Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT

HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Volume V now in Preparation

MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER

TELEPHONE 4818 MURRAY HILL

171 Madison Avenue

New York, October 29, 1919.

My dear Miss Clay: -

I am very glad to receive your little letter this morning. It has been so long since I heard from you that I was afraid that I might have said something in my last letter to offend you. I did send you a postal weeks ago asking about the 1902 report. I have written a dozen letters for it to the old suffragists but have never been able to get it and it is too late for it to be of any use to me.

stantly allow myself to be diverted by my outside work for woman suffrage which must be done now or not at all. I gave up about two weeks after Dr. Shaw's death to writing a little memorial; sending notices of with a letter to all the officers and national presidents of the International Council of Nomen; preparing these for Mrs. Catt to send to the International Alliance; going down to Moylan for three or four days to advise Lucy Anthony about the disposal of Dr. Shaw's books, papers, etc. and helping her in this work, and in various other duties which I felt I owed to her memory. I have brought up to date my two books, A Brief History of Noman Suffrage and The Story of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. I have also written a 10,000-word article on woman suffrage for a new edition of the American Encyclopedia, as there is not one encyclopedia in existence which has an adequate article on this subject.

These are only a few of the things which I have done outside of the work of the History but they all seem necessary and there is no one else to do them. I must call a halt as I am under a contract to have it done at a specified time or finish it without salary, which I shall have to do. Although the National Association finds it almost impossible to raise enough money to pay rent and finish up its work, the suffragists raised a the death fund of \$5,000 for Miss Blackwell to write a life of her mother, twentyseven years after death. I have always wondered why she had not done this during her father's lifetime but I have not the least objection to the sufword fragists investing their money for this purpose if they wish to do so. I would like, however, for the old National to go out of existence in a greater blaze of glory than now seems probable. I have been very anxious that this last convention should be held in New York; the State which saw A the first Momen's Rights Convention on record; which was the home of the d b 3 two greatest leaders; where the National Association was founded and where real cago. it has never held a National Convention; but I believe it is going to Chi-I presume the League of Nomen Voters will be an excellent thing and hope it will succeed but I shall do no more public work for anything. I g shave given my life to it, have helped to accomplish what I consider to be the greatest reform and now I want my remaining years for my literary work, omy family and my friends. I have sympathized with you in your disappointment at the submission of the Federal Amendment and especially at the action of your Democratic State Convention. Mrs. Catt is counting on ratification by Kentucky Legis Hlature. As you know, I do not believe that the evilsaresult which you anof Sticipate, but only time will tell. At any rate the contest will be finished gowhich otherwise would not have ended in your lifetime and min . How glad I would be for a nice long talk with you! Affectionately yours, Ida Austed Harper, Encl.

OF

notice

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MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER

TELEPHONE 4818 MURRAY HILL

171 Madison Avenue

New York, January 14, 1919.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am going to acknowledge your letter immediately to tell you how glad I am to receive it. I am still living in the Martha Washington, where I have been for over two years, but I am taking my meals at a very nice boarding house near here, one of the best in the city, and a Miss Spencer is living in the house who says that she took my seat at the table in the Hamilton after I left that winter when you were there, and that she heard you speak of me so often that she introduced herself to me. I told her that I had a letter from you and she said to remember her to you when I wrote.

I went to Washington for two months in the winter of 1917 but stayed in the National Headquarters, where I gave a course of lectures and also continued the editorial work I had been doing at the headquarters here in New York. I came back here the middle of March when the Leslie Commission opened its Bureau and here I have been ever since. I am sure that I have written you several times during this period.

I never stay in New York a day when I don't have to. Nothing but the opportunity to do a better work for woman suffrage than I could do anywhere else, has kept me here all this time and will keep me here through another winter. When I have finished it I think I shall make my home in Washington if it returns to the old-time pleasant conditions. They tell me, however, that I have been fortunate to be out of it since our country entered the war and I think from what I saw during my brief visits there

that I should not have found the newtine enjoyment there.

