanding with Mrs. Belmont or her representative, for I note, according to the check reported having been received, that Mr. McMahon distinctly states that it is on account of a promise to contribute \$1000 to help pay rent, etc. for the twelve months, beginning August 1st.. In order that there be no further misunderstanding, I think it well to find out exactly what is meant by that, and whether a six months' contract will be equally binding. This is only business.

Very cordially yours,

*Kate M. Gordon*

Dictated but not read.

Richmond, Ky.

Aug. 5th, 1911.  
Aug. 7th, "

My dear Miss Gordon,

I left the <sup>enclosed</sup> ~~enclosed~~ <sup>official</sup> copy of an letter open in order to write you a personal letter in answer to your last. I commenced it Saturday, was interrupted, and begin again today. I thank you for the information about the Louisiana Constitution.

In answer to your question about the choice of speakers for the convention I will say that I think I have been treated with all proper courtesy. It was at my request that Miss Virginia P. Robinson, 1710 Rosewood, Louisville, was appointed local member of the Program Committee rather than myself. She is president of the Louisville Suffrage Club; and I felt the Louisville women had far better ideas of whom they would like on the program than I would have. I have given what suggestions I thought would be useful about speakers from the state; but I have limited my suggestions to those.

And now to turn to that dreadful Belmont pledge. I, like you, was staggered. I waited till I heard from Mrs. McCulloch before writing an official letter to any one; and I calculate that the mail took a copy of it to you the very morning you received the joint reply of Miss Shaw and Miss Ashley. I hope you got it in time to know you did not stand alone in your opinion of that pledge. I felt myself bound to reply as guardedly as I could, because the convention is to meet in Louisville, and I am the representative of Ky. on the Board, and courtesy demands that I shall make the situation as pleasant to everybody as I can. In looking over my letter on that occasion, I hope I have not, by quoting Miss Ashley's remark about "five straight votes without conditions" made it possible for any one to suppose that I thought any member of the Board would have accepted such a condition, if she had known it. I suppose, too, that

those in headquarters justified themselves by expecting Miss Shaw to have that clause cancelled. I have just received this morning Mrs. Stewart's dignified statement of her position. I cannot thank you too much for your insistence upon having a clear understanding of the matter. I sent the enclosed letter to all the members on its date, except you and Mrs. McCulloch, which I held back to enclose a personal letter. I sent Mrs. McCulloch's Saturday. You will see that you and I hold almost precisely the same view about the force of the vote which carried headquarters to New York. I have acted on your saying that you knew of no reason why Miss Shaw should not be asked about that Washington City pledge of Mrs. Belmont's. I am thoroughly tired of not knowing what I am voting about, and I would rather risk giving some offense than keep on going on in the dark. I do not quite agree with you about Mrs. Belmont's last pledge, though I can see that she might easily have overlooked that she did not qualify it in exactly the same manner as she did the original pledge, and that she might have meant it simply for a re-iteration of the original one.

I note what you say about a secret about the Press work. I can unqualifiedly say I will keep it secret till you release me, if you tell it to me, though I know Mrs. Bennett would be consumed with curiosity. But I am going to leave it with you whether or not to tell me, for the reason that the Ky. E. R. A. is the host of the Convention, and I do not wish to be too much ruffled to enable me to be very courteous to every body on that occasion; and because I still have a task in the auditing of the books which I dread this year, though I never did so before. Bearing these two facts in mind, I shall be glad to have any light on the whole situation that you can throw. I think already our new rule of sending copies of all official letters is enabling the outside members of the Board to stand more confidently, for at least they know what their colleagues are

[ Aug 5, 1911 ]

I received my copy of your official letter about the S.B.A fund too late to guide my vote about the votes already cast, though I will revoke mine as Mrs. Stewart has done, if you wish it. I intend to vote just as you think best about that fund; for I think it would be an injustice to you if the Board should not respect all the conditions you have promised to donors.

I will say I think exactly as you do about that \$504 to Mrs. Boyer, unless a part of the fund was on hand at the time these bills were made, - that is, before the Washington City convention.

