

Proceedings
OF THE
Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention
OF THE
National-American
Woman Suffrage Association



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention

OF THE

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

HELD IN

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

JANUARY 23d TO 28th, 1896.



EDITED BY

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

Philadelphia:

PRESS OF ALFRED J. FERRIS,
29 N. SEVENTH STREET.

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

All friends of justice and equal rights are earnestly invited to assemble in the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, in the Church of Our Father, Washington, D. C., January 23d to 28th, 1896.

"The present day is bristling with an energy which has for its aim the elevation of our race in mental and moral directions, in every department, indeed, of human life.

"Living under the law, helped or hindered by its enactment, women are, by every principle of natural justice, as well as by the nature of our institutions, as fully entitled as men to vote and to be eligible to office."

As the president of Harvard University says: "The exercise of suffrage stimulates all citizens to reflect on problems outside the narrow circle of their private interests and occupations. * * * The duties of republican citizenship, rightly discharged, constitute in themselves a prolonged education. * * * These bulwarks of the commonwealth will prove all the stronger and more lasting, because women, as well as men, can work on them and help to transmit them, ever broader and firmer, from generation to generation."

We rejoice in the immense gains made in this and other countries since our last convention; Utah completing a trinity of true republics at the summit of the Rockies; South Australia fully enfranchising the women of its vast territory.

We hail with joy the magnificent growth of public sentiment, resulting in the submission of a Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitutions of New York, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada and California, by their respective State Legislatures; the twenty-six votes for woman's full enfranchisement in the recent Constitutional Convention of South Carolina; the result of the vote on the sham Referendum in Massachusetts, showing that one out of every three men, and nineteen out of every twenty women of that conservative commonwealth, who expressed at the ballot box their opinions on our question, were in favor of Equal Suffrage—a startling revelation to the demonstrators throughout the entire nation.

We point with pride to the splendid results of the work of our Association in organizing State Societies in Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Nevada, Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico, West Virginia and Delaware, so that when we assemble in Washington at our annual convention, for the first time in our history the Association will be composed of organizations in every State and Territory, except Alaska, linked together in one great national body.

This call is addressed to all those who desire the physical, intellectual, and moral improvement of mankind.

If our convention shall promote, in any degree, freedom of thought and action among women; if it shall incite them to higher aspirations; if it shall advance by a few steps just legislation and a wise public sentiment; if it shall hasten the recognition of the justice of woman's claim to equal political rights with men, it will not have been in vain.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *President.*
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
NATIONAL-AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

AT
THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHER,

Corner Thirteenth and L Streets, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.,

JANUARY 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th,
1896

FIRST EXECUTIVE MEETING, at Hotel Arno, 9 a.m., Thursday,
January 23d.

PUBLIC SESSIONS at 10 a.m. and 8 p.m.

RELIGIOUS SERVICE, Sunday, January 26th, 3 p.m.

LAST EXECUTIVE MEETING, at Hotel Arno, 10 a.m., Wednesday,
January 29th.

ADMISSION TO ALL SESSIONS FREE.

Hotel Headquarters at the Arno, Corner Sixteenth and I Streets.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23d.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, at Hotel Arno, 9 A. M.

MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.

Prayer, REV. ANNA SHAW.
Convention called to order by the President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY.
Roll call of Officers, Vice Presidents and State Members of the
Executive Committee, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, *Rec. Sec.*
Minutes of the closing session of the XXVII Annual Convention.
Announcement of Committees on Finance, Courtesies, Credentials.
Report of Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.
Report of Corresponding Secretary, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

Training School for Organizers.

EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK.

Annual Address of the President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY.
The Philosophy of Woman Suffrage, CLARA B. COLBY, Nebraska.
Law and the Ballot, JULIE R. JENNEY, New York.
Between Daybreak and Sunrise, MAY STOCKING KNAGGS, Michigan.
Address, CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24th.

MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.

Report of Committee on Entertainments, C. HOLT FLINT, *Chairman*.
Read by EMMA SMITH DE VOE.

Treasurer's Report, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

Utah's Victory the Result of Organization; its Lesson,
GEORGE W. CATT.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

Second Session Training School for Organizers.

EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK.

STATE PRESIDENTS' EVENING.

Arizona, MRS. L. C. HUGHES.
California, CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.
Colorado, MARY C. C. BRADFORD.
Connecticut, ELIZABETH BACON.
District of Columbia, ELLEN POWELL THOMPSON.
Delaware, MARGARET W. KENT.
Illinois, ELMIRA SPRINGER.
Indiana, MARY G. HAY.
Kansas, KATIE R. ADDISON.
Kentucky, LAURA CLAY.
Louisiana, FLORENCE HUBERWALD.
Maine, ELIZABETH U. YATES.
Massachusetts, HENRY B. BLACKWELL.
Massachusetts National, LAVINA A. HATCH.
Michigan, MAY STOCKING KNAGGS.
Minnesota, JULIA B. NELSON.
Virginia, ELIZABETH B. DODGE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25th.

MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.

Reports of Committee on Course of Study and Committee on
Organization,
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *Chairman*.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

Reports from the Field.

MARY G. HAY, EMMA SMITH DE VOE,
ELIZABETH U. YATES, LAURA M. JOHNS,
ANNA R. SIMMONS, LAURA CLAY,
 LAURA A. GREGG.

Presentation of Plan of Work for 1869,
Parliament of Methods. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK.

STATE PRESIDENTS' EVENING.

Montana,	HARRIET SANDERS.
Missouri,	J. B. MERWIN.
Nebraska,	CLARA B. COLBY.
Nevada,	FRANCES A. WILLIAMSON.
North Carolina,	HELEN MORRIS LEWIS.
Oklahoma,	R. W. SOUTHARD.
Ohio,	CAROLINE McCULLOUGH EVERHARD.
Pennsylvania,	LUCRETIA L. BLANKENBURG.
Rhode Island,	MARY O. ARNOLD.
South Carolina,	VIRGINIA D. YOUNG.
South Dakota,	ANNA R. SIMMONS.
North Dakota,	DR. CORA SMITH EATON.
Utah,	CORINNE M. ALLEN.

²⁰ See Monday Evening Session for Vermont, Maryland, and West Virginia, and Tuesday
Evening for New York.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 26th.

SERVICE, 3 O'CLOCK P. M.

SUBJECT:

"The Spiritual Significance of Democracy and
Woman's Relation to It."

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

MONDAY, JANUARY 27th.

MORNING, 10 O'CLOCK.

Report of Southern Committee, LAURA CLAY.
 Report of Presidential Suffrage Committee, HENRY B. BLACKWELL.
 Report of Committee on Legislative Advice, LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.
 Report of Federal Suffrage Committee, SALLIE CLAY BENNETT.
 Memorial Hour—Resolutions and Short Addresses appreciative of the
 work of ELLEN BATTELLE DIETRICK and others.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

Amendments to Constitution.
 Election of Officers.

EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK.

Utah: Our New Star—
 REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President-at-Large. — Re-
 sponses from Utah's Senator CANNON and Representative ALLEN,
 and SARAH A. BOYER, and EMILY S. RICHARDS, Delegates.
 The Environments of Woman as Related to her Progress.
 ELLA KNOWLES HASKELL, *Asst. Attorney-Gen'l* of Montana.
 The Principle of Universal Suffrage,
 ELIZABETH BURRILL CURTIS, New York.
 Maryland,
 CAROLINE HALLOWELL MILLER.
 Vermont,
 MARY N. CHASE, A.B.
 West Virginia,
 JESSIE G. MANLEY.
 The Sunflower Bloom of Woman's Equality,
 VIRGINIA D. YOUNG, South Carolina.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28th.

MORNING.

Congressional Hearing: { Senate, before Woman Suffrage Committee.
 House of Representatives, before Judiciary
 Committee.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

Resolutions.
 Place of holding XXIX Annual Convention.

EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK.

"The Bulwark of the Commonwealth,"
 REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pennsylvania.
 The Presidential Election and the Interests of Women,
 LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, New York.
 Report of New York, By JEAN BROOKS GREENLEAF.
 Presented by MARIANA W. CHAPMAN.
 Our Unconscious Allies, HARRIET MAY MILLS, New York.
 The Liberty of the Mother Means the Liberty of the Race,
 EMMA SMITH DE VOE, Illinois.
 Women as Legislators, ANNIE L. DIGGS, Colorado.
 The Ballot an Improver of Motherhood,
 CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON, California.
 Closing Remarks by the President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29th.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, at Hotel Arno, 9 A. M.

NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

OFFICERS:

Honorary President, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
26 West 61st Street, New York.

President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
Rochester, N. Y.

Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
1920 Race Street, Philadelphia.

Corresponding Secretary, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.

Auditors:

H. AUGUSTA HOWARD,
Georgia.

ANNIE L. DIGGS,
Kansas.

Chairman Committee on Organization, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
183 World Building, New York.

LOCAL COMMITTEES:

Entertainment, JENNETTE M. BRADLEY.

Railroad Rates, MARY G. HAY.

Press Work, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

Railroad Certificates MUST be signed by Railroad Agent not later than Saturday,
January 25th, 9 A. M. They may be handed to me at any time during Thursday or
Friday at the church.

MARY G. HAY, *Chairman Railroad Committee*.
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

MINUTES

OF THE

Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention

OF THE

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

Wednesday, January 22d, 1896.

8.00 P.M.

The preliminary Business Committee Meeting was held at Hotel Arno.

Miss Anthony occupied the chair.

There were present: REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President; RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Corresponding Secretary; ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Recording Secretary; HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Treasurer; ANNIE L. DIGGS, Auditor; and CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Chairman of Committee on Organization.

The Minutes were read and accepted.

Mrs. AVERY reported for the Committee on Seals, and presented designs for a badge and seal for the Association. She also suggested the printing of unofficial suffrage stationery as a possible source of revenue.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. DIGGS that Mrs. Avery's report be accepted, and that the choice between the designs be left to her.

At Mrs. AVERY's request an informal vote upon the designs was taken, and the one preferred by the majority adopted. This is a conventionalized sunflower with a scroll bearing the Association name in full.

Mrs. UPTON stated that it had been customary for the Treasurer to send a membership ticket to every person contributing one dollar or more to the funds of the Association.

It was moved by Mrs. AVERY that membership tickets shall not be sent to persons making donations, unless they are asked for.

An amendment was moved by Miss BLACKWELL, accepted by Mrs. AVERY, and motion as amended was carried, that the Treasurer notify donors that their gifts entitle them to membership if they wish, and act upon their expressed preference.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. UPTON, that any one giving fifty dollars to any department of the Association's work shall be entitled to life membership if desired.

Miss ANTHONY stated her intention of offering an amendment to the Constitution next year, making life membership one hundred dollars. She said that she would approve of any proposition that would give life members an official relation to the convention. Upon investigation, it was found that very few of the life members attended who did not come in some representative capacity.

The Treasurer announced that Mrs. Amelia E. H. Doyon, of Madison, Wis., had left the Association a bequest of one thousand dollars, and that the family wished to give the Association a note payable in five years for the amount.

It was moved by CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, seconded by ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, that we accept a note bearing interest at six per cent., payable on or before September, 1901, said note to be signed by Mr. Doyon and the three children of Mrs. Doyon, as the legacy left this Association by Amelia E. H. Doyon. Carried unanimously.

It was moved by ANNIE L. DIGGS, seconded by RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, that Harriet Taylor Upton, as Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, be empowered to transact such business with the executors of the estate of Amelia E. H. Doyon as shall be necessary. Carried unanimously.

It was voted that the Treasurer be empowered to dispose of the note, first reporting to the Business Committee the terms she can obtain for it.

It was voted that the McCann mortgage, received as a bequest from Anna Oliver, be transferred to Miss Anthony, in liquidation of the Association's debt to her, by a loan of one thousand dollars in 1894.

It was voted that, if Miss Anthony does not realize the one thousand dollars from the mortgage, the Association shall make up the deficit.

The following letter from SUSAN YOUNG GATES, of Utah, proposing a plan for raising money by the celebration of Miss Anthony's birthday, was read by the Secretary:

"I would suggest that Aunt Susan B. Anthony's birthday be called 'Woman's Day' throughout civilized lands,—at least, for the present, in America and England. On this day let women everywhere be invited to join in festivities and social reunions, those who are alive on these suffrage matters, inviting in the most cordial manner all their sisters to join with them in a grand woman's holiday. Everything which makes for the betterment of woman could well be introduced on this day in song, speech, recital of past or future victories in every walk of life. Home, state, art, science, in short, every field of human activity, should be well represented by the various classes of women convened on that day. This should be *strictly* a Local Day. Each ward, district, town or club, if impossible to meet as neighborhoods or wards, should have direct supervision of the Day and its exercises. And each might well be individual or original in its character. However, all this is only preliminary to the real purpose of the Day. On this day, let every woman in every land, bond or free, white or black, rich or poor, suffragist or sectarian, no matter who or what she may be, let her then gratefully drop into her ward contribution box a dime or nickel for the cause of woman. Let a sentiment of honor be cultivated in every woman, it being a privilege to donate so small and yet so potent a sum for the onward progress of her sex. One might at first sight suppose that such a tiny sum would be a tiny affair in the aggregate, but our experience

in this state is that hundreds, aye, even thousands, will give a nickel or a dime where only a very few would give a dollar a year. . . . I would suggest that, in some instances, local clubs or societies might be better pleased to retain one-fourth of the sum collected; at least, that is what we allow our local associations. However, that could readily be decided by your wise women. Again, would it be impracticable to organize a special Finance Committee in the National, or perhaps the money would be handled by the Secretary of Finance, and this money might then be apportioned to the various fields of labor and effort which so need financial help just now."

Miss ANTHONY proposed that a series of birthdays of distinguished suffrage pioneers be celebrated by the local clubs.

The case of Indiana was discussed, and a letter from Mrs. GUGAR, from which we quote, was read by the Corresponding Secretary:

"LAFAYETTE, IND., Dec. 9th, 1895.

MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
DEAR MADAM: I am in receipt of your notice of National Convention and note what you say of our State dues. We have had a very large increase in membership this year, owing to my test-vote case. What our State officers will feel like doing by way of auxiliary fee will be decided in a meeting before the first of January. . . . We continue to do good work in our State, and perfect harmony reigns. I think we will only pay a fee sufficient to send one delegate to speak for the State."

After discussion, the sense of the meeting was that the Treasurer should send Mrs. Gougar a letter, informing her that, according to the National Constitution, if the Indiana W. S. A. wished to remain auxiliary, it must pay to the N. A. W. S. A. ten cents apiece for all its paid-up members.

The Plan of Work for the coming year was presented by Mrs. CATT and informally discussed.

Adjourned.

Thursday, January 23d, 1896.

9 A.M.

The preliminary Executive Committee Meeting was held at Hotel Arno.

Miss ANTHONY occupied the chair.

It was voted to dispense with the minutes of the last meeting.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. BLAKE, to recommend that a Congressional Committee be appointed to give information to delegates about calling on their Congressmen. Mrs. Blake agreed that the President appoint the Committee and suggested Mrs. Upton as its Chairman.

The Treasurer reported that several States had not paid their dues to her until after January 1st.

It was voted that the delegates from such States be seated this year.

Adjourned.

10 A.M.

The Convention was called to order by Miss ANTHONY, who said:

This is the twenty-eighth annual suffrage convention in Washington. The thought that brought us here twenty-eight years ago was that, if the National Constitution could be invoked to protect black men in the right to vote, the same great authority could be invoked to protect women. The question has been urged upon every Congress since 1869. We asked at first for a sixteenth amendment enfranchising women; then for suffrage under the fourteenth amendment; then, when the Supreme Court had decided that against us, we returned to the sixteenth amendment, and have pressed it ever since.

The same thing has been done in this Fifty-fourth Congress that has been done in every Congress for a decade, namely, the introduction of a bill providing for the new amendment. Mr. Northway, of Ohio, has introduced a bill in the House,

and Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, has a similar bill in the Senate.

You will notice that the seats of the delegation from Utah are marked by a large United States flag bearing three stars, a big one and two smaller ones. The big star is for Wyoming, because she stood alone for a quarter of a century as the only State where women voted. Colorado comes next, because she is the first State where a majority of the men ever voted to grant women equal rights. Then comes Utah, because the men of Utah, in convention assembled, in spite of the bad example of Congress, which took the right away from the women of Utah ten years ago,—the men of Utah, having seen the good effects of woman suffrage for years before that, voted by an overwhelming majority to leave out the little word "male" from the suffrage clause of their new State Constitution. Next year, if I am here, I hope to rejoice over California and Idaho, and the next year over several more. We have now three bricks laid down in the row. We have every reason for encouragement, none for discouragement. One sign of progress is that men in high places begin to talk back to us, instead of considering us unworthy of notice. They read the call for our Convention; and President Eliot, of Harvard, does not like it that we quote him.

Miss ANTHONY read the sentences from President Eliot's article, quoted in the call, and continued:

Now, friends, you all know I am a Quaker. We give thanks in silence. I do not think the heart of any one here has been fuller of silent thankfulness than mine; but I should not have remembered to have the meeting formally opened with prayer if somebody had not reminded me. Rev. Anna Shaw will offer prayer.

Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW offered prayer.

The roll was called by the Secretary, thirty-four States responding.

Greetings from Dr. CAROLINE B. WINSLOW were presented.

On motion of Rev. SHAW, a rising vote of thanks was given Dr. Winslow, and it was voted that a letter be sent her by the Corresponding Secretary.

Mrs. BLAKE moved the appointment of a Congressional Committee according to the recommendation of the preliminary Executive Committee meeting. Lillie Devereux Blake, Harriet Taylor Upton and Helen Morris Lewis were appointed upon this Committee.

It was voted that the program be considered the order of business for the Convention, with such changes as might be necessary.

The members of the Committee on Resolutions were nominated by the different State delegations, and announced as follows:

Arizona,	- -	Mrs. L. C. Hughes.
California,	- -	Emilie Gibbons Cohen.
Colorado,	- -	Harriet M. Teller.
Connecticut,	- -	Elizabeth D. Bacon.
Delaware,	- -	Margaret H. Kent.
District of Columbia,		Ellen Powell Thompson.
Illinois,	- -	Mary Louisa Haworth.
Indiana,	- -	Iva G. Wooden.
Kentucky,	- -	Sarah Hardin Sawyer.
Maine,	- -	Elizabeth U. Yates.
Maryland,	- -	Mary J. Williamson.
Massachusetts,	- -	Emma Clapp.
Mass. National,	- -	Catherine W. Bascom.
Michigan,	- -	Elizabeth A. Willard.
Minnesota,	- -	Sarah Vail Thompson.
Missouri,	- -	Victoria Conkling Whitney.
Montana,	- -	Harriet Sanders.
Nebraska,	- -	Mary H. Williams.
Nevada,	- -	Frances A. Williamson.
New Jersey,	- -	Laura H. Van Cise.
New York,	- -	Mariana W. Chapman.
North Carolina,	- -	Helen Morris Lewis.
North Dakota,	- -	Dr. Cora Smith Eaton.
Ohio,	- -	Harriet Brown Stanton.
Oklahoma,	- -	Mrs. R. W. Southard.
Pennsylvania,	- -	Mary Patterson Beaver.
Rhode Island,	- -	Mary O. Arnold.
South Carolina,	- -	Jean B. Lockwood.

South Dakota, -	Anna R. Simmons.
Utah - - -	Emily S. Richards.
Vermont, -	Alice Clinton Smith.
Virginia, - -	Elizabeth B. Dodge.
West Virginia, -	Annie Caldwell Boyd.

Other Committees were then appointed as follows:

Committee on Credentials: Harriet Taylor Upton, Isabel Howland, Laura A. Gregg.

Committee on Courtesies: Ellen Powell Thompson, Clara B. Colby.

Committee on Finance: Mary G. Hay, Harriet May Mills, Jessie J. Cassidy, Adda G. Quigley, Mary H. Williams.

Rev. ANNA H. SHAW then gave her address as Vice-President-at-Large. She said:

The report of my specific work as Vice-President-at-Large would not take long; but the work that really did count for our Association began last May, when your president and I were invited to California. On the way we stopped first at St. Louis, where Miss Anthony spoke before the Women's Federation and the Woman's Council, and assisted in reorganizing the Missouri W. S. A. There was great enthusiasm, and strong State and local organizations were formed. From there we went to Denver, where we had an extraordinary meeting, and a warm greeting was given to Miss Anthony by the newly enfranchised women of Colorado. It was pleasant to find them so grateful to the pioneers. The biggest opera house in Denver was packed, and a reception, in which the newspapers estimated that 1,500 persons took part, was afterwards given to Miss Anthony at the Palace Hotel.

From Denver we went to Cheyenne, where we addressed the citizens, men and women. For once, there were present at our meeting quite as many men as women, and not only ordinary but extraordinary men. After introducing us to the audience, Mrs. Therese Jenkins introduced the audience to us. It included the Governor, Senators, Representatives, Judges of the Supreme Court, city officials, and ever so many mayors and colonels. It showed that where women have a vote, men think that women's meetings are worth going to. We were the guests of the Governor during our stay in Colorado, and

guests of a Senator in Wyoming. These meetings were arranged by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.

Next, at Salt Lake, all the town turned out, and I spoke in the tabernacle to the largest audience I ever had. It was the easiest audience, too, for Utah people are accustomed to go to church and listen. At Ogden they had to take two buildings for the meeting. At Reno, Nevada, there was a large audience. The Congress at San Francisco was the most marvelous gathering I ever saw. The newspapers said the men were all hypnotized, or they would not stand on the sidewalk two hours to get into a church. Every subject considered in the whole week, whether it was the care of children or the decoration of the home, it all turned on the ballot for women, and Susan B. Anthony was the belle of the ball. This year the subject of the Congress is "Woman in Political Life," and it will all be woman suffrage from beginning to end. The superintendent of San Francisco closed the schools that Miss Anthony might address the 900 teachers. The Ministers' Associations passed resolutions favoring the amendment. The whole length of the State the meetings were just as enthusiastic.

The Citizens' Committee asked women to take part in the programme for the Fourth of July celebration. The women accepted more than the men meant they should. They appeared in the Literary Committee and asked that a woman should be on the programme. The Programme Committee refused, and the Citizens' Committee said if the Programme Committee did not put a woman on they should be discharged. They wanted Mrs. Cooper to provide sandwiches for over 5,000 kindergarten children, and this was the kind of work they invited women to do.

The Programme Committee discussed the matter, and their discussion could be heard four blocks away, but they finally yielded, and invited me to speak. So Miss Anthony and I rode for three miles in a highly decorated carriage, just behind the mayor, and followed by the brass band and the fire brigade, and I wore a big badge that almost covered me up, just like the badge worn by the masculine orator. The dispute between the Executive Committee and the Programme Committee had excited so much interest that there were more cheers for your

president and vice-president, as we passed along, than there were for the mayor.

While we were there the California W. S. A. was reorganized, with Mrs. Ellen Clark Sargent as president. The Woman's Congress also appointed an Amendment Campaign Committee, with Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper as chairman. This was in order to bring to bear in favor of the amendment the influence of the Congress, one of the most influential bodies on the Pacific Coast. It will add much to the social status of the movement. Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Sargent are working together in perfect harmony, and the two committees have united and formed a joint campaign committee.

You may ask me, Will the amendment carry in California? It certainly will, if we can get votes enough; and the spring campaign is to be undertaken in order to get them.

Mesdames Lockwood, Gist, Voorhis, Cromwell and Emerson were introduced as fraternal delegates from the National Woman's Press Association, and at Miss ANTHONY's request, the audience rose to receive them.

Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the Committee on Organization, was presented to the audience.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, Rachel Foster Avery, her report was read by ISABEL HOWLAND. (See report of Afternoon Session of Tuesday, January 28th).

Mrs. COLBY moved that the report of the Corresponding Secretary be adopted except the portion relating to the "Woman's Bible," and that that part be expunged.

Mrs. UPTON moved as an amendment that, in fairness to Mrs. Avery, who was necessarily absent from the Convention but would return later, the report be laid on the table.

After a brief discussion, the motion to lay on the table was carried.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 23D.

The President, Miss ANTHONY, made the opening address, prefacing it by a graceful acknowledgment, for the Convention, of the gift of the beautiful gavel she held, which had been sent by a Colorado woman, Minnie Henderson. The gavel is of handsome Colorado wood, ornamented with Colorado silver mountings.

Miss ANTHONY gave a graphic account of her trial many years ago on an accusation of illegal voting, telling how she was sentenced to a fine, which she did not pay; and how the judges of election who had received her vote were imprisoned for several days, and were fed on all sorts of dainties by the matrons of the city until they were pardoned out. Miss ANTHONY continued:

I get letters from all over the United States asking, "Why don't you claim suffrage for women under the Fourteenth Amendment?" We have tried that method thoroughly, even to imprisonment. The Supreme Court has decided against us. There remain two other ways of getting suffrage: by amendments to the constitutions of the different States, and by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for which we are asking to-day. This national method of work is especially valuable. The delegates assembled in this Convention from all over the Union have a hearing before the Congressional Committees, the reports of their speeches are printed by Congress, and are afterwards franked by members in favor of suffrage to their constituents all over the country. These doctrines have a great educational influence. Do you ask me whether a sixteenth amendment enfranchising women will be submitted by this Congress? I do not think that two-thirds of the members are yet educated up to it; but we are doing our best to educate them.

Miss ANTHONY was followed by CLARA BEWICK COLBY, upon "The Philosophy of Woman Suffrage," a thoughtful address.*

*See for almost full report, *The Woman's Tribune* of Feb. 1.

JULIE R. JENNEY, of Syracuse, New York, a member of the bar, gave an interesting talk upon "Law and the Ballot," showing that woman's present legal rights are in the nature of a license, and therefore revocable at the will of the bodies granting them, and that until women elect the law-makers they cannot be sure of any rights whatever.

"Between Daybreak and Sunrise" was the title of the address of MAY STOCKING KNAGGS, of Michigan, who pleaded for the opportunity of complete co-operation between men and women.

The evening program closed with the introduction of our California delegate, CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON, who spoke briefly and read two short original poems, and delighted the audience by both the manner and matter of her address.

Adjourned.

Friday, January 24th, 1896.

10 A.M.

Miss ANTHONY occupied the chair.

The prayer was offered by LAURA CLAY, of Kentucky.

A letter was read from MINNIE HENDERSON, of Grand Junction, Colorado, presenting to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association the gavel which was used at the previous evening session.

It was voted that the Corresponding Secretary send a letter of thanks, expressing also our joy in the enfranchisement of the women of Colorado.

The following report of Mrs. C. HOLT FLINT, chairman of the Committee on Entertainments, was read by EMMA SMITH DE VOE, and accepted:

"What help can be given a Club to aid in money raising in the way of entertainments?"

My year's experience in trying to help Clubs of Iowa by sending them free a list of entertainments by which they could raise money is this: Before a club will make any use of programs for entertainments there must be incorporated into it a *live* suffragist, one who believes equal suffrage to be vital to the maintenance of the home and the government.

We have got to meet the fact boldly, and assimilate such fact before laying any plans for the work; that the system of man's representing woman has destroyed all sense of honor in the great majority of women (and through the heritage she gives her children in the great majority of men), as to paying, or seeing paid, a pledge to which they have affixed their names. Few women have ready money, and they are obliged to run up bills in their husband's names for necessary expenses, and the husband pays the bills. The wife strives to forget them. One of the consequences of calling man the breadwinner because he furnishes the raw material and absorbs his wife's work and time in utilizing such material, is to make her lose honor in her dealings, for she has an innate sense that the time and labor which would bring her money if given to any

other man but her husband, ought to count any way. Constant injustice always hardens the conscience, and woman resorts to artifice to get money to pay church and school dues, and these take about all she feels like doing in that way.

My conclusion is, that we must dwell upon the need of men that women have the ballot for the sake of man's inheritance from her; that we meet the talk of the duties of mothers with the fact of what kind of mothers the system of man's representing woman has produced. Show that the salvation of the race depends upon efforts to advance equal suffrage. Make men see it, and you will have men and women working faithfully for equal suffrage that through its establishment church work may be permanent.

It was voted that in the published reports of the proceedings the Corresponding Secretary be authorized to eliminate from reports of committees all those portions not referring to the direct work of the committee.

A letter was read from Hon. CARRIE CLYDE HOLLY, member of the Colorado Legislature, in which she said:

"While one moiety of the people governed are deprived of suffrage, how can it be said that the 'consent' of those thus *left out* has been obtained in any just sense? What mockery! What tyranny!

"The young centennial state sends you greetings! On with the full emancipation of our race and sex! Forever wave the oriflamme of justice, humanity and equal rights!"

A letter was read from MAUD HARRIS, Superintendent of Franchise in the Missouri W. C. T. U., containing greetings and the following resolution:

Resolved, That the enfranchisement of women, upon the same basis as men, is not only just but necessary for the higher interests of our citizens and the Republic, and we pledge ourselves to talk, work and pray for this end until we obtain it. And to further this cause we recommend that W. C. T. U. women take the Course of Study laid down by the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, also J. U. Barnard's History and Government of Missouri."

Telegrams of greeting were read from SARAH B. COOPER, of California, and ELIZABETH GOODE HOUSTON, President of the Texas E. S. A.

It was voted that the Corresponding Secretary return greetings and acknowledgments to all these.

Mrs. CATHERINE E. HIRST, President of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, was introduced as a fraternal delegate, and made a brief address.

Miss ANTHONY read a note from Senator Call, of Florida, introducing Mr. R. H. Aguina, an American citizen of Cuban birth, who hoped the convention would pass a resolution of sympathy with the Cubans in their struggle for freedom.

Mrs. LILLIAN M. HOLLISTER, representing the Supreme Hive of Ladies of the Maccabees of the World, was introduced as a fraternal delegate, and presented greetings.

Miss HARRIETTE A. KEYSER was introduced as representing the Political Study Club of New York City.

Mrs. UPTON, as Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, read a list of the delegates present. (A complete list of those attending the Convention was given on Saturday morning.)

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON was introduced as the representative of the Pacific Coast Woman's Congress Association and of the California State Woman Suffrage Educational Association, and made a brief address.

The Treasurer's annual report was presented by Mrs. UPTON, and was accepted with a rising vote of thanks.*

GEORGE W. CATT spoke on the causes of the Utah victory. He said that we had learned many lessons heretofore from defeat, and that, having now a victory, we should strive to learn all possible lessons from it. He gave statistics as to membership of suffrage organizations in proportion to population in the states, and his deduction therefrom was that Utah owed her equal suffrage victory to the fact that she had an organization, in proportion to her population, many times larger than

* The Report of the Treasurer will be found immediately following the State Reports, towards the end of the pamphlet.

any other state or territory. His address was accompanied by the distribution of valuable statistical tables.

It was voted that Mr. CATT's paper be adopted as a leaflet of the N. A. W. S. A. for circulation.*

An inquiry was made as to whether the laws relating to women in all States could be found in any one book. Mrs. Lelia Robinson Sawtelle's "Law of Husband and Wife," was mentioned as the nearest thing to what was desired; but it is not up to date. Delegates from Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Massachusetts and South Dakota said that compilations of the laws relating to women had been made in those states. Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT said that the National American was going to try to compile and publish a book showing the laws of all the States.

Miss ANTHONY announced that the Association now had National Headquarters in Philadelphia, to which all inquiries on this and other subjects could be addressed.

Mrs. AVERY announced that the Business Committee had adopted a badge for the members of the Association. The design is a conventionalized sunflower with the figures 1848 in the centre, suspended from a bar on which the initials "N. A. W. S. A." appear. It is solid silver, the leaves gilded, the centre and the bar enameled in brown. The flower alone will also be made as a stick-pin for the same price. These badges are for sale at the headquarters at one dollar each, including postage, or at one dollar and eight cents registered. Money may be sent in stamps or by post-office order to the Secretary.

Unofficial Woman Suffrage stationery, with a design embodying sketch of the badge and the sentiment, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is for sale at twenty-five cents a quire, paper and envelopes, delivered at headquarters. Sent by mail a quire costs thirty cents.

Adjourned.

*This address is now for sale at the National Headquarters, 1341 Arch street, Philadelphia, at five cents a copy or twenty-five cents a dozen.

FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 24TH.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the Atlanta Convention, the short addresses or reports of State Presidents were placed on evening programs, and this was the first of the two Presidents' evenings of this Convention.

The audience was a large one, and the many speakers did themselves and the cause honor by their spicy and brief presentation of the different phases of the work which had come up in their respective States. The program, as given at the opening of these Minutes, was carried out.

Saturday, January 25th, 1896.

9 A.M.

An Executive Committee Meeting, called by the President, was held at Hotel Arno.

Miss ANTHONY was in the chair.

The President asked the representatives present from different States to give the names of such suffragists in their States as had died during the past year and ought to be remembered in the memorial resolutions. (For names see Memorial Hour, Monday morning session, January 27.)

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Mrs. K. E. B. HODGDON, Corresponding Secretary of the Seventeenth District W. C. T. U., of Missouri, asking the National-American Convention when it meets in St. Louis next June, to ask for a suffrage plank.

It was voted to instruct the Corresponding Secretary to acknowledge the invitation with thanks, and mention that, in accordance with our usual custom, this Association has already taken measures to have committees appear before all the National Political Conventions.

There was a discussion as to the seating of delegates who had either no credentials or irregular ones.

Mrs. UPTON moved that any person not having regular credentials but claiming to be a regularly accredited delegate, must sign a statement to that effect.

Miss CLAY recommended that delegates without regular credentials have the privileges of the floor but not the privilege of voting. Not carried.

A letter was read from ADDIE M. JOHNSON, the President of the Missouri E. S. A., naming Victoria Conkling Whitney as an alternate delegate from that State.

Mrs. BLAKE moved that the Executive Committee recommend that the part of the Corresponding Secretary's report criticising the Woman's Bible be left out, and the part stating that the Association had no connection with it be allowed to remain. She thought it desirable that some action on the subject be taken by the Executive Committee, so as to avoid further discussion in public if possible.

Miss ANTHONY said the first part of the clause was just as objectionable as the last. For the Association to pass this disclaimer will be but the beginning of an inquisitorial censorship to which there will be no end.

Mrs. BLAKE withdrew her motion.

Adjourned.

10 A.M.

Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Vice-President, occupied the chair.

The minutes of the previous session were read and approved.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Chairman, gave the following report of the Committee on Course of Study:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COURSE OF STUDY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.

At the last Annual Meeting a Committee was appointed to formulate a Course of Study in Political Science for the use and benefit of local members of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. The work of placing this Course of Study in the hands of the suffragists of the nation and of making all announcements in connection with it was placed in the hands of the Chairman of the Organization Committee. The Course of Study Committee met repeatedly during the months of winter and spring. There were so many divergent opinions as to what should constitute the Course of Study, and especially as to the amount of money the average student would be willing to pay for books, that the Prospectus announcing the Course was not ready for distribution until June 1st. At this time many of the clubs had adjourned their meet-

ings for the summer, and few clubs adopted the Course before September. We may, therefore, consider that it has been in operation for five months only. It seems almost needless to make any announcements of what this Course of Study is, or for what purpose it was formulated, since it has been thoroughly advertised among all the suffragists of our Association. However, we quote from the paragraph on the "Aim of the Department" as announced in the Prospectus: "Ere long the women of the United States will be voters. No one who reads the signs of the times will deny that fact. It is time to give attention to the qualifications this new class will bring into the political life of our country. The National-American Woman Suffrage Association desires to prepare every woman for an intelligent and conscientious use of the ballot. We would have her thoroughly understand that in a republican form of government it is the duty of each citizen to be watchful of the welfare of the whole, and where "each for all, and all for each" should be the motto. When such understanding of citizenship shall take possession of our people there will no longer be 'steals,' 'jobs,' 'fraudulent counts,' or other forms of corruption which to-day disgrace our land and threaten to destroy the institutions we hold most dear. We would so imbue the woman voter with the solemn obligation of the citizen that she will teach it to her sons and daughters together with the Commandments. We would so inculcate the principles of good citizenship in her heart that they will become a part of the daily religion of her household. We desire this great mass of voters to enter the body politic with such perfect understanding of the duties of the citizen and with such lofty aspirations for pure government that their enfranchisement will not only be instrumental in correcting many existing evils, but will lift the whole government to a higher and truer civilization than the world has yet seen." Again, I quote from the paragraph "For Whom Designed": "This Course of Study is prepared as nearly as possible to meet the demands of all classes of persons likely to be interested. We know full well that many of the pupils will be busy housewives, with time filled by the duties of life, and who can only command scattered moments for reading. We know, too, that there will be many who did not receive the benefits of education in youth. On the other hand, there will be the college graduate and the woman of

leisure, for whom study will be easier and whose ambitions may be broader. This Course of Study is planned to meet these differing conditions as nearly as possible. It is simple enough to be understood by all, and if only the books made obligatory by the Course of Study are read conscientiously, the pupil will be sure to possess at its completion a clear understanding of the mechanism of our government and a fair comprehension of the great political questions of the day. This much may be expected by every pupil, but if used as a basis, while the collateral reading recommended is pursued thoroughly, it may equal a University Course in its results."

The Course is designed to extend over three years. The first year is devoted to the study of the mechanism of the government. Fiske's Civil Government is a basis of the year's work. As collateral study, Swiss Solutions of American Problems, by W. D. McCrackan, was introduced. This little book deals with the reforms of "Proportional Representation" and the "Initiative and Referendum." As both of these reforms are proposed changes in the mechanism of the government they were introduced in the first year. In order to be true to our cause we determined to introduce into the study of each year some book upon woman suffrage. For the first year we adopted Mill's Subjection of Women. It was decided that the second year should consist of a study in Political Economy with a collateral study of the Tariff and Finance. The third year will be devoted to the study of Sociology and an examination of the leading political reforms of the day. It might be properly termed a year of general information. The second and third year are not yet ready to be reported to the public. We have had considerable difficulty to make the right kind of terms with publishers, and in a number of cases we have not yet found text-books suited to our purpose.

As soon as we decided to adopt Mill's Subjection of Women by unanimous vote, we made the discovery that the books were out of print and there were none to be had either in this country or in England. We believed the book was so valuable to the suffrage cause that it ought again to be introduced into use and popularity. We therefore made arrangements for the re-publication of the book, the whole edition to be owned by the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. We were met with the embarrassment of having no

money with which we felt ourselves authorized to pay for this edition. When money had been solicited at the Atlanta Convention for the Organization Fund nothing had been said about the Course of Study. Therefore, we did not feel that we could use any of the money pledged there for this purpose. In May we issued letters of appeal asking for funds to help in the organization work, and in doing so we asked permission to use this money for the Course of Study as well. We were, therefore, authorized to draw from this fund all that was necessary to put the Course of Study into operation. Before any books had been sold we had expended in preparations for the Course of Study \$207.83. This amount was borrowed from the Organization Fund. For this amount we had had printed an edition of one thousand copies of *Swiss Solutions of American Problems*, and had issued twenty-five hundred copies of our Prospectus. This Prospectus was sent to every club in the United States. A postal accompanied it announcing that the Course of Study was ready for consideration and urging the attention of the club to this new line of work. The Prospectus met with enthusiastic approval from the members of our Association, from the press and from the friends of good government everywhere. The general comment was that it was an important advance in the suffrage movement, and an effort which would win additional friends and co-workers.

We were able to make arrangements with the publishers of Fiske's *Civil Government* so that we received it at the same price at which it is furnished to the retail book-seller. The difference between the wholesale and retail price we divided with the student. Upon each Fiske's *Civil Government* the student has made five cents and the Course of Study Committee has made ten cents. We obtained the *Swiss Solutions* for twenty-five cents per copy. These sold in the market for twenty-five cents, thus permitting her to make five cents while we made three cents, since the books had to be stamped by us before sending through the mails. On *Mill's Subjection of Women* we have received a profit of eleven cents per copy. On one whole set of books the profit to the Course of Study fund has been twenty-four cents. From this profit we have been obliged

to furnish postage, wrapping paper and twine. During the year several applications have been made to us from booksellers for supplies of *Mill's Subjection*, and we have been requested to give wholesale prices upon these books; but we felt a wicked satisfaction in being monopolists, and invariably insisted on the full price to all buyers whether they were book-sellers or students of political science.