If you object to it, I shall revoke my vote about paying the note to the trustees of the Mary Anthony Fund out of the S.B.A. fund. But otherwise I think it a good arrangement both for it and the Laura Bruce fund. For at present the Association is in debt for both sums. If we should send your fund to California and win, the National would still be in debt. But if these two notes are paid, and the money sent to California (which would be a necessary condition) and we should win, then the National would be out of debt. Of course, if the campaign is lost, the money is gone equally either way, and the Association would be in debt. Have you considered this point? I can see that you may not like it because you may not feel that you can refer to the money as having helped to win the California campaign; though with what thought I have yet given that seems to me a technicality which could be easily overcome. I have about made up my mind to try to dispose of the Bruce Fund during my life, rather than keep it for a future Ky. campaign; but I want to put it to a winning campaign. However, I think you are entitled to have your wishes scrupulously regarded; and I shall do so, if I can revoke my vote, which has already gone in. I suggest to you that if you are not satisfied with the payment of that \$504 to Mrs. Boyer that you get a note from the Board to be returned to your fund from the first bequest which comes in. You know one is expected this fall; and I think your chances are better there than in trying to have it



paid back from the general treasury when there is no money in it, and not likely to be soon. I think putting your case before the public in the Woman's Journal ought to be your very last resort, both in justice to yourself, and for the good of the future gifts to the Association. The slightest hint that the Board did not respect the conditions promised by the Chairman of the S.B.A. fund would cut off gifts fatally, I think.

Please remember me to your sisters,

Very cordially yours,

*Copy*  
Chicago, August 5, 1911

Dear Miss Gordon:-

I have your letters to Miss Ashley, Miss Shaw and to the Board. If a letter giving the entire condition of Mrs. Belmont's pledge was sent to the Board by Miss Ashley and Mrs. Dennett or by Miss Shaw, it failed to reach me also. I did not know of the conditions attaching to the offer of Mrs. Belmont until the recent letter in reference to which you wrote. I consider your point well taken and am very glad that Mrs. Belmont has withdrawn the conditions attaching to her gift as I understand she has from Miss Shaw's letter. While it is customary both in the National and in our State for donors to specify in which of our departments or special work they wish their money to be spent, it seems to me that the improper use of money begins to come in when a tempting bait is held before an Association which may be theirs if they conform their action to some desire or scheme or plan of the prospective donor. It appears to me that that is the first step toward improper money influence. I am not quite sure that Mrs. Belmont withdrew the condition that the New York headquarters remain the National headquarters, but evidently Miss Ashley and those at headquarters believe that she will be satisfied with the six months lease and give \$500. toward the rent. If she does so and has withdrawn the other condition, I see no harm in continuing according to our first vote. Of course as I have said in former letters, I regret the delay in the National Convention against which I voted on the first vote sent out on that question and which has left us in these embarrassing circumstances of having to decide questions which should have been decided by the convention. But as that cannot now be undone we must do the next best thing.

Yours sincerely,

*Ella S. Stewart.*

August 1, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

Referring to the vote sent out by Miss Shaw in regard to taking up the note due the Mary Anthony bequest, and pledged to the campaign in Oklahoma last year, I want to say that if the S.B.A. Fund referred to is the one collected by me, and not the Thomas Garrett Fund, that I wish to present my point of view upon paying out the Fund collected for campaign purposes.

I have distinctly stated and restated to correspondents to whom I appealed for contributions, that money collected by me for the Fund would not be used except for campaign purposes, and that it would not be used in dribblets during the collection, and would not be touched until the Fund was collected. You can therefore realize my surprise, upon receiving a letter the other day from Miss Ashley, and learning that \$504 of it had been used to pay Mrs. Boyer's indebtedness in Oklahoma, and which amount was due her prior to April 1910. I have never had a statement of the total collection until I received a letter from New York, July 24, stating it to be \$4534.61, and I learned in reply to a question regarding the auditing that "Miss Ashley did not think auditing was necessary inasmuch as nothing had been taken from the Fund, unless it had been the \$504 sent to Mrs. Boyer".