The Course of Study began its work with \$207.83 of debt to the Organization Fund. In September the orders for books began to come in. For each order we sent to the publishers of Fiske's *Civil Government* eighty-five cents, for which it was sent postpaid. Having all other stock on hand, we retained the remainder of the money. As fast as the orders came in money resulting from them was used to defray the expenses of the office, and in this way it was returned to the Organization Fund. During the five months in which the Course of Study has been in operation nearly five hundred full sets of books have been sold, and \$657.12 have been received from sales. Over one hundred clubs are now engaged in the pursuit of the study.

Financially, the Course of Study may be said to be in a promising and healthy condition. I append hereto a financial statement which will make plain to all its exact standing.

In my judgment there is no more hopeful sign of our times than the earnestness and enthusiasm with which the women of the United States have received and adopted this Course of Study in Political Science. It is evidence sufficient that the women who are asking for the ballot intend to fit themselves to wield it intelligently and wisely. It is one of the many symptoms visible in our land to-day which seem to indicate that we are on the eve of a bright to-morrow, when intelligence and patriotism shall assert their right to control the destiny of the nation. It presages the time sure to come when American citizenship will be regarded by all as a sacred duty to be fulfilled with earnest purpose and prayerful conscientiousness.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

Chairman Committee on Course of Study in Political Science.

STATEMENT NO. 1.

COURSE OF STUDY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.

JANUARY 1ST, 1896.

Advanced from Organization Fund by National Treasurer,	\$150 00
Advanced by Chairman of Organization Committee,	72 83
Total receipts from orders,	657 12
	<hr/> \$879 95
Paid for 1,000 Mill's Subjection of Women,	\$135 00
Paid for Fiske's Civil Government, Swiss Solutions, and sundry expense items, including postage, printing, wrapping paper, twine, etc.,	522 12
Refunded to Organization Fund,	219 17
Amount yet due to Organization Fund,	3 66
	<hr/> \$879 95

STATEMENT NO. 2.

RESOURCES AND LIABILITIES.

<i>Liabilities.</i>	
Amount due Organization Fund,	\$3 66
<i>Resources.</i>	
Stock on hand, 372 Mill, cost value,	\$50 22
" " 39 Swiss, cost value,	5 85
Total assets over liabilities,	52 41
	<hr/> \$56 07
	<hr/> \$56 07

It was voted that the report of the Committee on Course of Study be accepted.
 Mrs. Upton gave the following report as Chairman of the Committee on Credentials:

STATE.	ENTITLED.	PRESENT.	FEES.
ALABAMA	5	0	\$4 90
ARKANSAS	5	0	3 00
ARIZONA	5	2	2 00
John T. Hughes.			
Mrs. L. C. Hughes.			
CALIFORNIA	8	2	36 60
Emilie Gibbons Cohen.			
Charlotte Perkins Stetson.			
COLORADO	5	3	1 17
Annie L. Diggs			
Virginia Morrison Shafroth.			
Harriet M. Teller.			
CONNECTICUT	6	3	16 80
Mrs. L. D. Allen.			
Elizabeth D. Bacon.			
Caroline B. Buell.			
DELAWARE	6	4	10 80
Margaret H. Kent.			
Emma Lore.			
Mary Elizabeth Milligan.			
Adda G. Quigley.			
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	6	6	10 00
Bessie Boone Cheshire.			
Carrie E. Kent.			
Dr. Ella M. S. Marble.			
Ellen Powell Thompson.			
Helen Rand Tindall.			
Eliza Titus Ward.			
FLORIDA	5	0	5 75
GEORGIA	5	0	8 30
ILLINOIS	10	6	50 00
Emma Smith De Voe.			
Matilda S. Garrigus.			
Mary Louisa Haworth.			
Mrs. Frank L. Hubbard.			
Elmira Springer.			
Margaret Will.			
INDIANA	5	2	5 00
Mary G. Hay.			
Iva G. Wooden.			
IOWA	11	0	61 00
KANSAS	7	5	20 00
Katie R. Addison.			
Jennie Broderick.			
Laura A. Gregg.			
Laura M. Johns.			
Althea B. Stryker.			
KENTUCKY	7	7	20 00
Sally Clay Bennett.			
Mrs. E. H. Catchings.			
Total,	96	40	\$255 32

STATE.	ENTITLED.	PRESENT.	FEES.
<i>Forwarded</i>			
KENTUCKY (Continued)	96	40	\$255 32
Laura Clay.			
Sarah H. Sawyer.			
Amanthus Shipp.			
Mrs. M. R. Stockwell.			
Mary Wood.			
LOUISIANA			
MAINE	5	0	2 70
Elizabeth U. Yates.	5	1	8 00
MARYLAND			
Rebecca T. Miller.	5	5	5 60
Mary E. Moore.			
Mary Bentley Thomas.			
Martha S. Townsend.			
Mary J. Williamson.			
MASSACHUSETTS			
Henry B. Blackwell.	16	4	111 00
Emma Clapp.			
Mary Clarke Smith.			
Eliza R. Whiting.			
MASSACHUSETTS (National)			
Catherine W. Bascom.	5	2	2 00
Lavina A. Hatch.			
MICHIGAN			
Emma E. Bower.	6	5	13 90
Lillian M. Hollister.			
May Stocking Knaggs.			
Nettie McCloy.			
Elizabeth A. Willard.			
MINNESOTA			
Nina T. Cox.	5	3	7 50
Julia B. Nelson.			
Sarah Vail Thompson.			
MISSOURI			
J. B. Merwin.	5	2	6 80
Victoria Conkling Whitney.			
MONTANA			
Ella Knowles Haskell.	6	2	14 80
Harriet Sanders.			
NEBRASKA			
Clara Bewick Colby.	6	4	10 00
Ellen A. Herdman.			
Lena McCormick.			
Mary H. Williams.			
NEVADA			
Mary E. Rinkle.	5	3	7 10
Annie Warren.			
Frances A. Williamson.			
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Total,	5	0	2 00
	170	71	\$446 72

STATE.	ENTITLED.	PRESENT.	FEES.
<i>Forwarded,</i>			
NEW JERSEY	170	71	\$446 72
Mary D. Hussey.	6	2	11 70
Laura H. Van Cise.			
NEW MEXICO	5	0	2 60
NEW YORK	22	22	174 70
Mary S. Anthony.			
S. Augusta Armstrong.			
Lillie Devereux Blake.			
Victoria Bradley.			
Cornelia H. Cary.			
Jessie J. Cassidy.			
Carrie Chapman Catt.			
Margaret L. Chanler.			
Mariana W. Chapman.			
Mrs. M. A. Clinton.			
Elizabeth B. Curtis.			
Catherine G. Foote.			
Dr. M. Virginia Glauner.			
Emily Howland.			
Isabel Howland.			
Mary N. Hubbard.			
Julie R. Jenney.			
Harriette A. Keyser.			
Harriet May Mills.			
Margaret Morton.			
Mary B. Sackett.			
Kate Foster Warner.			
NORTH CAROLINA	5	2	3 70
Lilla Ripley Barnwell.			
Helen Morris Lewis.			
NORTH DAKOTA	5	1	8 00
Dr. Cora Smith Eaton.			
OHIO	9	7	40 00
Caroline McCullough Everhard.			
Elizabeth J. Hauser.			
Josephine King.			
Mary J. McMillan.			
Harriet B. Stanton.			
Dr. Viola Swift.			
Lydia A. D. Northway.			
OKLAHOMA	5	1	4 70
Mrs. R. W. Southard.			
OREGON	5	0	5 00
PENNSYLVANIA	12	10	73 50
Lucy E. Anthony.			
Rachel Foster Avery.			
Mary Patterson Beaver.			
Lucretia L. Blankenburg.			
Caroline Gibbons.			
Total,	244	116	\$770 62

STATE.	ENTITLED.	PRESENT.	FEES.
<i>Forwarded</i>	244	116	\$770 62
PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)			
Hetty Y. Hallowell.			
Mary L. Kent.			
Mary B. Luckie.			
Jacob Reese.			
Emily H. Saxton.			
RHODE ISLAND	7	1	20 40
Mary O. Arnold.			
SOUTH CAROLINA	6	2	16 50
Jean B. Lockwood.			
Virginia D. Young.			
SOUTH DAKOTA	6	3	11 10
Alice M. A. Pickler.			
Anna R. Simmons.			
Rev. G. Simmons.			
TENNESSEE	5	0	8 00
TEXAS	5	0	5 00
UTAH	7	4	31 50
Corinne M. Allen.			
Sarah A. Boyer.			
Mary E. Gilmer.			
Emily S. Richards.			
VERMONT	5	2	5 00
Mary N. Chase.			
Alice Clinton Smith.			
VIRGINIA	5	5	70
Elisan Brown.			
Elizabeth B. Dodge.			
Orra Langhorne.			
Georgia Gibson.			
Mary B. Wickersham.			
WASHINGTON	5	0	1 00
WEST VIRGINIA	6	5	10 10
Annie Caldwell Boyd.			
Jessie G. Manley.			
Florence M. Post.			
Florence Post.			
Mrs. George K. Wheat.			
WISCONSIN	6	0	18 60
Total,	307	138	\$898 52

Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, reported as follows:

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

The idea of an Organization Committee dates its existence from the annual meeting held in Atlanta January 31st to February 5th, 1895. It was conceived by the Plan of Work Committee, and was heartily endorsed by the Convention. That a report of its work may be more clearly understood, we repeat here a portion of the Plan of Work which outlined its duties and authority:

"We recommend that a standing Committee on Organization be nominated by the Business Committee, and elected by the convention, the committee to consist of five or more regular organizers. This committee will have charge of the work of National Organization during the coming year. It will perform its own correspondence, mapping out the routes, and placing organizers where, in its judgment, they are most needed. As it may not be possible to aid all states in one year, the service of organizers shall first be offered to the states now unorganized in the West and South; to the states where the organization is weak, and to those states where there is need of special work at this time. This is true in South Carolina and Utah, where constitutional conventions are soon to meet; in Tennessee, where there is likely to be a Constitutional Convention; in Idaho, where a woman suffrage amendment is already pending, and in Michigan, where an amendment may be submitted by the present Legislature. We recommend that every state shall hold at least one State Convention each year, for the election of officers and the transaction of state business. In all unorganized states, and in those states where local organizations exist, but where no State Association has yet been formed, the Committee on Organization will arrange to send speakers and organizers to help conduct such State Convention. We recommend that a fund of \$5,000 be raised to carry out this plan of organization. This fund must be placed in the N. A. W. S. A. treasury, to be held for this purpose and this purpose alone."

Under this plan, the work of organization accomplished would be limited only by the amount of money which could

be raised for its support. We were permitted to appeal to the convention for financial aid, and the sum of \$1884.16 was generously pledged to our committee. The newly-elected Committee on Organization then retired from the convention, and all the remaining hours of our stay in Atlanta were expended in planning the year's work.

The problem before us was one of gigantic and most discouraging dimensions. Ten states were without any form of organization whatever. Not even a club existed. In most of them we did not know the name and address of a single person to whom to apply for aid and co-operation. These states, Idaho, Montana, and North Dakota in the Northwest; Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma in the Southwest; Mississippi and West Virginia in the South, and Delaware in the East, were widely separated from each other by vast distances. It was an expensive undertaking to get an organizer to and from any one of these fields of work. Yet most of these states lay in a circle surrounding our little nucleus of suffrage states, Wyoming and Colorado, where there was every indication that our best chances for victorious campaigns would be found. Among them were three territories which should be encouraged to come into the Union as woman suffrage states. To neglect the great West, with its freedom from tradition, its liberality of thought, and its willingness to accept new ideas, certainly meant to postpone the final victory. At the other side of our continent lay the solid South. Only three of the fifteen Southern States had ever held a State Convention or elected officers by representation. In all of them, except Mississippi and West Virginia, a little coterie of brave women had stood for our cause. Strictly speaking, these little bands could not be called organizations. Yet in the face of opposition, even persecution more overwhelming than most of our delegates can possibly realize, they had stood staunch and true. They needed support and help. Through the eloquence of their chairman, Miss Laura Clay, most of us had been convinced that the South was ready to receive woman suffrage missionaries. Moreover, whenever a woman suffrage bill appeared in Congress, and we wished to count the forces for and against it, we had learned to begin by counting the solid vote of the fifteen Southern States in opposition. This fact also admonished us that the South must be converted. It

requires time to convert a people, and to neglect the South longer might mean defeat of our last measures in Congress when all was in readiness for a final victory. There was no time to lose. Utah and South Carolina were planning Constitutional Conventions. Idaho had already submitted an amendment. These states needed help, and it must be provided. To meet this great demand less than \$2,000 had been provided, and nearly all of this consisted in unpaid pledges. However, with the courage of our convictions, we unanimously concluded to expend the whole of the amount promised on the spring work, trusting that the evidence of work actually done would appeal to suffragists the nation over, and that new "sinews of war" would be provided to complete the work in the fall.

The National Association had never taken any supervision over local organization, and we found no form of supplies ready for use. In fact, so little attention has been paid to local organization that very few states had any form of local constitution. Whenever a club was organized, it either drew up its own constitution, or it was prepared by the organizer. There was no harmony of method, and in consequence organization had suffered in all directions. We therefore began our work by drafting a local and county constitution suitable to all states, and issued a little booklet on "Directions to Officers," containing suggestions for work and methods of carrying them out. These supplies have not only been placed in the hands of all new clubs organized under the auspices of our committee, but have been distributed free of cost in all the states whenever desired. Several states have adopted our local constitution, and a long step toward harmony of action has been taken by this means.

The South was our first field of labor. In the course of the year every Southern State except Texas, Florida, and Kentucky have received aid from our committee. A bold, aggressive tour of three months was arranged for Elizabeth U. Yates in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana. Her wit, eloquence, and womanliness won many converts, and new workers were enlisted in our cause. In West Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey Mrs. Annie L. Diggs did valiant service in awaking conservatism, and new friends were found to join our standard.

Mrs. Lide Meriwether also added clubs to our Association through her able services in Arkansas and Tennessee. Our best Southern work was done in South Carolina, where a Constitutional Convention had been called. The good work accomplished was made possible by the co-operation of the President, Mrs. Virginia D. Young, and the Vice-President, Mrs. A. Viola Neblett. Indeed, had it not been for the loyalty and determination of Mrs. Young and the executive ability and rare tact of Mrs. Neblett, we could never have done it at all. Mrs. Neblett acted in the capacity of traveling advance agent, and visited all the points where names of persons interested could not be obtained. By this means arrangements were made for meetings in every county seat of the state. In the four largest cities, Spartanburg, Greenville, Columbia, and Charleston, two days meetings were held, where all the speakers were congregated, and at which the President, Mrs. Young, presided. At these meetings, Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky, Miss Helen Morris Lewis, of North Carolina, Miss Elizabeth U. Yates, Mrs. Virginia D. Young, and Mrs. A. Viola Neblett were the chief speakers. They were aided by local talent, and excellent addresses were also given by our good friend, Gen. Hemphill, and Miss Florida Cunningham. At the close of these meetings the troupe divided. Miss Clay and Mrs. Young held meetings in one portion of the state, Mrs. Neblett and Miss Lewis in another, and Miss Yates in still another. Nearly all the towns visited had never heard a suffrage speech, and the subject was regarded as one of doubtful standing. Yet curiosity prompted the attendance of large audiences. At Charleston, reputed to be the most conservative city in the South, and where we had been assured there would not be a "baker's dozen" in attendance, the editor of the leading paper afterwards said, "It was the most distinguished audience which had gathered in that city for years." The newspapers of the state gave glowing accounts of the meetings. Their columns contained communications on the subject almost daily, and editorials pro and con were the order of the day. Audiences gathered from motives of curiosity to hear women speak; they went away to discuss the merits of the question they advocated. The reception of our cause was both surprising and encouraging. The campaign did inestimable service to the cause. Had it been possible to find means with which to repeat the work

of the spring, and thus influence still further the deliberations of the convention, we should have done so. As it was, all we could do was to send them Miss Laura Clay, who remained in Columbia nine weeks as a lobbyist for the convention. Mrs. Young and Mrs. Neblett also remained in Columbia at their own expense, until the final vote on woman suffrage was taken. A hearing was granted these ladies before a committee, and the unusual honor was paid them of a hearing before the body of the convention itself. We cannot pass this point without expressing publicly our gratitude to Miss Clay. She spent over four months during the year in South Carolina. She did not receive a penny for her services, and contributed a large part of her expenses. While such generosity is not always possible, yet it is appreciated by our committee. The fact that twenty-seven votes were cast for equal suffrage in a Constitutional Convention so conservative as to declare against divorce for any cause whatsoever, is evidence sufficient that the South is ready for the gospel of equal rights.

Mississippi and West Virginia had no organization when we began. Several clubs were organized in Mississippi. We had no money with which to hold a State Convention as we wished to do, and it did not seem just to discriminate between several good workers in the State and appoint one a temporary president. In consequence, it still has no State Association, but it is for all that in much better condition of organization than some other of the Southern States that have State Associations. We regard the work in West Virginia as our greatest triumph of the year. The Southern Committee for three years had striven by diligent correspondence to find interested suffragists in the State, and had failed. When the work of organization was placed in the hands of the Organization Committee not a single name could be given us. Yet we were able to make a few appointments in the spring for Mrs. Annie L. Diggs. She set many a mind to debating the question, but the subject was too new for organization. We attempted to make further appointments in the fall by correspondence for Rev. Henrietta G. Moore, but our efforts failed. It was evident more heroic methods must be employed. Therefore, in November the Secretary of the Organization Committee, Miss Mary G. Hay, went into West Virginia as an advance agent, and easily arranged a two-weeks series of meet-

ings. She then joined Miss Moore in the capacity of organizer, and under their direction a successful convention was held at Grafton. A good board of officers were elected and eight clubs were organized auxiliary to the new Association. The Association is energetic, healthy and promising. Several clubs are enthusiastically engaged upon the Course of Study; and others are planning further organization. From West Virginia Miss Moore and Miss Hay went to Delaware, stopping at Baltimore to help in the conduct of the Maryland Convention. In Delaware, Miss Hay again acted in the capacity of advance agent. Their labors closed with a fine convention in Wilmington, where a good Association was formed and four clubs were organized auxiliary to it. The work in West Virginia and Delaware was accomplished in five weeks and a half, and was most gratifying in its results, since in neither West Virginia or Delaware had we been able to secure co-operation by correspondence. An interested member of the Delaware Association declared that "the persuasive eloquence of the one and the executive push of the other made Miss Moore and Miss Hay a combination which could not fail to wrest victory from the barrenest conditions."

The work in the South was not so fruitful of organization as we had hoped. While a good many clubs were reported by the organizers, many of them failed to survive the ridicule and persecution with which they were welcomed by their townspeople. The history of these clubs was pathetic in the extreme, and many made heroic efforts to withstand the tide of opposition. We must consider the Southern work of this year as pioneering, and the tours of our representatives as merely "blazing the way" for that which is to follow. We have found new friends and helpers. We have given encouragement and hope to many a faithful soul. We have enlisted under our standard some of the strongest and best people of the South. If we will persistently follow the path thus blazed and made plain, the South will yet be organized, and the votes of the fifteen states now solidly opposed to woman suffrage in Congress, will be changed, through the influence of their constituency, to solid advocacy of our cause.

In the West, Utah and Idaho stood in immediate need of help. A tour across the continent was arranged by our Committee

for our President and Vice-President, with meetings at Denver, Cheyenne, Salt Lake, Ogden and Reno. In Salt Lake City a Conference was planned by our Committee as an initiative to the expected campaign. It was attended by our President and Vice-President and delegates from the adjoining states. By the time it was held, conditions had changed happily, and no further assistance was required. California had submitted an amendment, but independently called for no outside help. By her invitation and arrangement Susan B. Anthony and Rev. Anna Shaw went to San Francisco in May to attend the Pacific Coast Conference. They remained for an extended tour through the State, and multitudes turned out to do them honor. In the fall Miss Shaw returned for six weeks of hard work. The California Association is one of unusual sagacity and determination, and with the aid of the executive advice of our President and the eloquence of our Vice-President, a successful campaign is promised.

In Idaho a thorough canvas of the State was made by Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, in connection with a tour of Montana. The whole trip extended over three months, and most excellent results followed. All the more important towns in both states were visited, and clubs or committees were formed in all of them. In Idaho, twenty-three clubs had been made auxiliary to the State, and in Montana fourteen. In both states some of these clubs are now defunct, or at least idle, and need still more help to galvanize them into activity. It is plain one visitation to a town to which the cause is entirely new, is not sufficient to create permanent results. When it is understood that at the time we began to make the arrangements for Mrs. DeVoe's tour, we did not have the name of a single person in Idaho who was interested in our cause, and but two names in Montana, the results as they stand should be satisfactory. Many times it was impossible to make the arrangements for meetings perfectly, but in all such circumstances, with the brave spirit of a true pioneer, Mrs. DeVoe acted as advance agent, lecturer and organizer all combined. These States were grateful for the help rendered, and enthusiastic and sincere in their praise of Mrs. DeVoe's services. There had been suffragists in both states, but they were unknown to each other. Each one believed she was alone in her faith, and dreaded to make a public movement. Now these scattered

advocates are gathered together into an active, living force. In the fall Montana held a State Convention at Helena, where a State Association was organized by the Chairman of the Organization Committee. In Idaho the workers held their own convention and organized their State Association without outside help. In the fall Mrs. DeVoe visited Nevada. Here we found one club, valiant and strong, at Austin, and good friends at Reno, but in several of the towns we could get no names. We felt sure there must be suffragists there, but we could get no trace of them. Again Mrs. DeVoe acted as advance agent for herself, making her own arrangements at several places. In several of these towns where by correspondence we could secure no co-operation good clubs were formed. Her labors ended in a State Convention at Reno, where a strong State Association was formed. It is believed Nevada has the strongest organization in the United States in proportion to its population. The Association cannot express its approbation too strongly of the masterly manner in which Mrs. DeVoe conquered the adverse conditions of Nevada.

Mrs. Laura M. Johns visited Minnesota and North Dakota in September and October. North Dakota was an unorganized state, but to make the trip less expensive, work in Minnesota was joined with it. Several clubs were organized in Minnesota. In North Dakota clubs were established in the chief towns of the state, and a State Convention was held in Grafton, where a State Association was formed. From North Dakota Mrs. Johns returned to Kansas, attended her own annual meeting, and hastened on to Arizona, where a Territorial Convention was ready for her superintendence. An association thoroughly alive to the needs of the work, and determined to bring Arizona into the Union as a suffrage state, was formed. In New Mexico several towns were visited and clubs were organized. We could secure no co-operation in a Territorial Convention, so that no regular Territorial Association was formed. Temporary officers were appointed to serve until further help can be sent to the territory. The work in Arizona and New Mexico was not so thoroughly done as it would have been with more time, but again the way has been blazed and the standard of Equal Rights has been planted. Mrs. Johns deserves the title of Pioneer after her fearless grappling with the difficulties in the way of the work in these two territories.

Both territories were profuse in the expression of gratitude for the aid sent them. No higher compliment can be paid Mrs. Johns for her work in North Dakota, Arizona and New Mexico than the fact that from all three of them there has come to us urgent appeals to return her for future work.

In Oklahoma excellent work was done by Miss Laura Gregg. A number of clubs were organized, and the work ended with a convention in Guthrie, where a Territorial Association of high promise was organized. Oklahoma, without doubt, will hold a Constitutional Convention before the year is out, and there is now a suffrage constituency to remind it that an ideal government knows "no sex in citizenship." We regard Miss Gregg as a valuable ally, of whom we shall doubtless hear much more in the future.

Last year the State of Missouri paid no dues. Upon inquiry the President announced that the old association was dead, whereupon, Miss Anthony called a convention in connection with the Mississippi Valley Conference, and new officers were elected. To support this new administration, the Organization Committee sent Mrs. Anna R. Simmons to Missouri and gave the state two months' work. Mrs. Simmons also visited the Black Hills and Nebraska, and organized clubs in all three of these states.

In order to know more of the real status of organization of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, we made an effort in the spring to ascertain the number of suffrage clubs in existence. Not a person in the whole Association could tell how many there were. Upon application to the State Presidents for lists of their clubs, we found most states had no such list, and had no definite knowledge of the number in the state. By patient work throughout the year we have compiled a National Club Directory. For the first time it is now possible to announce our standing in local organization. It is a pitiful statement, but possibly the truth will awaken the Association to activity. In the whole nation there are but eight hundred clubs alive and active. Of these, one hundred were brought into existence by the Organization Committee this year. In other words, one eighth of all local organization in existence has been accomplished in this one year by our Committee.

To summarize the year's work we may say that fourteen

persons have served as organizers under the auspices of our committee. Five hundred and ten meetings have been held. Nine State Conventions have been held under our supervision, and ten State Associations have been organized. Aid in the way of organization has been given to thirty-one states. Over one hundred clubs have been organized, which we believe at this writing to be alive and active. The work has been done with bold strokes in an effort to lay a foundation for perfect organization. It remains to the future to build upon it and to increase its strength and usefulness.

In addition to this work of organization, the committee has issued since September a monthly BULLETIN. This little paper is sent free of cost to the president of each local club, and is designed for the use of all the members. It contains little news save that of organization. It suggests what to do and how to do it. It is not designed to keep the reader informed upon the ethics of woman suffrage, but to inspire her to do practical work to bring the reality. Its usefulness has been tested, and we believe it has already performed a great work in strengthening local organizations.

In accordance with the Plan of Work, we recommended the observance of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's birthday as a fitting occasion for the diffusion of suffrage sentiment. The BULLETIN gave suggestions of programs, and announced the preparations of souvenirs, which might add a flavor of sentiment to the celebrations. It is impossible to state the exact number of celebrations which were held, but at least one hundred clubs held some kind of exercises in its honor. Ten thousand of the souvenirs were distributed from Maine to California, and are doubtless still prized in the homes of those who received them.

The report of the Organization Committee naturally divides itself into a report of the work accomplished and an account of the disbursement of the organization fund. Every person who has given a single penny to this work has a perfect right to know exactly how it has been expended. It will be remembered that in planning our spring work, we had appropriated the whole of the fund pledged at Atlanta. Our ignorance of the real nature of the work before us can be no better evidenced than in the fact that it did not occur to any of us there would be office expenses. We made no account of postage, stationery or clerks. The duty of carrying out the plans of the com-

mittee was put into the hands of the chairman. She had confidently expected to perform the office labor herself. However, within three weeks the work pressed so heavily that exhausted nature could do no more, and a stenographer was called in. Even this relief was only temporary. Eight speakers were in the field at this time. In April, the secretary of the Committee, Mary G. Hay, came into the office and remained until October. To her energy, suggestions, and practical sense much of the success of the year's work is due. Nearly all the time three persons have given conscientious attention to the office work from morning until night. During the year over seven thousand letters have been written, exclusive of postal cards, an average of thirty letters per day. In addition to the work of the typewriter, three quarts of ink have been distributed by our office in letters written by hand. I believe it would be nearly a correct statement to say that ten letters have been written for every appointment made. We have expended in office work during the year nearly as much money as has been paid on the Atlanta pledges. Yet looking back over the year's work, I am unable to see where any expenditure could have been avoided. While our spring work was in progress the National Treasurer addressed each person who had pledged money to our organization fund, and reported to us that not more than \$600.00 could be collected at that time. Some of this money had already been used in office expenses. Within a month our organizers would return from the field and we would owe them at least \$1200 for expenses and salaries. The distress which this news from the treasurer brought us can hardly be conceived. At once we issued appeals for help as persuasive as we could make them, and the responses were so generous that every bill was met promptly. Yet from this time we were never free from financial burdens, and much time, thought and strength, which ought to have been expended upon the work in hand, was exhausted in our efforts to find means by which to meet our obligations.

The work of the spring over, it was a grave question as to whether we should attempt any work for the fall. Our department of the treasury was empty again, but the remaining amount of the Atlanta pledges, and the generous pledges taken by organizers in the field, encouraged us to go on. In August we issued further appeals, and in October we sent out still

another installment of letters imploring aid. By this time we were aware that much of the amount expected from the Atlanta pledges would not be forthcoming, and that the clubs were not to be relied upon to pay their pledges in time to meet our obligations. Desperate efforts were therefore made to increase our fund. In December another batch of letters went from our office. To aid, also, in the work, we issued the Woman Suffrage Calendar, which brought us in a handsome profit for the fund. We established a Shopping Agency under the superintendence of Miss Jessie J. Cassidy, which also gave us some financial aid. After every other resource had been exhausted, the National President came to our assistance, and over her own signature appealed for aid for our Committee. The letters went forth just after the holidays, at a time when dollars were scarce, but, nevertheless, the magic of her name brought the needed relief. The receipts for the whole year, resulting from all sources, have been \$5,498.48. The disbursements have been \$5,498.48. I have prepared two statements of our finances, one giving an itemized account of our office expenses, the other an account of the whole fund. I will ask each delegate to study these statements. If any contributor to our fund desires a closer investigation into our accounts he or she is at liberty to consult our books.

In conclusion, let me say that the best result of the year's work cannot be reduced to statistical statements. It consists in a change of sentiment concerning the possibilities of organization. In the spring we sent a letter to each State President, appealing to her to try to double the organization in her state during the year. Many presidents did not deign to reply. Others wrote to declare the impossibility of organization. Some went so far as to say they did not believe in organization, and still others wrote that a distinctly suffrage organization could never accomplish the work. Among them all, only two declared their willingness and determination to increase the organization in their states. But as the months have gone by our correspondence has indicated a steady and permanent change of opinion. Under the influence of organization actually accomplished, many of the indifferent have awakened into activity. Many of the discouraged have been inspired with new hope. New workers, new strength, new possibilities have been given our Association. The prospects of organization

are far brighter and more promising than they were a year ago. The symptoms are apparent on all sides that the apathetic are at last being aroused to the needs and importance of organization. This fact we regard as the best result of the year's work.

It is an old proverb that "hindsight is better than foresight." Our plans have not all been carried out. We did not find conditions as we expected. The results are not those we anticipated. Yet taking conditions as we found them, we have performed earnest and conscientious service in an endeavor to bring forth the best results possible. To the national officers, from whom we have received the most sympathetic coöperation, and to the many friends of the cause, who have stood at all times ready to help bear the burdens of the year, we feel a tenderer gratitude than it is possible for words to express. To the many, many suffragists who have aided the work financially during the year we are heartily grateful, and trust an examination of the work accomplished will satisfy them that the money was well expended.

Our Committee are more than ever convinced that it is possible to build a great organization based upon the one platform of the enfranchisement of women. With harmony, coöperation and determination we shall yet build an organization of such numbers and political strength that through the power of constituency it can dictate at least one plank in the platform of every political party, and secure an amendment from any Legislature it petitions. We believe it will yet have its auxiliaries in every village and hamlet, township and school district, to influence majorities when the amendment is submitted. More we believe ere many years its powers will be so subtle and widespread, it can besiege the conservatism of Congress itself, and come away with the laurel wreath of victory.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, *Chairman.*

MARY G. HAY,	EMMA SMITH DE VOE,
LAURA M. JOHNS,	LIDE MERIWETHER,
JOSEPHINE K. HENRY.	

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.

OFFICE ACCOUNT WITH NATIONAL TREASURER.

Receipts.

April 15th.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	\$ 60 00
" 30th.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	100 00
May 2d.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	60 00
June 5th.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	44 12
" "	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	100 00
" 29th.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	23 93
" "	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	85 00
July 27th.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	50 50
Aug. 26th.	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	25 00
" 28th.	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	25 00
Sept. 1st.	To cash from Treasurer to Chairman of Committee	45 00
" 26th.	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	30 00
Oct. 5th.	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	100 00
" "	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	26 19
" 12th.	To cash from Treasurer to Miss Hay	10 00
" "	To cash from Mr. and Mrs. Catt	185 00
Dec. 10th.	To cash stamps sold	55
" 30th.	To cash sale of souvenirs	19 19
Jan. 18th.	To cash Course of Study	142 68
" "	To cash transferred from account, National Treasurer, for printing by Leverich	69 00
" "	To cash transferred from account, National Treasurer, for printing by Perry	20 95
" "	To cash National Treasurer for incidentals	5 00
" "	To cash transferred from Calendar Fund	56 08
" "	To cash NATIONAL SUFFRAGE BULLETIN	17 75
" "	To cash National Treasurer	6 42
		<hr/>
		\$1,307 36

Disbursements.

<i>Disbursements.</i>		\$1,307 36
By cash, Miss Hay for clerical service		
" stenographers		\$521 19
" rent of typewriters		287 05
" stationery and printing		71 25
" stamps and postals		121 42
" sundries, office supplies, telegrams, etc.		165 90
" NATIONAL SUFFRAGE BULLETIN		91 36
		49 19
		<hr/>
		\$1,307 36

STATEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION FUND.

Receipts.

Receipts.	
Collected of the \$1,884.16 pledged at Atlanta	\$1,276 66
Collections of speakers in the field	1,542 92
Personal contributions made to organizers	118 50
Profit on calendars	220 61
Receipts from BULLETIN	17 75
Collected on pledges made to organizers	214 50
Collected by efforts of organization office	1,950 44
Anthony Fund	157 10
	<hr/>
	\$5,498 48

Disbursements.

Disbursements.

Expended on traveling expenses and salaries of organizers	\$4,175	36
Expended in office, including all clerk hire, postage, printing, stationery, supplies, etc.	1,307	36
Incidentals paid by Treasurer	12	10
Loss on "Course of Study"	3	66
	<hr/>	
	\$5,498	48

The report of the Organization Committee was accepted with a rising vote of thanks.

The following sums were pledged toward the work of the Organization Committee for the coming year :

Emily Howland, New York,	\$300
Jacob Reese, Pa.,	100
Caroline McCullough Everhard, Ohio, personally,	100
For Ohio,	100
(Both these pledges to be used in Ohio.)	
Emma Smith De Voe, Ill.,	100
Julia B. Nelson, for Minnesota,	100
(To be paid in money or in work.)	
Alice Stone Blackwell, for Massachusetts or self,	100
Dr. Mary D. Hussey, for New Jersey,	100
Ellen Powell Thompson, for the District of Columbia Association,	100
Lucretia L. Blankenburg, for Pennsylvania,	100
Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, for North Dakota,	100
(Will try to have North Dakota raise it.)	
Mary Elizabeth Milligan, for Delaware,	100
Dr. Margaret Morton, for Rochester, N. Y., Club,	100
Jessie G. Manley, for West Virginia,	100
(Promised to try to raise it.)	
Harriet Sanders, for Montana,	100
(Promised to try to raise it; to be spent in Montana.)	

Victoria Conkling Whitney, for Missouri, (And as much more as possible.)	100
Susan B. Anthony, (So that New York will contribute a full thousand, including \$300 pledged by Miss Howland, and \$100 by Dr. Morton.)	600
Frances A. Williamson, for Nevada, (If it can be raised.)	100
Lucretia L. Blankenburg, for Pennsylvania (second pledge),	100
Anna R. Simmons, for South Dakota, (She and Mrs. Pickler promised to raise it.)	50
Dr. Brewster, of Baltimore, (To be used for Maryland.)	50
John T. Hughes, for Arizona,	50
Elizabeth U. Yates, Maine,	25
Mary G. Hay, Indiana,	25
Mary E. Gilmer, Utah,	10
Laura Clay, Kentucky, (Promised to try to get Kentucky Clubs to raise \$10 each.)	25
Sarah T. Miller, Maryland,	25
Laura H. Van Cise, New Jersey,	25
Laura M. Johns, Kansas,	25
Lucy E. Anthony, Pennsylvania,	25
Caroline Gibbons, Pennsylvania,	10
Dr. Ella M. S. Marble, D. C., for her grandson, Jacob Reese, Pennsylvania, (To make his pledge \$110, which will be ten dollars each for his eleven grandchildren.)	10
Adda G. Quigley, Delaware,	25
Students' Equal Suffrage Club of District of Columbia,	10
Lavina A. Hatch, Massachusetts,	10
Mary Clarke Smith, for Wellesley League,	10
Harriet B. Stanton, Ohio,	5
Elizabeth D. Bacon, Connecticut,	10
Alice Canfield, New Jersey,	5
A Friend,	100
CORNELIA H. CARY, of Brooklyn, pledged \$100 toward Miss Anthony's \$600.	
JACOB REESE promised \$100 more if we secure another star for the Woman Suffrage flag this year.	
It was voted on motion of Mrs. DE VOE, seconded by Mrs. PICKLER, that delegates urge their Congressmen to be present to witness our welcome to Utah on Monday evening.	
Adjourned.	

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 25TH, 1896.

2.30 O'CLOCK.

The meeting was called to order by Rev. ANNA SHAW, but on Miss ANTHONY's arrival soon after, Miss SHAW yielded the chair.

Prayer was offered by Mrs. STRYKER, of Kansas.
The National Organizers then gave their reports.

ELIZABETH U. YATES, of Maine, said in part:

During the past year I have spoken for woman suffrage in sixteen States. Three months were spent in seven of the Southern States. The movement there is fortunate in its leaders. They are indeed precious; but at the same time they are "precious few." The South is ready for the seed-sowing, but not yet for the harvest. We met with a great deal of opposition among clergymen. The ministers are more opposed in the South than elsewhere, although there are exceptions. It would be better to be getting ready for the inevitable. In one place the local paper warned the people not to go to hear this northern savage who had come to break up the Democratic party. The consequence was that I had a large audience, including every member of the bar in that town, except one who was sick in bed.

In a college town three deputations of young ladies asked the president's permission to attend our meetings, but in vain. He said he should never be able to get another dollar of appropriation for the college from the Legislature if he let them go. He had to creep behind the whole panoply of the commonwealth to hide his personal prejudice.

In South Carolina we had large audiences and cordial press notices.

At present I am fresh from Colorado by way of Kansas and Canada. I can testify that where women vote, husband's socks are darned and babies are well cared for, and equal suffrage is bringing forth a fruitage of good both for the home and the State.

ANNA R. SIMMONS, of South Dakota:

I have been working for eighteen years in the W. C. T. U. It took two winters of legislative work to convince me of the need of the ballot. I am glad I see it at last. I went to Pierre with another woman to work against certain legislation proposed in the interest of the liquor business. I found that we might as well go out, we two women, and try to dam the Mississippi or the Missouri River with our bare hands. Another thing I found out was that it does not pay to go to the Legislature and ask for suffrage as W. C. T. U. women, because they think you only want it as an anti-liquor measure; whereas, every true woman wants it for many other things. We asked for the ballot as W. C. T. U. women, and failed by one vote. If we had gone as representatives of the Equal Suffrage Association, it would have carried.

Good work for equal suffrage is going on all over South Dakota. I never did any organizing for the W. S. A. till last spring. I had a very pleasant trip through the Black Hills, and found that equal suffrage will certainly carry there when submitted to the voters. Next I visited four towns in Nebraska, and found a good sentiment there; and then I went down to Missouri, and found it a delightful State, and white for the harvest. I visited seventeen towns in Missouri, and had a most warm-hearted reception everywhere.

EMMA SMITH DE VOE:

So long as the mothers of the race live in an atmosphere of subserviency, inharmony and dependence, so long will they bear children to fill the alms-houses, asylums and prisons. Teach the mothers self-reliance, let them aspire to individuality, guide them from the dusty way up to the starry way: then will their offspring reflect soul-qualities—health, intellect, symmetry of form—that delight the world.

Give to the mother the fullest freedom, because she cannot bequeath to her child that which she does not possess.

My organizing work for the N. A. W. S. A. since the last meeting has been done in Minnesota, Montana, Idaho and Nevada. I have traveled 12,180 miles, given 61 evening addresses, held 49 afternoon meetings, collected \$511.13 in cash and \$1,810 in pledges, organized 12 clubs and two committees in Montana, with a total membership of 269; 23 clubs in Idaho,

with a membership of 860; and 10 clubs in Nevada, with a membership of 175. My total traveling and other expenses have been \$513.32.

LAURA M. JOHNS gave up her time on the programme to the Plan of Work Committee. The wife and son of the Governor of Arizona took occasion during the Convention to eulogize most warmly Mrs. Johns' work in Arizona, and to urge that she be sent to them again.

LAURA CLAY:

I wish to speak in regard to the prejudice and ridicule with which Woman Suffrage is said to meet in the South.