Now, if the money collected by me, most of which has come in since January and largely upon representation in the Woman's Journal, is taken to pay up expenses of past campaigns, I consider that I am placed in a false light to the contributors, and I wish to record my protest against it. I am perfectly willing that every cent of it go into the California campaign and that it be presented in Miss Anthony's memory, because that is a campaign that belongs to the present and has arisen since the contributions were given, but I do not feel that we are justified in paying the expenses of a past campaign. There is only one condition in that regard, and that is, that when Mrs. Boyer was almost crazy because of the money owing to her to carry on the campaign in Oklahoma, I wrote to Miss Blackwell and asked if she could possibly lend her \$200 pending the investigation that would be made in the financial situation between Mrs. Boyer and the Association, and that if it were proven that she had had her full quota of money, then I would see that Miss Blackwell was repaid this \$200 out of the S.B.A. Fund, and I am willing to do this, but in order to do it I would go to certain ones who gave me money and ask them to allow me to use it in that was for this past debt.

I therefore ask Miss Shaw to send out a vote in accordance with my point of view. If the Board does not sustain me in believing that the money should only be spent for present or future campaigns, and not applied to past indebtedness of the Association, I will abide by the result, but will reserve the right to use the columns of the Woman's Journal to show that I wished to keep faith with the conditions under which the money was given.

I therefore vote No upon the two propositions sent out by the President in reference to the Mary S. Anthony Fund, and the loan under like conditions of the \$1,000 returned to California.

Very cordially yours,

Dictated but not read.

Kate M. Gordon

August 1, 1911.

Dear Member of the Official Board:

You have received my joint letter to Miss Shaw and Miss Ashley in which I asked for information. This presents my position in the matter. I do not know whether Miss Ashley has sent out her reply to the Board, and in order that both sides may be known, I send a copy of same to members.

From Miss Ashley's letter you will note that "she certainly thought every one on the Board understood this matter". Now, unless a letter has miscarried, there is no letter in my possession which anywhere indicates that the Belmont offer of \$1,000 hinged upon any other condition than the continuance of the Headquarters in New York. I confess that I was staggered when the condition was made known, as outlined in Miss Ashley's letter of July 18, in reply to Mrs. McCulloch's request for all conditions bearing upon the lease, and hence my joint letter in order that I could know the true situation.

Miss Shaw repudiates that in sending out the offer that it was sent out as an inducement, because the situation is one which she insists upon interpreting as not requiring any action from the National Convention. Then why was a vote upon Headquarters remaining in New York submitted at all?

*Board?*

I wish to state to the members of the Official Board that I consider that the whole Board is placed in a ridiculous position, due to the fact that the Convention was postponed beyond the time of the expiration of the lease in New York, and that I for one do not intend to be caught in a position where if things do not come out satisfactorily, a written contract from Mrs. Belmont, stipulating conditions again, would make us appear in the role of not knowing what we were doing.

I wish to state here, to the members of the Official Board, my point of view as an officer of the Association upon continuing the Headquarters in New York. If my memory does not fail me, the proposition upon which we removed to New York at the Seattle Convention was a two year proposition offered by Mrs. Belmont. Mrs. Belmont, in a businesslike way, made this condition clear at the last Convention by her offer, and hence the situation which took us to New York is now closed, and it is up to the Convention whether we shall continue Headquarters in New York or not, and the power does not rest with the Official Board to dictate to the Convention where Headquarters will be.

I wish, further, to call the attention of the Official Board to the condition which Miss Ashley pronounces "obnoxious to Miss Shaw, and which she never intended to remain". I judge from

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2 Aug 11 1911

I judge from both letters received that this "obnoxious" clause has only been removed since attention was directed to it. The condition that I wished guaranteed in my telegram sustaining the offer of the proposition to lease to Feb 1, was not that I thought any other condition attached to the Belmont asset, but because I did think Mrs. Belmont could be justified in feeling that her offer had <sup>not</sup> been carried out when we applied it to six months and not a year. Not being a clairvoyant, I do not see how I could have known the other condition. If, however, the other members of the Official Board understood it, I would like to know how they became possessed of the information.