The opposition to Woman Suffrage in the South is wholly a matter of conservatism and ignorance. Southern women are no less intelligent, progressive and open-minded than the women of any other section, but they have had other things to do. They have had the whole weight of a social problem upon their hands, and they have had to bear the burdens left by the war. They have not had time to think much about the "new woman," but they have *been* new women.

The opposition of Southern ministers is largely due to their belief that the Bible is against it. Whenever our women will go to them learned in the Scriptures as Priscilla was, they can soon convert the ministers. One of our Kentucky delegates now present in this convention has converted Methodist ministers by the score. I believe the South is just as hopeful a field as the West.

Owing to the brief time remaining neither Miss Hay nor Miss Gregg gave any report of their work.

Before presenting the report of the Committee on Plan of Work for the coming year Mrs. CATT, its Chairman, said: "In November, 1895, Miss ANTHONY reappointed last year's Committee on Plan of Work to render the same service for 1896. We, as a committee, were not satisfied to draw up the plan by ourselves, but, in order to secure all possible co-operation, and to give every one interested an opportunity to present their suggestions as to work, letters were sent to all the State Presidents requesting

their interest and inviting their suggestions. The document which I shall present to you is the result of this correspondence, together with the work of your Committee.

Mrs. CATT then read the Report in full, which was adopted.

The President then called the Vice-President to the chair and addressed the convention upon the advisability of organizing upon political boundary lines, and beginning the political part of the work of agitation in the ward meetings instead of at the national political conventions.

By vote of the Convention Miss Anthony was requested to write out her plan and incorporate it into the Plan of Work for 1896.

At this point Dr. CLARA A. McNAUGHTON, of Washington, was introduced and reported upon her plan of having the suffragists purchase the portrait of Miss Anthony painted by Jerome Uhl, and at present on exhibition at Hotel Arno, to place it in one of the Washington Galleries; she had not succeeded in raising the money, and the painting belongs to the artist and is for sale.

Miss ISABEL HOWLAND spoke of the Manual for Local Clubs prepared by HARRIET MAY MILLS and herself, which New York State had intended to publish, but which was still in MS., and advocated its use by all new clubs.

Mrs. AVERY stated that she had examined the Manual and considered it excellently adapted to the needs of new clubs, and moved that it be published by the N. A. W. S. A. and sold from the headquarters, and that this recommendation be incorporated into the Plan of Work. Carried.

REPORT OF THE PLAN OF WORK COMMITTEE.

Believing that the surest path to victory lies in the united, earnest and harmonious effort of a great and powerful organization, based upon the one claim of "no sex in citizenship," we recommend that the chief line of work for the coming year shall be further organization. Last year the Plan of Work

Committee said: "We believe that three things are of supreme and immediate importance.

1. A practical plan of organization, which shall unite in State and National Associations sufficient numbers to fairly represent the true status of the question in the minds of the public.

2. A method to bind the clubs more closely to the State and National Associations, and to find a means of keeping every club organized and alive until the complete enfranchisement of women shall relieve it of further responsibility.

3. Methods to raise money with which to conduct the necessary work of organization."

In 1896 we believe still that these three things are of "supreme and immediate importance." We believe the confidence established in the possibilities of organization resulting from the successes of 1895 will inspire each member of the Association to resolve that twice the amount of money shall be expended for this work in 1896, and every member should join in the ambition to assist in producing a double club membership by the next Annual Meeting in 1897.

ORGANIZATION.

We recommend that a standing Committee on Organization be continued, and that it be nominated by the Business Committee and elected by the convention, as last year. Through the generosity of our "Lady Bountiful," Mrs. Southworth, the National-American Woman Suffrage Association has been enabled to establish a headquarters in Philadelphia. We have long needed a central point from which our work could be issued, and that we have at last established a headquarters in a business block is a step indicative of increased dignity and prosperity. It is now eminently proper that as much of the organization work as possible shall be placed in the headquarters. We recommend that the publication and mailing of the *Bulletin* and all business connected with it shall be placed in the headquarters. We recommend, also, that the clerical work necessarily arising from the orders and mailing of books in the course of study be transferred to Philadelphia. It has been demonstrated that a comparatively large sum is required for clerk hire in order to do a correspondence necessary to efficient field work. If double the money is to be expended

in the field the coming year, we must expect to pay a sum proportionately larger for office expenses. We therefore recommend that a regular clerk be allowed the Organization Committee and that an office be provided by the committee convenient to its chairman.

We recommend that each lecturer employed by the Organization Committee shall be authorized to use the title, "Lecturer and Organizer of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association."

We recommend that the provisions in the Plan of Work of 1895, that "the plans of the Committee on Organization shall be approved by the Business Committee before being carried into execution," and that "the Business Committee shall make a contract with each organizer employed as to financial remuneration," be adopted for 1896.

We recommend that the Organization Committee be instructed to aid in strengthening and increasing the organization of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma. These states surround our nucleus of suffrage states, where the greater promise of the early enfranchisement of women is to be found. The work so well begun in these states this year should be continued until all are fitted for campaigns. We recommend especial attention to Idaho, where an amendment will be voted on in November, to Arizona and Oklahoma, where constitutional conventions may be called during the year, and to Nevada, where an amendment has passed one Legislature.

We recommend especial help in organization for Delaware, where a constitutional convention is expected soon.

We recommend that each Southern State, not yet well enough organized to hold state conventions and elect its officers by representation, shall be aided in organization, but in the event any Southern State decides to hold a constitutional convention, the work of the South shall be concentrated upon that one State. As Virginia stands at the foot of our list of States in point of organization, we urge especial help for that State.

We recommend that each State appoint an Organization Committee to push the work of State Organization. We urge especially that each State, so far as possible, shall effect organization in each county.

WORK FOR CLUBS.

We recommend the continuation and financial support of the Course of Study in Political Science.

We recommend the continuation of the *National Suffrage Bulletin* as an economical and simple method of communication with the local club.

We recommend that blank books suitable for secretaries and treasurers, order books, and other supplies necessary for local clubs shall be kept in stock at the headquarters, where they can be sold at low rates to all clubs. We recommend that letter paper with a printed head suitable to all local clubs be provided at headquarters and sold to all who desire it.

We recommend that the Business Committee shall appoint a committee of three to prepare a series of booklets on the biographies of the early leaders of the woman suffrage movement. These biographies must be brief enough to be read at a programme meeting of any club. We believe a more intimate knowledge of the personality, the character and sacrifices of these leaders will not only interest all local workers, but will inspire them with fresh resolution to serve our cause. These biographies should be sold to the local club and all others desiring them at low rates.

We repeat a recommendation of the Plan of Work of 1895: "For practical work looking toward legislation, we recommend that each state association, through its local clubs and individual workers, shall gather from the tax lists of all the counties the number of women holding taxable property, the amount of such property and the amount of taxes paid." This has already been done in New York, Kansas and Connecticut, and the total amount of taxes paid by women in those states was a revelation to the public, and compelled every respector of the Declaration of Independence to believe in woman suffrage.

We recommend further that in all states where unjust laws exist concerning women, the state associations shall endeavor to secure the revision of those laws. We recommend them to agitate for school suffrage, and in the twenty-three states where this form of suffrage is enjoyed, to use all their powers to get out a large vote of women. Next, we urge them to agitate either for municipal or presidential suffrage. We recommend to all states that they defer asking for a constitu-

tional amendment to be submitted to popular vote until the state is well organized, and until there are strong indications that the chief political parties will endorse woman suffrage in their platforms.

We also recommend that each local club send delegations to each county political convention, and to each primary when possible, and that the state associations send delegations to to each state political convention, and urge upon them all the endorsement of woman suffrage in their platforms.

We recommend that this association urge the women throughout the United States, whether in organization or not, to see that delegates or individuals wait on every person who holds a legislative office, or is a candidate for such office, to secure his promise for legislative action favorable to woman suffrage.

POLITICAL WORK.

The time has fully come when we should carry the rub-a-dub of our agitation into the "political Africa," that is into every town meeting of every township of every county, and every caucus or primary meeting of every ward of every city of every state.

To secure this end we must organize our suffrage clubs on what may be called political boundary lines. That is, have a club in every township and every ward, whose duty it shall be to get some member of each political party to present and urge the adoption of a woman suffrage resolution; thus turning every such primary gathering of the voters into a woman suffrage discussion. Of course, at first we may not find the right man to introduce the resolution, or, finding him, the majority may vote down the resolution. Still, the same effort must be made at the next and the next meetings of both of the great political parties, from year to year, until finally one or the other,—or better, both—parties shall pass the resolution. And when, at last, large numbers of the local Democratic and Republican ward and town meetings shall have adopted resolutions, the county and state conventions will readily put suffrage planks in their platforms, and the delegates will no longer fear that their voting constituents will fail to stand by them at the ballot-box.

For a whole half-century we have held special suffrage

meetings, with audiences largely of women; that is, women have talked to women. We must now carry our discussion of the question into all of the different political party gatherings, for it is only there that the rank and file of the voters ever go. They won't come to our meetings, so we must carry our gospel into theirs.

It will be of no more avail in the future than it has been in the past to send appeals to State and National Conventions, so long as they are not backed by petitions from a vast majority of the voting constituents of their members.

We have had suffrage amendments voted upon at eleven elections in nine states,—twice over in Colorado and Kansas,—and carried only in one,—Colorado in 1893. There both of the large parties,—the Republican and Populist, as well as the Democratic State Committees,—passed resolutions in favor, which was followed by nearly every county convention all of the autumn campaign meetings were turned into suffrage discussions, and nearly all of the newspapers of the state were friendly to the amendment; so that when election day came, nearly seven thousand more than one-half of the men of the state voted for woman suffrage. At the other ten elections, where there was no political party endorsement, not only were nearly all of the party editors and orators silent on the question, but the opponents of the measure were free to speak against it without violating their party's principle or policy. In short, *no plank* means not only the silence of our friends but more,—it means freedom for our enemies to say all they please against us.

As it is, there can be no hope of carrying an amendment without planks in at least two of the party platforms, and there is no hope of getting the planks, but by having the demand come from the masses of the voters in the towns and cities of every county of the state.

LETTER WRITERS.

We recommend that a Committee of Letter Writers shall be appointed by the Business Committee. The persons to serve on this committee must all possess unusual gifts in the art of letter writing. One shall be appointed for each organizer. It will be her duty to place herself in correspondence with the

new clubs reported to her by that organizer. She will encourage the new workers, advise them, and help them in all ways possible. We believe by this means the local club will be nurtured more carefully than heretofore and that clubs composed of weak elements may, in this manner, be trained to become independent forces.

FINANCE.

The Plan of Work Committee estimates that \$10,000 should be expended by the Organization Department in the coming year. We believe this amount can be raised with proper effort.

Recognizing the aid the Entertainment Committee has given to the local club in suggestions of ways to raise money, we heartily recommend the continuance of that committee.

We recommend that each local club in the United States be appealed to for aid in the national work of organization. We recommend that the month of May shall be made a "benefit" month for the national organization, and we urge local clubs throughout the nation to give some kind of entertainment during this month, the proceeds to go to the national organization fund.

MISCELLANEOUS.

We recommend that brief articles written by well-known individuals shall be furnished at least once a month, or oftener if possible, by the headquarters at Philadelphia, to the Press Committees of the various states who are willing to receive them. Each State Committee will ascertain the number of papers willing to print these letters, and will send to each a copy, which will have been prepared at headquarters. In this way the article will appear simultaneously all over the United States after the manner of a syndicate letter.

We recommend the publication by the National-American Woman Suffrage Association of the "Manual for Political Equality Clubs," compiled by Harriet May Mills and Isabel Howland, and containing complete order of exercises for six meetings.

Our Committee is firmly convinced that if this plan of work can be carried out carefully and wisely, our Association may meet in its next annual convention proud in the consciousness

of a membership doubled and a cause strengthened. Let our Association know no idlers the coming year, but let us make "a hard pull, a strong pull and a pull all together," that we may build an Association whose power may be felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Canada to the Gulf.

Submitted by Plan of Work Committee,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
Chairman.

ANNIE L. DIGGS,
MARY G. HAY,

LAURA CLAY,
EMMELINE B. WELLS,
Members.

Mrs. CATT said she had heard some questions as to why the National Headquarters had been opened in the middle of the year and without a direct vote of the Convention, and she thought it might be well to have the matter explained. She told how Mrs. Southworth had put into Miss Anthony's hands one thousand dollars to pay clerks' salary, etc., in headquarters in Washington, and afterward Miss Anthony had consulted with others of the officers and had decided that, as there was no one of the elected officers of the Association in Washington, it would not be best to open the headquarters there.

During most of last year much work was done by the Organization Committee at great disadvantage, and when it was found that our Corresponding Secretary was intending to spend the winters in Philadelphia, it was thought well to open the headquarters there in her charge, and relieve the Organization Committee of work which could best be done from a National Headquarters. The money in Miss Anthony's hands had been left absolutely to her discretion, and this money assured the undertaking of headquarters.

Miss ANTHONY said she had heard no questions about the establishment of the headquarters, but was glad the matter had come up. One good reason for having the headquarters in charge of our Corresponding Secretary, instead of leaving

so much office work to be done by the Chairman of the Organization Committee, is that we want to make it possible for Mrs. Catt to go into the field. Many of us have felt, even while appreciating Mrs. Catt's great genius as an organizer, that we suffer great loss in not having her in the field, and we want to put into the headquarters as much of the routine office work as possible to free Mrs. Catt from this part of the work.

The President announced that she had appointed Miss Chanler a Committee on Parlor Meetings to be held during the next National Convention.

The following telegram of greetings from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union was read:

"Greetings and congratulations; will help to bring the triumph."

It was voted that this letter be acknowledged by a letter from the Corresponding Secretary.

The afternoon's program included a Parliament of Methods to be presided over by Carrie Chapman Catt. Miss Anthony called Mrs. Catt to the chair, but owing to the lateness of the hour, the original plan had to be abandoned. Mrs. Catt spoke briefly as follows:

We must learn to concentrate our forces, our workers, our money wherever we find a vulnerable spot, no matter where it is. We must never fail to win a victory, however small, by the division of our forces. It is our duty now to give assistance to Arizona and to Oklahoma in order to bring these Territories into the Union as Suffrage States. It is true the population is very small, and they will bring to us but one member in the House, but they will add to our force two United States Senators, and their votes are of quite as much consequence as those of the two Senators of New York. Nevada, it is said, has not at present sufficient population to make her a State if she were now a Territory, but, for all that, when she becomes a Woman Suffrage State her Senators can cast just as telling votes as the two Senators from New York with a population of six millions of people behind them; therefore, is it not common

sense to gain this much from any territory wherever an opportunity is offered? Let us add to the number of our friends in the United States Senate every time we can. Montana will be prepared to submit an amendment soon, and much political power is standing ready to endorse it. Let us help all the states surrounding our suffrage nucleus with their constitutional amendments. We can carry them there by popular vote.

The sentiment in Washington is strong for woman suffrage because woman once had the authority of the ballot in that State. The question is pending in Oregon and California. In Idaho it is to be voted upon in November, so that it will not be at all strange if within the next four years we see every state west of the Mississippi River with woman suffrage established within it. We will then have the great West solid for woman suffrage. With this accomplished who is there that can measure the force and power of the West as it will be represented in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives? The great strength of our sentiment lies west of Missouri, but in the meantime let us not neglect our organization at home, for the time is speedily coming when every state in the Union will be called upon to take action on this question.

While by popular votes it would not be possible to carry the states of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois with its great city of Chicago, Wisconsin with its breweries, Missouri with its city of St. Louis, it is possible to carry all the states west of Missouri. When this is done it is possible to carry every state south of Mason's and Dixon's line. In Montana, I became more and more convinced of the force of Miss Clay's appeal for work in the South. In the earlier days the southern people settled in Montana. The one great obstacle to our success in that state is the news that the Nothing could awaken it into activity like the news that the South was organizing and that the Democratic party was favoring the enfranchisement of women. Theirs is the most harmoniously Anglo-Saxon population in the United States; when we have converted one state we have converted the whole South. Let us then work upon the South and we can carry it in due time.

With all this accomplished let us go as one body before the

United States Congress. Let us not take that step until we have a political prestige behind us. It is a difficult matter to secure a constitutional amendment, but we can compel Congress to submit an amendment if we have sufficient power in three-fourths of the states. We will ask for the National amendment, and it will be ratified in conventions and legislatures all over the country. This is the manner in which women must be enfranchised.

I wish we could make all the states understand that their work is to organize, not necessarily for popular vote, but to make ready for the question to be ratified in the Legislature. I wish every state might be educated to see the advantage there is for us all to stand together and put our united forces wherever we can gain a point. If we can but hold to this policy the day of our final victory is not far away. In order that we may know how to proceed intelligently along this line, I want us to have a very carefully selected committee of three; I request that these persons be those of unusual intelligence and careful training; that they know something about political work. I would suggest that the committee be composed of two men and one woman who is a politician. I would have the committee thoroughly investigate conditions in every state in the Union, ascertain population, number of foreigners, how much majority is required to carry an amendment, whether an amendment must be carried through one legislature or two, and to learn all things in regard to the conditions of an amendment and a campaign in each state.

I move that a committee of three to be called the Committee on Campaign Conditions, be appointed by the Business Committee, and that it be endorsed by the Executive Committee. Carried.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. AVERY, that a committee be appointed by the Business Committee to devise means of assisting the Association financially by business methods, such as the sale of various articles connected with the work.

It was suggested that, as Miss Anthony had many requests for her autographs, she should hereafter charge a small price for them, and give the money to the Association.

Mrs. CATT explained the Shopping Exchange, the idea of

which had originated with Mr. Upton, and which had been carried out by Miss Jessie J. Cassidy, 703 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Mrs. CATT said, "Every cup of coffee used in my house pays tribute to the Woman Suffrage Association. The latest, most fashionable and most desirable things are to be had in New York, and Miss Cassidy knows just where to buy them. We get a small percentage not only on groceries, but on dry goods, music, furniture, etc. When any of you are going to buy a new house and put several thousand dollars' worth of furniture into it, we shall be glad if you will let us buy it for you."

The proposed amendments to the constitution and by-laws were read by the Recording Secretary and notice was given that they would be voted on Monday afternoon.

The Corresponding Secretary gave a message and greeting to the Association from J. Ellen Foster.

It was voted that the Corresponding Secretary send greeting in return. Adjourned.

SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 25TH, 1896.

This session was devoted entirely to State Reports as given on the programme for that date, with the exception of an address by Elizabeth Burrill Curtis, of New York, which had been placed on a later date but was transferred to Saturday evening because Miss Curtis had been unexpectedly summoned home. Her subject, "Universal Suffrage," was handled in a masterly way, which won rounds of applause from the crowded audience.*

If there had been any doubt in the minds of those who arranged the programme that an evening given entirely to short addresses by State Presidents would command a good attendance, it was dispelled when this second presidents' evening proved as great a success as the first, and the audience remained till nearly eleven o'clock giving eager attention to every spoken word.

* The address is published in full in *Woman's Journal* of February 8th, and in the *Woman's Tribune* of February 22d.

Sunday Service, 3 p.m., January 26th, 1896.

In the unavoidable absence of Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON had kindly consented to take her place and to speak upon Mrs. Spencer's topic, "The Spiritual Significance of Democracy and Woman's Relation to It." Mrs. Stetson confirmed the pleasant impression made by her previous address to the convention, giving a discourse which was listened to with close attention.

SUNDAY EVENING, JANUARY 26TH, 1896.

A Business Committee Meeting was held at Hotel Arno.

Miss ANTHONY occupied the chair.

There were present Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Blackwell, Mrs. Upton, Mrs. Diggs and Mrs. Catt.

Miss ANTHONY said that in her opinion the Organization Committee would better consist of persons not employees of the committee. This arrangement would prevent any feeling on the part of outsiders that there was special preference shown by the Committee to any of its own members in the division of the organization work for the coming year.

Mrs. AVERY proposed that there be a different chairman of the Plan of Work Committee, and suggested that there could be no possible objection to having the organizers upon the Plan of Work Committee if that seemed desirable. She thought this last-named committee ought to be larger than it has been heretofore.

Mrs. CATT stated that last year's arrangement for the work of the Organization Committee (which had been done in her own house) could not be continued for another year and urged that the Committee be allowed to secure an office in New York City.

It was voted that it be left to the discretion of the Chairman of the Organization Committee to engage and furnish an office.

Adjourned.

Monday, January 27th, 1896.

10 A.M.

Miss ANTHONY occupied the chair.

ELIZABETH U. YATES offered prayer.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and accepted.

Miss ANTHONY made a brief report of the work of the Congressional Committee.

A rising vote of thanks was passed to MARY G. HAY for her efficient services as Chairman of Committee on Railroad Rates.

Mrs. AVERY stated that January 27th was the seventieth birthday of Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, and that Mrs. John R. McLean tendered an invitation to the entire convention to repair in a body to her house at 2.45 to meet Mrs. Grant and offer her their congratulations. The invitation was accepted.

HENRY B. BLACKWELL, as Chairman of the Presidential Suffrage Committee, reported as follows:

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

Your committee again invite the attention of suffragists in every State to the fact that any State Legislature may, at any time, by majority of its Senate and House of Representatives, enable women to vote in the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States. The U. S. Constitution (the supreme law of the land, "anything to the contrary in State constitutions notwithstanding") expressly refers the method of appointment to the State Legislatures. Article 2, Sec. 1 and 2, of the U. S. Constitution is as follows:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, certain electors."

In several States, as in New Jersey prior to 1804 and in South Carolina prior to 1865, the electors were chosen by the Legislatures in joint session. As democratic ideas prevailed, it has become customary for the appointment of presidential electors to be referred by the Legislatures to the voters of their

States, but the method of appointment is vested in each Legislature. A simple enactment that women may take part in this appointment on the same terms as men will enable women in our State to vote in presidential elections.

The Legislatures of many States are now in session. In any one of these women may be empowered to vote in the presidential election of 1896. Now the main objection made everywhere to woman suffrage is that "women do not want to vote," and would not vote if allowed to do so. That objection would be forever silenced if women in any State could vote for presidential electors. Every newspaper, every party, would appeal to women to go to the polls. Every woman has her political preferences. As a result women would vote more generally than men and men would vote in larger ratio than ever before. The majority party would more than double its majority, and as a consequence would espouse the woman suffrage cause with enthusiasm. The moral effect would be overwhelming and conclusive.

It is quite possible that the suffragists in any State may at any time secure from their Legislature this practical "referendum," whereby alone the real willingness of women to vote can be fairly ascertained. For instance, in Michigan, where the women have been deprived of full municipal suffrage by decision of the State Supreme Court that the law was unconstitutional, the suffragists might wisely ask the Legislature for a Presidential Suffrage Law. In Kansas too, where State Suffrage has been temporarily defeated, or in Rhode Island or Pennsylvania, where no other form of suffrage can be had without constitutional amendment, or in the Gulf States, where "white supremacy" is the main issue—this measure ought to be urged. If it is ever granted by any Legislature, woman suffrage will soon be made an issue by one or both of the great parties of the country.

Another great advantage of asking State Legislatures for presidential suffrage is that it will not directly involve the vexed question of prohibition. The liquor dealers and their followers and political tools are our most effective opponents. They are banded together against municipal woman suffrage. But they would not spend effort and money in opposing presidential suffrage, because no national prohibitory legislation is probable.

Finally, presidential suffrage by act of Legislature is in harmony with the principle of State rights, and would arouse no jealousy of congressional interference.

Your committee will continue to urge the suffragists of every State to petition their Legislature for a presidential suffrage law. Such a law ought always to *precede* the submission of an amendment to a State Constitution, because its effect would so educate public sentiment as to be like John the Baptist crying in the wilderness: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." If this step had been taken in Kansas before the recent submission of a constitutional amendment, she would be to-day the leader of the woman suffrage column.

Mrs. BLAKE gave the following report as Chairman of the Committee on Legislative Advice:

Those who have never conducted a legislative campaign are prone to think that the efforts should begin as soon as the Legislature convenes, while, to secure success, the work should be half done by that time. Every woman who is interested in such a campaign should begin her labors months before the election by ascertaining who will be the probable candidates of both parties, seeing these men, and obtaining from them pledges of support.

When a man is willing thus to aid the cause, every effort must be made to secure first his nomination and then his election. At the nominating conventions of all parties delegations of women should urge the naming of their candidates and the passage of resolutions favoring woman suffrage. When the campaign has really begun, public meetings must be held and documents distributed in the interest of their chosen candidates. Nothing will so speedily bring about woman's enfranchisement as the proof that we already possess political influence and will use it for our friends.

When the Legislature assembles the strongest man in the party which has a majority in the body must be chosen to present the proposed law. If the Republicans have a majority, the leading Republican must be asked to champion the cause; if the Democrats are in the majority, the leading Democrat.

When the conditions are not yet ripe for a constitutional amendment there are many measures which are valuable in

arousing public interest and preparing the way for the final triumph as well as important in ameliorating the condition of women. Among these are laws to secure :

School suffrage for women.

Women on boards of education and as school trustees.

Equality of property rights for men and women, whether married or single.

The joint guardianship of children ; equal rights for mother and father.

Women as factory inspectors.

Women as physicians in hospitals and insane asylums.

Women trustees in all State institutions.

Police matrons.

Seats for saleswomen.

The raising of the "age of consent."

For general agitation, all women who desire their political freedom should send individual petitions to the Legislature asking for their own political liberty.

Strict watch should be kept on all legislative action, and protests should be sent in when any laws are proposed inimical to the rights of women. Especially bills proposing to change the statutes regulating marriage and divorce should be looked after, and the demand made that they be referred to a commission composed of persons of both sexes.

It was voted that Mrs. BLAKE's report be adopted.

A letter was read from EMILY B. KETCHAM announcing the appointment of Dr. Eliza Mosher as Professor and Dean of the Women's Department at Michigan University.

The following announcement was read :

Carrie Chapman Catt and George W. Catt propose to pay the sum of \$250 to the State, whose territory lies west of the longitude of the west line of the State of Minnesota, which shall first secure a suffrage organization based on club membership auxiliary to the State and National-American Woman's Suffrage Association, equal to 500 to each 100,000 of the white population. The money is to be used for campaign purposes, and the offer shall remain open until January 1st, 1900, and no longer. Mr. and Mrs. Catt will pay \$100 to the State east of said degree of longitude, which shall first secure a suffrage organi-

zation based on a club membership auxiliary to the State and N. A. W. S. A., equal to 250 for each 100,000 of the white population ; the same to be used to continue the organization in such States, and the offer to remain open until January 1st, 1900, and no longer.

A rising vote of thanks was given to Mr. and Mrs. Catt.

Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW announced that the Suffrage Associations of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia are making an effort to secure headquarters in Independence Hall, which, since the city government has been transferred to its new quarters, is being allotted to various patriotic societies free of rent. It was the sense of the Convention that the Executive Committee be requested to ask the City Council of Philadelphia to assign a room to the Suffrage Associations on the ground that we were seeking to carry to their ultimate the principles for which our foremothers and forefathers gave their lives.

The following report of the Southern Committee was given by LAURA CLAY, and was accepted :

SOUTHERN COMMITTEE.

The plan of the National Organization Committee, inaugurated at the Atlanta Convention, so nearly little distinctive work of the Southern Committee that it has done little distinctive work during the past year. No donations were solicited by it at the last convention.

The balance from last year was \$41.50. Mrs. Ella C. Chamberlain returned to the fund \$9 of an appropriation to Florida, as she found the expenses of the trip to De Funiak thus much less than she had estimated. In July the committee voted \$25 to the fall campaign in South Carolina, and \$25 to help the Organizing Committee in West Virginia. In September, Mrs. Adelaide Claflin added one dollar to her pledge of five dollars made in 1894, and asked that it be applied to the fall campaign in South Carolina. However, as the fall campaign was not as extensive in that State as was contemplated, the money was returned to the fund of the Southern Committee, leaving it at the present time with a balance of \$6.50.

Miss CLAY continued:

I still regard the South as the strategic point, and as our most hopeful field after the West, where we seem to be on the brink of immediate success. The next great political movement in this country will probably be a coalition between the South and West. The West is ready to put woman suffrage into its program if it is not hindered by fear of the solid South; but no political party will antagonize the solid South for the sake of woman suffrage. What we must do is to break the solid South on this question. The fundamental principles of our government are not wholly ridiculed and despised in the South, whatever they may be elsewhere. When we go through the South advocating woman suffrage, without attaching to it dress reform, or bicycling, or anything else, but asking the simple question why the principles of our forefathers should not be applied to women, we shall win. The South is ready for woman suffrage, but it must be woman suffrage and nothing else.

CAROLINE B. BUELL, of Connecticut, was introduced to the Convention.

ROSE E. LUMPKIN, President of the King's Daughters of Hampton, Va., presented fraternal greetings.

Miss ANTHONY, in the absence of the Chairman, Louise Southworth, made an informal report for the Enrollment Committee.

SALLY CLAY BENNETT made a brief report of the Federal Suffrage Committee.

It was voted on motion of Mrs. UPTON, seconded by Mrs. AVERY, that the Convention send flowers to Dr. Caroline B. Winslow.

Miss ANTHONY gave for the purpose some beautiful roses which had been presented to her by Illinois.

Mrs. UPTON moved that a greeting be sent to the "Georgia girls," Augusta Howard, Miriam Howard DuBose and Claudia Howard Maxwell. On motion of Miss CLAY it was done by a rising vote.

VIRGINIA D. YOUNG moved that a greeting be sent to A. VIOLA NEBLETT.

Miss SHAW moved that a telegram of greeting and kind remembrance be sent to our Honorary President, Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

At 11.30 the order of the day was called, the Memorial Service.

MEMORIAL HOUR.

Miss ANTHONY announced that the hour had come to remember the work of those whose presence we miss to-day, those who have been transferred.

CLARA B. COLBY read the following resolution:

Year by year the ranks are thinned of those on whom was bestowed the privilege of leading in reforms, at first unpopular but even in their lifetime triumphing in the awakening sense of justice in the hearts of their countrymen. And as these whom we honor and reverence pass from direct participation in our struggles and successes, we rejoice in realizing that their spirit and their influence not only abide with us, but will be the world's heritage and stimulus as long as there shall be a need for taking sides with the right against the wrong; with the weak against the strong; with the true against the false; with the boundless benevolences of universal love against the transient expediences of selfishness and injustice.

The list of those who have passed on during the year since our last convention is as follows:

District of Columbia, Frederick Douglass, Ex-Secretary Hugh McCulloch, Julia A. Wilbur.

Indiana, Prof. Theodore Lovett Sewall.

Kentucky, Mrs. F. K. Hunt.

Maryland, Henry Janney, Sarah W. Tudor.

Massachusetts, Ex-Gov. Ames, Ellen Battelle Dietrick, John Sawyer, Sampson R. Urbino, Theodore D. Weld.

Michigan, Sarah E. V. Emery, Clara L. McAdow.

New York, Dr. Cook, Dr. James C. Jackson, Dr. Abram W.

Lozier, Marian Skidmore.

Pennsylvania, M. Adeline Thomson.
 Rhode Island, Thomas Davis, Augustus Jones, Sarah Wilbur.
 Texas, Dr. Grace Danforth.
 Wisconsin, Amelia E. H. Doyon.

Mrs. BLAKE spoke of Dr. Abram Lozier, Mrs. AVERY of Theodore L. Sewall, and Mr. BLACKWELL of Theodore D. Weld, Frederick Douglass, and other veterans.

Miss ANTHONY then called upon Rev. Anna Shaw to speak of the Chairman of Press Work for the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, Ellen Battelle Dietrick.

Rev. ANNA SHAW said :

I never knew such earnest purpose and consecration or such a fund of knowledge in any one as Mrs. Dietrick possessed. She never stopped thinking because she had reached the furthest point to which some one else had thought. She was the best antagonist I ever saw. I never knew any one who could differ so intensely, and yet be perfectly calm and good-tempered. What she was as a friend no one knows. She is a great loss to our press work. Perhaps no one ever wrote so many articles in the same length of time. This was especially the case last summer. It seemed as if she had a premonition that her life would be short. She sat at her desk writing hour after hour. I believe it shortened her life. She had just written a book answering Bishop Doane and the remonstrants. I wish it might be published by the N. A. W. S. A., for the suffragists of the whole country. She left many other manuscripts. It would be a pity if the rich, ripe thought of this woman should not be used. Her funeral was like her life, without show or display. No one outside the family was present, except myself. No eulogy was uttered there; she would not have wanted it. Tennyson's last poem was recited by her brother-in-law :

Sunset and evening star,
 And one clear call for me!
 And may there be no moaning of the bar
 When I put out to sea;

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
 Too full for sound and foam,
 When that which drew from out the boundless deep
 Turns again home.

Twilight and evening bell,
 And after that the dark;
 And may there be no sadness of farewell,
 When I embark!

For tho' from out our bourne of time and place
 The flood may bear me far,
 I hope to see my Pilot face to face
 When I have crossed the bar.

Miss SHAW spoke with deep feeling, and many of the audience were in tears.

Miss ANTHONY:

There are very few human beings who have the power to utter their honest convictions. Mrs. Dietrick was one of these few. She would follow truth wherever it led, and would follow no other leader. Like Lucretia Mott, she took truth for authority, not authority for truth.

Adeline Thomson was a most remarkable character. She was sister to J. E. Thomson, first President of the Pennsylvania Railroad. She lived to be eighty. For years she stood there in Philadelphia, a monument of the past.

We have also lost in Julia Wilbur a remarkable woman, and one who was faithful to the end. This is the first convention for twenty-eight years at which she has not been present with us. I feel the vacancy that she has left. We should all try to live so as to make people feel that there is a vacancy long. Our left when we go; but do not let it be a vacancy where it can win; if we do battle has just reached the place where it can win; if we do our work in the spirit of those who have gone before, it will soon be over.

Adjourned.

Monday Afternoon, January 27th, 1896.

2.30 O'CLOCK.

Miss Anthony being absent at the luncheon given to Mrs. Grant by Mrs. McLean, Rev. ANNA H. SHAW took the chair and opened the meeting.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws were taken up.

Miss SHAW called the Recording Secretary to the chair, moved the adoption of the first amendment (in order to bring it before the convention), and spoke in opposition to it. It was proposed by LOUISA SOUTHWORTH and read as follows:

To amend Article I. by omitting the words "American" and "Woman" before the words "Suffrage Association."

It was defeated by a unanimous vote.

The two following amendments were also defeated by unanimous vote:

By LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.

To amend Article IV., Section 1, by adding the following words: "but no person except our honored leader, Susan B. Anthony, shall be eligible for re-election as President for more than two successive terms."

By RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

To amend Article IV., Section 1, by adding the following words: "but no person except our honored leader, Susan B. Anthony, shall be eligible for re-election as President for more than five successive terms."

When the first amendment to the By-Laws was reached, Rev. SHAW called the Corresponding Secretary to the chair and spoke on the amendment which was proposed.

By LUCY E. ANTHONY.

To amend By-Law II., Section 2, so it shall read: "SEC. 2. Every State Auxiliary Association shall be entitled to send to

the Annual National Convention one delegate for every one hundred members of State Society and of its paid-up auxiliaries."

It was voted to table this proposed amendment for a year.

On motion of Miss CLAY, it was voted that the election of officers be the order of business at 4 o'clock.

At 2 45 the Convention adjourned and proceeded in a body to the beautiful home of Mrs. John R. McLean, a short walk from the church. The ladies were received on entering the great library by Mrs. McLean and Mrs. Nellie Grant Sartoris; at the other end of the room our own president, Miss ANTHONY, introduced them in turn to Mrs. GRANT. "Aunt Susan" had a sweet word to say of each when presenting them to the honored guest of the occasion.

Refreshments were served in the state dining-room which opens into the library, and the hostess herself and some of the guests who remained from the luncheon of seventy (in honor of Mrs. Grant's seventieth birthday) which had preceded the reception, kindly assisted the corps of trained waiters in serving the delegates. All felt that it had been a delightful event.

4 O'CLOCK.

Rev. ANNA H. SHAW occupied the chair.

The election of officers was the first business.

Mary G. Hay, Dr. Viola Swift, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, Miss Miller and Jessie J. Cassidy were appointed tellers.

Mrs. UPTON, for the information of the convention, read her report as Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

On the informal ballot for President, 229 votes were cast, all for Susan B. Anthony.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast the formal ballot for Miss Anthony.

The informal ballot for Vice-President-at-Large showed 230 votes cast, one vote for Laura Clay, five for Carrie Chapman Catt, and 224 for Rev. Anna Howard Shaw.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast the ballot for Rev. Anna Shaw.

The informal ballot for Corresponding Secretary showed 230 votes cast, two votes for Caroline McCullough Everhard, two for Mary G. Hay, and 226 for Rachel Foster Avery.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast the formal ballot for Mrs. Avery.

Rev. SHAW read the following note which had been sent to the platform: "When the suffragists are through voting, the press table wish they had the privilege of voting that Miss Anthony become their Aunt Susan also, as they consider her the best, bravest and noblest of American women."

A note from Mr. Joseph Douglass, grandson of Frederick Douglass, was read by Miss ANTHONY, saying that, as he could not speak as his grandfather could for the cause of woman, he would be glad to play his violin at one of the sessions if desired by Miss Anthony.

It was voted that Mr. Douglass be invited to come and play for the Convention at the Monday evening session.

The informal ballot for Recording Secretary showed 230 votes cast, one for Laura Clay, one for Mary G. Hay, five for Victoria Conkling Whitney, and 223 for Alice Stone Blackwell.

It was voted that the Vice-President-at-Large cast the formal ballot for Miss Blackwell.

The informal ballot for Treasurer showed 232 votes cast; eight for Laura Clay and 224 for Harriet Taylor Upton.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast the formal ballot for Mrs. Upton.

The informal ballot for First Auditor showed 227 votes cast; one and one-half for Annie L. Diggs, four and one-half for Clara Bewick Colby, five for Mary H. Williams, five for Lillie Devereux Blake, five for Frances A. Williamson, twenty-eight for H. Augusta Howard, seventy-one for Sarah B. Cooper, and 107 for Laura Clay.

It was voted that the formal vote be cast by the Recording Secretary for Miss Clay.

The informal ballot for Second Auditor showed 227 votes cast; five for Mary H. Williams, five for Lillie Devereux Blake, five for Charlotte Perkins Stetson, nine and one-half for Clara Bewick Colby, twenty-three and one-half for Annie L. Diggs, 179 for Sarah B. Cooper.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast the formal ballot for Mrs. Cooper.

On the informal ballot for Chairman of Organization Committee, 233 ballots were cast, all for Carrie Chapman Catt.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast the formal ballot for Mrs. Catt.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. CATT, to amend By-Law VIII. by adding: "and a Committee on Plan of Work."

The remaining amendments to the By-Laws were taken up and disposed of as follows:

By RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

To amend Section 3, By-Law II., by omitting the word "this" before "Association," in the first line, and interpolating the words "the National-American Woman Suffrage" in the same place.

Carried.

By SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

To amend By-Law II. by adding Section 4, as follows: "National members paying one dollar or more into the treasury during the year shall be entitled to one delegate for every twenty-five members, and life members shall be entitled to one delegate for every ten members."

This amendment was withdrawn by the mover.

By HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

To amend By-Law X., Section 1, by substituting the word "five" for the word "four," in the second sentence.

Carried.

By SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

To amend By-Law X., Section 6, by striking out the word "acting," preceding "President," in the fourth line.

Carried.

By HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

To amend By-Law X., Section 11, by changing it to By-Law XI.

Carried.

By HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

To amend By-Law X., Section 12, by changing it to By-Law XII.

Carried.

By HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

To amend By-Law X., Section 13, by changing it to By-Law XIII.

Carried.

By HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

To amend By-Laws by adding By-Law XIV., as follows: "These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, one day's notice having been given in Convention."

It was voted to amend this amendment by inserting the word "majority" in place of the words "two-thirds" in the second line.

The amendment as amended was carried.

Adjourned.

MONDAY EVENING, JANUARY 27TH, 1896.

In order to have with the Convention the newly elected Senators and Representatives from the newest Republic, Utah, Monday evening rather than an earlier date was selected for the welcome to Utah.

Miss ANTHONY opened the evening by a few appropriate words to the immense audience which filled to overflowing

every available space, standing in the aisles, sitting upon the window sills and the steps, and listening to the long program with unabated attention.