Before dismissing this subject I wish to state that I agree thoroughly with Miss Shaw that "in making pledges it is frequently the custom to assign conditions, and that Mrs. Belmont was within her rights in making conditions," but I do not agree with her that any officer of the Association has a right to accept a pledge which involves the Association in any way, and more so if the pledge is offered as an asset in a business contract, without full conditions being explained to the members of the Official Board who are responsible to the Convention.

Very cordially yours,

Kate M. Endow

Dictated but not read.

1800 Frytania St. Aug. 7th. 1915

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

I vote no on the S. B. A. Fund being made the medium of repaying the Mary Anthony legacy. I do so because the S. B. A. Fund has largely been collected since the Oklahoma campaign was lost and I think you will all realize that if we had gone to the donors with a request to pay the Oklahoma indebtedness, instead of what we did asking for the money to be contributed to a campaign fund, we would not have received the amount we did little as it is. Then moreover it is a Susan B. Anthony Memorial Fund and should not pay an amount which is to be credited to a Mary Anthony contribution.

I also protest against the money that has been paid Mrs. Boyer coming out of the Fund, as it is in strict defiance of the spirit in which it was collected. The only money I feel in any way obligated to pay from the fund <sup>was</sup> the \$200 advanced by Miss Blackwell when the amount due to Mrs. Boyer for the campaign had not been paid. *from the Mt in her claim* But if Mrs. Boyer had not been right in order to do this and pay the \$200 from the fund, I would have felt it necessary to ask of certain contributors to allow their contributions to go towards paying this debt. This fortunately will not be necessary for I presume this indebtedness is wiped out.

I wish also to remind the Board that I was not a member of the Board when the Mary Anthony legacy was lent to Oklahoma, so am in no sense obligated to by a transaction I knew nothing of and which I cannot see that the Officers have a right to pay back from a special fund.

Now in reference to the expenses of the collection of the S. B. A. Fund. Will the Officers kindly look on page 50 of the Chicago minutes and see where I base my claim that the Ntl. should pay the expense of collecting the fund. Furthermore I received 300.00 from the Ntl for the expenses. The directions by Miss Shaw at Seattle were that I could draw on the Treasury to the extent of \$1000

E Aug 7, 1913

I was told that I could spend that amount in any way I saw fit and judgment would help raise the amount. I was told to have a stenographer and when the situation seemed to justify it to travel with it. It was the instructions which justified me after being in correspondence with Mrs. Kelley to arrange for the trip to New York and which secured \$1000 ~~for the purpose~~ When I started in my correspondence with the states in completing the Memorial I was astonished to find what feeling existed that money collected for a specific purpose (campaigns) were used for paying what they termed running expenses. With these dissatisfied people I have always assured them that the money would be spent for what it was donated to, namely campaigns. Therefore while I vote heartily to send every cent to California but I do not think it fair to pay Oklahoma or any past campaign expenses out of it.

As far as I am aware the expense account is not very heavy for the Ntl Treasury gave November 1909 ~~under instructions from Miss Shaw to Mrs. Upton.~~ Above this 300.00 according to my report sent to H'qrs in

April there are 109.55 and since then I have a small postage bill. This is exclusive of my travelling expenses to N.Y. and back to N.O. which amount to about \$125.00 (Miss Ashley has a detailed statement, I have not time to get the copy) and \$37.50 of this amount really belongs to Oklahoma expenses as I was certainly entitled to return expenses to N.O. You will all see from this detail that even including the Ntl. H'qrs. expenses the sum the Ntl will have to pay and conform with its vote, is within \$300 and if this is borne by the Ntl. the donations will go for what they were subscribed for, campaign purposes in memory of Miss Anthony.

Very truly  
Kate. M. Gordon.

This letter is delayed due to the fact I have been out of the city for a few days.

My dear Miss Clay:  
If I can help  
you & Miss Blackwell  
and: the books I  
will gladly do so -  
in fact I think  
even if I do it unof-  
ficially in order  
to save Miss B. it  
will be a help & I  
hope you will call  
on me. I am simply  
disgusted with Miss  
Starr & more so with  
Miss Ashley - such  
wicked politics as that  
Hqs Council have to  
played in order to  
keep Hqs in N. J.  
I've nearly died  
laughing over  
"Clydesdale" sarcasm

on the proposed  
amendments.



ANSWERED

SUPPLIES

Indianapolis, Indiana, Sept. 18, 1911.

Miss Kate M. Gordon,  
Cor. Sec'y, Nat. Am. Woman Suffrage Assn.,  
505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Madam:-

We hereby make application to affiliate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Enclosed please find copy of our constitution. We have a membership of about 250. How many delegates will we be entitled to at the National Convention to be held at Louisville, Ky., in October.

Kindly reply at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully,

*Hannah M. Graham*  
President. A.M.

Address:

Marion Block.

[Sept 18, 1911]

ARTICLE I. Name.

This Association shall be known as the Indiana Equal Restricted Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II. Object.

Its object shall be to advance the industrial and legal rights and political education of men and women; to secure restricted suffrage to them by appropriate state and national legislation; and to organize and direct branch associations.

ARTICLE III. Membership.

Any person of good character over eighteen years of age may become a member of this association by signing the constitution and paying the dues of the current fiscal year. No distinction as to sex shall be made in membership or ability to hold office in the association.

ARTICLE IV. Dues.

The dues shall be fifty cents per year, the fiscal year extending from June to June, and dues shall be accounted delinquent after due notice has been given for said year.

ARTICLE V. Officers and Elections.

Section 1. The officers of the association shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and an Executive Board.

Section 2. The officers shall be elected and enter upon their duties at the regular meeting in June of each year.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall consist of the officers of the Association and five directors elected for a period of two years.

ARTICLE VI. Duties of Officers.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings; in conjunction with the other members of the Executive Board plan for the interests of the association; appoint all committees, and may voluntarily or at the request of three members, call for special meetings.

Section 2. The Vice-President shall serve in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Association.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the meetings of the association; notify the public of meetings; notify committees of their appointments and of business referred to them, and take charge of all papers and documents of the association.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall keep a correct account of all receipts and expenditures and shall prosecute the collection of all dues, and pay bills only on orders signed by the President or Secretary.

Section 6. The Auditor shall audit the accounts for the year.

Section 7. The Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary, the Treasurer and the Chairmen of all standing committees shall make annual reports at the regular meeting in June.

Section 8. The Executive Board direct all branch associations and shall meet for the consideration of ways and means for the betterment and advancement of the interests of the association in general. Four members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VII. Amendments.

This Constitution may be amended upon a two-thirds vote of all members present at any regular meeting of the society, providing the proposed amendment shall have been submitted in writing and read at the previous regular meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. Meetings

Section 1. The regular meetings of the Association shall be held

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at least monthly from October to June inclusively.

Section 2. Ten paid-up members shall constitute a quorum.

#### BY-LAWS.

1. The Association will be governed by Robert's Rules of Order where not inconsistent with the Articles of this Constitution.
2. The regular meeting shall be held on the second Monday in the month.

Sept. 1917

COPY.

Hazlehurst, Miss.

Dear Member of the Official Board:-

The mail of the past week has been delayed in reaching, due to the fact that I am out in the heart of Mississippi, drinking Brown's Wells Waters for malaria. I will have to have Headquarters send out the duplicate copies.

I do not agree with Miss Ashley's conclusion which leads her to request that Official Board allow her to pay the extra money covered by Miss Clay's offer. The sub-letting has brought in the necessary money to cover deficit, hence feel no one should be held personally responsible. Miss Ashley states that the lease meets with her entire approval - this, in itself, should release her from any financial obligation, if any exist, under the present contribution.

A propos of the subject, I cannot allow to go unnoticed Miss Ashley's conclusions in regard to my wishing to "express horror of Mrs. Belmont's conditions". I did not express horror of Mrs. B's conditions. Mrs. B. had a perfect right to impose any conditions. What I wished to convey was my surprise that a condition was allowed by the officers knowing that it had no right to be accepted, and the money value was offered as an asset in securing our consent to vote for Headquarters in New York. I repeat it was not horror of Mrs. Belmont's conditions.