Rev. ANNA SHAW spoke as follows:

I have been asked to give the address of welcome to Utah, because I once spent a few days there. I extend to the Senator and the friends here our congratulations, for their triumph is ours. Every star added to that blue field makes for the advantage of every human being. We are just beginning to learn that we are all children of one Father, and members of one family; and when one member suffers or is benefited, all the members suffer or rejoice with it. So when Utah comes into the Union with every one free, it is not only Utah that is benefited, but we and all the world. As the stars at night come out one by one, so will they come out one by one on our flag, till the whole blue field is a blaze of glory.

We expected it of the men of Utah. No man in Utah could have stood by the side of his mother and heard her tell of all that the pioneers endured, and then have refused to grant her the same right of liberty he wanted for himself, without being unworthy of such a mother. They are the crown of our Union, those three States right on the mountain-side. In the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, we extend our welcome, our thanks and our congratulations to Utah, as one of the three so dear to the heart of every woman who loves liberty in these old United States.

Senator CANNON and Representative ALLEN responded in a happy vein, and then Miss ANTHONY insisted upon introducing their wives to the audience, and having them stand side by side with their husbands to show people what voting and self-respecting women citizens look like. This created a ripple of merriment.

SARAH A. BOYER and EMILY S. RICHARDS, two of the delegates to the Convention, spoke for the Utah Woman Suffragists, Mrs. RICHARDS giving quite a history of the campaign

there. The name of Emmeline B. Wells received hearty tributes from all, and the work done by our President and Vice-President at the time of their visit to Salt Lake City during the sitting of the Utah Constitutional Convention was spoken of as being most helpful and well timed, and having much to do with turning the tide in favor of equality for Utah women.

This closed Utah's part of the evening program.

ELLA KNOWLES HASKELL, Assistant Attorney General of Montana, made an address upon the legal status of women.

Three States whose reports had been transferred from the Presidents' Evening were heard from. In place of a report from Maryland, Mrs. CAROLINE HALLOWELL MILLER gave a spirited address, which was received with much favor by the audience.

MARY N. CHASE, A.B., spoke for Vermont, and JESSIE G. MANLEY, President of the newly formed State Association there, reported for West Virginia.

Mrs. VIRGINIA DURANT YOUNG gave a bright address entitled "The Sunflower Bloom of Woman's Equality," which contained many amusing anecdotes of her own and her co-workers' experiences in South Carolina in their campaign there last year.

Tuesday Morning, January 28th, 1896.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARING.

The Congressional Committee, of which Miss Anthony is chairman, arranged for a hearing before both the Senate and the House Committees on the same morning at the same hour. This economized the time of the Convention and still gave as many speakers as each committee could hear. The hearing in the House was not as long as that in the Senate, hence more speakers were sent to the Senate.

Miss ANTHONY presided in the House, where the hearing was before the Judiciary Committee; Rev. ANNA H. SHAW, Vice-President, in the Senate, before the special Committee on Woman Suffrage. In both Senate and House there was a good attendance of the committees.

The following lists give the speakers in the hearings:

Senate: Elizabeth D. Bacon, Connecticut; Mary Elizabeth Milligan, Delaware; Ellen Powell Thompson, District of Columbia; Mrs. Frank Hubbard, Illinois; Sally Clay Bennett, Kentucky; Caroline Hallowell Miller, Maryland; Lavina A. Hatch, Massachusetts National; May Stocking Knaggs, Michigan; Julia B. Nelson, Minnesota; Victoria Conkling Whitney, Missouri; Dr. Mary D. Hussey, New Jersey; Mariana W. Chapman, New York; Helen Morris Lewis, North Carolina; Mrs. R. W. Southard, Oklahoma; Lucretia L. Blankenburg, Pennsylvania; Mary O. Arnold, Rhode Island; Virginia D. Young, South Carolina; Mary N. Chase, Vermont; Orra Langhorne, Virginia.

House of Representatives: Mrs. L. C. Hughes, Arizona; Charlotte Perkins Stetson, California; Annie L. Diggs, Colorado; Katie R. Addison, Kansas; Elizabeth U. Yates, Maine; Henry B. Blackwell, Massachusetts; Harriet Sanders, Montana; Clara B. Colby, Nebraska; Frances A. Williamson,

Nevada; Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, North Dakota; Caroline McCullough Everhard, Ohio; Anna R. Simmons, South Dakota; Emily S. Richards, Utah; Jessie G. Manley, West Virginia.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 28TH, 1896.

2.30 O'CLOCK.

Rev. ANNA H. SHAW occupied the chair, which she afterwards yielded to Miss Anthony.

JULIA B. NELSON offered prayer.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and accepted with a correction.

SARAH HARDIN SAWYER, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following resolutions:

The National-American Woman Suffrage Association, in Annual Convention assembled, hereby declares and affirms:

1. That we demand suffrage for all American citizens, women and men, upon reasonable conditions attainable by all, as a right and not a privilege, under a government professedly based upon the consent of the governed.

2. That we rejoice in the admission of Utah to the Union as a third woman suffrage state.

3. That organization is the watchword of the hour and our primary object; that special attention should be given during the coming year to the Territories of Arizona, Oklahoma and New Mexico before their admission to statehood; and that we will co-operate in support of the constitutional amendments now pending in Idaho, California and Nevada.

4. That we petition Congress to secure to the women of this nation by every form of appropriate legislation the full rights of citizenship guaranteed them under the U. S. Constitution.

5. That we hereby pledge to the women of the District of Columbia our hearty support in their efforts to represent and protect their own interests by the ballot.

6. That we congratulate the women of Kentucky upon

having recently secured the election of four women and four men upon the municipal board of education in the city of Lexington.

7. That we seek the co-operation of all organizations of men and women for the promotion of political equality, irrespective of sex.

8. That this Association is non-sectarian, being composed of persons of all shades of religious opinion, and that it has no official connection with the so-called "Woman's Bible," or any theological publication.

9. That the very essence of religion is equal and exact justice for all women and men; therefore, the demand for woman suffrage is in the largest sense a moral and religious movement, and its advocacy is a moral and religious duty.

10. That the infamous "age of consent" laws whereby young girls not yet of mental maturity, or authorized to dispose of property, are allowed to consent to their own ruin, are directly responsible for social vice, and we demand that the age of protection shall be that of legal majority.

11. That we demand State and National legislation that mothers shall have equal custody and control with fathers over their minor children.

12. Whereas War is a personal, family, and national calamity, to be incurred only for the most imperative reasons, therefore Resolved: That the voice of women should be always and everywhere for Peace so far as is compatible with honor, and we favor the establishment of a permanent international Court of Arbitration for the settlement of all disputes between nations.

13. That the frightful massacres perpetrated by the authorities of Turkey upon their unarmed and defenceless Armenian subjects, and the systematic policy of extermination of Christians throughout Asia Minor, calls for the intervention of united Christendom, and we appeal to Congress to take prompt and effective measures for stopping these intolerable barbarities.

14. That we heartily sympathize with the men and women of Cuba in their struggle for independence, and with all oppressed peoples who are trying to secure political self-government.

15. That we request the Executive Committee to petition the City Council of Philadelphia to assign to the National

American and Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Associations the use of a room in old Independence Hall, on the ground that we are seeking to carry out the principles for which our fathers and mothers suffered and died.

16. That a page of the forthcoming report of this annual meeting be specially devoted to memorial tablets of illustrious members who have passed away during the year 1895.

17. That we thank the newspapers of Washington and of the country for the space devoted to the proceedings of this Convention, and the railroads and hotels which have favored us with reduced rates.

It was voted to consider the resolutions seriatim.

The first seven resolutions were adopted with some changes as follows:

The National-American Woman Suffrage Association, in Annual Convention assembled, hereby declares and affirms:

1. That we demand suffrage for all citizens of the United States, women and men, upon reasonable conditions attainable by all, as a right and not a privilege, under a government professedly based upon the consent of the governed.

2. That we rejoice in the admission of Utah to the Union as a third woman suffrage State.

3. That organization is the watchword of the hour and our primary object; that special attention should be given during the coming year to the Territories of Arizona, Oklahoma and New Mexico, before their admission to statehood; and that we will co-operate in support of the constitutional amendments now pending in Idaho, California and Nevada.

4. That we petition Congress and Legislatures to secure to the women of this nation by every form of appropriate legislation the full rights of citizenship guaranteed them under the U. S. Constitution.

5. That we pledge to the women of the District of Columbia our hearty support in their efforts to represent and protect their own interests by the ballot.

6. That we congratulate the women and men of Kentucky upon the triumph of equal rights in having recently secured the election of four women and four men upon the municipal board of education in the city of Lexington.

7. That we seek the co-operation of all organizations of men and women for the promotion of political equality irrespective of sex.

The eighth resolution, as reported by the Committee on Resolutions, read:

8. That this Association is non-sectarian, being composed of persons of all shades of religious opinion, and that it has no official connection with the so-called "Woman's Bible," or any theological publication.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON moved to amend by striking out everything after the word "opinion."

ANNA R. SIMMONS moved, as an amendment to the amendment, to omit the words "the so-called Woman's Bible or."

This was followed by a long and animated discussion in which the following persons participated:

Frances A. Williamson, Helen Morris Lewis, Annie L. Diggs, Carrie Chapman Catt, Rachel Foster Avery, Henry B. Blackwell, Laura M. Johns, Elizabeth U. Yates, Katie R. Addison, Alice Stone Blackwell and Rev. Anna Howard Shaw speaking for the resolution; and Charlotte Perkins Stetson, Mary Bentley Thomas, J. B. Merwin, Clara B. Colby, Harriette A. Keyser, Lavina A. Hatch, Lillie Devereux Blake, Caroline Hallowell Miller, Victoria Conkling Whitney, Althea B. Stryker, and Cornelia H. Cary speaking against it.

The President left the chair and spoke with much earnestness against the adoption of the resolution as follows:

From the beginning the one distinct feature of our Association has been the right of individual opinion for every member. We have been beset at every step with the cry that somebody was injuring the cause. You have never repudiated me and I was born a heretic. I consider it great waste of time, and have told Mrs. Stanton so, to descant on the barbarisms of 6,000 years ago. When people then did a cruel and brutal thing, they claimed to do it by command of God, and so it has been since. I always distrust people who know so much about what God wants them to do to their fellows. All the

way down the history of our movement there has been the same contest on account of religious belief. Just forty years ago one of the most beautiful spirited men on our plantation said, "You had better never hold another convention than let Ernestine L. Rose stand on your platform," because that Polish woman who always stood for justice and freedom did not believe in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. Did we banish Mrs. Rose? Now a lot of new people come up and go over the same old ground. The question is whether you will sit in judgment on a woman that has written views different from yours. If she had written your views you would not object. There was a person once, in the early days, who wanted us to pass a resolution that we were not free lovers, and I was not more shocked then than I am to-day at this. It looks like the reviving of the old-time censorship. We have been growing larger and broader, and I thought we had the hands on the dial of reform. I would say to the organization and that a Christian has no more right on our platform than an Atheist. When this platform is too narrow for people of all creeds and no creeds to stand on, I shall not be on it. I have known many things said and done by our orthodox members that I felt exceedingly harmful to our cause. Who is to set up a line? Neither you nor I can tell but ever Stanton's Woman's Bible will prove the greatest thing Mrs. Stanton had injured the cause of woman's rights by insisting on the demand for woman suffrage, but she had sense enough not to pass a resolution about it. When in 1860 Mrs. Stanton made a speech before the New York Legislature in favor of a bill making drunkenness a cause for divorce, many people thought she had killed our cause. Just think of it. You ought to be able, girls, to stand this and go on with your work. I should be pained beyond expression if we are not broad enough to do this. We need not mind what the newspapers say about it. They are only talking to say something, and not because they care about the Bible. I have yet to see the first editorial word from an honest soul that takes the position that the Bible was directly inspired. You might just as well give up resolving or your hands will be full.

you going to cater to the whims and prejudices of people that don't like this or that? Who are these people who are troubled about this? They are people that have not thought. If you fail to teach women a broad catholic spirit, I would not give much for them after they are enfranchised. If they are going to do without thinking, they had better do without voting. They are not yet indoctrinated in the broad principles of this Association that knows no creed line. We draw out from other people our own thought. If when you go out to organize, you go with a broad spirit you will create and call out breadth and toleration. You had better organize one woman on a broad platform than 10,000 on a narrow platform of intolerance and bigotry.

I pray you all, vote for religious liberty to each and all, without censorship, without inquisition. This resolution adopted will be a vote of censure. It cannot mean less.

The amendment to the amendment was put to a vote and lost, 58 to 42.

Mrs. Stetson's amendment was put to vote and defeated, 53 to 49.

The original resolution was then adopted, 53 to 41, the roll call resulting as follows:

<i>Arizona,</i>	John T. Hughes,	Aye.
	Mrs. L. C. Hughes,	No.
<i>California,</i>	Charlotte Perkins Stetson,	No.
<i>Colorado,</i>	Annie L. Diggs,	Aye.
<i>Connecticut,</i>	Elizabeth D. Bacon,	No.
	Caroline Brown Buell,	Aye.
<i>Delaware,</i>	Adda G. Quigley,	No.
	Mary Elizabeth Milligan,	Aye.
<i>Dist. of Columbia,</i>	Ellen Powell Thompson,	No.
	Helen Rand Tindall,	No.
<i>Illinois,</i>	Matilda E. Gerrigus,	Aye.
	Mary Louise Haworth,	Aye.
	Mrs. Frank L. Hubbard,	Aye.
<i>Indiana,</i>	Mary G. Hay,	Aye.
<i>Kansas,</i>	Katie R. Addison,	Aye.
	Jennie Broderick,	Aye.

Kentucky,
 Laura M. Johns, Aye.
 Althea B. Stryker, No.
 Sallie Clay Bennett, Aye.
 Laura Clay, Aye.
 Sarah H. Sawyer, Aye.
 Amanthus Shipp, Aye.
 Mrs. M. R. Stockwell, Aye.
 Mary Wood, No.
 Elizabeth U. Yates, Aye.
 Mary Bentley Thomas, No.
 Rebecca T. Miller, Aye.
 Mary E. Moore, No.
 Martha S. Townsend, No.
 Mary J. Williamson, Aye.
 Henry B. Blackwell, Aye.
 Mary Clarke Smith, Aye.
 Eliza R. Whiting, Aye.
 Lavina A. Hatch, No.
 Emma E. Bower, Aye.
 May Stocking Knaggs, Aye.
 Elizabeth A. Willard, Aye.
 Julia B. Nelson, No.
 Sarah Vail Thompson, Aye.
 J. B. Merwin, No.
 Victoria Conkling Whitney, No.
 Clara Bewick Colby, No.
 Frances A. Williamson, Aye.
 Mary D. Hussey, Aye.
 Laura H. Van Cise, Aye.
 Mary S. Anthony, No.
 S. Augusta Armstrong, No.
 Lillie Devereux Blake, No.
 Cornelia H. Cary, No.
 Jessie J. Cassidy, Aye.
 Carrie Chapman Catt, Aye.
 Mariana W. Chapman, Aye.
 Dr. M. Virginia Glauner, No.
 Emily Howland, No.
 Isabel Howland, No.

Maine,
Maryland,

Massachusetts,

Mass. National,
Michigan,

Minnesota,

Missouri,

Nebraska,
Nevada,
New Jersey,
New York,

North Carolina,
North Dakota,
Ohio,
 Julie R. Jenney, No.
 Mary N. Hubbard, Aye.
 Harriette A. Keyser, No.
 Harriet May Mills, No.
 Mary B. Sackett, No.
 Helen Morris Lewis, Aye.
 Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, No.
 Caroline McCullough Everhard, No.
 Mrs. M. J. McMillan, No.
 Harriet B. Stanton, No.
 D. Viola Swift, Aye.
 Mrs. R. W. Southard, No.
 Lucy E. Anthony, Aye.
 Lucretia L. Blankenburg, Aye.
 Caroline Gibbons, Aye.
 Hetty Y. Hallowell, Aye.
 Mary O. Arnold, No.
 Virginia D. Young, No.
 Jean Lockwood, Aye.
 Alice M. A. Pickler, Aye.
 Anna R. Simmons, Aye.
 Rev. G. Simmons, No.
 Mary E. Gilmer, Aye.
 Mary N. Chase, Aye.
 Alice Clinton Smith, No.
 Elisan Brown, Aye.
 Elizabeth B. Dodge, No.
 Orra Langhorne, No.
 Mary B. Wickersham, No.
 Annie Caldwell Boyd, Aye.
 Jessie G. Manley, Aye.
 Florence M. Post, Aye.
 Florence Post, No.
 Mrs. George K. Wheat, No.
 Susan B. Anthony, Aye.
 Anna Howard Shaw, Aye.
 Rachel Foster Avery, Aye.
 Alice Stone Blackwell, Aye.
 Harriet Taylor Upton, Aye.

Oklahoma,
Pennsylvania,

Rhode Island,
South Carolina,
South Dakota,

Utah,
Vermont,
Virginia,

West Virginia,

General Officers,

Resolution 9, as read by the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, was lost.

The remaining resolutions, with some amendments and additions, were adopted as follows:

9. That we commend the action of the American Purity Alliance in endeavoring to secure better protection for the youth of our land.
10. That we demand State and National legislation to the effect that mothers shall have equal custody and control with fathers over their minor children.
11. That we favor a permanent international Court of Arbitration.
12. That the frightful massacres perpetrated by the authorities of Turkey upon their unarmed and defenceless Armenian subjects, and the systematic policy of extermination of Christians throughout Asia Minor, calls for the intervention of united Christendom, and we appeal to Congress to take prompt and effective measures for stopping these intolerable barbarities.
13. That we heartily sympathize with the men and women of Cuba in their struggle for independence, and with all oppressed peoples who are trying to secure political self-government.
14. That we request the Executive Committee to petition the City Council of Philadelphia to assign to the National-American and Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Associations the use of a room in old Independence Hall, on the ground that we are seeking to carry out the principles for which our fathers and mothers suffered and died.
15. That we thank the newspapers of Washington and of the country for the space devoted to the proceedings of this Convention, also the ladies of the District for their many kindly attentions to this convention, and the pages who have cheerfully walked miles in our service.

It was voted that the resolutions as a whole be adopted.

The following was referred to the Business Committee:
That a page of the forthcoming report of this annual meeting be specially devoted to memorial tablets of illustrious members who have passed away during the year 1895.

It was voted that the Corresponding Secretary's report be taken from the table and adopted, with the exception of the part relating to the Woman's Bible, and that this be expunged.

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

You will remember that at the Atlanta Convention a vote of acceptance was passed of an invitation from the Woman's Board of Congresses connected with the Atlanta Exposition, and that our plan included representation in the Conference of the National Council of Women, and also one day's separate meeting for suffrage pure and simple. The date selected for us was the 17th of October, with the expectation that the Council dates would immediately precede ours. In the end, however, the Council changed its dates, so that ours was left alone. This was a gain rather than a loss, for with a brief report in the Council Conferences, and our own two sessions at another time, I believe we made a double impression upon those in attendance at the Exposition.

As the time for the Conference approached it was found that our President was indisposed to undertake the long trip, our Vice-President-at-Large was pledged to California, and our indefatigable Chairman of the Organization Committee was just in from a western tour, and felt herself urgently needed at the helm at her office. It therefore devolved upon your Corresponding Secretary to take charge of the Atlanta work. Mrs. Helen Gardener had been secured for the address of the morning session, but arriving invalided by a severe accident en route, she handed her excellent address, "A Theory in Tatters," to the Secretary, asking her to read it to the audience. Imagine reading another woman's address with her husband present to criticize you! And a husband as proud of his wife as is Col. Selden Smart of Helen Gardener! Mrs. Virginia D. Young, of South Carolina, was the only one of the speakers from outside of Atlanta who materialized in condition to speak. Mrs. Virginia Clay Clopton, of Alabama, who was to make the address of welcome, was ill the very day she expected to start for Atlanta, and her note of regret was handed to me while our Georgia State President, Mrs. F. C. Swift, was making a little opening address.

In spite of all the drawbacks mentioned we had the best-attended meeting of the series of Exposition Congresses up to

that date. Our sisters in the South were cordial and hospitable, but of course each new Board of Women Managers is mostly made up of women without previous experience, as expositions do not happen every month, and many kind promises were made in good faith to the persons in charge of the meetings, which were not possible of execution with the means at command. The Women's Board worked always at the great disadvantage of having no means except what they themselves had made (but theirs was the only Committee of the Exposition which at the close had money in the bank), and they had to ask the Exposition Board for every little item needed, such as programs for each congress or conference as it came on, and often these were not given them in time to be of use, as in our own case. However, I had not depended upon them, and was well provided with, dodgers with which I had advertised the meeting beforehand and which served also as its programs. We were unfortunate in coming immediately before the assembling of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and their advance notices occupied the newspapers almost to the exclusion of the reports of our meeting. The connection was a noteworthy one, however, and probably when the grandsires of these Daughters were making the history which means so much now to their children, the local papers anywhere would have preferred to report some grand social tory event to telling of the deliberations of the patriots. A pleasant sign of the growth of public sentiment in favor of woman suffrage is the magnificent reception accorded our President and Vice-President-at-Large in California last spring when they went there as delegates to the Pacific Coast Woman's Congress Association. This body of women is far from being a suffrage society, yet they seated Miss Anthony in a throne of flowers, listened with rapt attention to her every word throughout their entire deliberations upon "The Home," and could not do or say enough in praise and honor of Rev. Anna Shaw for going out to them and aiding their counsels and strengthening them with her magnificent gift of oratory. They secured an invitation for Miss Shaw to speak at the great Fourth of July Celebration in San Francisco, and in every way showed their high appreciation of our two leaders. After the Woman's Congress, Miss Anthony and Rev. Anna Shaw made what was truly a "triumphal march" from one end

of the State to the other, and finally returned east with innumerable invitations unfilled, and with promises to return to the Golden Gate at no distant date.

The great victory of the year is, of course, our third addition to the true republics of this country, Utah. This we all rejoice in. The success of our cause in Utah demonstrates clearly the advisability of securing the aid of political parties through planks in their respective platforms. This having been seen by the women of Utah, they did not wait to do their work after everything had been decided by the party leaders, as has too often been the case where we have had State amendment campaigns. With non-partisan impartiality they secured from Republican, Democratic and Populist party the assurance of the support of the rank and file of their members to a Constitution containing a guarantee of full suffrage for the women citizens of their commonwealth, after which effort on the women's part they could well sit by and serenely watch the course of events with the assurance that their enfranchisement was won. We now have six senators and the representatives from three States on the floor of Congress, all of whom stand there with an ever-present sense that an important part of their constituency is of the female sex.

The Stanton Celebration in New York, though not under the auspices of our association, has especial interest and value for us, because on November 12th there gathered the representatives of such a magnificent array of trades, professions and works of women as has but seldom been assembled, and to do honor to the record made by our own great leader and those who have followed that lead toward the goal of woman's political equality with man.

The National Council of Women of the United States, which grew directly out of the great International Council of Women, assembled under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1888, ought to command our heartiest and most cordial sympathy in its grand work of bringing into harmonious relations of mutual appreciation all the national organizations of women workers. As an organization we ought to seek to make the aims and methods of the Council better known to our own members, and to this end I would suggest having upon our paper a statement of the fact of our own membership in the Council, with the first section of its constitution: this

would carry a knowledge of its ideal to our correspondents at least.

Our fraternal delegate to the Annual Convention of the National W. C. T. U. at Baltimore was Miss Lucy Anthony, who used her few moments before the Convention to give the following greeting, which was received with great applause: "I bring cordial greetings from an Association whose object is to place in the hands of women a tool—the ballot—which shall enable them to execute the will of the organized morality of the country, and thus help God to answer our prayers for 'home protection.'"

In conclusion, though not exactly in my province as your Corresponding Secretary, I must allow myself the pleasure of expressing my great delight in the splendid work of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as Chairman of the Committee on Organization, with such indomitable perseverance overcoming obstacles which many of us thought insurmountable, carrying the war into territory hitherto occupied by our enemies, either through opposition or indifference, arousing new interest among our workers everywhere and proving to us all that it is through the watchword of "organization" we are to go in and possess the promised land.

We have opened National Headquarters in Philadelphia, a move made possible through the generous contribution of Mrs. Louisa Southworth, and I feel that in thus taking possession of a local business habitation we have made another step in advance, which will be of material assistance in carrying out the Plan of Work for the coming year.

On motion of Mrs. UPTON, it was voted that a letter of greeting be sent to Jane H. Spofford by the Corresponding Secretary.

It was moved that a vote of thanks be sent Mrs. Cleveland for her courtesy in the reception extended to the Convention.

Carried.
It was voted that all unfinished business be left to the Executive Committee.

Adjourned.

TUESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 18th, 1896.

The final evening of the Convention brought as great a crowd as had the Utah night.

Miss ANTHONY presided, and introduced as the first speaker LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, who spoke upon the "Presidential Candidates and the Interests of Women," and outlined the attitude toward woman suffrage of the various presidential candidates.

Though the New York report had been placed on this evening's program, Mrs. CHAPMAN, who was to present Mrs. Greenleaf's report, felt that it was too much of a business document to be appropriate at that time, and asked to be allowed to defer its reading to the Executive Meeting the next morning.

HARRIET MAY MILLS spoke on "Our Unconscious Allies," the Remonstrants, showing how their work has really helped the cause they wished to injure.

Mrs. DE VOE, in an address, "The Liberty of the Mother Means the Liberty of the Race," showed how the political disabilities of women affect humanity.

Mrs. ANNIE L. DIGGS' address on "Women as Legislators," was a setting forth of the advantages to accrue to humanity from the working together of men and women in making laws, as well as other departments of the world's work.

A pleasant episode was the appearance and introduction to the audience of Grace Greenwood, one of the first women in journalism to boldly advocate woman's right to equal opportunities with man. It is always a pleasure for Miss ANTHONY to present her, and she considers an introduction by Miss Anthony a great honor.

Rev. ANNA H. SHAW, upon "The Bulwarks of the Constitution," treated of the illogical position of President Eliot, of Harvard, in writing grand sentiments concerning universal suffrage, yet not including women.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON, the only representative from California, had been unable to make her address at the time it was arranged for on the program; she was therefore asked to give it on the final evening. Her topic was "The Ballot an Improver of Motherhood," and she pleaded for political equality in order that the mothers might have a broader outlook. The audience interrupted her frequently with applause.

Miss ANTHONY closed the evening by congratulating the audience and the delegates that the Convention had been the very best ever held in the capital city.

Wednesday, January 29th, 1896.

9 A.M.

A meeting of the Business Committee was held at Hotel Arno.

It was voted to recommend to the Executive Committee the following Committees:

COMMITTEE ON PLAN OF WORK.

Clara Bewick Colby,
Lillie Devereux Blake,
Julia B. Nelson,
Emma Smith DeVoe,
Helen Morris Lewis,
Josephine K. Henry,
Lavina A. Hatch,
Abigail Scott Duniway,
Emmeline B. Wells.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Carrie Chapman Catt,
Emily Howland,
C. Holt Flint,
A. Viola Neblett,
Mrs. L. C. Hughes.

COMMITTEE ON CAMPAIGN CONDITIONS.

Annie L. Diggs,
J. A. Pickler,
Dr. Mary D. Hussey.

Adjourned.

10 A.M.

The closing Executive Committee meeting was held at Hotel Arno, Miss ANTHONY in the chair.

It was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes.
 MARIANA W. CHAPMAN read the report of the New York State President, Jean Brooks Greenleaf, which had been omitted from the Tuesday evening session.

It was voted to take up the discussion concerning the place of holding the next Annual Convention.

It was voted that only members of the Executive Committee take part in the discussion.

It was voted that Emilie Gibbons Cohen be allowed to represent California.

The Corresponding Secretary read invitations for the Convention of 1897 from the following:

Springfield, Illinois, from the Seventh District Equal Suffrage Association, Eva Munson Smith, President.

Denver, Colorado, from the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association.

Cincinnati, Ohio, from the Twentieth Century Club.

Portland, Oregon, from the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association.

VIRGINIA D. YOUNG presented an invitation to Charleston, South Carolina, and VICTORIA CONKLING WHITNEY one to St. Louis, Mo.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE moved that the next Convention be held in Washington, D. C. After discussion, the motion was lost.

Mrs. BLAKE moved that the place of holding the next Convention be left to the Business Committee.

HENRY B. BLACKWELL moved as an amendment that it be left to the Business Committee and the Organization Committee. He withdrew this motion.

Mrs. AVERY moved to amend by adding that a vote of the Executive Committee should be taken on the subject by correspondence. Mrs. BLAKE accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was carried.

Mrs. BLAKE moved that the N. A. W. S. A. hold a conference of one or two days in Washington next winter, with good speakers and with the aid of the District Association.

Mrs. COLBY moved as a substitute that the Business Committee arrange for a mid-year meeting of the Executive Committee. Mrs. Colby withdrew her motion.

Mrs. Blake's motion was lost.

Mrs. BLAKE moved that the Business Committee appoint a Congressional Committee of women to see that a vote be taken on suffrage in this Congress, or at least to ascertain how every member stands.

Mrs. COLBY thought it would be better to place the matter in the hands of the D. C. W. S. A.

Mrs. BLAKE accepted the amendment.

Mrs. PICKLER said that the Congressional Committee had never been instructed to do this work. If a Congressman's wife could be found who would undertake it, she would have the entree to Congressional circles, and would be able to exert much influence.

It was voted that the D. C. W. S. A. be instructed to get a roll call of the present Congress on suffrage.

Mr. BLACKWELL recommended that the Annual Convention be held earlier than usual next year, so as to give an opportunity of addressing State and Territorial Legislatures en route.

Mrs. UPTON, as Chairman of the Credentials Committee, asked that a vote be passed making some rule on the subject of irregular credentials.

It was voted, on motion of Miss YATES, that the by-law in regard to credentials be strictly enforced, and no discretion be allowed to the Treasurer; and that credential blanks be sent to each State for as many delegates as the State can be entitled to.

It was voted that the Corresponding Secretary send credential blanks to the State Presidents before their annual meetings.

Mrs. COLBY moved again that the Business Committee

arrange for a mid-year meeting of the Executive Committee, time and place as they shall designate, and it was carried.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. AVERY, that the annual reports of the officers be read to the Business Committee before they are presented to the Convention.

It was moved by Mrs. COLBY that the Chairmen of all Standing Committees be ex-officio members of the Business Committee. This was pronounced unconstitutional.

Mrs. COLBY presented a statement in regard to the work of the Federal Suffrage Committee, and her connection with it.

It was voted that the Executive Committee endorse the Plan of Work Committee as recommended by the Business Committee.

It was voted that the Executive Committee endorse the Organization Committee as recommended by the Business Committee.

It was voted that Emily S. Richards be added to the Organization Committee.

It was voted that Mrs. Diggs, Mr. Pickler, of South Dakota, and Dr. Hussey be the Committee on Campaign Conditions. (Mr. PICKLER afterwards declined, and John F. Shafroth, of Colorado, was nominated as his substitute, and elected by a vote of the Business Committee taken by correspondence.)

It was voted on motion of LAURA CLAY, of Kentucky, seconded by VIRGINIA D. YOUNG, of South Carolina, that the Southern Committee be discontinued, its office having been fulfilled in the organization of State Associations in all the Southern States.

Miss ANTHONY urged the importance of keeping the suffrage question distinct from other issues.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. UPTON, that the correspondence between Miss Anthony and Miss Willard in regard to holding the next National W. C. T. U. Convention in California during the amendment campaign, be preserved at the headquarters.

Mrs. COLBY called attention to the Suffrage Calendar published by E. Scott & Co.

It was voted, on motion of MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, that a Committee of three be appointed to solicit from State Presidents valuable autographs, to be sold at headquarters for the benefit of the N. A. W. S. A.

It was moved by Miss YATES that this Committee be appointed by the chair. Mrs. Thomas was made its Chairman with power to appoint her Committee.

Mrs. AVERY explained the plans for suffrage badge and suffrage stationery.

It was voted on motion of Mrs. PICKLER that Mrs. Avery be instructed to secure photographs of Miss Anthony and her home, and of the homes of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone and Lucretia Mott, and the church in Ohio where the first Suffrage Meeting was held, and that these be sold for the benefit of the Association.

It was voted that unfinished business be left to the Business Committee.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, JANUARY 26TH.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE MEETING.

Miss ANTHONY occupied the chair.

The Standing Committees were appointed for the coming year. (See lists at close of pamphlet.)

It was voted on motion of Miss CLAY to instruct the Program Committee that at the next annual convention the State Presidents' ten-minute speeches be intermingled with longer addresses.

By invitation, Mrs. L. C. HUGHES, of Arizona, presented the claim of Arizona for the next annual convention, and asked the committee not to decide on the place for it until they heard from Arizona.

Adjourned.

8 P.M.

Rev. ANNA SHAW occupied the chair.

It was voted that RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON be a committee to examine the manuscripts of Ellen Battelle Dietrick, and decide whether the Association can undertake their publication, Mr. Dietrick having made to it the generous offer of their free use.

It was voted that Mrs. AVERY be a Committee on Headquarters Supplies, with power to choose her own assistants.

Adjourned.

Thursday Morning, January 30th, 1896.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE MEETING.

It was voted that Mrs. CATT and Mrs. AVERY be authorized to travel to and fro between New York and Philadelphia for conference, at their discretion, at the expense of the general treasury or of the organization fund, according to the nature of their business.

It was moved by Mrs. UPTON that one copy of the National Suffrage *Bulletin* be sent to each one-dollar member of the N. A. W. S. A.

It was moved by Mrs. CATT as an amendment that it be sent to them for the whole year, but that the extra cost involved be paid to the organization fund by the general treasury. Carried by consent.

It was voted to pay the cost of packing the furniture of headquarters at Wimodaughsis.

It was moved by Miss CLAY that Mrs. Upton be allowed to give away what copies of the report of the Atlanta Convention she has to spare.

Miss ANTHONY proposed that several consecutive years' reports be bound by the Corresponding Secretary for libraries, or furnished to libraries to bind.

It was the sense of the meeting that the remainder of the reports be given away chiefly to libraries.

Miss CLAY announced her intention to move an amendment to Article III., Section 1, of the Constitution, which now stands as follows:

SECTION 1. All citizens of the United States subscribing to this Constitution, and paying not less than one dollar annually into the treasury of this Association, shall become members thereof, and shall be entitled to attend all its meetings, to participate in all discussions that may arise, and to receive reports and other documents published by it.

The following statement in regard to the financial affairs of the Kansas campaign of 1894 was voted by the Board, copies to be given to Mrs. Upton and Laura M. Johns, and signed by those officers who were members of the Board of 1894.

As some comments have been called out by a seeming discrepancy in the reports of the Treasurer of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association and the Treasurer of the Kansas Campaign Fund, the general officers of the N. A. W. S. A. wish to put on record the following statement:

The National Treasurer reported the sum sent to the Kansas Campaign Committee as \$2,570.90; the Kansas Treasurer reported the sum received from the National Treasurer as \$1,766.61. This seems like a large discrepancy, but the explanation is simple. The National Association paid direct for work done in the Kansas campaign the sum of \$800, which amount did not pass through the hands of the Kansas Treasurer. In her report the National Treasurer included this amount in the sum contributed by the National to the Kansas campaign; hence the difference in the two reports.

The remaining difference of \$4.29 is due to the fact that the books of the two treasurers closed at different dates, and a few small sums came in during the interval.

It was voted that the National Treasurer be authorized to employ a clerk at \$400 per year.

Mrs. AVERY stated that the rent of the headquarters and janitor's salary would cost \$412; that she wished to employ a secretary at \$420 a year, but that, as the corresponding secretary would have to have a secretary in any case, she wanted that charged to the general treasury, not to the headquarters fund. She estimated that the printing and postage on the minutes would come to not less than \$275. For work to be done at the headquarters she wants Nicolas Shaw at a salary of \$800 a year. Mrs. Avery expects also to do press work, sending out articles mimeographed to the State Press Chairmen, etc., and this, with postage, will cost about \$4 per week. She therefore wishes to charge to the headquarters fund, for press work, \$200 per year. \$100 per year will probably be

needed for extras—extra clerk hire in emergencies, etc. There is in hand for headquarters from Mrs. Southworth about \$575. It will be necessary to raise about \$937. Mrs. Avery thinks she can raise about \$500 by sale of badges, stationery, photographs, etc. Miss Anthony has in hand \$400 from the Clapp Fund, and will contribute it for the National headquarters through the New York State W. S. A.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. CATT, that the Corresponding Secretary be empowered to pay \$420 from the general treasury for clerk.

It was voted, on motion of Mrs. CATT, that Nicolas Shaw receive a salary of \$800 from the headquarters fund.

It was voted that \$412 be appropriated from the headquarters fund for rent and janitor.

It was voted that \$200 be appropriated from the headquarters fund for press work.

It was voted that Mrs. AVERY be allowed \$100 more from the headquarters fund for extras if absolutely necessary.

It was voted that the National Treasurer be authorized to send their salaries direct, monthly, to persons to whom a salary has been voted.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

It was moved that if either the Republican or Democratic party in California endorse suffrage, the N. A. W. S. A. will aid California through the campaign.

It was voted to employ Mrs. Johns to go to Arizona and New Mexico this spring.

It was voted that Mrs. Catt be authorized to try to make arrangements for Mrs. DeVoe in Oklahoma and Texas in the spring.

It was voted to decline the offer of the *Washington Post* to print for a consideration a full report of the Convention.

It was voted that the *Journal* and *Tribune* have equal advertising space in the *Bulletin*, and fill it as they please.

It was voted that Mrs. Catt be authorized to make arrangements with Mrs. Williamson to go through Nevada reviving lapsed clubs and organizing new ones.

A vote of thanks was passed to the proprietors of the *Arno* for entertaining the President of the Association free of charge.

It was voted that Mrs. Catt be authorized to employ Miss Gregg as advance agent in Delaware, and possibly in Virginia, and to have Mary C. C. Bradford come for three months' work there.

It was voted that Mrs. Nelson be sent to South Dakota if arrangements can be made.

It was voted that the necessary stationery and postage be supplied to the letter-writers.

It was voted that Miss Clay be letter writer for the South, to fill temporarily the place of the Southern Committee.

It was voted that we pay Miss Anthony her clerk hire (\$900 if she has the clerk), and that, if we cannot pay it regularly from the treasury, it be made up at the end of the year.

Adjourned.

GREETINGS.

During the convention, in addition to those already mentioned, the following persons and organizations sent letters:

Martha Powell Davis, of Kansas.

Helen M. Warren, of Wyoming.

Mrs. H. M. Teller, of Colorado.

Clara A. McDiarmid, of Arkansas.

Alice D. Clark.

Emily B. Ketcham, of Michigan, detained at home, but for so many years in attendance regularly at the annual meetings. The National Council of Women of the United States, by an official letter from its President, Mary Lowe Dickinson, expressed a very grateful acknowledgment of the co-operation

and help afforded by the Suffrage Association in carrying out the plans for the celebration of Mrs. Stanton's birthday. The report showed that the members of the Suffrage Association did their share, and more than their share, in contributions for expenses, in taking boxes and seats, in contributing to the Birthday Fund for Mrs. Stanton, and in numerous ways manifesting their great interest in the occasion.

Mrs. Dickinson noted with recognition Mrs. Colby's labor and time expended upon the report of the occasion.

"The American Party" sent through its Secretary, L. S. Gillick, of Nebraska, a copy of its platform which makes "the elevation of woman to political equality with man" the second of its two main issues.

Greetings were received from the Vallejo (California) Woman Suffrage Association.

From the Suffrage Committee of the Pomona (California) W. C. T. U. came the following telegram:

"The Lord giveth the word; the women that publish the tidings are a great host."

At the request of about thirty of the delegates, mostly from the West, Miss Anthony sent a message to Mrs. Cleveland, asking her to receive the ladies. An hour was given them by the President's wife, and they felt repaid for making the visit, as they were cordially and pleasantly received.

REPORTS FROM AUXILIARY STATES.

ARIZONA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

As the president of the Suffrage Association of Arizona, I bring you greeting and good cheer from the sisters and workers of that far-off land,—the land of perpetual sunshine, where the flowers bloom every day in the year, and where we have constant seed-time and harvest.

When I say I am proud to have Arizona represented in this convention, it does not half express my feelings, for Arizona and her every interest are very dear to me.