I wish also to express my disapproval of the manner of proceeding to send out two young solicitors for the National without the consent of the Official Board. What instructions have these young women received in collecting money for the financial conduct of the Association. Where is the money coming from for this expensive undertaking, and does not common courtesy demand that the State Presidents be advised of the intention of the ~~Headquarters~~ National. One would naturally infer that State officers and officers of the National Association would ~~leave~~ leave some information upon the errand or mission of collectors in the State, and if conditions are imposed in these collections, to know what they are.

A propos of Miss Gruening, I wish to express my unqualified disapproval of the Journal's publication of her article upon Negro education in the South. The animus of the article, I feel is very ill advised and I wonder how many of the Headquarters approve our official organ injecting that kind of material in no way germane to woman suffrage.

[ Sept. 1911 ]

Official Board.

Those of us who know the situation relative to the negroes virtual disfranchisement are not regretting it, for it removes a large vote against us whenever the question of votes for women is before the people. If the Journal is to accept that kind of writing then we had better not try to circulate it in the South. It breathes a kind of sectionalism which shows the importance of having all parts of the Union represented in order to foster a real Nationalism.

Relative to the employment of Miss Pease in Oregon, I wish to say that whenever it will be possible to put Miss Pease at work I will heartily favor it, she is very capable and conscientious, and the only thing standing in the way of a recommendation to employ her is our knowledge of financial inability to do so.

I vote in favor of Mrs. Pankhurst at Louisville. About charging admission, I would leave that decision entirely to the Ky. women.

Favor Gregg in Kansas, conditioned, of course, upon approval by Convention.

I believe this covers all points. Will return to N.O. beginning of next week.

Cordially,

(Sgd.) Kate Gordon.

Near Richmond, Ky.

Sept. 9th, 1911.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have your letter of Sept. 4th, and regret that you are suffering from malaria. I trust that the waters may rid you of it.

I have given very careful attention to what you say; and I am going to give my view of the situation with equal frankness. Of course, I have not been at headquarters since the stormy Board meeting of Dec. 1909 I can form no opinion personally as you can; but I do know that the complete dependence of any branch of our work upon any one person is fatal to the greatest efficiency. For that very reason I cannot rejoice without misgivings when we hear from Miss Shaw that she has an unknown sum of money for the suffrage cause from an unknown source. It seems ungrateful on my part, but I do have misgivings.

In all my fifteen or sixteen years of office I have never had so many unsatisfactory, indeed, painful experiences as have been crowded into the time since the Seattle convention. They have led me to believe that Miss Shaw is not a good executive officer nor a leader. I believe that any member of the present board, (except the two new ones at headquarters, whom I do not know and therefore cannot judge) would make a better executive president than Miss Shaw. Of course, Miss Blackwell is too much occupied with the Journal to be a possibility. But any of the others ought to be considered a possibility in preference to a woman who has had no experience on the Board. At the same time I think the Association needs the talents for oratory Miss Shaw possesses, and I do not believe they could be used with full effectiveness for the benefit of the Association without an office which would keep her before the eyes of the country as a leading suffragist. I think the office of Honorary President would exactly fill the

Sept 9, 1915

requirement. Miss Shaw is so valuable as an orator that doing executive work, is a loss, because it distracts her attention from doing what she can do well, and better than others.

Now to answer to your questions as to what I would be willing to do under certain contingencies: I am willing to do any service for the suffrage cause which the suffragists think I can do efficiently; and I would be willing to subordinate my personal convenience to any requirement of the work. I am entirely foot-free and I could reside in Washington or Chicago, if I could make myself useful thereby. In the contingency that Miss Shaw refused re-election, or that she was made Honorary President, I would be perfectly willing to be a candidate for the presidency, or I would give cordial support to any one of the members of the Board of whom I have spoken. But if Miss Shaw is a candidate for re-election I would not be willing to be a candidate in opposition. For I am convinced that any policy consistent with principle is better than factions and strifes; and there certainly would be such if another candidate was put up while Miss Shaw wishes to be re-elected. Any woman who shall become president with the treasury in its depleted state, and the scale of expenses on a line of large financial resources, must have an arduous task before her. I would be willing to risk all that if I were the free choice of the convention and thought to be the best available person for the place; but I would not undertake it for a divided constituency which gave me a half-hearted or unwilling allegiance, or as a leader of a faction, even if the faction succeeded in gaining a majority.