When I joined my husband in Arizona twenty-four years ago—he had preceded me one year owing to failing health—the Territory was pretty much under the control of Apache Indians. There were but four small settlements in the Territory, and I had to ride five hundred miles by stage through the desert, night and day.

There was not a public school nor a Protestant church. I opened the first public school for girls in the Territory. Now we have 220 school districts and more than 300 teachers, and over 16,000 children of school age. I have seen a population of less than 5,000 grow to 80,000, and all in a few years of pioneer life. Is it any wonder I am proud and watchful of Arizona's every interest?

We have made many conquests, and are now entering upon the threshold of Statehood. And I rejoice to say to you that we have high hopes that when Arizona assumes the sacred functions of a Commonwealth, it will be with men and women standing equal before the law, clothed with equal rights and privileges in the fullest sense of the term, every mother armed with the power which will enable her to protect the home. And why not? Why should not we, who, with our husbands, have borne the heat and burden of the day, struggled with them in civilizing a wilderness, preparing the way for a sovereign State, built school-houses, churches, homes, and every other civilizing institution, and fought with them against privation and danger,—why should not we enjoy with them the fruits of their—not their but our—labor? Who will dare say nay? Our true pioneer men, almost without exception, are willing and anxious that we shall enjoy this right. The strongest opposition comes from the saloon and gambling element. And this ought to be the strongest argument in favor of the right. Now is the time to win for this important issue in Arizona, for public opinion on this as well as on many other political and social questions is in an unsettled state. It is in a plastic condition—forming, as it were. Now is the time to give right direction to public opinion and crystallize it into law. This must be done before we come to Statehood, for it will be much more difficult then than now.

A bill to admit Arizona is now before Congress. It provides for a constitutional convention, which will require the election of delegates to that convention. The constitution framed, it will have to be submitted

to the people for ratification; then will follow the election of State officers.

It is of the most vital importance that our women be enfranchised before the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, to the end that they may have a voice in the election of delegates as well as in the adoption or rejection of the constitution. The Congressional enabling act provides that all persons qualified as voters under the territorial law shall be qualified to vote for delegates to the constitutional convention and for the ratification or rejection of the same.

If our women are enfranchised before the enabling act is passed then Arizona is safe, and no power can prevent them from being accorded their rights in the constitution, and if their rights were not conceded they would see to it that the constitution fail of ratification. I want to urge upon you the necessity of concentrating your work upon Arizona and Oklahoma, and more especially in Arizona at the present time, even at the expense of neglecting every State in the Union. Secure these two now while you may with the least cost of time and expense. This work must be done during the next twelve months; yes, before the next election, which takes place in November of this year, so that the next Legislature will have the opportunity of passing the bill enfranchising women. This done, and the victory is won for all time. I hope this Convention will see the importance of giving us the needed help at this time.

You will find willing workers there, as the field is ripe unto the harvest. I think it would be well to appoint a committee to look after Arizona—yes, to save Arizona. If this is done, I believe when the next National Convention meets we can report Arizona is safe.

MRS. L. C. HUGHES, *President*.

ARKANSAS EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

We started the year with flattering prospects. The organizing committee sent us Mrs. Meriwether, of Tenn., for twelve lectures, and effected organizations in the following places: Forrest City, Lonoke, Clarksville, Beebe, Judsonia. She spoke twice in Little Rock to good houses, and in Clarksville once during our annual meeting. The court-house was packed to overflowing,—the first time in the history of the town that any one had ever spoken on suffrage.

We sent all the above auxiliaries suffrage literature, but fear they have not lived, not having heard from them since.

In October Dr. Martyn, of Chicago, delivered a lecture in Y. M. C. A. Hall, on the New Woman. It was an earnest plea for the ballot for woman, and the first to be given by any minister.

I was invited to give a series of parlor talks, selecting my own subject, which was, of course, the woman question. Our first lecture began with Eve, following up the Bible women, then on to the nineteenth century, when we added to the program a sketch of some woman reformer, taking in succession Margaret Fuller, Anne Hutchinson, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and the last day being soon after November 12th, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony. We had a full report of Mrs. Stan-

ton's birthday celebration in New York, with sketch of her in *Harper's Bazar*.

We had Miss Anthony's arrest and trial, and her argument pending the trial. I gave them each a photo souvenir of them; we discussed the Woman's Bible over the chocolate and cake; all were delighted, and expressed themselves as sorry the talks were over, hoping they would be resumed very soon.

I believe my own forte is with the young women, and shall take every opportunity to talk to them. We are arranging for a program,—the Bulletin "ballot box;" one of our young women will sing the new suffrage song that ought to be sung everywhere, "American Citizens."

We deeply deplore the death of Mrs. Dietrick.

We are in favor of holding the next Annual Convention either at Atlanta or Charleston.

CLARA A. MCDIARMID, *President*.

CALIFORNIA STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Never before in its history has California had so active an interest in woman suffrage, but never before has there been anything so definite for which to work.

For years bills have been presented at the biennial sessions of our Legislature asking for the enfranchisement of women, either partially or wholly, but they have never been carried through. The nearest approach to success was in 1893, where a bill for full suffrage passed both Houses, which the Governor, however, failed to sign.

The W. C. T. U. have done their part well in suffrage work, and for a number of years have sent their delegation to the capital to help.

It is hard to realize the change that has taken place in sentiment and activity since last spring. It is like a young giant awakening from a long sleep. First came the reason for putting forth effort, in the passage, on March 15, 1895, by our Legislature, of a resolution to submit to the voters at the election in November, 1896, an amendment to the State Constitution by which the word "person" shall be substituted for the word "male," the words "he and she" for "he," and the words "his and her" for "his." Then came the splendid Woman's Congress in May, with Susan B. Anthony and the Rev. Anna H. Shaw as honored guests. To the presence and eloquence of these women is due the many conversions of both men and women, and the general awakening.

Our active work was begun last Fall by a course of lectures from Miss Shaw, which was a great success, both as to size of audiences and enthusiasm aroused, and in a monetary way. During the five weeks of her stay she lectured twenty-nine times and preached four, travelling from the extreme north of our great State down to Los Angeles.

The interim between that lecture course and the spring campaign is being spent in organizing auxiliary clubs, and interesting people as much as possible in our cause by correspondence, by distributing suffrage literature, sending items to interior papers, and by the circulation of a petition. This petition is to be presented to the different

State Nominating Conventions, asking them to put a plank in their respective platforms indorsing the resolution to amend the Constitution in relation to suffrage.

The executive work is in the hands of a Joint Campaign Committee composed of the Boards of Directors of the State Suffrage and Amendment Campaign Association. Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper is President of the latter Association, which was an outgrowth of the last Woman's Congress.

The great dailies are either friendly or entirely fair and respectful toward us, and there are many things to give encouragement. We hope for victory at the end of our labors.

With hearty greetings to our friends assembled in Convention.

Cordially yours,

ELLEN C. SARGENT,
Pres. Cal. State Woman Suffr. Assn.

COLORADO EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

In reporting the work done in Colorado the past year, we deeply regret that it has not been of more importance; yet we feel greater encouragement relative to the future of our organization than ever before.

Our quarterly executive meetings have been well attended, and we have endeavored to keep ourselves in touch with the suffrage work in other States.

Last May we had the pleasure of receiving, as visitors to our State, Miss Susan B. Anthony, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who delighted an enthusiastic audience at the Broadway theatre, and who were given a reception by the Woman's Club of Denver, one of the largest organizations of its kind in the West.

The *Colorado Woman*, a weekly magazine largely devoted to our interests, is edited by some of our leading suffragists.

Many of our prominent literary women of all parties are firm advocates of the cause, both at home and abroad.

Some of the most commendable legislative measures passed by our last General Assembly, were due, in the main, to the efforts of our enfranchised women.

Our new President, Mrs. T. M. Patterson, was one of the first active suffragists in the State, and will without doubt work zealously for the elevating principle of suffrage.

The victory that has come to Utah should encourage us to the noblest efforts. We are sure that we are right. Suffrage was never on such a sure footing in Colorado as now. The best women are its firmest advocates.

Let us advance, admitting no discouragement, knowing no defeat.

THEODOSIA G. AMMONS, *Secretary*.

CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

As Secretary of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association I am called upon to report progress here for the past year. "Slow but sure" is one motto in this land of steady habits, and woman suffragists have to fall into the general line, but their work has not been without its good results. Our State Association has entered upon its twenty-seventh year, and if the work of these years had never been, school suffrage for women in this State would probably have never been. The proportion of women who registered that first year (1893) was larger than that of some bigger States. But here is a problem for the expert on the law of averages, which Buckle says holds good in all statistics: Why do so many more women register than vote?

Our State Association, through its county vice-presidents, has distributed a large amount of suffrage literature among the rural homes of the State, as well as in the cities, and has placed it on the desks of our legislators. This has been the special feature of the work of our Association for the last twenty-five years, and the money with which to do it was raised largely by Mrs. Hooker's solicitation of wealthy personal friends, and by generous sums contributed by herself.

Our Association introduced a municipal suffrage bill in the Legislature last winter, and supported it by the presence of vigorous speakers at several legislative committee hearings, Mrs. Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, and Miss Yates, of Maine, being among the speakers. Most of them were questioned sharply by the chairman of the committee, and it is complimentary to these ladies that this chairman, who began his services as such in strong opposition to woman suffrage, ended by becoming a convert, and advocated it in a strong speech. Aside from our suffrage organization, one important factor in influencing legislation on woman suffrage was the Grange, an organization composed mostly of farmers and their families, and one that is said to have been the first in the land to admit women on a perfect equality with men. We should do justice to this great organization. In this small State alone there are over eleven thousand members.

There are now four local clubs in the State, auxiliary to the State Association, viz., the Meriden Political Equality Club, the Willimantic Equal Rights Club, and the Southington Equal Rights Society, less than a year old. These with the Hartford Equal Rights Club, the oldest of the number, and perhaps the largest, make four good suffrage clubs for the State, though we should like one for each county, if not for each town.

The last annual meeting was held in Southington last October, and the reports of the vice-presidents, and of the local clubs, showed that neither the work nor the interest in woman suffrage is dying out, though one of our State Representatives said last year that it would be but a few years before the women would be round again begging to have suffrage taken away from them, as they didn't want it, and were not using it. Our State Association has had blanks printed and circulated for securing statistics as to the tax-paying women of the State, and the amount of property on which they are taxed. This work is a slow one, but it has

been started in several places. Our New Haven county vice-president reports that in that town alone women own property to the value of \$10,976,560; that is the amount they are assessed on, and this does not include the women whose taxes go in with their husbands', a large number. One of the assessors told her it was surprising how many men were shirking payment of their taxes by assigning their property to women.

One of the resolutions passed at our annual meeting in October was to the effect that it is not enough that the age of consent should be raised, it should be abolished. This idea is one worthy of consideration. The State makes crime legal at a certain age,—a crime as deadly in its influence over a woman's life as murder would be, generally more so; a crime that makes, for the woman concerned in it, a hell on earth worse than the never-ending pit of brimstone we sometimes hear of. Does it not make government seem like a farce to legalize this crime? I hope petitions for age of consent bills will hereafter be changed to petitions for its abolishment.

About eighty women are now acting on school boards throughout our State, and I am glad to report that we have a good, strong woman on our High School Committee,—Mrs. Elizabeth D. Bacon, President of our Equal Rights Club. As this club is auxiliary to the State Association, and thus indirectly connected with the National, it may be in place to give an item or two about it. A year ago last June it inaugurated the custom of decorating the graves of woman-suffragists—men and women. Members of the State Association took part in the services, and several clergymen. Parties were made up to all the different cemeteries in the vicinity where woman-suffragists were buried. Last June similar services were held,—memorial services equally important with those held over departed soldiers.

We can point with pride to our Theological Seminary, with its liberal President, Prof. Hartranft, a woman suffragist, who has formed a school of Sociology, to which women are admitted on the same terms as men. Mrs. Dietrick, not long before her death, gave a series of lectures in this school, on the subject of dress. This seminary has evolved from the old Windsor (Connecticut) Seminary, of the Jonathan Edwards School of Theology. It shows what time does in the matter of evolution.

Conservatism has its good side as well as its weak one, and when it does move, it means business. We trust that good old Connecticut will yet stand shoulder to shoulder with Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah.

FRANCES ELLEN BURR,
Sec. Conn. W. S. A.

DELAWARE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The first equal suffrage association in Delaware was formed in Wilmington; for more than a year a few earnest women had been trying to effect an organization, but it was not until the National Organizer, Mrs. Catt, wrote us that Delaware was a field in which the National Organization Committee intended to work that we were able to

make people feel it was worth while even to attempt it. We thought it would be well to have one club organized to meet the kindness shown by our National Association. Mrs. Avery of Philadelphia was asked to come and help us, which she very kindly did on the evening of the 18th of November, when the Wilmington Equal Suffrage Club was formed with 25 members. The membership increased to 53 by the time the annual convention convened.

Rev. Henrietta Moore and Mary G. Hay came into the State on December 4th and organized a club of 15 members at Stanton, and in Newport on the 5th one of 13 members, which has since increased to 17. On the 6th a club of 15 members was formed at New Castle.

Smyrna and Dover were then visited but so far without success. On the 13th Greenwood was organized, and a good working club of 8 members was formed. On the 16th Harrington organized a club of 27 members; this last club seems to have had no good leader, since we have heard nothing from it since its organization.

The State Convention was held on the 17th and 18th of January, and a surprising amount of interest was manifested. Delaware cannot be too grateful for the noble efforts of the two capable women sent to her. In view of the Constitutional Convention to be held February 1897 we all feel the necessity of every effort we can make to gain the end for which we are working, our enfranchisement.

MARGARET H. KENT, *Cor. Sec.*

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

As is well known, the people of the District of Columbia, men as well as women, occupy an anomalous position in the political affairs of this country, being a *disfranchised* community in a country whose governmental system is based on *enfranchisement*. And I wish to express the gratitude of the District of Columbia Woman Suffrage Association to the National Association that they admit us poor political nobodies to equal rights, equal privileges, equal responsibilities, and equal suffrage with our sister states.

The Association is in a prosperous condition. We have held nine regular and eight called meetings since our last report to you, and have received accession of new members. The papers prepared and subjects presented at these meetings have related to live every-day topics, and have aroused great interest and warm discussions, participated in by many members.

In the earlier part of the year our work was not well systematized. Our meetings were well attended and great interest was manifest—but the Association felt that greater results would be secured by a better organized effort; and at a called meeting in August a programme for the coming year was arranged, a copy of which is submitted. It provided for a committee to take charge of each monthly meeting, and presented subjects for these meetings as follows:

Thursday, October 10th, "Kindergartens in the Public Schools," Eudora Lucas Hailman, Chairman.

Thursday, November 14th, "Industrial Schools as a part of the Public School System," Clara Bewick Colby, Chairman.

Thursday, December 12th, "The Importance of Beauty in the Life of the Poor," Elizabeth Hailman, Chairman.

Thursday, January 9th, "Trades Unions," Jennie Bowin Munroe, Chairman.

Thursday, February 13th, "Missions," Bessie Boone Cheshire, Chairman.

Thursday, March 12th, "Abnormal Characteristics of Delinquents," Dr. Grace Roberts, Chairman.

Thursday, April 9th, "Women of the Period in Modern Literature," Catherine Garst, Chairman.

Thursday, May 14th, "Progress of the Year at Home and Abroad," Martha Powell Davis, Chairman.

To the Chairman of the Committee on each subject was assigned the preparation of a Thesis upon it, a copy of which was furnished to each member of the Committee, at least two weeks previous to its presentation to the meeting. The members of the Committee then led in the discussion of the subject, after which the debate was thrown open to the members of the Association. In order that our discussion might not be barren of results, some definite action has been taken bearing upon each subject presented. I will briefly notice some of these measures.

As a result of our meetings on November 14 and December 12, when "Industrial Schools as a part of the Public School System" and "The Importance of Beauty in the Life of the Poor" were the subjects presented and discussed, a committee was appointed to prepare a memorial to present to Congress, asking for an appropriation of money to continue through the long summer vacation the manual training instruction established in all the grades of our Public Schools, and thus furnish much needed opportunities to children and youth, who would otherwise be idle and usually on the streets during this long vacation. Our Association takes the ground that it is better and cheaper to educate children in the practical affairs of life, work and good citizenship, than to employ officers of the law to watch idleness and control its always consequent viciousness and criminality.

At our called meeting of November 22, at the time when the Knights of Labor were holding their National Convention in this city, the following preamble and resolution were prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose, and presented to this great assembly of Knights of Labor.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 22, 1895.

TO THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED:

Honored Sirs:—Inasmuch as your organization makes no distinction between men and women in the rights, duties and privileges pertaining thereto, and since your platform demands equal pay for equal work without regard to sex, and at various times you have adopted resolutions favoring woman's political enfranchisement:

Therefore, the District of Columbia Woman Suffrage Association respectfully urges that you, when instructing your Assemblies to ask their Congressmen for legislation restoring suffrage to the District of Columbia, request also that the demand be made for all citizens without distinction of sex.

This committee was most courteously received by the Knights of Labor, and the Convention unanimously adopted the resolution without reference to a committee, a method of procedure almost unexampled in

the history of that body. The Association has also done considerable work outside of that outlined in the program: I mention one instance of many. The poem "Equality" that followed our program for the year only told a part of the story. So the society appointed Mrs. Goff to tell the rest. In a pamphlet of seven pages she has told the entire history of suffrage in the District of Columbia,—when given, and when taken away. Five hundred copies of this pamphlet and fifteen hundred of our programs were sent to the Atlanta Exposition for distribution. Mrs. Mary L. McLendon writes of them to me:

Your "Suffrage in the District of Columbia," your programs and other suffrage leaflets, did a good work. I gave many of them out myself to both men and women who came to my desk. They were interested enough to take them and promise to read them and study the subject.

As indicating the increasing interest in equal suffrage taken in the District of Columbia, I will mention that a club was to-day organized by Mrs. Catt from among the graduates and undergraduates of the Washington High School to study and discuss the question. It is hoped this club will be but the first of many that will in the near future be formed.

The members of the Winodaughsis were invited to join with us in celebrating the anniversary of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's birthday. It seemed more a celebration of the great work of both Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony. Their names were as inseparably connected in the addresses given as their work has been.

There originated in our Association, through an address by Emma Gillett, the bill which is now in the hands of the District Federation of Women's Clubs, where it has great prospects of success. The work is in charge of Mrs. Ellen Mussey, who has prepared a memorial and accompanying bill entitled, A Bill to amend the laws of the District of Columbia as to married women; to make parents the natural guardians of their minor children, and for other purposes. This memorial and bill was presented to the Senate on the 22d of this month by Senator McMillan of Michigan, who is chairman of the Committee for the District of Columbia.

I may also mention that as a direct result of action taken two years ago by our Association, and followed up by securing proper legislation from Congress, two women were this year appointed members of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of the District of Columbia and are now serving as such.

I have submitted a report from the Woman Suffrage Association in the District of Columbia, more in detail perhaps than may seem necessary on this occasion, but I have done so because it is a cardinal point in the belief of our Association that the "new woman" should be better fitted than *man* is for the intelligent exercise of her rights and franchises, when that good time comes—that's almost here—comes, by a systematic study and investigation of the vital questions in political, educational and economic sociology. And we wish to show to the National Association just how we hew to the line of our belief.

ELLEN POWELL THOMPSON.

WOMAN'S EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION IN GEORGIA.

The meeting of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association in Atlanta last winter marks an era in the history of Georgia.

No amount of distributed literature could so well have explained the nature and object of the work undertaken by the women of this Association.

The spirit it awakened in our midst has extended to all classes, and led to much discussion of the subject among men and women everywhere,—which will eventually lead to the full emancipation of our women, as there can be but one result whenever people begin to think and reason upon the subject.

In Atlanta it did much to arouse interest in our local association, which led to a large increase of members. We at once began to work, and committees were appointed for an extension of our usefulness in various directions.

The most notable was for the effort to secure the creation of the office and appointment of police matron in Atlanta. In this we have *not* yet succeeded, but we intend to continue our efforts.

We have also begun the work of ascertaining the amount of taxes paid by the women of Georgia, and hope before the next meeting of our Legislature to have the exact figures.

We had two bills ready for the last Legislature, one for the raising of the age of consent in Georgia from ten years to eighteen, and the other for the placing of the women in the State upon an legal and political equality with men. The latter bill was very carefully prepared by a lawyer, a member of our association, and we had it introduced by our Fulton Co. Representative. It was referred to a committee, and we were promised a hearing before this committee, but did not get it, much to our disappointment. However, the bill was introduced, and we will have it up again next winter, when the Legislature meets, when we will have more time to look after it, and the people will be a little better educated upon the subject.

The State Organization has sustained an irreparable loss in the resignation of its President, Miss Augusta Howard, and its Secretary, Mrs. Claudia Howard Maxwell,—able and efficient officers, whose places it will be difficult to fill. An election was held by correspondence, as prescribed by the Constitution, when no annual meeting can be had, and Mrs. F. Cater Swift was elected President; Mrs. U. O. Robertson, Secretary; Miss Wilson, Treasurer. The officers elected were McLendon and Mrs. Allen remain the same. The Vice Presidents were those of the Atlanta Association, and they find it impossible to accept the honor,—that is, the President and Secretary. So the organization is signified her willingness to serve as Treasurer. Miss Wilson has without the necessary officers, and it is to be hoped that some action will be taken soon to have the state again with its full quota.

An annual convention, it seems to me, is the best method of holding the organization together, as the regular election of officers can then be held and the regular business be transacted.

The Suffrage Congress held under the auspices of the Board of Women Managers of the Cotton States and International Exposition proved a most interesting and successful one, and beneficial, as it was a public recognition of the N. A. W. S. A. as one of the forces and potent factors for the advancement of the civilization of to-day.

A booth was fitted up in the Liberal Arts Building of the Exposition by the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association for the distribution of our literature, and a great deal was given out. It was reported to us that much interest was manifested, and there was a great demand for pamphlets and leaflets. We exhausted the funds in the treasury in this venture, forgetting that the dues of the National should be sent on before the 1st of January. We did get up the amount, but did not get it sent on till after the prescribed time. All of this delay was, in large measure, due to change of officers, and those acting not being posted as to their duties.

(Signed)

F. CATER SWIFT, *President pro tem.*
MARY L. MCLENDON, *First Vice-President.*
MRS. U. O. ROBERTSON, *Secretary.*

ILLINOIS EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association has been working along the usual educational lines the past year.

The local societies have been busy with district and county conventions, lectures, the organization of new societies, and the attendance on the last sad rites of dead ones, articles in papers, of which there have been an unusual number, and the usual work attending a legislative campaign.

Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe did good work as a lecturer and organizer, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt came into our State for a short time, and delivered a number of very acceptable speeches in and near Chicago.

Rev. Ida Hultin, of Moline, has been called upon for addresses at conventions, and Illinois women are just finding out that a full-fledged orator is in our midst. She is strong and convincing as a speaker.

Chicago is becoming better organized, and many good workers are coming into the Association.

The Political Equality League, organized in 1894, by the Chicago Woman's Club, with Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley as its talented President, is becoming quite a power in the city.

The Association, under the leadership of our Portia, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, introduced a bill in the Illinois Legislature, asking for township suffrage for women citizens. This bill had so nearly carried in the previous Assembly that it was considered wise to repeat the request. Although the bill was lost the educational advantages were large. Mrs. McCulloch made repeated trips to Springfield, taking with her women of ability to work personally with the legislators.

On the way to the State Convention at Decatur, in April, a large number of the best speakers in the State had a hearing in the House, with much good result in seed-sowing.

Some day Illinois will reap the fruits of this good work. It may be a long time coming, but women will yet have the full franchise in our beautiful Prairie State.

MARY E. HOLMES, *President.*
RENA MICHAEL ATCHISON, *Secretary.*

INDIANA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

It gives me pleasure to report much active work done for suffrage in Indiana during the past year. Many of us believe that there is no Constitutional inhibition of woman suffrage in the state, and to the end of securing a decision of the Supreme Court on this point it was deemed wise to make a test case in the courts. At the last general election about two thousand women in two hundred different sections of the state offered their ballots. All were courteously treated, and much agitation of the subject was the result. As previously arranged, I was to carry the case to the courts. I did so, with the friendly assistance of the Election Board, and all parties concerned. I was admitted to the bar, and made my plea in the Superior Court. I was ably assisted by my associate attorneys, Messrs. Sayler and Sayler, and my husband, John D. Gougar, Mr. L. M. Sayler, however, leading the case. Every body concerned in the case, whether believing that our law is sufficient or not, has been most courteous and helpful, which shows gratifying growth of public sentiment on behalf of our cause. The judge in the lower court wrote an exhaustive opinion holding that the law is not sufficient to enable women to vote, which sends the case where we desire it—to the Supreme Court. I have this day received notice that the case will be reached very soon, probably within this month. A motion is pending to allow me to make the oral argument before this higher court. If this is granted I will be the first woman to be thus permitted to appear before the Supreme Court in this state. Again this shows a marked growth of public opinion when we remember that it is only about two years since the law of the state has been construed to admit women to the practice of law in any of the courts. Copies of my attracted very wide-spread interest among the legal profession and that class of minds most desirable to win to our cause. The Union printed argument have been sought for from every state in the Union and Canada as well as in England. Many able jurists have written me that if they had the decision to make it would be to concede our demand. Should the higher court decide against our legal right, the agitation has been of sufficient benefit to repay the time and expense of the test. Should it find we can vote the same kind of a decision would enfranchise the women in every state except Massachusetts. In addition to this we have held twenty-three county conventions during the year, and perfected organizations therein.

HELEN M. GOUGAR, *President.*

IOWA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Organization.

The most important work accomplished by the State Association for the year 1895, has been by means of organization. An effort has been made to organize all the political equality clubs in each Congressional District into a district association, each district so organized to hold an annual convention in addition to the annual State Convention,—each district association taking upon itself the duty and responsibility of forming and organizing new clubs in all towns and cities and townships, etc., possible in the district. Under this plan the Eighth and Eleventh Congressional Districts of Iowa have been organized, and many new clubs started in each district.

State Organizer.

In order to more effectually carry out this line of work Mrs. Adelaide Ballard, of Hull, has been appointed State Organizer to complete the organization of the congressional districts, and before our next annual convention we hope to have each district thoroughly organized.

State Enroller.

Our State Enroller, Miss Ella Moffitt, of Marshalltown, succeeded in getting a large number of signatures to the petitions circulated throughout the State favoring suffrage and asking our legislators to favor a constitutional amendment, and before the coming session of the next general assembly many thousand more signatures will be secured and the petitions presented to our legislators for consideration.

Suffrage Literature Distributed.

A large amount of suffrage literature was distributed at the time the petitions were circulated. Our superintendent of press work secured space in a few State papers for Suffrage articles, and succeeded, through the efforts of local clubs, in establishing a regular column devoted to our work in a few other papers. A most interesting and instructive letter from Susan B. Anthony to our State Association was read before our last State Convention.

Woman's Day at State and County Fairs.

The practice of having a "Woman's Day" at our annual State Fair has proved to be of great benefit to our suffrage work. At many of our county fairs, throughout the State, the local suffrage clubs have succeeded in having a day set apart as their day to present the suffrage question. In addition to the able addresses given at these County and State Fair days a large amount of suffrage literature is distributed.

Lecturers and Speakers.

Our State Enroller was also employed by the State Association to deliver a series of lectures, and did most excellent work, delivering in all twenty-nine addresses, speaking in seventeen different counties. Laura M. Johns, of Kansas, was also employed as a State lecturer, and delivered several addresses. In addition to the above named speakers, many, if

not all, of the clubs secured speakers to deliver one or more addresses in their immediate locality.

Legislative Committee.

A Legislative Committee has been appointed to have exclusive charge of all petitions or suffrage bills brought before the legislature in behalf of the State Suffrage Association.

State Executive Committee.

All the State work of the Association is in the hands of an Executive Committee, the chairman of which is Mrs. Etta Kirk of Des Moines.

Course of Study.

The clubs throughout the State have generally adopted the course of study suggested by the National Association.

Paid-up Members.

Six hundred and ten members have paid their State dues to our State Association. But this number by no means represents the number belonging to suffrage clubs in the State but only those who have contributed to the State fund.

Effect of Limited School Suffrage Bill.

At our last general assembly the following law was passed: "That in any election hereafter held in any city, incorporated town or school district for the purpose of issuing any bonds for municipal or school purposes or for the purpose of borrowing money or increasing the tax levy, the right of any citizen shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex, and women may vote at such elections the same as men under the same restrictions and qualifications."

Several questions of importance have arisen in connection with this law since its passage.

1. Is the act constitutional, inasmuch as our State constitution provides that only male citizens shall be entitled to vote.
2. If constitutional does the law give women the right to vote on the financial part of the question alone, or both on the tax question and for the candidates for office?

The Supreme Court of Iowa has not passed on these questions. In a few localities the women voted both on the money questions presented and for officers. In other localities they were permitted to vote only on the tax question, and compelled to deposit their ballots, if at all, in a separate box, in order that the male vote should not be corrupted. In other places the women refused to cast their ballot in the tainted box and did not vote. Notwithstanding all these knotty legal problems the women succeeded in a few places in electing women to the school board. Personally I feel as if the women of Iowa had gained but little if anything by the passage of this law.

Signs of Progress.

The progress we are making can be judged in no better way than by the class and kind of women who are becoming interested in the work.

In Iowa, it can be truthfully said that our Association is composed of the best, most refined and intelligent women of the State, and we are receiving support and encouragement from our ablest men.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. M. LLOYD KENNEDY, *President*.

MISS KATHERINE M. PIERCE, *Recording Secretary*.

KANSAS EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The formation of campaign clubs, in cities where an Equal Suffrage Association already existed, during our recent disastrous defeat, most effectively killed the existing organization. A strong effort was made by the state officers to induce these clubs, after active work was over, to become auxiliary to the state E. S. A. Owing to various causes, such as exhaustion, finances, politics, etc., the effort proved unavailing with the exception of a few sporadic instances. At the beginning of this year we had 12 associations auxiliary to the state E. S. A. This does not by any means properly represent the suffrage sentiment of Kansas, but it does show that we are weak where we should be strong, that is in organization. During the year an effort was made to obtain statistics regarding the number of tax-paying women of our state, but returns, owing to the fact of disorganization, were meager. The object was to petition our next legislature for bond suffrage. It was also intended to include in this petition Presidential Suffrage.

November 21st and 22d the annual convention was held in Eureka, and although the attendance was small it proved useful and instructive. The President, Laura M. Johns, whom all revere as giving so many years of her life to Kansas women, declined to be again a candidate and the following officers were elected:

Katie R. Addison, President, Eureka.

Fannie Bobbett, Vice President, Winfield.

Lucia O. Case, Treasurer, Topeka.

Mrs. S. A. Thurston, Parliamentarian, Topeka.

Dr. Emily Newcomb, Librarian, Kansas City.

Laura A. Gregg, Recording Secretary, Garnett.

Ray McIntyre, Corresponding Secretary, Eldorado.

Plans have been formulated for the ensuing year. A small paper is to be issued, probably once a month, in order that our friends may keep in touch with one another.

Organization will be pushed from the school districts up, strictly on a non-partisan basis.

KATIE R. ADDISON, *President*,
LAURA ADELIA GREGG, *Secretary*.

KENTUCKY EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

The organizations of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association have during the past year confined themselves to local work, organizing, and preparatory work for the Legislative session of 1896. The Legislature of 1894 having conferred the right of school suffrage

upon the women of the second class cities, a vast amount of labor was necessary preparatory to the elections which occurred in November last.

The women of Covington, Newport and Lexington canvassed their cities to ascertain the names of the qualified women voters, giving information as to the qualifications of the voters, places of registration and methods of voting. The result of the election showed that about 2600 women voted in Newport, 2000 in Lexington, 5000 in Covington. Lexington was the highly-favored city of the three, having elected four women on the Board of Education. Judge Frank Bullock of Lexington appointed women as officers for the school board registration and election.

The Annual State Convention, held in Richmond, December 10th, 11th, 12th, resolved to present bills for the following measures to the General Assembly of 1896:

1. To raise the "Age of Consent" from twelve to eighteen years. A special committee was appointed to look after this bill, on account of the delicacy of the subject.
2. For the establishment of Houses of Reform for boys and girls, with women on the boards of management of both institutions.
3. That mothers be made co-guardians with fathers of minor children.
4. That women assistant physicians be employed in the State Asylums for the insane.
5. That school suffrage be granted to all the women of the State.
6. That Presidential Suffrage be extended to women.
7. That a constitutional amendment be submitted to grant the General Assembly power to extend full suffrage to women at its discretion.

Miss Laura Clay and Mrs. Farmer arranged a short tour for organization during last August in Glasgow, Bowling Green, and Elizabethtown. Large audiences assembled in the court houses, and much interest was manifested. They spoke also in Paducah, where their object was to interest the women in securing an amendment to their city charter, so that the women of the third class cities can have the right of school suffrage as in the second class cities.

Under the auspices of the free lecture bureau the following persons have delivered addresses: Miss Clay, in Owensboro, Hawesville, Richmond, and five times in Lexington; Mrs. S. H. Sawyer, in Williams-town, Stanford, Wilmore and other places; Mrs. E. B. Farmer, twice in Ludlow, six times in Covington.

The following resolutions were adopted by the recent State Convention: "That in the massacre of the Armenians, and the silence of the so-called Christian nations in remonstrance, the Turkish government indicates the want of the political influence in government of the more humane sex, women."

"That we seek the co-operation of all organizations of men and women which are in sympathy with the principles of political equality."

"That we will petition Congress to protect women equally with other citizens against State denials of the right of suffrage by a law made in pursuance of that clause of the first section of the 14th amendment of the Constitution, this matter to be placed in the hands of Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett."

Memorial services were held during the second afternoon of the con-

vention for those removed by death during the past year,—Mrs. Charity Warner, Mrs. Somers, Miss Georgia Thurston, and Mrs. Ellen Battelle Dietrick. These two last-named were charter members of the Covington and Kentucky Equal Rights Associations. Mrs. F. K. Hunt was the President of the Women's Owens Club, which did such distinguished service for public morality during the celebrated Ashland Congressional Contest.

LAURA CLAY, *President*.
EUGENIA B. FARMER, *Secretary*.

PORTIA CLUB, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

The Portia Club is the only suffrage club in Louisiana. The majority of the prominent members are teachers, who have not the leisure to devote themselves to lecturing and organizing clubs throughout the State. I am confident that an energetic canvass by good speakers would be productive of beneficial results. Last April we had the pleasure of hearing Miss Yates, and we regretted exceedingly that her plans would not permit a lecturing tour in our State. By invitation of the Portia and Woman's Clubs the "Association for the Advancement of Women" held their annual Congress in New Orleans last November, and they were enthusiastically received. It is the first time in the history of New Orleans that an organization composed of women has assembled in our city. Doubtless the people were very desirous of meeting and hearing the distinguished president, Julia Ward Howe, but the Congress itself, apart from its distinguished officers, was a great treat to our people. Mrs. Clara Colby gave us a fine lecture on the "Philosophy of Woman Suffrage," after which followed a symposium on suffrage in which members of our club participated. The success of the Congress has called attention to our club and its work, and doubtless increased membership will follow. The legislature will meet next May, and we will endeavor to have some of the legal disabilities of women removed. Women are allowed to serve on school boards, and the governor has appointed several women on parish boards.

FLORENCE HUBERWALD, *President*.

MAINE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

"Though beaten back in many a fray
Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the vanguard rests to-day,
The rear shall camp to-morrow!"

The Maine Woman's Suffrage Association labored hard by petitions and otherwise to secure the passage, through our last legislature, of a bill for municipal suffrage for women. It passed the House of Representatives by a majority of twenty-four, but in the Senate the bill was buried under the selfish votes of four men for whom no woman ever voted, and who doubtless feared that none ever would, even if they had the chance.

But the Maine Woman's Suffrage Association, which with its co-workers in this branch of much needed reform, has for so many years labored by voice and pen to create public sentiment in favor of it, and many times has knocked at the doors of the halls of our legislature and been admitted for a "hearing," but our plea rejected after all our efforts,—does not feel that this last unexpected defeat is final, and our cause lost forever. We are determined to push the battle to the gate, and to keep "pegging away" upon the voters and their representatives at the State House until victory is obtained and justice given to the mothers of men.

The "hearing" before the Judiciary Committee of the Legislature, on January 31st, 1895, was reported as follows to the "Star in the East," the organ of the Maine W. C. T. U.: "Women from every county in the State spoke in favor of the petition. Representatives' Hall and all other portions of the State House were filled with interested women. For the first time since Augusta Opera House was built it was found to be too small, for many hundreds were unable to secure admission in the evening to the address of Lady Henry Somerset.

"No finer audience ever assembled in Maine than the one which greeted her. Besides the members of the Legislature, (and nearly all were present), there were many State officials and notable men and women. Among them were the presidents of the leading educational institutions of the State."

We want politics refined. There are many good men in Maine, but there are more good women than good men, and more good women than bad women. Nearly 75 per cent. of the church membership are women, and more than 75 per cent. of our prison and jail inmates are men.

A local society was recently organized at Hampden Corner, well manned by efficient officers, who are in earnest to push the work; and will doubtless be very helpful to us in the coming campaign. We are bound to keep awake then, and work as never before.

"To keep awake is what the cause demands,
No rest can come to woman suffrage hands,
Until the Commonwealth shall ransomed be,
And lift once more the torch of liberty."

HANNAH J. BAILEY, *President*.

[For so many, many years Mrs. Jane H. Spofford was the Treasurer of the N. A. W. S. A., and she and Mr. Spofford were such generous hosts to our Annual Conventions in Washington, that it will be of special interest to hear directly from her in her new home, and to know just what she is doing to help the cause, which has always her warmest sympathy; therefore we append here, independent of the Maine Report, the report of the new association mentioned by Mrs. Bailey as it comes direct from Mrs. Spofford.]

HAMPDEN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

We have a small society in Eastern Maine auxiliary to the Maine State Association called the Hampden Woman's Suffrage Society. We organized in February, 1895, with twenty-three members. We found equal rights very unpopular with those who do not understand the principle.

We hold our meetings every two weeks. We have studied the Constitution of Maine, the Constitution of the United States, and also Parliamentary Rules and the Monroe Doctrine. We read from suffrage papers and the National *Bulletin*, and are preparing ourselves to vote intelligently. We hope to interest the men in Woman Suffrage indirectly through our Village Improvement Association, the By-laws of which say it is for the improvement of the highways by setting out trees, for better side walks and the improvement of the public buildings, and for better lighting of the streets. The result thus far is a present of an old church. We went to work to raise money to repair it, and the men have helped us by collecting funds, and given their work and time, and soon we shall have a fine hall for all reform work.

We celebrated Mrs. Stanton's eightieth anniversary. One hundred and fifty of our best citizens honored themselves by coming to hear for the first time of Mrs. Stanton's life work. Our local talent furnished well-prepared papers, recitations, essays, music, and a pantomime; we voted on the question "Shall women vote?" using the Australian system. Our town lawyer was judge of election: the result was forty yeas and seven noes. Only a small number voted.

What seems to be really the need of New England is organization. We may have been "skinned," but we have plenty of good timber left, and if you will help us organize, as you have done in the last year for New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Arizona, we will raise a Temple of Justice that the highest mountain peaks of the West cannot overshadow.

JANE H. SPOFFORD, *Corresponding Secretary.*

Hampden Corner, Maine.

MARYLAND WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

As heretofore we have to regret that lack of funds for advancing the cause of woman suffrage in Maryland has hampered us considerably during the past year. Owing to this it was impossible to carry out the wishes of the National Organization Committee, which had planned at least a dozen meetings in this state.

We are pleased, however, to report that Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, of Kansas, has lectured in our State eight times, either partly, or wholly, upon woman suffrage.

Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Havens, of Washington, and Miss Yates, of Maine, have spoken upon the same theme.

Both the Purity Congress and the W. C. T. U. Convention, in Baltimore, devoted considerable time to discussing the proposed enfranchisement of woman, and our sincere thanks are due for the direct, as well as the indirect, aid and comfort they rendered our cause. We are confident that the ultimate result of this hearty endorsement will be the conversion of many of our best citizens to the belief in the wisdom and justice of the political equality of the sexes.

The Baltimore local auxiliary has held a good many meetings and increased its membership. The recent loss of its energetic founder, Sarah W. Tudor, is to be deplored, but we believe others will take up the work which her hands labored so diligently to perform almost to the last day of her busy life.

Fifty copies of the proceedings of the Atlanta Convention have been mailed to different sections of the State, and we have distributed a large amount of other suffrage literature in Maryland, and sent some, by request, to West Virginia, to California, and to Finland.

We are confident our real strength is greater than our roll indicates. Witness the beautiful tribute to Elizabeth Cady Stanton at her birthday celebration by a Baltimore woman, Mary Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr College.

Mayor Latrobe, of Baltimore, last February, urged upon the City Council the advisability of appointing three women, at large, upon the school board, and the present mayor has recently made the same recommendation.

The oyster laws of Maryland have been so altered as to grant to every adult female citizen a right to locate five acres for planting oysters, thus enabling a family of average size to secure from fifteen to twenty-five acres. We learn that the passage of this law was due to the exertions of a bachelor in our Legislature; if so, we will wish for a whole assembly of such gallant men in the near future.

Our State Suffrage Convention, held December 3d and 4th in Baltimore, was well attended, and we were greatly favored to have with us such able speakers and willing assistants as Rev. Henrietta G. Moore and Miss Mary G. Hay. The former also lectured before a branch of the Baltimore W. C. T. U. on December 2d, and it was solely due to her fine arguments and to Miss Hay's stirring appeal that a welcome addition was made to our treasury and pledges given for future donations in

the spring to be devoted to organization. We amended our old constitution by adopting one recommended by our national officers, which is uniform with that of most of the other States.

MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, *President*.

MARGARET SMYTH CLARKE, *Recording Secretary*.

MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Massachusetts sent in 210 petitions for municipal suffrage, representing 133,111 persons, from 186 cities and towns. There were twelve remonstrances, with 748 signatures. We had a crowded hearing, with Lady Henry Somerset among the speakers. For the first time in history an anti-suffrage association, with a chairman and secretary, was organized by members of the Legislature inside the Legislature itself, and worked actively against equal suffrage. The bill was defeated, 137 to 97, and the Legislature voted instead for a sham referendum, i. e., to take a mock vote of all the men of the State and all the women entitled to vote for school committee, on the question, "Is it expedient to extend municipal suffrage to women?" The result of this so-called referendum was to have no legal validity, and was to give women nothing if it went in our favor.

The State Woman Suffrage Association was so disgusted by the obvious unfairness of this measure that at first it refused to have anything to do with the matter. At the closing Executive Committee meeting in June, it was found impossible even to pass a resolution recommending the women who favored suffrage to go to the polls and say so. A number of individuals who believed in taking advantage of the opportunity for an educational campaign formed themselves into a campaign committee, and did what they could during the summer. When the State Association re-assembled in October, the majority had become convinced of the wisdom of making a campaign, and the Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee worked hand in hand during the few weeks remaining before election. The sham referendum had been enacted in the Spring and the vote appointed to be taken early in November. This permitted only a few weeks of active work, as little could be done during the hot months while people were away. Nevertheless, there was a lively discussion. A "Man Suffrage Association" of influential men was formed, also a society of women remonstrants, the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women," both of which worked hard. At first they co-operated with the suffragists in getting up debates; but no man ever consented to take part in a debate against suffrage a second time, and toward the end of the campaign it became almost impossible to secure speakers in the negative.

The Suffrage Campaign Committee spent less than \$1,300. The Man Suffrage Association has refused to file a sworn statement of its campaign receipts and expenditures, as by law required, but according to the unsworn statement which it has published, it spent \$3,576. Considerable sums were also expended by the Women's Remonstrant Association. When the vote was taken, the men voted a little more than

two to one against woman suffrage, the women 25 to one in favor of it. The exact figures of the women's vote were, yea, 22,204; no, 864. There are 322 towns in Massachusetts. In 238 of these not one woman voted no. In only eight of the 322 towns and 31 cities did the number of women voting in the negative exceed 15, though the Man Suffrage Association covered the walls and fences throughout the State with huge posters urging the women to vote no.

The State Association has held well-attended fortnightly meetings at the Suffrage Parlors throughout the year; celebrated the Golden Wedding of Dr. and Mrs. Livermore, and the seventieth birthday of Henry B. Blackwell; united with the New England W. S. A. in a large festival and banquet in May; sent a speaker free of charge to all women's clubs and other organizations willing to hear the subject presented; brought the Woman's Day at the New England Chautauqua Assembly and public debates, question before 1,800 persons at parlor meetings and arranged by the Referendum Committee; supplied with suffrage news items all papers that would take them; published six suffrage leaflets and "The Legal Status of Married Women in Massachusetts," by Geo. A. O. Ernst; distributed more than 12,000 pages of literature among college students, 1,000 leaflets among Congregational ministers, 1,200 pages among Methodist ministers, and a considerable quantity among other denominations. In addition to this gratuitous distribution, the Association has sold more than five hundred dollars' worth of suffrage literature, principally leaflets at fifteen and thirty cents per hundred. It has received \$3,696, and expended \$2,355, exclusive of the \$1,200 expended by the Referendum Campaign Committee; has raised its membership to 1,100, 350 more than last year, and has this year paid to the National-American the largest dues in its history.

MARY A. LIVERMORE, *President*.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In March a plan was formed to secure a large petition for municipal suffrage, inviting the state society to join, sharing work and expense. A committee was appointed to confer with a committee of the other society and lay a plan for the work. Delays arose, and before the plans were in progress the movement so well known all over the country as the "sham referendum," was well started, so the petition plan was delayed to await the result of the referendum.

Some months ago it came to the mind of one of our members that there might be undue partiality in favor of men in the execution of the pardoning power in our state. As the Governor holds the power to pardon criminals, subject to the advice of his Council, it was suggested that getting a woman on the Governor's Council might result in a system of strict justice as well as being good suffrage work. On working up the idea it was found that the first step would be to petition for a change in the Constitution of Massachusetts. About

the same time a suggestion was made and widely discussed by the press to *abolish* the Governor's Council, many thinking it a needless part of the state machinery, so for the present we are waiting, intending to take steps toward an equal distribution of favors among women as well as men, even though they be of the criminal classes. In September we held a special meeting to discuss how best our Association could help the committee of suffragists working on the referendum movement. It was decided that money would help most, and \$25 was voted from our treasury, while each member was made a committee of one to aid as much as possible in the registration of women, also to influence men to vote *yes*.

In our small way we have responded to nearly all the calls from the parent association.

We bought New York Campaign Reports and circulated them where they would be read by those who see little suffrage literature, also the reports of our Annual Convention in the same way. We aided the treasury of the Pioneer Suffragists' Reunion, and at the last meeting voted a donation of \$10 in addition to our auxiliary dues. At the October meeting our President was, by vote of the Association, authorized to send the following telegram to Mrs. Stanton to be received on her 80th birthday: "The National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts sends joyous greetings to Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and congratulates her on her abundant harvest of good already accomplished and on the certainty of her widely extended influence in the future whenever human liberty shall need a champion."

At the November meeting, after a discussion on the referendum voting, the following resolution was adopted as the sense of the meeting, and the Secretary was instructed to send a copy to the Secretary of the "Man Suffrage Association."

WHEREAS, we recognize that the cause of Woman Suffrage has been advanced by the agitation and opposition of the "Man Suffrage Association," therefore *Resolved*, that we tender to its members our cordial thanks for their helpful co-operation.

At the present time we are working on a petition, which has been prepared this year on a broader basis than ever before. It is a *triune* petition asking (1) A joint resolution submitting a constitutional amendment, striking out the word "male" from the qualifications of voters. (2) A law enabling women to vote for presidential electors. (3) A law enabling women to vote in municipal elections. This form of petition prepared by the State Association is especially pleasing to ours, having desired to petition for a constitutional amendment in previous years but having limited the petition to municipal suffrage in order to act with the State Association and the Women's Christian Temperance Union in one large hearing.

We have, as usual, sent a petition to Congress asking for such a change in our National Constitution as will secure to the women of the several states the citizen's right to vote.

SALOME MERRITT, *President*,
LAVINA A. HATCH, *Secretary*.

MICHIGAN EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The Michigan Association had no measure before the last Legislature, although two members of the House, Representative Waldo, of Wayne, and Representative Kempf, of Washtenaw, each introduced a joint resolution to amend the Constitution by striking out the word "male."

There was some division of opinion as to the timeliness of such a measure, the majority of the active suffragists being loath to precipitate a campaign, while fully appreciating the whole-hearted intention of those who sought to carry the measure through the Legislature, and it was, therefore, by no effort of our own, brought to a vote in the House, May 8th, and defeated by four votes. A reconsideration was then moved and the measure tabled, where it remained till the close of the session.

Other measures before the last session for the amelioration of the condition of women were: a bill to provide police matrons in cities of over ten thousand inhabitants; a bill to provide a reformatory prison for women criminals; a bill in the Senate and three House bills to enable a husband to testify for or against his wife without her consent; a bill to remove the prohibition against women acting as trustees in Baptist churches; a bill regulating the age and hours of labor of girls and women employed in manufacturing establishments and providing conveniences in protection of sanitary and moral conditions; a bill in the Senate and two House bills to raise the age of consent from fourteen to eighteen years.

Of these measures three became law: that giving women in Baptist churches the right to become trustees; that relating to girls and women in factories, and the age of consent bill amended to sixteen years. This was the bill introduced by Senator McLaughlin, of Detroit, and owed its passage largely to the devoted efforts of the Senator's wife, Mrs. Josephine McLaughlin. She was assisted before the committees and in the Legislature by other energetic and able women and men, including several of the Detroit Suffrage Association, and our Bay City friends, Martha E. Root, Michigan member of the Executive Committee of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, and Melvin A. Root, Recording Secretary of Michigan Equal Suffrage Association. The law of Michigan permitting a girl to marry at sixteen stood in the way of the passage of the bill as introduced. Accordingly, after the bill passed at sixteen years, Mrs. McLaughlin turned her ardent efforts to obtaining a change in the law relating to marriage, and although it was so late in the session, the passage of an amendment was secured fixing the age of marriage at eighteen years, thus paving the way for the further raising of the age of consent at a future session.

Our Chairman of Legislative Committee, Mrs. Mary L. Doe, was in Lansing during the entire sitting of the Legislature, and gave constant attention to the bills in the interests of women. The Association at its last convention committed itself chiefly to the work of organization, as a necessary preparation for an amendment campaign into which we may be at any time precipitated through the

unadvised efforts of friends who become members of the Legislature and who are not familiar enough with the status of our work to understand our policy. Nevertheless, but two new clubs have been organized, one of which has not yet become auxiliary, and two disbanded have been reorganized since our annual convention in May. The direct result of that convention was a new and strong club in Saginaw. This city is a stronghold of conservatism, and the holding of the convention at this point and organization of the club were directly due to the indefatigable efforts and indomitable perseverance of President Emily B. Ketcham. Directly after the convention the new club rendered valuable assistance in the election of Mrs. Anna Palmer to the school board of Saginaw, its first woman member. A club has recently been organized in Lansing which gives promise of vital strength. There are now ten active clubs, and in the coming year, with the co-operation of the National, we hope to greatly enlarge our auxiliaryship. Some good local work has been done by each club, and several clubs observed the birthday of Mrs. Stanton with much enthusiasm. Detroit Association also celebrated the admission of Utah.

Mrs. Martha E. Root has given seven addresses before meetings of the People's Party, addresses on Woman's Day at the Spiritualistic Camp Meetings at Island Lake and Grand Ledge, speaking twice at the latter place, Mr. Root speaking also at Island Lake. The present president has made sixteen suffrage speeches in different parts of the State since the first of June, 1895. Political Equality Day was observed a second time, August 2d, at Bay View, the Michigan Chautauqua. Martha E. Root was placed upon the program, but Mrs. Knaggs was sent as her substitute. Eaton County Fair Association held a four days' Woman's Congress in connection with the county fair in October. This was the second year, and under the brilliant management of Mrs. Belle M. Perry proved so valuable a feature that the Fair Association will this year build a permanent auditorium.

During the year great and signal service has been rendered by Melvin A. Root, who, at the request of the Committee on Divorce Statistics involving much expenditure of time and money, compiled the divorce statistics for the eighty-four counties of Michigan, a work in which the Secretary of State showed great interest, and of the value of which he made official acknowledgement to Mr. Root, and will include it in the published vital statistics of the State, this branch of statistics having never before been compiled in this, or, as far as known, any other State.

Much excitement was created in the State, late in October, when it was found that a law, known as the "blanket-charter law," incorporating cities of the fourth class, *i.e.*, those of ten thousand or less inhabitants, might be construed to take away the school ballot from women. Chapter 4, Section 1, says: "The inhabitants of cities having the qualifications of electors under the Constitution of the State, and no others, shall be entitled to vote at such election who is a qualified voter of the city and qualified by the laws of the State to vote at any election for school officers." There are fifty-three cities of the fourth class in the State,

and a large number of women would be disfranchised if the law were interpreted as it reads.

Cities incorporated under a special act were given power to hold an election to decide upon the adoption of the charter, such election to be held before December 1st, 1895. When the discovery was made regarding the school franchise, twelve cities called such election, and every one voted "No," preferring to remain under their old charters and preserve the school ballot for their women.

Early in December, Attorney-General Maynard rendered an opinion to the effect that it was not the intent of the Legislature to deprive women of the school ballot, and therefore the right was still theirs. This opinion allayed the agitation, as it is believed that the Supreme Court would, upon occasion, sustain the opinion of the Attorney-General. The occurrence has demonstrated that the people of Michigan would not willingly have the women of that state deprived of the school ballot.

There are, at present, in the State nine women County School Commissioners, fourteen County Examiners, and about three hundred women members of school boards. The reports to the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (to whom we are indebted for these statistics), give only the names of Director and Clerk of school boards, but there are many women in both these positions. There is a far larger percentage of women members in country districts than in cities. Bay County has a woman Deputy Register of Deeds, and a woman Deputy Sheriff.

We mourn the loss, during the year, of our staunch friend and co-worker, Sarah E. V. Emery, whose brilliant gifts of mind, and whose undaunted heart were always at the fore-front in the service of right against wrong.

Yet we close up ranks and march on. The workers are taken, but the work remains. Other hands shall come to the rescue,

"And where the vanguard camps to-day,
The rear must rest to-morrow."

MAY STOCKING KNAGGS, *President.*
MELVIN A. ROOT, *Recording Secretary.*

MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

A married woman holds property in her own name. She makes contracts, and her property is liable only for her own debts. She cannot sell or convey real estate further than a mortgage for purchase money, or a three-years' lease, without her husband's joining her.

Contracts between husband and wife are void. Any married woman may receive, take, hold, use and enjoy property of any and every kind, and the rents, issues and profits thereof, and all the avails of her contracts and industry are free from the control of her husband as fully as if she were not married. She is not liable for the debts of her husband. She may make a will without the consent of her husband.

Under the laws of Minnesota, so far as property is concerned, men and women are equal.

In case the husband dies, the widow keeps the homestead for life, and is entitled to one-third of all the lands possessed by the deceased after all debts are paid. In case the husband dies without making a will, and leaves no children, the widow becomes absolute owner of all his property, both real and personal, forever.

In 1875 a constitutional amendment was submitted to the voters, authorizing the Legislature to enact laws permitting women to vote for school officers. It was adopted by a vote of 24,340 for, to 19,468 against, and women vote in many places and in larger numbers from year to year. When Legislatures are asked to grant municipal suffrage they make a mighty bulwark of the constitutional amendment of 1875, and plead inability in view of that precedent, but notwithstanding that amendment, a charter was given by the Legislature to the city of St. Paul which disfranchises the women by giving to the mayor the appointment of members of the school board, and they innocently remark that "there is no discrimination against the women, since the men of St. Paul do not vote for members of the school board," not taking into consideration the fact that men vote for the mayor and women are not permitted to do so.

The age of protection for girls was only ten years until 1891, when it was raised to fourteen years after thousands of men and women had asked that it be raised to eighteen years. The last Legislature refused to raise the age to eighteen though more petitions were sent in for that measure than for any other.

During the past year we have been so fortunate as to have two National organizers of the W. S. A. in our State, namely, Emma Smith De Voe, who lectured in Wabasha, Red Wing, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, and Laura M. Johns, who attended the State Convention at St. Paul, September 10th and 11th, and remained in the State until November 1st, organizing political equality clubs in Wabasha, Le Roy, Waterville, Heron Lake, Luverne, Ellsworth, Marshall, Fergus Falls and Breckinridge, reviving the clubs at Granite Falls, Wood Lake and other places, securing members for an organization at Albert Lea, which has since been completed, and creating a favorable impression wherever she lectured.

JULIA B. NELSON, *President*.

MISSOURI EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The past year has seen some work done for woman suffrage in Missouri, although the hope we entertained to see the State strongly organized before this convention met has not been fulfilled.

At the last annual meeting held at Atlanta, Georgia, we could report only one club in the whole State, to-day they number fifteen. In the spring Mrs. Anna Simmons was sent into the State by the National Organization Committee and two new clubs were formed. In May a meeting which was called the "Mississippi Congress of Women," was arranged for by the Seventeenth District W. C. T. U., to meet in St. Louis, and an excellent meeting was the result of the labors of those

good friends. Our dear national President, Susan B. Anthony, was present, as was also our Vice-President, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, while our own Clara C. Hoffman, and many of the prominent women of the State aided by their presence and words of encouragement to make the meeting a success. At this meeting two features stood out in such bold relief that they deserve mention. The first was that a banquet was given by women to a woman, Susan B. Anthony being the honored guest. The ladies having charge of the affair were solicited for invitations by gentlemen whom they desired to be present before they had an opportunity to extend to them an invitation. And all the honor that we knew how to offer was extended to our President, accompanied by loving words from our women.

The other notable event was, that the meeting was a financial success, putting money into the treasury of the society that arranged it for us.

The Congress was followed by a State Equal Suffrage Convention, and it in turn was followed by a local meeting, at which a club was organized with eighty-eight members. It rapidly grew until it now numbers 120 members.

During the summer an effort was made by the State officers to locate the friends and sympathizers of the cause throughout the State, and 355 names and addresses of women were obtained. No attempt was made to secure the names of men friendly to the cause. This list will be very valuable for future work.

In October, Mrs. Anna Simmons was again sent into the State by the National Organization Committee, and eleven new clubs were formed, adding nearly two hundred persons to our ranks. Too much praise cannot be given to the National Organization Committee and its faithful chairman, for the aid extended to the workers in Missouri. Although the State is still only partly organized, we see the need of organization, and it is a long step in the right direction when an association learns where and how to apply its work.

In Missouri women have no right of suffrage. At the last session of the Legislature a resolution to amend the Constitution of the State by striking out the word "male" was favorably reported by the committee to whom it was referred, but it was defeated by the Assembly. During the same session the "Age of Consent" was raised from fourteen to eighteen years, but the law was so worded as to make it of no use for the protection of girls.

We have police matrons in our large cities, a woman guard in the jail at St. Louis, and the mayor of that city has recently appointed two ladies as members of the Board of Charity Commissioners, while the women's organizations throughout the State are generally favorable to woman suffrage. The press is uniformly kind and helpful in reporting our work.

Although the field is a hard one, we believe progress is being made, and hope to give a good report of ourselves at the next annual convention.

ADDIE M. JOHNSON, *President*.

MONTANA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. Devoe passed through the state in June, July and August, 1895, organizing thirteen different associations. In September some of these sent thirteen delegates to Helena, who with the association of that place held their first State Suffrage Convention, and under the leadership of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt organized a State Association auxiliary to the National Suffrage Association. Very successful and enthusiastic meetings were held under the able and inspiring management of Mrs. Catt, which seemed to promise much for the future, but leaders "propose" and followers sometimes "dispose" because enthusiasm or backbone or something dies out, so our present standing is two associations with their pledges paid, five with their dues settled, and eight dying of heart failure after making a brave effort to live, and others—well, I fear they never had a heart to send the vivifying current through their veins, as I have never heard of any attempt ever so feeble to do suffrage work.

We hope many things from the efforts of the National in our behalf, and wish you a most successful Convention in point of numbers and aims achieved.

DELIA A. KELLOGG, *Secretary*.

NEBRASKA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

There is no legislative work to report this year, as it was decided not to ask for any suffrage legislation in order that we might not induce prematurely a suffrage campaign in Nebraska, when there were so many other States with better prospects of success.

The Fourteenth Annual Convention was held at David City, October 30th and 31st. We were assisted very greatly by Irene Hernandez, who had been conducting suffrage contests at O'Neill and Chadron with great success. Listening to the reports from these places we felt that suffrage contests were a most practical and practicable line of work. Mrs. Hernandez is a most pleasing elocutionist. She enthusiastically devotes the gifts which would bring her recognition as a dramatic reader to the work of reform by training pupils in this way, and she so arranges the financial part of it as to remunerate herself and bring money into the local treasury. But for the fact that Mrs. Hernandez has left Nebraska, being now a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio, we should have kept her busy. Suffrage headquarters were kept at the State Fair, in Omaha, but the hot winds and dust which prevailed at that time made the occasion one of great discomfort and small gain. This heroic effort of the Secretary, Viola Kaufman, was, however, greatly appreciated.

One of the interesting features of the convention was the support of the ministers. Rev. Mr. Wright made an impromptu speech of great strength and Rev. Mr. Sage, congregational minister of Resing, drove twelve miles across the country to attend the meetings.

The scheme of political study prepared by the National Organization Committee was recommended as part of the work of the Department of Associate Study, which is provided for in our State constitution.

As an outgrowth of the convention a local society was formed with Mrs. S. A. Turpin as president. The next annual convention will be held at the Long Pine Chautauqua if suitable arrangements with the management can be made, and it is expected by giving nearly a year's notice of this that many delegates will visit this most delightful spot.

Officers elected were: President, Clara Bewick Colby, Beatrice Kaufman, Omaha; Vice-President, Mary Smith Hayward; Recording Secretary, Viola Kaufman, Omaha; Corresponding Secretary, Helen M. Goff, Lincoln; Treasurer, Mary Smith Hayward, Chadron.

With all the present drawbacks the sentiment for woman suffrage is strong in Nebraska, and this State will perhaps be one of the first this side of the Rockies to do justice to its women, and actualize its prophetic motto, "Equality before the Law."

CLARA BEWICK COLBY, *President*

NEVADA STATE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The suffrage movement in Nevada has progressed very satisfactorily since its inauguration. Though the subject had been discussed for years by individual suffragists in their several localities, yet the clarion note of organized action was sounded by the women of Austin, Lander county, who called a mass meeting November 30th, 1894, which was largely attended by both men and women. Many brief speeches, pro and con, were made by prominent citizens, who so clearly defined by Mesdames Weller, Lund, and Williamson, the same were reported and read at the constitutionality of equal suffrage for women that twenty-seven names were subscribed as charter members. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, the same were reported and read at several meetings, and were unanimously adopted January 12th, 1895.

The following preamble bespeaks the patriotic spirit of those having the matter in charge, also of the members of the league in general: "Firmly believing equal rights and privileges of citizens, irrespective of sex, to be the true spirit of our republican form of government, we deem it our duty as women and citizens to seek political enfranchisement, that we may aid by our votes in maintaining and perpetuating those sacred principles of liberty, equality, and justice ordained in the Declaration of Independence, and established by the Constitution of the United States of America."

"Therefore, that we may ethically propagate the equal suffrage sentiment throughout the State of Nevada, we adopt the following

"CONSTITUTION.

"Article I.—Name.—We, the undersigned, residents of Austin, Lander county, State of Nevada, agree to be named the Lucy Stone Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage League, and shall be auxiliary to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association."

The rapid growth of the suffrage sentiment is mainly due to the enterprise and good will of the editor of the *Reno Gazette*, who opened the columns of his paper to discussions. The petitions sent out were promptly filled and returned. A legislative hearing was given February 13th, 1895. The writer and Rev. Mila Tupper Maynard were present as representatives of the cause; the latter made a most eloquent speech in favor of woman suffrage, but the impulses of prejudice dominated. The bill was defeated by four votes. About ten days later the bill was brought up in the Senate and carried by six votes. It was reconsidered in the Assembly and carried by six votes. This is proof conclusive that the people can be convinced by face-to-face argument. The bill will be voted on again by the Legislature of 1897, who, we sincerely trust, will refer it to the people, who will vote on the proposed amendment that "the word 'male' be stricken from our State Constitution." This will be at the election of 1898.

The advent of our honored National President, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who has so unselfishly dedicated the sunshine of her life and the energies of her philosophic mind to the advancement of our grand cause, and Rev. Anna Shaw, who by her eloquence and wit at once captivates and convinces, in May last, created such a widespread enthusiasm that every community caught up the suffrage refrain; and Mrs. De Voe's tour through our State in October last culminated in the organization of a State Suffrage Association.

It would be contrary to Western warm-heartedness not to pause right here and say a few words, not of praise but of strict moral justice, in behalf of Mrs. De Voe. Her prepossessing personality, her tact in dealing with human nature, her diplomatic conception of organization, her sweet, sympathetic voice in singing "Wyoming," and "A Soldier's Tribute to Woman," and last, though far from being least, her able argument in favor of equal suffrage, have made her sojourn with us a red-letter-day in the suffrage movement.

All the clubs or leagues organized by her, with one or two exceptions, are earnestly at work, and we are hopeful that the near future will be productive of wonderful results, in the course of study adopted. Though the suffragists of Nevada are few in number when compared with the more densely populated States, yet we hope to prove to the leaders of our grand cause that we are great in resolve. We will leave nothing undone that is a human possibility to keep the suffrage ball rolling throughout the length and breadth of our battle-born State. Nevadans, when once aroused to the justice of any cause, are capable of proving that determination is their inherent right, and their courage has never yet faltered when called upon to maintain the principles of freedom, equality and justice.

MRS. J. R. WILLIAMSON, *President*.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

This organization has existed, and that is about all, for the last four or five years. I think the year 1894 had no active President,—Mrs. Armenia White, Honorary President.

In January, 1895, the feeling was strong with a few that the organization ought to be up and doing. January 9th, 1895, the New England W. S. A. held its annual meeting in Nashua, under the auspices of the Nashua Local Suffrage Association, with Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, H. B. Blackwell, Miss Blackwell and Miss Yates as speakers.

The annual meeting of the New Hampshire W. S. A. was held the next day, January 10th, and elected state officers.

WORK OF THE YEAR.

Presenting of a bill granting to the women of the state municipal suffrage, accompanied by a petition signed by the officers of the Association, before the New Hampshire Legislature. The bill passed the Judiciary Committee and passed the second reading in the House, but was not allowed the third reading.

The Honorable D. C. Remick, of Littleton, and the Honorable M. Lyford, of Concord, leading members of the House, were earnest in their support of the measure. We felt that a great advance was made, when the bill passed the Judiciary Committee for the first time.

An attempt was made to procure for Nashua women the right to vote for members of the school board and thus bring the City Charter into accord with the State Law of 1868, which grants school suffrage to women. Much agitation, and a good deal of interest was aroused, but nothing further was accomplished, for the reason that we put our trust in those who played us false.

January 10th, 1896, the annual meeting was held in Nashua. The same officers as last year were elected with a few exceptions. The meeting was not a hopeful one. No member outside the city of Nashua was in attendance.

M. E. POWELL, *President*.
MISS C. R. WENDELL, *Rec. Sec.*

NEW JERSEY STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

By act of the Legislature of 1895, women were given the right to enter the bar of our state, and Miss Mary Philbrook, the young woman whose application was refused in 1894, passed the requisite examination in June, 1895, and has now become New Jersey's one woman lawyer, although others are already beginning to follow in her footsteps.

On consulting school and legal authorities, it was found that women had not lost all rights of school suffrage by the decision of the Supreme Court. While the right to vote for school trustees was taken away, that of voting for school appropriations remained, also the right to hold the office of school trustee, if elected thereto by the votes of men.

It is gratifying to find that in November last at least twelve women were, and presumably still are, serving as school trustees. As there was

a general impression, after the unfavorable decision of the Supreme Court, that all voting privileges had been taken away from our sex, the attendance of women at school meetings, and their interest in the latter, greatly diminished.

Last spring the following petition was printed :

PETITION FOR SCHOOL SUFFRAGE.

To the Honorable the Members of the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, in Legislature assembled :

WHEREAS, The exercise of School Suffrage by women in this State has proved beneficial to the cause of education and conducive to the orderly conduct of school elections ;

AND WHEREAS, Since the decision of the Supreme Court holding that under the Constitution women are not eligible as voters at elections for members of School Boards, women have largely abstained from the exercise of School Suffrage as to other matters ;

Therefore, we, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, twenty-one years of age, residents of the State of New Jersey, respectfully pray your honorable body that the proper steps be taken to so amend the State Constitution as to extend the School Suffrage in cities, boroughs and townships to women on the same terms as men now exercise the same.

This was accompanied by a circular, "What Rights with Regard to School Suffrage are Left to Women in New Jersey."

These were widely circulated, over four thousand signatures both of men and of women being obtained to the petition in a few weeks. In June we attended the special session of our Legislature. We were received with courtesy and granting a hearing before the Judiciary Committee of each house.

On the last day of the session, almost at the last moment, an amendment to the constitution of the State, restoring to women the rights of school suffrage as they had existed previous to the adverse decision of the Supreme Court, was carried through the Assembly, having passed the Senate a day before. The vote was practically unanimous, hardly a dissenting voice being heard.

This amendment must pass the Legislature of 1896, and be voted on by the people at the polls next November, before it can become a law. The Legislature is thought to be favorable, and there are strong hopes that the amendment will receive a favorable vote. As the Constitution of the State can be amended only once in five years, however, the result cannot be predicted with certainty. A second circular setting forth what has been accomplished, and additional petitions for school suffrage, have been circulated this winter, and will be presented to the Legislature now in session. Previous to the issuance of the school suffrage circular and petition our Association presented to the Legislature another petition signed by about one thousand persons, asking for the restoration of full suffrage to the women of New Jersey. This was done, not with any expectation of success, but in order to place the Association on record as having asked for the restoration of the right of franchise enjoyed by the women of our State up to 1807.

Union county has been organized, making three county organizations in the State, namely, those of Essex, Monmouth and Union. The Chairman of our Committee on Organization, who is also our Corresponding Secretary, has paved the way for future organization by visiting a number of localities, and conversing with many persons with regard to suffrage.

Unon, as a newly-organized county, has shown special activity. Among other things, it has had a very successful course of lectures in aid of school suffrage, and has printed a School Suffrage Souvenir or pamphlet.

Suffrage addresses have been made in different parts of the State by Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Diggs, Miss Yates and others, and the press has contained many articles on suffrage.

In a word, the year has been one of great activity in our Association, and our Corresponding Secretary in particular, Dr. Mary D. Hussey, has been almost overburdened with work.

While there is much reason for encouragement, on account of the work which has been done already, we feel hampered by three crying needs, the need of money, the need of workers, and the need of a more complete organization. We hope, however, to do good work this year, —to regain school suffrage, to extend our organization, and perhaps to study the science of government.

In addition to the laws affecting women, which have already been spoken of, two others have been passed: On March 14th a law was passed, making women eligible to the office of Commissioner of Deeds. June 13th a law was passed, making the separate estate of a married woman liable, if on the faith of any endorsement, contract, guarantee, or suretyship, promise to pay the debt or answer for the default or liability of any other person, any married woman obtains, directly or indirectly, any money, property or other things of value, for her own use, or for the use, benefit or advantage of her separate estate, she shall be liable thereon as though she were unmarried.

FLORENCE HOWE HALL, *President.*

NEW MEXICO EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The Equal Suffrage Organization of New Mexico, so recently effected by Mrs. Laura M. Johns, has very little to report, beyond the fact that there are four clubs formed for study and aggressive work. There are many earnest men and women who have done much to sow good Equal Suffrage seed in well-prepared soil, the results of which will be far reaching. The climate of New Mexico is an excellent one, and its citizens seem to have imbibed a spirit of freedom and independence from the elements. From the opinion the writer forms of the chivalrous men of the Territory, it will be a surprise, if, when the time comes for the Territory to be admitted into the Union as a State, New Mexico does not occupy the same position as Colorado, Utah and Wyoming.

MRS. J. D. PERKINS, *President.*

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

In New York for the past year there has been to a degree the natural reaction after a vigorous, but apparently unsuccessful, campaign. For, while the sentiment in favor of equal suffrage was vastly increased by the previous year's work, large numbers of women laid down their arms, feeling that the time was not yet ripe, unable to realize the necessity of increasing vigilance after disaster. This "nervous prostration," which has lost us many organizations, has fortunately not taken possession of the entire state, as there is an increase in our state membership, as well as in the local clubs that form our county organizations.

The active work for the year was put into the hands of committees to a greater extent than ever before—a plan that is to be most highly commended, as it throws the responsibility for performance of duty upon a large number of individuals, and calls for much greater activity in all directions. We began the year with a State Organizer and Legislative, Press and Finance Committees. At the mid-year meeting of the State Executive Board—(another most essential mode of increasing general activity is the holding of a mid-year conference of the Executive Board)—we formed an Organizing Committee, with the state organizer as chairman, and also a Study Committee, with Mrs. Ida K. Church, chairman.

The State Organizer, Miss Harriet May Mills, reports six months of "field duty." By this she means the amount of time spent away from home for which she was remunerated, and does not include the time given to the work of correspondence, planning routes, etc., for which she received no pecuniary reward.

The result of her labors and the committee's was most satisfactory, and proved conclusively the need of a strong organizing force, with an efficient leader, who has the proper qualifications for such a position. These qualifications are—unlimited capacity for work, unlimited patience, unlimited devotion to the cause that must know no self—nothing, indeed, but the desire to place women on the best possible plane for living the best possible lives. We should not, and do not, look for immediate financial results from organization, but we regard this branch of work of vital importance for educational purposes and ultimate success.

Legislative Committee.

Mrs. Martha R. Almy, as chairman of this committee, began her work in Albany early in January, and was absent but one legislative day from that time until April. The work for this committee was to procure the passage of a concurrent resolution to amend the state constitution by striking the word "male" from that instrument. In order to submit an amendment to the electors of our state such a resolution must be passed in two successive legislatures. The term of service of the present legislature is three years. As last year's session closed the then existing legislature, it was most important to secure favorable action before the term ended.

The legal adviser of the governor drew up the resolution. Nothing

was left undone to secure our defeat. Notwithstanding, the vote in the Senate was 20 to 5 in our favor.

In the Assembly the vote was 80 for to 31 against. Again the hearts of liberty- and justice-loving women beat high with hope, and Mrs. Almy went home filled with delight at the result. Alas! in October a clerical error was discovered in the resolution, by which the word "resident" was substituted for "citizen," and the work of the winter was apparently lost. All must be done over again! The *effective* work of last year was *not* lost. No work conscientiously done is ever lost, and we, with undaunted hearts, send this year another committee to Albany to repeat the success of last year without the dire mistake. How was the blunder made? We can only say that the clerks through whose carelessness, or worse, the mistake occurred, were not women.

Press Work.

It was the first year's trial of systematic work in this direction, and Mrs. Elnora Babcock, our most efficient chairman, had great difficulty in securing, as she desired, women in every county who would take charge of the press work in their respective counties, thus keeping our work constantly before the people. In the sixty counties of the State she found thirty women who rendered more or less aid; some did most excellent work. These helpers are denominated County Press Superintendents. Certain facts relative to press work are worthy of note: First, editors seldom refuse to publish short articles over the signatures of women of local influence. Second, numbers of influential papers are found to be ready to use suffrage matter if obtained through stereotyped plates. Mrs. Babcock tried to induce the Associated Press to furnish such plates, and was told that it would be done for \$100 per month. Alas! that bugbear of our work—lack of money—prevented our securing this valuable aid. The question next asked of the Associated Press was: "How many papers will you require to buy stereotyped plates of suffrage matter in order to issue them at your own cost?" They replied, "100." Mrs. Babcock then wrote every editor in every county where there is no superintendent and to every superintendent, but only fifty papers were found that would take the plates and pay for them, so this plan had to be given up. But, in this connection, notice the fine result of organization. In Chautauqua county, where there is a suffrage club in nearly every town, every paper promised to take the plates if they were provided.

The next step was to send original articles personally to all papers that would use them. It was found that the largest papers in each county would use such material, and for the past five months it has been furnished for 100 papers.

Each article is first sent with a personal letter asking if such matter will be published if sent occasionally, and an addressed postal for reply is also inclosed. Sometimes it requires the second and third appeal, but a place is finally won. To furnish these papers requires from eight to twelve pages of manuscript, besides the letter to the editor and the return postal. This arduous labor has been performed by the Chairman of the Press Committee without charge to the State except for stationery and

postage. Besides furnishing the manuscript it is necessary to keep two records: one arranged alphabetically, the other by counties, to make sure that too many papers in one county do not receive the same article.

The last method is really better on some accounts than the stereotyped plates, as articles thus furnished are given prominent positions in the papers, and are used by large publications that do not use the plates. 150 editors have expressed willingness to use articles sent them from time to time in this way, and many will give place for discussion.

The total expense of all this work was \$109.30.

Finance.

The work of the Finance Committee was perhaps the most unpleasant and, in some respects, most trying of any. To secure funds "suffrage bricks" were resorted to: that is, a postal card containing ten bricks, each representing ten cents, with the address of the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mrs. Maude S. Humphrey, printed on the reverse of the card. This scheme looked most promising, and was perhaps reasonably successful considering the financial depression of last year.

"Yellow Teas" also found favor; the decorations for such a tea were furnished by the State on receipt of the pledge of a certain sum to the State treasury. But, while more money was secured than ever before, save in our Constitutional Convention Campaign of 1894, the cry is for more light upon the way to financial success. *We must have it in order to win.*

Study Committee.

This committee decided upon the course of study presented by the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, with the added advice to each local club to form a "study section," that each member who desired might pursue such a course of study, but not making it obligatory upon all members. It also recommended that all suffragists endeavor to introduce the study of civics in all literary clubs, and in their own club prepare a "program year sheet" to centralize the work and increase the interest.

Our Corresponding Secretary reports that the anti-suffrage movement in the State has been quietly growing stronger during the year, and has been a source of strength to us. The Antis agitate. We want agitation. We thank them.

MEMBERSHIP FOR 1895.

Total membership of local clubs,	1747
Individual State memberships,	132
Number of county clubs,	23
Counties having some local clubs, but no county organization,	16

In some instances women's literary clubs have contributed to our state treasury, and have established a franchise department, which furnishes a suffrage programme at stated intervals.

The State W. C. T. U. has committed itself to our cause in a resolution at its last state convention, and has Franchise Superintendents in

over fifty counties, their State Superintendent, Miss Vinnie Davis, being an able woman and ardent equal suffragist.

The State Grange has also put itself on record as favoring our cause.

The printed report of the work of our great campaign of 1894 has been circulated throughout the country. We have received orders for it from Washington, Missouri, Georgia, Texas, California, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Alaska, as well as from nearby states.

The amount of work done by our efficient Corresponding Secretary, Miss Isabel Howland, in the way of state reports, soliciting state memberships, appeals for money and workers, is past reckoning, but the usual complaint of lack of response to her efforts must be made.

Our receipts for year ending November 1, 1895, have been \$3414.22; our expenditures, \$3061.24.

JEAN BROOKS GREENLEAF, *President.*

NORTH CAROLINA EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

The North Carolina Equal Rights Association was organized at Asheville, November, 1894; it now has forty members. There are no local associations. The president has given suffrage addresses at several mountain towns with most gratifying results; the audiences were large, and numbers of prominent persons gave their signatures as sympathizers in the cause. The cities of the eastern portion of the state are very distant, and railroad travel so expensive that funds have not yet been raised for their organization.

No legislature has been in session this year, but the work of woman suffrage has not been allowed to stagnate, for it has been considerably agitated in the press and discussed at meetings. Addresses have been given by eminent speakers, Miss Yates, Miss Clay, Miss Lewis and Mayor Davidson. Miss Willard in her address on Purity touched very strongly on woman suffrage. Petitions for full suffrage to be granted women, and also to raise the age of consent from fourteen to eighteen, will be presented to the next Legislature. There is a steady increase of public sentiment in favor of woman suffrage. We are ambitious that "The Old North State" shall lead in the march of the world's advancement by giving women the elective franchise.