This proposal of a revolutionary <sup>new</sup> constitution has troubled me deeply. I believe if carried it would mean the dismemberment of the N.E.F.S.A. I have finally found consolation in the conclusion that its disintegration would not greatly check the suffrage movement, if it fell to pieces by mere injudicious management. But I do think the suffrage movement might receive a serious check if the Association was broken up by public quarrels and contentions. Therefore I have determined to cast any influence I may have

[Sept 9, 1911]

to trying calmly to prevent injurious measures; and, failing that, to allow things to settle themselves, as I believe the movement is now strong enough to go on without any assistance from the N.A.W.S.A., though I think its usefulness could still be very great, if its affairs are properly managed. I do not think there is much chance of their being properly managed if the new constitution is passed. I am writing another article about it for the Journal. I wish you would write something, too. For awhile, I thought that constitution was merely novice work of that advisory committee; but the last article by Mrs. Dennett, in the Journal of Sept. 2nd, in which she does not deny that they are aiming at centralization leads me to think that they are determined to pass it for some scheme of their own. I think the scheme is to carry on business enterprises by the Official Board, such as that magazine agency, the Woman's Journal, if it can be put on a paying basis, sale of literature, etc., with the idea that with the prestige of the Association, and with its members as a business constituency, which the loose system of membership is calculated to enlarge, the office holders and their employes can keep stylish headquarters in New York and make at least good salaries out of the dues, donations, legacies and business profits of the enterprises. All this may be legitimate enough, if the Association is willing to be a partner in that new idea of National work; and I cannot understand such blindness to the real National disadvantage in the suggested constitution on any other grounds. In view of the possibility of its carrying I am consoled by reflecting that if the Convention votes for its passage it indicates that the Association is ready to fall to pieces and there is no need of worrying greatly about it, but that the part of wisdom is to let it go and turn to the next best thing which arises. All the states can afford to wait awhile on their oars and watch for some sign for future action. If California wins the suffrage movement will probably receive such an impetus as will call for new methods all along the line.

I suppose Miss Hifton or Miss Gillett has sent you a copy of the resolu-



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tions passed by the Dist. of Columbia's Executive Committee of the State Association. Miss Gillett and I have had some correspondence about the present state of affairs, and as you are now considering them, too, in reference to the Convention, I am enclosing copies of it.

I hope you will find yourself much benefitted by your stay at the springs, and that you will come to the Convention ready for any thing which may come up!

Please let me hear from you again soon.

Very cordially yours.

R. L. COVINGTON,  
PRESIDENT

J. S. SEXTON,  
1ST. VICE-PRESIDENT

J. ISAACS,  
2ND. VICE-PRESIDENT

UPTON BEALL,  
SECY AND MANAGER

Sept 4, 1911



# BROWN'S WELLS

## HEALTH AND PLEASURE RESORT

OWNED AND OPERATED BY  
THE BROWN'S WELLS COMPANY, INC.

HAZLEHURST, MISS.

Sept. 4<sup>th</sup>  
My dear Miss Clay: I am here trying  
to rid myself of the malarial  
of malaria which is really  
the cause of my being so  
good for nothing the last  
year or two. I hope we  
may be in fighting time  
for L'ville for I think  
we will need to fight  
a battle royal. I've  
had an independent  
letter from Mrs Bennett  
charging me with  
"suspicion & resentment"  
and if I reply at all  
she will not be handled  
with gloves.

### SEVEN WELLS—

WATERS FAMOUS FOR  
50 YEARS IN MAKING  
WONDERFUL CURES  
OF STOMACH, KIDNEY,  
MALARIAL AND LIVER  
TROUBLES.

### WATERS—

SHIPPED IN 1/2 AND  
1 GALLON BOTTLES,  
1/2 DOZ. AND 1 DOZ.  
PER CRATE; IN CAR-  
BOYS OF 5 AND 10  
GALLONS EACH; AND  
IN BARRELS OF 26  
GALLONS.