HELEN MORRIS LEWIS, *President.*

ELEANOR JOHNSTONE COFFIN, *Secretary.*

NORTH DAKOTA EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The struggle for political equality has continued in Dakota ever since territorial days. Once our hopes were almost realized, but a veto by Governor Gilbert A. Pierce changed the prospect. Each succeeding Legislature and the Constitutional Convention have had suffrage workers to remind the legislators that we want the ballot.

In the spring of 1888 the first organization of the State was effected at Grand Forks, and has had a continued existence, receiving inspiration

from such speakers as Mrs. Ella M. S. Marble, then of Minneapolis, and Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake. In 1889 its Secretary, Miss Cora E. Smith, was called to Bismarck by Mr. Henry B. Blackwell to continue his work in the interest of woman suffrage at the Constitutional Convention. It was through their efforts the clause was secured that permits women to vote on all school questions, and makes them eligible to all school offices. In consequence of this clause the State has twice had a woman for State Superintendent of Public Instruction,—the first a Democrat, the second a Republican. Miss Emma F. Bates, the present incumbent, is candidate for re-election.

To our last Legislature Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe tactfully presented the suffrage question and that of raising the age of consent from fourteen to eighteen years. The latter was raised one-half what was asked for; the former was voted down. Though unsuccessful in accomplishing all she attempted, she is expected to be in readiness to try again with the Legislature of '96-'97.

To provide means for this campaign Dr. Cora Smith Eaton directed an entertainment, "The Daughters of Ham," given in the Opera House, which netted over \$300. This has been almost entirely used for Mrs. De Voe's expenses, and the State Convention held in Grand Forks, November last, when Mrs. Laura M. Johns finished her tour of our eastern and central towns by organizing the State Association, with Dr. Cora Smith Eaton as its first President.

Mrs. Johns did splendid work for us, against discouragements and difficulties that would have daunted almost any one else, and won enthusiastic allies everywhere.

The clubs that have actually gotten into working order are in Grand Forks, Bismarck, Jamestown, Fargo and Sanborn. There are others that may rally when Mrs. Johns comes in the spring.

SARA E. B. SMITH, *Corresponding Secretary.*

OHIO WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The principal work of the past year has been done in the school suffrage campaign, and in the exercise of the voting privilege by over thirty thousand women of the state. This act, in itself, has been a powerful means of education along suffrage lines. Women candidates for Boards of Education were very generally in the field last spring, and a fair number of them were elected.

In December, '94, action was brought in the name of the State of Ohio, to test the constitutionality of the act passed by the last General Assembly granting women the right to vote in school elections. The case was presented before the Circuit Court of Franklin County, in January, 1895, and the president of the Ohio State Association attended the hearing. February 1st, the decision was rendered by Judge Shauck, Judges Shearer and Stewart concurring in the opinion, holding the act passed by the last General Assembly granting women the right to vote at school elections to be constitutional. The first step towards political

equality has been taken, and we are now looking towards the formulation of a new state constitution upon a basis of justice to women.

In October, a most successful State Convention was held in Ashtabula. By action of this convention, county organization was substituted for district organization, and the state constitution amended accordingly. Pursuant to this action, an organization was formed in Trumbull County, in November, which is already doing good work. Several new local societies have been organized during the year, and the state now has in all thirty-one locals. Indifference to suffrage is giving away to interest in it. A committee on Organization has been appointed, which is judiciously distributing suffrage literature, and will form a local club wherever the interest will warrant it.

The advisability of introducing into the General Assembly a bill for raising the age of protection for girls from fourteen to eighteen years was discussed by the Executive Committee of the O. W. S. A.; but since such a bill has been introduced into the Senate by Hon. E. M. Avery our Association will carry out the suggestion by memorializing the legislature to pass that bill, instead of introducing the same measure.

The laws pertaining to women and children have not been changed within the last year. According to a decision lately rendered by Justice Brown, of Cleveland, wives are legally responsible for the debts of their husbands. Justice Brown based his decision on the Ohio statute passed in 1887, which makes a wife liable for the support of her husband and children if the husband is unable to support the family. This decision has given rise to much comment, and attorneys are divided as to whether this decision of a Justice of the Peace will be sustained in a higher court.

The advocates of suffrage have great reason to be encouraged at the outlook in Ohio, but have need to be ever on the alert.

CAROLINE McCULLOUGH EVERHARD, *President.*
JUSTINE IDINGS BALDWIN, *Rec. Sec.*

OKLAHOMA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Under the direction of the National Organization Committee, Miss Laura A. Gregg came into the Territory about the middle of October, 1895, and organized equal suffrage clubs at Enid, Kingfisher, Perkins, El Reno, Oklahoma City, Perry and Guthrie. Four other towns were visited by Miss Gregg but no clubs were organized, unfavorable weather preventing a meeting in each case. The organization work was closed with a convention held at Guthrie, November 11th and 12th, when our first Territorial Association was organized and officers were elected.

The convention was well attended by the citizens of Guthrie, and was a decided success, all of which was due to Miss Gregg's efficient management.

Miss Gregg's addresses before the convention won many friends to the cause. A number of our clubs made \$5 pledges to the National Organization.

zation Fund. Mrs. R. W. Southard, of Perry, represented us at the National Convention at Washington in January.

There is a strong sentiment in favor of equal suffrage in Oklahoma, and we are looking forward hopefully to the time when it shall become a State with the ballot in the hands of the women.

MARGARET REES, *President*.

OREGON STATE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The Oregon Auxiliary secured in January, 1895, the passage through the State Legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, of a proposition to so amend the State Constitution that women may become entitled to the elective franchise on equal terms with men. This proposition awaits ratification by the Legislative Assembly of 1897, after which it must go to the voters for final action, on the first Tuesday of June following.

While we are not as universally organized at present as we mean to be after January, 1897, we have the leading men of all parties enlisted to aid us, who will, as far as they can without jeopardizing their own political aspirations, assist us to secure a victory at the polls. They are grateful to our organization for our assurance that we will not unduly parade individuals as suffragists, when to do so merely puts clubs into the hands of their political enemies with which to defeat their candidates.

The women of Oregon have learned the folly of defeating their friends who are candidates for office by inciting them to pull down the pillars of their own temples, under which we all get buried together in a common ruin.

We hope, by combining political sagacity with sincerity of purpose, to score in June of 1897 a victory for liberty that shall endure forever.

ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY, *President*.
MARY SCHAEFFER WARD, *Secretary*.

PENNSYLVANIA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Membership.

We have made a small gain this past year, bringing our number up to nearly eight hundred for the State. Nearly five hundred of these, however, belong to our Philadelphia auxiliary, and we feel that the rest of the State sadly needs organizing.

Finances.

Determining to raise money with which to organize we, after long consideration, decided upon that oldest-fashioned of women's methods,—a fair. We christened it "A Yellow Ribbon Bazaar," and held it October 31st and November 1st and 2d, at the New Century Club House, the very prettiest and most desirable place for a fair in the entire city. Our rent was high, but we felt it more than paid to have our fair in the best setting, and we needed but little decoration to make it look

attractive, as the Club Drawing-Room walls are frescoed artistically with subjects relating to woman in arts, charities, and professions, making a very effective background for our wares. In the three days, in spite of bad weather on the first and part of the third, we cleared a little over one thousand dollars; this was in addition to discovering through the bazaar a number of new friends of the cause, heretofore unknown to the workers.

This money is to be used to organize in the western portion of the State.

Laws.

The Mass Meeting planned for the 14th of February was held, with Carrie Chapman Catt as the leading speaker, to arouse sentiment in favor of our Bill to give the mother equal rights with the Father over the children born in wedlock. This meeting, with considerable work done by our committee on the Bill in the way of securing petitions from a number of influential organizations and persons, all over the State, secured the success of the bill which received the Governor's signature early in the fall. As an association we are proud of this good work of placing in the hands of the married mothers of Pennsylvania the right to say, equally with the father, who shall be the guardian and under what conditions their children shall be brought up.

LUCRETIA L. BLANKENBURG, *President*.

RHODE ISLAND WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Our first important public work during the year was the hearing upon the petitions for a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution, before the Committee on Special Legislation of the Senate, on February 13th, 1895. This hearing was ably managed by Mrs. Jeanette S. French, Chairman of the Committee having the matter in charge. Only Rhode Island speakers appeared in favor of the petitioners, but the hearing was pronounced one of the best that had ever been held in the interest of woman suffrage. An unanimous report in favor of the submission of the amendment was made by the Senate Committee, but at so late a date it was deemed best to ask that the question be referred to the next session of the Legislature, which was done. Another hearing will be arranged during February, this winter, from which we hope for good results.

During March and April a course of eight lectures was given in Providence under the auspices of the Association, which proved a great success in every way. The general title of the course was, "Woman's Contribution to the Progress of the World." Tickets for the whole series were one dollar each, and the Association netted quite a handsome profit on the venture. The speakers were: Mrs. Abba Gould Woolson, upon "Woman as Sovereign;" Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, "Women in the gotten Foremothers;" Mrs. Lillie B. Chace Wyman, "Women in the Anti-Slavery Struggle;" Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, "Women in the War of the Rebellion;" Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, "Woman Suffrage;" Miss Mary F. Eastman, "Women in Education;" Rev.

Anna Garlin Spencer, "Women Wage Earners;" Miss Elizabeth Deering Hanscom, "Women in Literature."

The annual banquet was held on May 9th.

During the summer months the Secretary of the society gave several lectures in different parts of the State, and wrote articles upon woman suffrage for the press which were printed in a number of newspapers. The President, Mrs. Chace, also contributed several articles to the Providence *Sunday Journal* during the year.

The annual meeting in October celebrated the completion of a quarter of a century's service on the part of Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace as President of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, and proved to be a memorable occasion. Letters from absent friends were read expressing regret at their inability to be present and their high appreciation of Mrs. Chace's life-long service in the cause of humankind as well as womankind. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, and Miss Mary F. Eastman attended to speak for the cause, and to testify their respect and love for Mrs. Chace. Honorable E. L. Freeman, Ex-Governor Davis, and others of our own State also spoke words of great respect for our absent President. The Association honored itself by once more electing her its chief officer, although she had expressed a strong desire to retire from the position, as she felt that the burden of the work should be borne by younger shoulders hereafter.

The society has met with severe losses by death during the year. Mrs. Catherine Gray Wilbur, Mrs. Sarah Benson Tillinghast, Hon. Thomas Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth Loomis, John J. Fry and Rev. Augustus Woodbury have all passed away.

A new avenue of agitation has been opened to the society by means of the publication of a woman suffrage department every week in the *Independent Citizen* of Providence, the Secretary of this body acting as editor.

The Providence Woman Suffrage League has been active the past year, holding regular monthly meetings in a public hall and arranging parlor meetings in different parts of the city.

The other leagues in the State hold regular monthly meetings during the working season. The Anthony and Washington League held a public meeting in May, addressed by Mrs. Clara B. Colby. The Little Compton League had one in September, addressed by the Secretary of the Association. Mrs. Catherine G. Wilbur, before referred to as recently deceased, was a member of this League, and the most enthusiastic worker it contained. Her loss is severely felt. In her will she bequeathed \$200 to the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, this will having been made sixteen years previous to her death, and before the formation of the League.

The Pawtucket League has recently been honored by having its President, Miss Susan C. Kenyon, elected the first woman member of the school board, under a recent amendment of their city charter which makes it obligatory that one of the three members of the school committee elected each year in Pawtucket shall be a woman. Surely the Woman Suffrage League has made its influence felt in that city.

The cause of woman's political emancipation is advancing very materially, though we may not be able to realize the fact from day to day.

ELIZABETH B. CHACE, *President*.
ELLEN M. BOLLES, *Secretary*.

EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

In February, 1895, the South Carolina suffragists in attendance upon the National-American Woman Suffrage Association had a meeting and elected Mrs. Virginia D. Young President; Mrs. A. Viola Neblett, Vice-President; Mrs. Marion Morgan Buckner, Corresponding and Recording Secretary; Mrs. Daisy P. Bailly, Treasurer; and Miss Mary Hemphill, State Reporter. The educational work of the year was begun by inviting Miss Anthony into the State, and also Miss Helen Lewis, a native and a lifelong resident save for the last few years. These ladies spoke at Aiken under the auspices of Miss Martha Schofield, and a day or two afterwards Miss Anthony spoke in Columbia by invitation of the Union for Practical Progress. Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake also spoke in Abbeville.

In March and early April Mrs. Viola Neblett made a preliminary tour of the State arranging for the quintette of speakers who were to canvass the State later. These were Mrs. Young, Mrs. Neblett, Miss Laura Clay, Miss Elizabeth Yates, Miss Helen Lewis. These ladies met at Greenville April 30th, and held a two-days meeting, speaking at night, and in the afternoon at Greenville, Spartanburg, Columbia and Charleston, when the party divided, and Miss Yates, after speaking at two other places, left the State. Miss Clay and Mrs. Young visited eleven towns, Mrs. Neblett and Miss Lewis as many more.

Meanwhile the Secretary, Mrs. M. M. Buckner, of Fairfax, was not idle, but by writing for the newspapers helped air the subject of woman suffrage in the State. Mrs. Buckner has written 200 letters and twenty articles for papers and magazines.

A bright writer for suffrage in Charleston is Mrs. Bessie Moraso Bellinger; another at Marion, South Carolina, is Mrs. Florence Durant Evans; another, at Columbia, is Mrs. Mary P. Screven.

In September the Constitutional Convention met in Columbia, and Mrs. Young, Mrs. Neblett and Miss Clay were promptly on the spot. They made many friends among the delegates, supplied their desks with suffrage literature, and had hearings before two committees, before which they presented their arguments, and eventually had a public hearing before the whole convention in the state-house, and a large crowd of citizens present. The speakers were introduced by the Governor.

The ladies did not abate their work of influencing the delegates but they were not allowed another hearing, and when the resolution to enfranchise the tax-paying women of the State came up it was defeated by a vote of 26 to 121 against; but this was a Lexington battle, which points to a Yorktown in the future.

There was a gathering of representative women at Columbia the day following the public hearing.—Mrs. Florence Evans, from Marion; Miss Schofield, from Aiken; Mrs. M. M. Buckner, from Fairfax; and Mrs. Annie Durant, from Redee,—and they formulated such plans of work as were feasible under the circumstances.

Since the special work done in Columbia by Miss Clay, Mrs. Neblett and Mrs. Young the latter has continued to distribute literature by mail,

and to write for the papers in behalf of the great cause. The three leading dailies of South Carolina have also come out in favor of woman suffrage, each containing strong editorials, viz., the *News and Courier* of Charleston, the *State* and the *Register* of Columbia. The two latter gave constant aid and countenance to our representations during the convention, and the *Register* published portraits and sketches of Mrs. Young, Mrs. Neblett, Miss Clay, in October, and prophesied the final success of the cause.

Mrs. Young's personal contributions to suffrage in South Carolina foot up this year \$187.70. The State Equal Rights Association acknowledges \$20 from the Southern Committee, also from Mrs. Sallie Clay Bennett \$25, and from her mother, Mrs. Clay, \$30, to be used by Mrs. Young as she considered best in interest of South Carolina campaign. Mrs. Young has given a third of her time during the year for the woman suffrage reform. Through the columns of the Varnsville *Enterprise*, a weekly of which she is associate editor, she has kept the question of equal rights constantly before the public.

VIRGINIA D. YOUNG, *President*.

SOUTH DAKOTA EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

Equal suffrage clubs organized, 50; membership, 700; money raised, \$286.33; money disbursed, \$286.57; equal suffrage contests held, 6; other contests held, 1; addresses by President in State, 13; addresses by Mrs. Lyman, sixth district organizer, 5; addresses by third district President, 9; held one state convention, at which Carrie Chapman Catt delivered one of her eloquent lectures.

At this convention the State was divided into eight districts, with consecrated women as presidents, and only an empty treasury prevents their thoroughly organizing the state.

The same convention appointed Mrs. Jane Rooker Breeden State Superintendent of Literature. Recognizing the advantage to be gained by the free use of the press, she has appointed a superintendent of press work in nearly every county, and is now making a herculean effort to start a State paper. She is a very able woman, and eminently fitted for the position she holds. The same convention also created a department of legislative work, of which Mrs. Breeden and her husband (who is an influential lawyer in Fort Pierre) are members. It is to be hoped the National Convention will take into consideration the financial embarrassment of our fair State, and come to the rescue, at least so far as to give our State paper a lift by way of subscriptions.

Mrs. Alice M. Pickler will ably represent the State in Washington, and we shall look with much interest for her report of the work, and hope it may grace the first pages of our new State paper.

Mainly through the efforts of Mrs. Pickler we were enabled to help the Kansas campaign to the amount of \$100.

ANNA R. SIMMONS, *President*.
KATE ULIN FOLGER, *Cor. Sec.*

TENNESSEE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

As lecturer and organizer our President began work April 15th, and before May 1st she visited Forrest City, Little Rock, Marlinton, Clarks-ville, Fort Smith, Judsonia, Beebe, and Carlisle. In three of these places she spoke on two successive evenings; gave in all eleven lectures; held five morning meetings for organization and instructions; organized three good clubs; laid the foundations for two others, and added forty-seven new recruits to the organized army of equal rights.

From June 20th until July 4th she worked in Tennessee, having made engagements for thirteen lectures. At Tullahoma she lectured twice, and formed a club of fifteen. Three months afterwards she gave them two more lectures, and increased the membership to thirty. It is often asserted that the clergy are our bitterest enemies. This is a mistake. Our cause has scores of friends among ministers. At Tullahoma, during the first lecture, the President noticed two young men sitting together, evidently friends, and likewise manifestly en rapport with the speaker. At the close they came up, and introduced each other. They were the ministers of the north and south Methodist Churches of that town. Both are members of that suffrage club, and one is its President.

The next point was Doyle, a tiny village, away up among the mountains, where there is a co-educational college, in which Mrs. Meriwether spoke. People came from several towns up and down the railroad, and several parties came in wagons, driving over those rough mountain roads from ten to twenty miles. One would not expect to find any woman's rights people up there, but she did, and the staunchest and most radical of all was a Presbyterian minister from Jasper, a little town ten miles farther in the mountains.

Afterwards she visited McMinnville, Maryville, and Jonesboro, staying two days with each, and when her work closed she had gone from the extreme western to the eastern boundary of the State. During those two weeks she organized two clubs, laid the corner-stone of a third, and added ten new members to a fourth, making, as a sum total of the summer's work, one hundred and one new recruits added to the army.

The close of 1895 finds us with five organized clubs in Tennessee, and a total membership of 128, and I have in my mind's eye five other towns in which the women are ready to organize. The supreme need of the State now is a good organizer. If we only had the means to employ one I am sure this field, already fast whitening for the sickle, would, before the close of 1896, yield an abundant harvest.

LIDA MERIWETHER, *President*.

UTAH WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Since making the last report from Utah, Statehood has been proclaimed, and equal suffrage in the new State is an assured fact. The forty-fifth star is to be added to the National flag, and the third star of the brightest magnitude.

To recount all the work which has been done during the year leading towards the grand climax would require much time and many details, therefore only a few of the most important facts can be given.

The Constitutional Convention opened its session in February, 1895, while the President of the Utah W. S. A. was still in Washington. Immediately after the County Associations began to send in petitions for equal suffrage, Weber County being among the first to avail themselves of the opportunity.

Mrs. Emily S. Richards, Vice-President, promptly arranged for a Standing Committee to whom all matters pertaining to suffrage should be referred. Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball was Chairman, Mrs. Emily S. Richards acting Chairman. All the members of the committee were able women and prominent suffragists. Telegrams and letters were sent to every county, and petitions literally flooded the Convention, asking that equal suffrage be embodied in the Constitution. There were also petitions against equal suffrage sent in from different parts of the Territory, but the number of signatures was small compared to those in favor of equal suffrage.

The Standing Committee of ladies secured the services of the Hon. F. S. Richards, of Salt Lake City, an eminent attorney, as their champion in the Convention. Hon. J. F. Chidister, of Panguitch, Garfield county, Chairman of Committee on elections and suffrage, gave much serious attention and devoted much of his time to this important question.

An official call for a Territorial Woman Suffrage Convention was published on the 14th of March, and telegrams and letters sent to the several counties notifying them to send delegates to the Convention on the 18th of March. After the Convention was fully organized, the President, Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, appointed a Committee on Memorial (of which Mrs. Emily S. Richards was chairman) to draft a suitable document to present to the Constitutional Convention.

The memorial was an able document in every sense of the word. The closing paragraph, which we insert here, sets forth the main facts embodied therein:

"We therefore ask you to provide in the Constitution that the rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex, and that male and female citizens shall equally enjoy all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges."

The Memorial was signed by Emmeline B. Wells, President of the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah, Emily S. Richards, Vice-President; Zina D. H. Young, President National Woman's Relief Society; Jane S. Richards, Vice-President, and by the following County Presidents: Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson, Salt Lake; Electa Bullock, Utah; Lucy A. Clark, Davis; Jennie Nelsen, Weber; Celia E. Bean, Sevier; Alvira L. Cox, Sanpete; Mary A. Grover, Juab, and others. In the afternoon of the same day, the Memorial was presented in the Convention (as many ladies being present as could possibly find room) by the Hon. F. S. Richards, read by the Secretary, and referred to the Committee on Elections and Suffrage.

The following day, according to appointment, the Standing Committee on Elections and Suffrage, Hon. J. F. Chidister, Chairman. Mrs. Sarah

M. Kimball introduced the speakers with a few preliminary remarks. They were Mrs. F. S. Richards, Mrs. Carlton, now of Wyoming, formerly of Utah, Dr. M. Hughes Cannon, Mrs. Joanna Melton, Mrs. L. R. Pardee, Dr. R. B. Pratt. Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells was last on the list, and spoke on the question without notes or references. A few minutes being left Mrs. Zina D. H. Young was invited, and made a few remarks upon woman's place in the world, and Mrs. Jane S. Richards, of Ogden, being urged to speak, came forward with a few pertinent words. This closed the hearing before the Committee.

The opposition by some of the members of the Convention was very bitter, but the able arguments and speeches in favor of equal suffrage delivered by Hon. F. S. Richards, Hon. O. F. Whitney, Hon. J. F. Chidister, Chairman of Committee on Elections and Suffrage, Hon. George M. Cannon (now President of the Senate of the first Legislature of the new State), and Hon. Heber M. Wells, first Governor of the State of Utah, more than overbalanced the opposition.

Some influential women of the city held a mass meeting and protested against woman's suffrage, prepared resolutions upon the subject, and sent a strong protest into the Convention, but nevertheless the victory was on the side of justice and equality, and the right prevailed.

The officers of the State Association felt that the able and eloquent speeches of Hon. F. S. Richards and Hon. O. F. Whitney deserved special recognition, and should be preserved in pamphlet form and scattered broadcast to every State in the Union; and therefore they were published by the Association and distributed free throughout the Territory, and many of them sent to other States and Territories, and to Canada, Mexico and Europe.

As a testimony of appreciation and gratitude for the effort for the Convention in securing equal suffrage, the Association tendered all the members of the Convention a grand reception (including supper) in the parlors of Hotel Templeton on the evening of the 2d of May.

The Association was honored in May with a visit from the distinguished guests, the officers of the National American W. S. A., Susan B. Anthony and the Rev. Anna H. Shaw; every preparation to welcome them suitably had been made beforehand; also for the Conference which had been appointed for the 13th and 14th of the month. They arrived on the Sabbath day. The same afternoon Mrs. Stansbury and Mrs. Bradford arrived from Denver. At 2 p.m., services were held in the Tabernacle, and the Rev. Anna H. Shaw preached to an immense audience of men and women. Miss Anthony spoke afterwards for a few minutes out of the fulness of her great heart.

In the evening Miss Shaw spoke again to a full house in the Salt Lake Theater; Miss Anthony also adding her "good word."

Monday, May 13th, Conference opened in the new City and County building in the same room where the Constitutional Convention had been held. Governor Caleb W. West introduced these celebrated women to the audience.

Another session of the Conference was held in the evening at the same hall, but the crowd was so great that hundreds went away without gaining admittance, and the Conference adjourned to hold the second day's session in the Salt Lake Assembly Hall.

The last session of the Conference was held the same evening in the Assembly Hall to an audience of about four thousand people.

In Ogden, Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw were tendered a banquet and reception, and spoke to an immense audience in the evening, with an overflow meeting in another hall.

Certainly the results of such Conferences must have been specially beneficial and highly educational to those who had the opportunity of listening to these eminent and logical women speakers.

In June the division of women upon party lines began to be manifest, and culminated during the summer in a positive organization of Democrats and Republicans, each affiliating with and working in the interest of her own party, though with friendliness all around, and though not holding many regular suffrage meetings, yet the organizations were not broken up. Women were nominated delegates to Conventions, and attended caucuses and meetings, speaking upon the woman's side of political questions always. It was certainly a step forward in practical, political, experimental education.

The Courts took up the question (a case being regularly entered) of whether after all women were entitled to vote and to be voted for, previous to the decision of the November election and the proclamation of Statehood. The District Court decided in favor of women voting, that it was legal, and some women were nominated for office at a convention held soon after this decision was rendered; but the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the Territory and the decision of the lower court was reversed, the judges deciding it to be illegal, and one judge, W. H. King, disagreeing. Consequently nothing remained for women but to withdraw their names from the ticket.

At the Suffrage Convention held in October for the election of officers for the ensuing year the question was submitted for the consideration of the delegates from the several counties, as well as the State officers, whether the Suffrage Association should be maintained, and still remain auxiliary to the National Association as before; and the vote when taken was unanimous in favor of keeping up the Association, and still remaining auxiliary to the National. The best efforts that can be made to educate the women of the new State politically, shall be the earnest endeavor of the Association in the future. The obligations and responsibilities of citizenship, are somewhat appalling to many women, in view of all the circumstances, and some mistakes may be made; but we suffragists, who have worked and waited so long, look forward with a firm faith in the future of the free State of Utah, hoping and believing in her great destiny, in which all men and all women will share equally in the privileges of citizenship, in freedom, and in that glorious liberty which uplifts the race and illumines the great world of humanity.

The 12th of November, the eightieth birthday anniversary of that illustrious woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was appropriately celebrated with rejoicings, and with music, speeches, recitations, tableaux, etc., all in her honor, in many of the cities and towns throughout Utah. A telegram of congratulations was sent from Salt Lake City by the S. L. County Association. A ballot box made of Utah onyx and mounted with native silver was presented in behalf of the women of Utah by seven ladies.

Reports from Counties auxiliary to the State Association indicate that in Salt Lake and Davis particularly regular meetings have been held, and a great deal accomplished educationally; also in many of the towns and in other counties more remote from headquarters, and where they have fewer facilities for either practical or educational work.

The set of books prepared by the Plan of Work Committee are being used here by the Association and in Study Clubs. I consider this course of study the best method of educating women generally, particularly those whose school-days are over, and who need general information and preparation for the world's great work.

The election in November gave a large majority in favor of Statehood with equal suffrage secured, and the President of the United States issued the proclamation which admitted Utah into the Republic on the 4th day of January, of the year 1896, which event was appropriately celebrated by the firing of cannons, ringing of bells, floating of flags, and other like demonstrations of joy and gladness.

Monday, January 6th, the inauguration ceremonies took place in the large tabernacle in this city, which was handsomely and appropriately decorated for the auspicious occasion; and we are proud to say that chief among the designers of the decorations and one who took active part in the work was the Recording Secretary of the Utah W. S. A., Mrs. Margaret A. Caine.

The Governor in his inaugural address did not forget the women, but made honorable mention in referring to the subject,

"WOMEN AS CITIZENS."

"Moderation and wisdom acquired in a hard school are often the most valuable possessions of nations, of states and of individuals. Let us, fellow citizens, profit by the past and prove worthy of the trust reposed in us. And when I say 'fellow citizens,' be it remembered that from this time forth the term includes the women of Utah as well as the men. Says the Constitution:

"The rights of citizens of the State of Utah to vote and hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of the State shall enjoy equally all civil, political and religious rights and privileges."

"In behalf of the male electors of the State, I now extend the hand of greeting to the qualified female voters, and welcome them to the full rights and privileges of citizenship. It seems to me that they are to be especially congratulated because there is no abridgement of their rights, but, on the contrary, they enter upon the domain of the citizen under Statehood as free and independent sovereigns. Their waiting has been long and patient. Their triumph is all the more complete. May the pure, ennobling influence which they impart to the hearths and homes of Utah be felt in the exercise of their new duties, and may their future use of the ballot vindicate the wisdom and enlightenment of our law givers."

EMMELINE B. WELLS, *President.*
MARGARET A. CAIN, *Recording Secretary.*
ELLA W. HYDE, *Treasurer.*

VERMONT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Since the last report from Vermont was presented to the honored National-American W. S. A., a bill to grant municipal suffrage to women has been for the sixth time defeated in a Vermont Legislature. This last defeat was effected by the close vote of 108 opposed to 106 favorable. The bill was championed by our stanch friend, Hosea Mann, Esq., of Wilmington, and received the support of a noble company of the ablest men in the House of Representatives. By this same Legislature, two important changes in laws for women were made, as follows:

"Property of a deceased person, who leaves no issue nor surviving husband or wife, shall descend in equal shares to father and mother of such deceased person, and if father is not living it shall descend to the mother," in like manner as it would descend to the father were the mother deceased. Another change was made, which is for married women, and allows "married women to be appointed guardians, administrators and executors of estates," and the marriage of a woman who holds any of these offices shall not affect her authority to continue said duties.

By this new law Vermont law-makers remove one of the penalties that has so long been inflicted upon women for marrying. At this rate of progress the married women of Vermont will soon be legally the equal of the unmarried. The past year has been one of unusual activity in efforts to build up the State Woman's Suffrage Association and advance educational lines of work throughout the State. Annual and semi-annual Conventions have been held, with "minutes" of same published in pamphlet form and distributed. A larger number of members have paid dues to the Association than in any former year, save one.

The Association has been favored in securing the services of Mary N. Chase, A. B., to hold Woman Suffrage meetings in the State for nearly four months of the year. Miss Chase has been kindly received, and has added to the roll of membership a list of valuable helpers. In anticipation of the Legislature that convenes in the autumn of the present year books of enrollment and petition, combined, have already been sent out. The promise of voters "to do what we can to secure the nomination and election of members of the State Legislature who are in favor of Woman Suffrage," in connection with the petitions for the Legislature to grant Municipal Suffrage to women, will be likely to interest members, especially where a good list of their own constituents are found to be thus pledged.

In the churches of Vermont the equal rights principle is making progress. At the ninety-ninth Annual State Convention of the Congregational churches the names of fifteen women appear in the list of accredited delegates, and ten young women are constantly employed as evangelists by the denomination. Resolutions favoring the equal-rights principle have been passed by the Free Baptist State Yearly Meeting, by State W. C. T. U., and other influential bodies. For these and other signs of progress "we thank God and take courage." With cordial greeting from your Auxiliary in Vermont we are yours for the speedy and unconditional emancipation of women.

LAURA MOORE, *Secretary*.

VIRGINIA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Our organization is a small one, and our members are scattered over a wide area, in most cases living far apart.

Our Secretary, who is also acting Treasurer, has done a large amount of writing for us the past year besides the regular correspondence, but in all cases paid the bills for postage and stationery out of her own pocket.

We have succeeded during the past year in having several lectures for the cause of woman suffrage in different places in our State, which were well received by respectable and attentive audiences.

Our State is a large one, and we are hampered by not knowing who are our friends, and their whereabouts, on account of the low state of our finances, and our inability, so far, to properly canvass every county. Our plan, formulated at the last executive meeting, is to hold parlor meetings in as many counties as possible during the coming year.

We know of quite a number, friends to the cause in our State, who are members of the National Association, and who do not care to pay the extra dues of belonging also to the State Association, which not only reduces the number of our members but also our financial aid.

At a conference of the officers of our Society held at Manassas in September it was decided that, at present, the most important objects for the Association to bring before the public are: 1st, The opening of the State colleges to women on the same terms that they are opened to men; 2d, The appointment of female physicians in the women's wards of insane asylums and prisons; 3d, Having women appointed members of school boards; 4th, To have proper accommodations in jails for female prisoners, so as to secure their entire separation from the male prisoners.

To these should be added the opening of a reformatory for colored juvenile prisoners, who are now confined with old and hardened criminals.

Our Association has printed a Constitution and By-laws. From these I quote Art. III., Sec. 2: "The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee." Art. V., Sec. 2: "Any individual living in a neighborhood where no local society exists, subscribing to this constitution and contributing annually to its fund, shall become a member of this association with a right to participate in its deliberations."

Although prevented during the last year, by circumstances which made it necessary for me to remain at home, from doing active work for the cause, I have circulated a great deal of literature, and written many articles advocating woman suffrage, and have found no difficulty in getting the latter published.

I must acknowledge special indebtedness to the *Richmond Star* and *Rockingham Register* for opening their columns to discussions of the woman question.

I am happy to state a steady advance in public sentiment with regard to the educational and civil privileges of woman.

ORRA LANGHORNE, *President*.
ELIZABETH B. DODGE, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Knowing something of the work done in other States for the cause of Equal Rights during the past year, the President of the Washington (State) Equal Suffrage Association sends her report with reluctance, not because she has left undone those things which she *could* have done, but because it was not possible for her to do more.

When the present incumbent was elected in 1895, she found an empty treasury, auxiliary clubs dead or dying, and a few discouraged members of the State Association. "Hard times, hard times!" was the constant cry. In April, 1895, a special meeting was called to discuss ways and means. As a result, the State was divided into six districts, and organizers appointed in three. In arranging the districts, due consideration was given to the lines of travel and location of inaccessible mountain ranges, the endeavor being to keep the expenses at a minimum. In three districts no organizers were appointed, as no capable person could be found to accept the position.

The reports received from the organizers have been much alike, and in substance are as follows: "I have good audiences everywhere. People seem interested in what I say until I say 'dues,' or 'collections'; then there are ominous shakes of the head, and a lack of interest is at once manifest." "It is as if a cold wave had struck the audience." "While times are so hard it not worth while to attempt to do anything."

The President has written nearly four hundred letters to people in various parts of the State.

The annual meeting held in Seattle, January 29th and 30th, 1896, was a success. Many who felt that Equal Suffrage was a lost cause in the State took heart again. The first session, a symposium on "Who Needs the Ballot?" was subdivided as follows: Does the Business Unmarried Woman Need It? Does the Professional Woman Need It? Does the Working Woman Need It? Does the Wife Need It? Does the Work-Society Need Woman's Ballot? Does the State Need Woman's Ballot? Does Hon. Orange Jacobs, of Seattle, closed the evening with the paper on "Does the State Need Woman's Ballot?" Mr. Jacobs is well known as a Suffragist, at home as well as abroad, for it was in his honor that the Orange Ribbon was adopted as the badge of our faith. Good notices were given the meeting in the papers of Seattle and Tacoma.

Respectfully submitted,
BESSIE ISAACS SAVAGE, *President.*

WEST VIRGINIA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The first active suffrage clubs were organized in our State by Mary G. Hay and Rev. Henrietta Moore during the month of last November. A mass-meeting was called for the 25th and 26th of November at Grafton, where a two-days convention was held and a State Suffrage Association formed and officers elected. There were nine local clubs organized, one at each of the following places, with the following number of members: Wheeling, 22; Benwood, 8; Wellsburg, 12; New Cumber-

land, 2; New Martinsville, 9; Clarksburg, 39; Grafton, 21; Fairmont, 43, and Mannington, 43 members.

These clubs are living, so far as I know; I am able to reach them only through correspondence.

I intend to do all that I can to keep these clubs interested and in working order, and have them fulfil the pledge I made for them at the convention. We have nothing at present in sight in our State to look forward to, except the education of the minds of the people in this cause. I hope next year we can give you a much more enlarged report of what we have done.

JESSIE G. MANLEY, *President.*

WISCONSIN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The past year has been one of hard work, and little growth. The editor of our paper, *The Wisconsin Citizen*, having resigned, the first work of the year was moving the *Citizen* office to Brodhead, the home of our new editor, Mrs. H. H. Charlton. We have increased our paid-up sub. list, and under the able management of Mrs. Charlton, the paper is increasing in power and influence. We employed as organizer Mrs. De Voe, who worked during the month of November, 1894. She did most excellent work, as is proved by letters received from the towns she visited, asking us to send her to them again.

She formed some new clubs, and favorable sentiment was aroused. She also secured nearly \$100.00 in pledges.

Perhaps the most important work of the year was our legislative work. Our able committee, Jennie Lamberson, Jessie Luther, and Alice Kollock, assisted by Helen Charlton, secured the introduction of two bills, —one to strike the word male from the constitution, the other an amendment to the statute law. Both were referred to committees. A hearing was granted us in the Senate Chamber before the joint committee of both Houses. Mesdames Charlton, Opdale, Shaw, Horbert, and Rose spoke before the committee, and the Chamber was crowded. The bills were reported favorably, but after discussion were lost.

E. P. Wilder, associate editor of the official organ for the Republican party, gave an excellent address in favor of woman suffrage, which was afterwards printed as a leaflet.

We have raised and expended during the year \$561.00, leaving an indebtedness of about \$40.00, which has since been paid. The change in sentiment we ascribe to the work of our Association; also to our paper, the *Wisconsin Citizen*. Our only discouragement is the falling off in our paid-up memberships, which was due partly to the hard times and partly to a change in our by-laws, which increased the amount of dues that clubs should pay to the State.

We voted to become auxiliary to the National-American Association, and begin the new year with courage and determination to strengthen our organization the coming year.

OLYMPIA BROWN, *President.*
ELLEN A. ROSE, *Chair. Ex. Com.*
ELLA AUSTIN, *Cor. Sec.*
MARIA A. FOWLER, *Treas. and Sec.*

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATIVE ADVICE.

Lillie Devereux Blake, chairman, 210 W. 59th St., New York City;
Annie L. Diggs, Denver, Col.; Josephine K. Henry, Versailles, Ky.;
Helen Morris Lewis, Asheville, N. C.; Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, O.

This committee will give advice in any legislative contest, send speakers to address committees if needed, and aid in the conduct of any constitutional convention campaign.

It is of the utmost importance that our question should be agitated before every Legislature at each session. Nothing so educates the people of a state as such a contest; nothing brings it into such notice in the press, and creates such widespread interest. Every defeat is a victory, for only a measure that commands a good support can be brought to a vote, even to be lost. A legislative campaign sends every man who has voted for woman suffrage back to his constituents full of enthusiasm for it, and gives the women of his district new zeal to labor for the cause, while the districts represented by men who have voted no can at once be the special scenes of attack by the advocates of the question. Meetings can be held, and the antagonists be made to feel that they must change their views, or be replaced by those who will represent the public sentiment of their constituencies.

LILLIE DEVEREAUX BLAKE, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The past year has been the most successful one, financially, in the history of your association. All current expenses have been met. All back debts have been paid. To-day you owe nothing, have a small sum in your treasury, and a \$1,000 bequest left you by will of Amelia E. H. Doyon, of Madison, Wisconsin.

It will be remembered that in the years '93 and '94 so large a number of states did not pay their dues until after the opening of the convention, that the Executive Committee of '94 voted not to allow any such delinquent state representation in the convention of '95.

It will also be remembered that at the opening meeting of the Executive Committee of '95 this vote was reconsidered and delinquent states were admitted, but it was unanimously voted that states not paying their dues before January 1st, 1896, should not have delegates in the convention of '96. However, when we came into the Executive Committee this year, we found there were still states whose dues were not paid January 1st, but as most of these were the newly organized states, the committee voted to reconsider the vote of '95. This action of the Executive Committee in regard to the unbusiness-like action of the states has resulted in good, for we find that in the year 1893, we had thirty-five states Auxiliary, and of these twenty-seven did not pay their dues until after January 1st. Then in '94 we had thirty-four states Auxiliary, and of that number twenty-eight did not pay their dues until after January 1st. In '95 we had thirty-five states Auxiliary, and of these twenty did not pay their dues until after January 1st. In '96 we had forty-seven states and territories Auxiliary, and of these all but eight paid their auxiliary fee before January 1st.

It is but fair to say, however, that five other states had made only partial payments before the new year. There are one or two reasons why the payment of the dues before January 1st

may seem a little unjust, but the reasons why they should be paid so overbalance why they should not, that the Executive Committee no longer feels that states should be allowed to be dilatory in payment.

In the past three years, delegations from states have been in convention, and voted through the whole convention, when those states had paid no dues. This was allowed because the delegates present insisted that their dues had been sent, and would be there before the convention closed. In one case these dues were not paid until April 1st, and in one case in '93 they were never paid. The Treasurer remembers that one year a State President came to her after the beginning of the Convention and gave her six dollars for Auxiliary fees. The following morning she gave her four more, saying, "Here is some additional money which will allow our state to have one additional delegate." The Treasurer credited the amount, and that state had an additional vote through the whole convention. After the Treasurer had gone home, she received a letter from that President, in which she said, "I send the names of the four persons whose money I gave you the morning of the convention." This President had really given her four memberships, which did not entitle her state to that additional delegate, and although there was no reason to suppose that the President did this in order to get an additional delegate, yet the action was unbusiness-like and irregular, and repetitions in the future might lead to harm.

In the year 1895 all money belonging to all committees was handled by the National Treasurer. Our total receipts were \$9,883.41; our total disbursements \$9,502.13; balance \$381.28. The Treasurer has always had an ambition to have every member of the Association thoroughly understand the condition of the Treasury, the manner in which the books are kept, and the financial standing of states and committees. With this in view she has prepared a table given below. In considering this table you must remember that the books of the Treasurer are closed on the first day of January, and that all sums referred to in this report are sums for the year 1895. You will not find that this amount will agree with the Credential Report, for a number of states did not send their dues until after January 1st. The Executive Committee, however, voted to allow those states representation in this Convention,

and in order to have the proper representation their dues must be given in the report of the Credential Committee. Any differences existing between the Treasurer's report and the report of the Credential Committee are due to this fact.

The five states paying the largest amount of auxiliary dues in the years 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896:

1893.		1895.	
New York,	\$143.50	New York,	\$160.00
Utah,	102.30	Utah,	105.00
Massachusetts,	89.30	Massachusetts,	88.10
Ohio,	63.30	Iowa,	67.00
Pennsylvania,	33.40	Pennsylvania,	65.90
1894.		1896.	
New York,	\$155.50	New York,	\$174.70
Utah,	105.00	Massachusetts,	111.00
Massachusetts,	76.30	Pennsylvania,	73.50
Colorado,	64.00	Iowa,	61.00
Illinois,	60.00	Illinois,	50.00

The Association has grown more in the last year than in any previous year. Not only have we added a large number of members, but a large number of workers, which is more important, and with all this progress the financial department has kept pace.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, *Treasurer.*

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1895.

THE TREASURER, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE
NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Receipts.

ALABAMA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$4 30
Alabama Pledge,	5 00
Arter, Maria C.,	1 00
Bridwell, Rosalie,	1 00
Henderson, Minnie K.,	1 00
Hoffman, Frances,	1 00

\$13 30

ARKANSAS.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$5 00
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	3 00
Cunningham, Kate,	20
McDiarmid, Clara A.,	1 00

9 20

CALIFORNIA.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$4 00
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	36 60
Albertson, F. Elma,	1 00
Avery, Alida C., M.D.,	1 00
Bowles, Rev. Ada C.,	2 00
Cooper, Mrs. C. M.,	1 50
Faulkner, A. R. and A. L.,	22 00
Goodrich, Sarah L. Knox,	26 00
Gray, Maria Freeman,	1 00
Johnson, Mary H.,	60 00
Montgomery, Ellen Sargent,	1 00
Sargent, Elizabeth, M.D.,	2 00
Sargent, Ellen Clark,	2 00
Sargent, George C.,	3 00
Severance, Sarah M.,	2 00
Smith, Louise Cary,	1 30
Sprague, Rev. L. Frost,	1 00
Vallette, Jean M.,	5 00

172 40

COLORADO.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$2 90
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	92
Routt, Eliza F.,	25 00
Williams, Hattie C.,	1 00

29 82

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1895.

CONNECTICUT.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$14 80
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	16 80
A friend,	100 00
Hale, Addie S.,	10 00
Hooker, Isabella Beecher,	1 00
Kendrick, Ella B.,	1 00

143 60

DELAWARE.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$10 80
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10 80

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$5 00
Abbott, Mrs. H.,	1 00
Anderson, Julia A.,	1 00
Aspinwall, Harriet M.,	1 00
Ball, Virginia F.,	5 00
Barton, Clara,	1 00
Campbell, Catherine,	1 00
Chamberlain, Mrs. A. M.,	2 00
Cheshire, Bessie Boone,	3 00
Edwards, Fannie N.,	6 00
Fessenden, Lucy L.,	1 00
Gillett, Emma M.,	1 00
Gillett, Edith,	1 00
Gridley, Mrs. A. E.,	1 00
Hartwell, Frances M.,	1 00
Hibbard, Julia,	1 00
Hillyer, Amy M.,	1 00
Hitz, Jane C.,	1 00
Houston, Jennie G.,	1 00
Hutchings, Augusta D.,	1 00
Jackson, Marguerite R.,	1 00
Kennedy, Elizabeth,	1 00
Lacy, Lucy P.,	1 00
MacDonald, Arthur,	2 00
McNaughton, Dr. Clara,	1 00
Morse, Alice H.,	1 00
Nash, Hattie E.,	1 00
Newton, W. J.,	1 00
Pearce, Emma E.,	1 00
Pomeroy, Ruth C.,	30
Roberts, Grace, M.D.,	1 00
Smith, Mrs. E. L.,	3 00
Stearns, Alice W.,	
Tindall, Helen Rand,	
Thompson, Ellen Powell,	

Vincent, Martha J.,	1 00
Wall, Sarah E.,	1 00
Ward, Eliza Titus,	7 00
White, Nettie L.,	1 00
Wilbur, Julia A.,	1 00
Wood, Maria L.,	3 00

67 30

FLORIDA.

Bartlett, Jessie M.,	\$1 00
Glen, Nellie,	15

1 15

GEORGIA.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$2 60
Allen, D. M.,	6 00
Allen, Sophia L. Ober,	6 00
Avary, Mrs. J. C.,	1 00
Bellamy, Mrs. B. L.,	1 00
Butner, Mrs. F. M.,	1 00
Dewar, Alice G.,	6 00
Frost, J. B.,	2 00
Gresham, S. A.,	7 00
Holtzman, A.,	1 00
Howard, Anna J.,	10 00
Howard, H. Augusta,	1 00
Jones, Dr. Mary Scott,	1 00
Maxwell, Claudia Howard,	30
McInnes, Mrs. J. C.,	2 00
Morse, Dr. L. D.,	1 00
Swift, Mrs. F. C.,	2 00
Tucker, Mrs. Dr.,	5 00
Whiteside, Mrs. F. S.,	1 00
Zalner, Mrs. Robert,	1 00

57 90

ILLINOIS.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$50 00
Avery, Susan Look,	1 00
Boyle, Harriet D.,	1 00
Coonley, Lydia Avery,	25 00
Dickinson, Melissa,	15 00
East, M. K.,	8 00
Gretchen,	1 00
Gross, Mr. and Mrs. S. E.,	100 00
Hansen, Wilhelmina,	1 00
Henderson, Effie,	1 00
Holmes, Mary E.,	1 00
Kepley, Ada H.,	1 00
Matthews, Agnes R.,	1 00
Negus, M. M.,	2 00
	15

Peters, Clara Lyon,	1 00
Peters, Matthew H.,	1 00
Schumacher, Abby S.,	1 00
Sherry, Helen,	1 00
Smith, Eva Munson,	1 00
Strickland, Martha,	26 00
Swain, Adela M.,	25 00
Wood, Isabella E.,	

264 15

INDIANA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$5 00
Clark, Alice J.,	7 00
Ellis, Phoebe,	1 00
Hay, Mary G.,	10 15
Jessup, Dr. Maria Allen,	11 00
Logan, Mrs. Tom,	1 00
Sewall, May Wright,	2 00
Taylor, Phebe M.,	1 00

38 15

IOWA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$128 00
Adams, Mary Newbury,	5 00
Bacon, Harriet B.,	2 00
Baker, Pruella,	1 00
Bemis, Narcissa T.,	1 00
Callanan, Martha C.,	77 00
Coggeshall, Mary J.,	1 00
Denbey, Jane,	5 00
Flint, C. Holt,	11 00
Forest City Suffrage Club,	5 00
Ingham, Caroline,	2 00
Kennedy, Mrs. M. Lloyd,	10 00
Knapp, Lou Hoover,	4 00
Moffatt, Ella,	1 00
Phillips, Emily,	1 00
Reynolds, Mrs. C. A.,	5 75
Satterlee, Anna E. H.,	5 00
Stoughton, Cordelia,	6 00

270 75

KANSAS.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$20 00
Albright, Emma S.,	2 75
Billings, Mrs. H. A.,	1 00
Davis, Martha Powell,	1 00
Hall, Mary A. R.,	5 00
Hall, Sarah C.,	1 00
Royce, Ollie L.,	5 00
Service, Anna A.,	

40 75

KENTUCKY.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$20 00
Badgers, Lou,	1 00
Bearse, Janet S.,	3 00
Clay, Laura,	81 00
Clay, Mary B.,	25 00
Clay, Mary J. Warfield,	10 00
Cramer, Mary C.,	5 00
Handy, George,	12 00
Henry, Josephine K.,	1 00
Hubbard, Mrs. S. M.,	1 00
Humphreys, Sarah G.,	26 00
Jones, Mary K.,	1 00
Preston, Mrs. William,	10 00
Williamson, Mrs.,	11 00

207 00

LOUISIANA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$7 70
Chalifour, Cornelia,	1 00
Merrick, Caroline E.,	28 00

36 70

MAINE.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$9 00
Bailey, Hannah J.,	1 00
Fessenden, Mrs. D. W.,	1 00
Greely, Ann F.,	6 00
O'Brien, S. J. Lincoln,	4 00
Yates, Elizabeth U.,	26

21 26

MARYLAND.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$5 30
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	5 40
Garrett, Mary E.,	100 00
Thomas, Mary Bentley,	1 00

111 70

MASSACHUSETTS.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$111 00
Auxiliary dues, Massachusetts National, for 1896,	2 00
Adams, Mrs. G. H.,	10 00
Allen, M. E.,	1 00
Allen, Mary Ware,	1 00
Allen, Nathaniel T.,	12 00
Auerbach, Annie L.,	1 00
Auerbach, Annie L.,	1 00
Allen, Mary Ware,	100 00
Bascom Emma Curtis,	1 00

Blackwell, Henry B.,	50 00
Blair, Mary Ann B.,	1 00
Bowditch, William I.,	30 00
Channing, Anna K.,	3 00
Cheney, Amos P.,	1 00
Cheney, Mrs. O. A.,	1 00
Coleman, M. Folger,	5 00
Curtis, Anna Shaw,	5 00
Davis, Maria Mott,	1 00
Duniway, C. A.,	10 00
French, Elizabeth J.,	101 00
Garrison, William Lloyd,	15
Haskell, Agnes P.,	12 00
Hatch, Lavina A.,	2 00
Hawkins, Harriet O.,	1 00
Heinzen, K. F.,	5 00
Kehew, Mary Morton,	1 00
Kendall, Lucia G.,	1 00
Lougee, A. M.,	2 00
Luscomb, Hannah S.,	6 00
May, Adeline,	1 00
Merritt, Salome,	1 00
Monroe, Emma F.,	1 00
Monroe, Mary F.,	1 00
Orne, Mrs. M. E. C.,	1 00
Parker, John R.,	2 00
Pitman, Martha B.,	2 00
Potter, Helen,	1 00
Rogers, Clara,	2 00
Starr, Genevieve,	1 00
Sunderland, Mehitabel,	3 00
Thayer, Mrs.,	2 00
Tolman, Harriet,	6 00
Webster, E. H.,	2 00
Whithed, Isabella,	1 00
Whiting, Eliza A.,	25 00
Whiting, Susan A.,	

531 15

MICHIGAN.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$16 90
Ann Arbor Political Equality Club,	10 00
Bartlett, Rev. Caroline J.,	3 00
Boutel, Harriet J.,	3 00
Burrows, Frances P.,	1 00
Cox, Amy L.,	2 00
Fowler, Fanny Holden,	2 00
Hazlett, Mrs. James Hughes,	10 00
Hoyt, H. B.,	1 00
Jones, Martha J. W.,	1 00

Jenkins, Helen P.,	12 15
Jones, Maurine A.,	2 00
Ketcham, Emily B.,	11 00
Milliken, Emma A.,	10 00
Root, M. A. and M. E.,	15
Safford, Mrs. E. M.,	15
Shaw, Harold Porter,	1 00
Shaw, Nicolas,	1 00
Streeter, D. D.,	1 00
Turner, Dora Belle,	1 00
Van Buskirk, Mary L.,	1 00

MINNESOTA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$12 50
Anderson, Martha Scott,	1 00
Stearns, Sarah Burger,	5 00

MISSOURI.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$5 20
Gaines, Mattie C.,	1 00
Rea, Mrs. J. H.,	5 00
Robinson, Temple B.,	1 00
Taylor, Mary,	3 00

MONTANA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$12 50
Montana Woman Suffrage Association,	50 00
Parke, Alice L.,	11 00

NEBRASKA.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$10 00
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	10 00
Colson, S. B.,	1 00
Gregory, Nettie,	15 00
Harn, Ellen D.,	1 00
Hughes, Grace A.,	5 00
Nye, Mrs. C. M.,	4 00
Table Rock Woman Suffrage Association,	5 00
Williams, Mary H.,	1 00

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$1 50
Kimball, K. P.,	1 00
Page, Mary Hutchinson,	2 00
Ricker, Marilla M.,	1 00
White, Armenia S.,	50 00
Whitney, S. J. Messer,	2 00

90 35

18 50

15 20

73 50

52 00

57 50

NEW JERSEY.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$18 80
New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association,	1 65
Cairns, Mary A.,	1 00
Cutler, Anna,	101 00
Hussey, Cornelia C.,	1 00
Hussey, Frederick,	1 00
Hussey, George,	105 15
Hussey, Dr. Mary D.,	1 00
Hussey, William,	15
Krom, S. R.,	15
Pond, Mrs. David W.,	3 50
Pugh, S. V. J.,	1 00
Shaffer, Mary O.,	2 00
Wright, Phoebe C.,	

238 40

NEW YORK.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$160 00
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	174 70
A friend,	100 00
Allen, Mary P. H.,	1 00
Anthony, Mary S.,	10 00
Anthony, Susan B.,	322 25
Anthony, Susan B. (Loan),	450 00
Armstrong, S. Augusta,	2 00
Aspinwall, Harriet M.,	2 00
Bain, Mary,	31 00
Banker, Henrietta M.,	55 00
Bigelow, Alfreda,	1 00
Blake, Lillie Devereux,	15
Burhaus, Mrs. Charles,	15
Campbell, Dr. Alice Boole,	3 00
Cary, Cornelia H.,	11 00
Cassidy, Jessie J.,	1 00
Catt, Mr. and Mrs. George W.,	331 05
Chapman, Mariana W.,	12 00
Chapman, N. H.,	2 00
Conable, Eunice,	1 00
Crossett, Ella Hawley,	3 00
Culbertson, M. E. B.,	25
Curtis, Elizabeth Burrill,	2 00
Elkin, W. B.,	15
Ferguson, Mary I.,	3 00
Greenleaf, Halbert,	1 00
Greenleaf, Jean Brooks,	2 00
Hallock, Frances V.,	1 00
Ham, A. L.,	1 00
Hamm, Margherita Arlina,	307 00
Howland, Emily,	

Howland, Isabel,	2 00
Hubbard, Mary N.,	12 00
Hull, Dorcas,	1 00
Jennings, Dr. Ella M.,	1 00
Kenyon, R. I.,	50 00
Lapham, Samantha Vail,	100 00
Letchworth, W. B.,	25 00
McConn, Mrs. P. T.,	3 00
Miller, Elizabeth Smith,	120 00
Miller, Helen M.,	1 00
Moffett, Mrs. P. A.,	12 00
Morton, Margaret,	1 00
Morton, Pauline,	1 00
Perkins, R. C. Talbot,	2 50
Sargent, Angeline M.,	2 00
Sargent, James,	2 00
Sargent, Josephine,	5 00
Sheppard, Julia D.,	1 00
Sickles, Mrs. S. S.,	1 00
Simis, Emma V.,	25 00
Skinner, Josephine E.,	3 00
Taft, Clara,	1 00
Thomas, M. Louise,	5 00
Tuttle, Henrietta S.,	1 00
Villard, Fanny Garrison,	30 00
Warren, Mary B.,	1 00
Whlein, Charlotte A.,	15
Wilcox, Albert O.,	10 00
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2,412 35	

NORTH CAROLINA.	
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$3 70
Lewis, Helen Morris,	10 00
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13 70	

NORTH DAKOTA.	
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$8 00
Berkholtz, Eugenie,	1 00
Eaton, Dr. Cora Smith,	3 25
Sturman, Edwinna,	1 00
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13 25	

NEW MEXICO.	
Hadley, Alice P.,	\$2 00
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2 00	

OHIO.	
Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$41 40
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	40 00
Amos, Ida,	1 15
Baldwin, Justine I.,	1 00
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Bissell, Sarah,	10 00
Burnett, Cynthia S.,	1 00
Casement, General and Mrs.,	10 00
Coit, Elizabeth,	1 00
Easthope, Sarah R.,	1 00
Edwards, Carrie D.,	1 00
Elwell, Martha H.,	1 00
Everhard, Caroline McCullough,	7 00
Francis, Mary C.,	11 00
Fray, Ellen Sulley,	1 00
Holbrook, Mrs. Alfred,	6 00
Ingraham, Maria,	5 00
McBride, Virginia,	75 00
Mendenhall, Emma P.,	10 00
Mott, Anna C.,	4 00
Muhlhauser, Antoinette,	3 00
Northway, Lydia A. D.,	1 00
O'Conner, Maggie,	10 00
Russell, Minerva F.,	100 00
Sherwood, Kate Brownlee,	1 00
Southworth, Louise,	8 00
Spear, Frances E.,	200 00
Stanton, Harriet Brown,	
Upton, Harriet Taylor,	
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552 55	

OKLAHOMA.	
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$3 70
Rees, Rachel,	5 00
<hr/>	
8 70	

OREGON.	
Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$2 50
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	5 00
<hr/>	
7 50	

PENNSYLVANIA.	
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$73 50
Anthony, Anna O.,	1 00
Appleton, Susan G.,	1 00
Avery, Rachel Foster,	8 50
Bartol, Emma J.,	50 00
Blankenburg, Lucretia L.,	55 00
Brosius, Letitia,	1 00
Cock, Marion,	2 00
Dowler, M. V.,	2 00
Dreer, Ferdinand J.,	1 00
Goodman, Charlotte,	1 00
Green, Grace Greenwood,	1 00
Harrop, Elizabeth A.,	2 00
Harrop, Rebecca E.,	2 00
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MINUTES OF THE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

Longshore, Dr. Hannah E.,	36 00
McCullough, Louisa C.,	20 00
Myers, Dr. Jane V.,	41 00
Piatt, Frances Overfield,	1 00
Roberts, Lucy B.,	1 00
Rossman, Gladys Olds,	1 00
Sharpless, Dr. Anna,	1 00
Shaw, Nicolas M.,	2 00
Smith, Landis Shaw,	1 00
Stilwell, Dr. Mary H.,	1 00
Taylor, Rebecca N.,	1 00
Tilney, Mr. and Mrs. Robert,	26 00
Whitson, Elizabeth,	1 00

334 00

RHODE ISLAND.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$18 40
Bolles, Ellen M.,	1 00
Calder, Ellen M.,	5 00
Chace, Elizabeth B.,	1 00
Eddy, Sarah J.,	100 00
Henry, George,	3 00
Little Compton Woman Suffrage Association,	10 00
Wilbur, Abbie H.,	5 00

143 40

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$8 20
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	10 50
Cunningham, Floride,	2 00
Gridley, Mary Putnam,	1 00
Hemphill, General Robert R.,	1 50
Neblett, A. Viola,	101 00
Schofield, Martha,	52 00
Young, Virginia D.,	1 00

177 20

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$11 10
Beach, Mrs. E. J.,	6 20
Coates, Ellen H.,	1 00
Groesbeck, Mary A.,	1 00
Hanson, Mrs. J. R.,	1 00
Lang, Anna,	1 00
Lord, Helen M.,	2 00
Lyman, Henrietta,	2 00
Peel, M. E.,	5 00
Peters, W. R.,	2 00
Shoonmaker, M. A.,	5 00
	4 00

40 30

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1895.

TENNESSEE.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$8 50
Auxiliary dues for 1896,	4 00
Bass, Frances,	1 00
Conway, Clara,	2 00
Crozier, L. Graham,	5 00
Meriwether, Lide,	1 00
Millington, Helen,	1 00

22 50

TEXAS.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$2 00
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2 00

UTAH.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$105 00
Daniels, Marilla M. J.,	1 00
Gates, Susa Young,	1 00
Gillmer, Mary E.,	2 00
Rogers, Aurelia S.,	2 00
Snow, Minnie J.,	1 00
Taylor, Elmina S.,	7 00
Wells, Emmeline B.,	1 00
Young, Zina D. H.,	

121 00

VERMONT.

Auxiliary dues for 1895,	\$9 00
Wyman, C. W.,	1 00

10 00

VIRGINIA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$1 10
Brown, Elisan,	1 00
Crenshaw, Anna Clay,	1 00
Dodge, Elizabeth B.,	6 00
Green, Mrs. Jonas,	1 00
Langhorne, Orra,	2 00
Shumate, Lizzie,	2 00
Shumate, Mattie,	2 00

16 10

WASHINGTON.

Bartow, Addie G.,	\$1 00
Hale, P. C.,	1 00
Longmore, Lou Jackson,	20
Mann, Estella Bradish,	1 00
Spinning, Elizabeth P.,	2 00

5 20

WEST VIRGINIA.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$10 10
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10 10

MINUTES OF THE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

WISCONSIN.

Auxiliary dues for 1896,	\$18 60	
Eastman, L. M.,	1 15	
Schusler, Nellie,	15	
		19 90
Total receipts from states,	\$6,484 28	

MISCELLANEOUS.

Collections of Organizers in Field,	\$1,542 92	
Door receipts and collections at Atlanta, contributed by Mrs. Howard and daughters, of Georgia,		
Anonymous,	439 13	
Shopping Bureau,	6 52	
Anna Oliver Bequest,	12 06	
	1,000 00	
		3,000 63
Total receipts for 1895,		
Balance from 1894,	\$9,484 91	
		398 50
Total,	\$9,883 41	

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1895.

Disbursements.

Congressional Committee, for printing speeches made at hearings,	\$50 00
Press Committee,	66 20
Kansas Campaign Committee,	10 65
Southern Committee,	233 60
Susan B. Anthony, payment of loan of 1894,	1,000 00
Susan B. Anthony, payment of loan of 1895,	450 00
Auxiliary fee to National Council of Women,	100 00
Clerk for Corresponding Secretary,	314 28
Clerk for Treasurer, 1894,	200 00
Clerk for Treasurer, 1895,	242 09
On bill for Annual Report of 1894,	450 86
Full bill for Annual Report of 1895,	244 50
Expenses for Convention of 1895 at Atlanta,	616 71
Contribution toward expenses of Mrs. Stanton's birthday celebration,	167 00
National headquarters,	164 58
To Business Committee, for stationery, printing, postage, express, freight, office supplies, and telegrams,	291 05

Organization Committee:

Expenses and salaries of organizers, \$3,633 44	
Printing,	69 00
Chairman of Organization Committee, for office expenses, clerk hire, course of study, etc.,	1,198 17
	4,900 61
Total disbursements,	\$9,502 13
Balance from 1895,	381 28
	\$9,883 41

Organization Committee 1895,	\$4,900 61
Organization Committee to Jan. 23, 1896,	597 87
Total Organization Fund,	\$5,498 48

CONSTITUTION OF THE National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE I.

The name of this Association shall be THE NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE II.

The object of this Association shall be to secure protection in their right to vote, to the woman citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. All citizens of the United States subscribing to this Constitution, and paying not less than one dollar annually into the treasury of this Association, shall become members thereof, and shall be entitled to attend all its meetings, to participate in all discussions that may arise, and to receive reports and other documents published by it.

SEC. 2. The payment of fifty dollars (\$50) into the treasury shall constitute any citizen of the United States a Life Member of the Association, with all the privileges belonging to the regular annual members.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Vice-President-at-Large, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and two Auditors. The officers named in this section shall be nominated by an informal ballot at a business session of the Annual Convention of the Association. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for any office shall be considered the nominees of the Convention for that office, and the will of the Association shall be taken by a formal ballot.

SEC. 2. Wherever State Associations auxiliary to this Association exist, the Presidents of such Associations shall be considered Vice-Presidents of this Association, representing therein their respective States.

SEC. 3. Each State Auxiliary Association shall elect from its membership one person to serve on the Executive Committee of this Association.

SEC. 4. The officers enumerated in the preceding sections of this Article, together with the Chairmen of standing committees shall constitute the Executive Committee of this Association; of these officers, fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 5. This Association shall elect Vice-Presidents to represent States where there is no auxiliary Society; but Vice-Presidents representing non-auxiliary States shall be only honorary officers, and shall not be entitled to vote.

SEC. 6. The Executive Committee may elect annually ten or more honorary Vice-Presidents.

ARTICLE V.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, after one day's notice in the Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the Business Committee, and by them published in the suffrage papers not less than three months in advance.

BY-LAWS.

BY-LAW I.

For the accomplishment of the object specified in Article II of its Constitution, this Association shall seek to concentrate the efforts of all the advocates of woman suffrage in the United States by the following methods: (1.) It shall hold annually one meeting of delegates (according to the basis of representation stated in By-Law II) for the transaction of business, the election of officers and the advocacy of its principles; and it may hold one or more other conventions annually for the advocacy of its principles. In order to influence national legislation the annual meeting of delegates shall be held in Washington, D. C., during the first session of each Congress. (2.) It shall form State Associations auxiliary to itself in every State where none such now exist; and, recognizing the authority of its auxiliaries in their respective States, it shall promote their local work by every means in its power. (3.) It shall publish tracts, speeches, and other documents, and shall furnish the same at actual cost. (4.) It shall prepare and circulate petitions to Congress and to State legislatures on behalf of the political and civil equality of women, and take such other measures for the promotion of woman suffrage as the Executive Committee shall determine upon, subject always to the will of the Association.

BY-LAW II.—BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. Any State Woman Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the N. A. W. S. Association, by paying annually into its treasury ten cents per member of the State society and of its paid-up auxiliaries.

SEC. 2. Every State Auxiliary Association shall be entitled to send three delegates to the Annual National Convention, and one delegate in addition for every one hundred members of State Society and of its paid-up auxiliaries.

SEC. 3. All officers of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association shall be *ex-officio* delegates-at-large, and every such officer shall be entitled to vote in all the business meetings of the Association.

BY-LAW III.—CREDENTIALS.

All delegates-at-large specified in Sec. 3 of By-Law II, and chairmen of standing committees, must present credentials properly signed by the President and Recording Secretary of the organization represented. Contributors to the N. A. W. S. A. shall receive a card signed by the Treasurer of that Association which shall serve as credentials for the members of that body who are not delegates from other bodies.

BY-LAW IV.

The Executive Committee of this Association shall hold one session preceding the opening of each annual convention, and another session after the conclusion of such convention; and the committees having in charge the arrangements for the annual convention shall always take cognizance of such meetings of the Executive Committee and make provision for them.

BY-LAW V.

The decisions reached by the Executive Committee shall be presented in the form of recommendations at the business sessions of the convention.

BY-LAW VI.

In the election of officers, the delegates present from each State shall cast the full vote to which the organization represented by them is entitled. The vote shall be taken in the same way upon any other question whenever the delegates present from five States concur in asking it. In other cases each delegate shall have one vote.

BY-LAW VII.

The Committee on Resolutions shall consist of one person from each State, elected by the delegation from the organization represented.

BY-LAW VIII.

After each annual convention the Business Committee shall elect the following Standing Committees: A Committee on Programme, to consist of five persons, one from each section of the country, of which the president shall be chairman, to arrange the programme for the next annual meeting; a Congressional Committee, to have in charge the direct Congressional work during the year which shall intervene between the time of its appointment and the next annual convention; and Committees on Press Work, Enrollment, Federal Suffrage, Presidential Suffrage, National Headquarters, Local Arrangements and Railroad Rates, and a Committee on Plan of Work. All money collected by or belonging to the Standing Committees shall be turned into the treasury of the National-American W. S. A., that sum to be drawn at any time by an authorized person on the committee without the signature of the President and Recording Secretary of the N. A. W. S. A.

BY-LAW IX.

The report of the Treasurer shall be read at the second business meeting of the annual convention. The books of the Treasurer shall close the first day of January.

BY-LAW X.

SECTION 1. The General Officers named in Art. IV., Sec. 1, of the Constitution, viz., the President, Vice-President-at-Large, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, Treasurer, and two Auditors, with the Honorary President and Chairmen of Organization Committee, shall constitute a Business Committee to provide for and control the general interests of the work in the interim of the annual meetings, and to perform all other business not otherwise assigned. Of these, five shall constitute a quorum when assembled after due notice, or a majority may act by correspondence in response to a circular letter addressed to every member of the Business Committee not less than ten days beforehand, by the President.

SEC. 2. The President may call special meetings of the Business Committee, when deemed necessary, or in response to the written request of any three members of the Business Committee, and shall perform all other duties usual to such office.

SEC. 3. The Vice-President-at-Large shall perform all duties of the President in case of the President's absence or disability.

SEC. 4. The Recording Secretary shall attend all business meetings of the Association and the meetings of the Executive and Business Committees, and shall keep a correct record of the proceedings of the same and perform all other duties usually pertaining to such office.

SEC. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all correspondence of the organization, and perform all duties usual to such office; and shall also send to the Secretary of each auxiliary association notice to prepare a report of work done by said auxiliary, blanks for credentials of delegates to the annual meeting to which said auxiliary is entitled, and a notice of the necessity that said auxiliary shall send dues and list of names and addresses of members to the Treasurer of this Association.

SEC. 6. The Treasurer shall keep accurate accounts of all receipts and disbursements of money, and shall present a detailed report thereof to each annual meeting, to be afterward published, and shall pay no bill except on an order signed by the President and Recording Secretary, and at the annual meeting shall give to the chairman of the Committee on Credentials the whole number of delegates to which each auxiliary is entitled, according to the number of members and amount of dues paid; and shall perform all other duties usually pertaining to this office.

SEC. 7. The Auditors shall examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and shall give a report thereof at each annual meeting.

SEC. 8. The General Officers of this Association shall be elected on the last day but one of the annual meeting.

SEC. 9. The term of the General Officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the (annual) convention proper, and the term of the newly elected officers shall commence with the session of the Executive

Committee held after the conclusion of the convention, provided for by By-Law IV.

SEC. 10. The Business Committee shall fill any vacancy that may occur in itself during the interim of annual meetings.

BY-LAW XI.

In case of the absence from the annual convention of this Association of a State President or a State member of the Executive Committee, the delegation from that State may elect a proxy to represent the absentee on the Executive Board during the convention.

BY-LAW XII.

The annual report prepared by the Secretary of each State Association and approved by the President of that Association, must be read as written, and any alterations must be made from the floor in open convention.

BY-LAW XIII.

A State Association, no member of which is present at a National Convention, may not give a proxy to a person from another State to cast its vote at the convention.

BY-LAW XIV.

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, one day's notice having been given in convention.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

AUXILIARY TO THE

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as the * and through that auxiliary to the State § Association auxiliary to the National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

Its object shall be to advance the industrial, legal, and educational rights of women, and to secure suffrage to them by appropriate State and National legislation.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a member of this Association by signing the Constitution, and paying the sum of annually into the treasury, of which thirty-five cents shall go to the County or if there is no County organization to the State This must be paid before the annual meeting in No distinction on account of sex shall be made in membership or eligibility to office in the Association.

ARTICLE IV.—ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The officers of the Association shall be, a President, a Vice-President, ¶ Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and Auditor. These general officers shall constitute an Executive Committee, and shall be elected annually in

ARTICLE V.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. PRESIDENT.—The President shall preside at all regular and called meetings, and have a general oversight of the Association, and, in conjunction with the Executive Committee, shall plan for its best interests and the good of the cause; shall call special meetings when deemed advisable, due notice having been given.

* The local name may be chosen by the members. Many names are in use from which an acceptable one can easily be selected: Woman Suffrage Association, Equal Suffrage Association, Equal Rights Association, Political Equality League, Civic Club, Good Government League, Citizens' Club, Political Study Club.

§ The State name in all existing societies is Woman Suffrage Association, Equal Rights Association, or Equal Suffrage Association.

¶ Honorary Vice-Presidents may be added in any number desired. It is sometimes helpful to connect the names of prominent people with the work of the club in this manner.

SEC. 2. VICE-PRESIDENT.—The Vice-President shall preside at all meetings in the absence of the President, and perform all duties of the President in case of absence of that officer; she shall also assist in arranging and carrying out plans for the benefit of the Association.

SEC. 3. CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.—The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Association; she shall report the local club work to the Corresponding Secretary of the State Association, and prepare the report to be read at the County Convention, having first submitted her report to the local club, giving such facts and items of general interest as will enable the State Secretary to judge correctly of the condition of the club and the amount of work accomplished during the year.

SEC. 4. RECORDING SECRETARY.—The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the meetings of the Association, notify the public of its meetings, notify committees of their appointment and of the business referred to them; take charge of all papers and documents of the Association, and make reports annually or quarterly as required by the Association.

SEC. 5. TREASURER.—The Treasurer shall keep an exact book account of all receipts and expenditures. Thirty-five cents from the dues of each member must be entered at the time of its payment in a separate account under the head of *County Dues*. * The amount in this fund must be forwarded quarterly to the Treasurer of the County Association, and must not be used for any other purpose whatsoever. The Treasurer shall pay bills only on the orders signed by the President and Recording Secretary.

SEC. 6. AUDITOR.—It shall be the duty of the Auditor to examine and verify the books of the Treasurer, and to report thereon at each Annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.—MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The regular meetings of the Association shall be held every members shall constitute a quorum. Public meetings shall be held as often as the interest of the work demands; and, if practicable, mass meetings quarterly.

SEC. 2. During the month of the annual meeting shall be held. Before this meeting the Treasurer shall have collected all the membership dues unpaid, and closed her books for the fiscal year, and shall offer her report to the Association. The report must be passed upon by the Auditor before approval. The Corresponding Secretary shall offer her report of the year's work, and after its approval may forward it to the State Corresponding Secretary. The election of officers shall then take place.

ARTICLE VII.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended at a regular meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present, notice having been given at the previous regular meeting.

* In the event there is no county organization, this head should be *State Dues*, and the amount forwarded to State Association.
|| By-Laws may be added at the discretion of members.

OFFICERS

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

1896.

Honorary President.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 26 West 61st Street, New York City.

President.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rochester, N. Y.

Vice-President-at-Large.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Corresponding Secretary.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer.

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Warren, Ohio.

Auditors.

LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.

SARAH B. COOPER, San Francisco, Cal.

Chairman Organization Committee.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 106 World Building, New York City.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

California.—Ellen Clark Sargent, Sara Knox Goodrich, Dr. Alida C. Avery, Mary F. Channing.

Colorado.—Gov. John L. Routt.

Connecticut.—Emily P. Collins, John Hooker, Joseph Sheldon, Harriet Beecher Stowe.

District of Columbia.—Caroline H. Dall, Ruth C. Dennison, Dr. Susan Edson, Mary A. O'Connor, Albert G. Riddle, Rosanna Thompson, Dr. Caroline B. Winslow.

Georgia.—Sophia L. Ober Allen, Sarah Freeman Clarke, Annie J. Howard.
Illinois.—Hannah Tracy Cutler, Charles B. Waite, Katherine B. Waite, Jas. B. Bradwell, Adeline Swain.
Indiana.—Zerelda G. Wallace, Wm. Dudley Foulke.
Iowa.—Mary V. Cowgill, Margaret W. Campbell, Martha C. Callanan, Narcissa T. Bemis, E. A. Hunter, S. A. Green, Deborah Cottle.
Kentucky.—Susan Look Avery, Mary J. W. Clay. Mrs. W. W. Trimble.
Kansas.—Mother Bickerdike, Jane Slocum, Susan E. Wattles, Amanda Way.
Louisiana.—Caroline E. Merrick.
Maine.—Margaret T. W. Merrill, Ann F. Greeley, Rev. Dr. Blanchard, Lucy A. Snow, Sophronia Snow.
Maryland.—Caroline Hallowell Miller, Mary G. Thomas.
Massachusetts.—Ednah D. Cheney, Frances H. Drake, Anna Gardner, Paulina Gerry, Col. T. W. Higginson, Wm. I. Bowditch, Rev. Samuel May, Adeline Howland, Julia Ward Howe.
Michigan.—Harriet Burton, Giles B. Stebbins, Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Lucinda H. Stone, Olivia B. Hall, Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, Delos Blodgett, Dr. C. L. Levanway, Mr. Schneider, Mrs. Francis Titus.
Minnesota.—Margaret Van Cleve, Sarah Burger Stearns, Dr. Martha A. Ripley.
Missouri.—Rebecca N. Hazard, Mrs. Beverly Allen, Mrs. Ferdinand Gerishes, James E. Yeatman, Sarah Coates.
Nebraska.—Mary Rogers Kimball, Mrs. S. B. Colson.
New Hampshire.—Armenia S. White, Hon. Henry W. Blair, Mary Powers Filley, Nancy Gilmore, Parker Pillsbury.
New Jersey.—Elizabeth McClintock Phillips, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Arethusa L. Forbes, Phebe C. Wright, Cornelia C. Hussey.
New York.—Sarah Anthony Burtis, Sarah L. Willis, J. Elizabeth Jones, Albert O. Wilcox, Matilda F. Wendt, Elizabeth P. Hall, Mrs. Chas. B. Sedgwick, Charles D. B. Mills, Mary R. Pell, Lewia C. Smith.
North Carolina.—Mrs. E. J. Aston.
Ohio.—Phebe C. McKell, Emily Robinson, Hon. Ezra B. Taylor, Ferdinand Schumacher, Esther Wattles.
Oregon.—Abigail Scott Duniway, Mrs. H. J. Hendershot, Ashby Pierce, Mrs. H. A. Loughary, Rev. Dr. T. L. Eliot.
Pennsylvania.—Mary Grew, Dr. Hannah Longshore, Robert Purvis, Dr. Agnes Kemp, Emma J. Bartol.
South Carolina.—Gen. Robert R. Hemphill.
Utah.—Sarah M. Kimball, Zina D. H. Young, Jane S. Richards.
Vermont.—Mrs. A. D. Chandler.
Virginia.—Elizabeth Van Lew, Dr. Thamsin Janney.
Washington.—Hon. Roger S. Greene, Barbara J. Thompson, H. P. Isaacs.
Wisconsin.—Almeda B. Gray, Dr. Laura Ross Wolcott.
Wyoming.—Esther Morris, Hon. Wm. Bright, Hon. John W. Hoyt, Amelia B. Post.

LIFE MEMBERS

OF THE

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

MARY A. MCPHERSON,	Washington, D. C.
C. W. SPOFFORD,	Washington, D. C.
JANE H. SPOFFORD,	Washington, D. C.
SOPHRONIA C. SNOW,	Washington, D. C.
ELIZA T. WARD,	Washington, D. C.
LUCIA E. BLOUNT,	New York, N. Y.
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,	Rochester, N. Y.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,	Rochester, N. Y.
MARY S. ANTHONY,	Rochester, N. Y.
SARAH L. WILLIS,	Fayetteville, N. Y.
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,	Philadelphia, Pa.
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,	Philadelphia, Pa.
EMMA J. BARTOL,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ELLEN K. BRAZIER,	Philadelphia, Pa.
EMMA J. BRAZIER,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ALVIN T. JAMES,	Philadelphia, Pa.
HELEN MOSHER JAMES,	Philadelphia, Pa.
KATE W. DEWALD,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,	Cleveland, Ohio.
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