### WE OPERATE HOTELS AND

### COTTAGES—

EXCELLENT FIRE PRE-  
VENTION.  
WE MAINTAIN OUR  
OWN AUTOMOBILE  
LINE; OUR OWN WATER  
WORKS SYSTEM WITH  
SANITARY PLUMBING;  
ELECTRIC PLANT,  
ICE PLANT,  
DAIRY AND TRUCK  
FARM.

RATES: \$12.00 PER WEEK  
AND UP.  
ROOMS WITH INTER-  
VENING BATHS, \$21.00  
PER WEEK; WITH  
STRICTLY PRIVATE  
BATHS, \$28.00 PER  
WEEK.

OPEN ALL THE YEAR ROUND.

How for the secret which may

be shared with Mrs Bennett.

I've wanted to speak to you ever since I returned from H. G. of a situation I found on reaching H. G. which showed either a total lack of knowledge of what was going on - & if known a lack of a sense of duty which is unpardonable. I arrived <sup>about</sup> two weeks after the Washington victory - my every spare sent on the eastward trip was spent buying newspapers to get some news of the affair - court etc. etc. The only reference seen was an account of the victory celebration in H. G. with Mrs Belmont - the central figure. I felt confident that the fault of no news laid with the Associated Press, for with our elaborate Press dept. I never dreamed but they were busy using every avenue to acquaint the country with the victory.

After exchanging greetings with Miss Kelley my first inquiry was why the papers were

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HAZLEHURST, MISS.

to select on Washington - I  
learned that from our Press bureau  
not one single line went out on  
such a victory. I quietly  
took in the situation for  
myself and found that  
Hrs. Harpers time & Miss  
Reelley's were taken up

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preparing courses of lectures  
for Mrs. Harper - & the other  
employe's of the Press Dept.  
I spent hours & hours  
clipping the same articles  
from N.Y. papers - at a  
salary of \$15.00 a week  
I think, when a clipping  
bureau at \$5.00 a month  
would have given equal  
results. When I spoke to  
Miss Shaw about the  
Press Dept. not booming

**OPEN ALL THE YEAR ROUND.**

the Washington victory - she was

amazed & inclined not to believe me - but Miss Ashley when asked admitted such to be the case. Whether Mrs Bennett or Miss Ashley were even aware of it - I do not know, but it seems to me the advantage of several officers at H'gts, is to watch these important details. How of course I know of anything is said - we well have hurried at our heads that the "Net" did not pay for the Press work, - but the Press work which is so important - a department ought to be kept under our control & we have at its chief a person whose employ is conditioned on any one person's whim or desire. Another thing I want to write about, is the complete "turn about face" of Miss Ashley & Mrs Bennett regarding H'gts. They were not a bit enthusiastic about their location last Nov. & advocated a shop on the street - where

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people wd know of its where-  
abouts - they definitely stated  
that only suffragists came  
up to that top story &  
that is my conviction  
also. How I feel pretty  
sure some plat is being  
laid to carry out what  
they want & not the  
desires of the convention  
and if we are to win  
out we must be pre-  
pared to act in an e-  
mergency - I doubt not  
if the Hqs are removed  
from New York, Miss  
Shaw will refuse to  
stand & will take a  
salary from Mrs B -  
Should you be willing in such

OPEN ALL THE YEAR ROUND.

an event - to serve as President -  
or can you suggest someone  
who would go to Washington  
& maintain it yrs. Would you  
be willing to go to Chicago  
as President - & with Mrs M<sup>c</sup>  
C. & Mrs Stewart - get things  
in running order. I have  
always felt that a southern  
woman was not the best  
woman for the Presidency &  
I do think H<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup>C. - if  
she wd - would be the best  
woman for the Presidency  
- but I doubt if she cd be  
prevailed upon & you are  
my next choice. I believe  
with Mrs Boyer as Secretary  
you could accomplish some  
very valuable work not the  
least being rallying the  
disgruntled members to the  
old standard. Let me have  
your opinion on all these  
points of view, written to you  
in all confidence  
Kate Gordon