You will be interested to know it has been decided gin at once the Fifth and last volume of the History of Wom

You will be interested to know it has been decided that I shall begin at once the Fifth and last volume of the History of Woman Suffrage. I have been reduested to do this by the Boards of the National Association and the Leslie Commission and they have placed every facility at my disposal. I occupy alone a large, delightful room, and am to have everything necessary in the way of stenographic help, supplies, etc., while I am engaged on it. I worked steadily eighteen months to complete Volume IV in 1900-1901, and am allowing as many for this one. We feel sure that by the time it is finished the suffrage movement will be finished also. If it is not, the publication of the book will be delayed.

It has seemed a pity to give up my editorial work, which was having such good results and there seems to be nobody to undertake it, but this is considered more important and I am very glad to be devoting my time to something permanent instead of transient as for the last two years. It will require unremitting attention on my part and I shall cut out everything but work from my life, which in fact I have done for the past two years. My only wish now is to have the health and strength to write the book and I hope that all my friends, in their own way, will pray for this. It requires a good deal of courage for me to undertake it.

By the time I have finished, it is expected that the National Association will be ready to close its headquarters for all time and our feeling is that if this book is not written now, while we have this excellent equipment and the Leslie fund to draw on, it never can be done.

I think I fully understand the position of Miss Gordon and yourself in regard to the Federal Amendment and, to a great extent, I sympathize with it. But I am thoroughly convinced that it will be another generation before we can get universal suffrage by any other means and that the difficulties which it will create in some of the Southern States can be overcome, as

Southern States was the Eastern part of the country should be kept distraction of the Eastern part of the country should be kept distraction of the States in the Union. It would be just as easy to get a Suffrage Amendment in South Carolina as it would in Massachusetts or Pennsylvania or New Jersey or Ohio or Wisconsin. It can only come in these and other States through a Federal Amendment. For many years, until all the States have it, the National Association will feel that it must keep its organization in fact and maintain headquarters.

Not one of the three States, which were carried last November could have been, except through the help of the National Association and the Leslie money. Twelve or fifteen of our best organizers were kept in those States for many months and about \$33,000 were invested in this campaign. The States themselves could never have furnished the money or the workers. If we had put both in the same proportion in the many States which have been lost, they could have been carried. But we cannot keep this up much longer. So many of the States now have the suffrage and the women have become so much interested in other questions that every year it is becoming more and more difficult to get the funds to carry on the work and in fact nothing but the Leslie money enables this to be done. The moment the Federal Amendment is submitted, the big expensive headquarters in Washington can be closed and the force of workers there dismissed and this will enable the National Association to use what they cost for work in the States.

I do not believe that the evils you fear from Federal supervision will materialize. The elections last November have put the North again in control of Congress and it will not see any menade in the Southern representation and therefore no particular need to interfere with it. I think that you are mistaken in saying that "there are millions of men and women

who are willing to have women vote, who are not willing to give to the Federal Government the right to supervise State elections." I am confident that you could not find hundreds of thousands, outside of the Southern States, who believe in the principle of woman suffrage, who are not entirely willing to have it come through the Federal Amendment. The Democratic National Committee representing all the States, declared for it by a two-thirds' majority. President Wilson and all his dabinet are in favor of it and fourteen Southern Senators voted for it on October 1.

Amendment, it would lose its membership and another organization would be formed immediately, as the suffragists of the whole country are determined to have and this is true of a very large number of those in the South as well as the North. The opposition to it in the Senate, as you must see, is confined to the reactionary and non-progressive members from New England and the Southern States on the seaboard. Only two Northern Democrats voted against it. Hitchcock of Nebraska and Pomerene of Ohio, both representatives of liquor interests and a German constituency. You and Miss Gordon are not in good company, my dear Miss Clay.

I wonder if you are equally opposed to the Federal Prohibition Amendment. I am almost as happy at its marvelous success as I am at the close of the war. There never has been a time in my life when I would not have been entirely willing to make the movement for woman suffrage secondary to that of Prohibition, and I am just as happy over the victory of the latter as I shall be over that of woman suffrage.

I smiledat your saying that you got more satisfactory information out of my articles in Jus Suffragii than in the Woman Citizen. You are not the only one who says that. Its editor is a young woman with no background of knowledge of the suffrage movement and therefore cannot get a grasp of

the many lines of current events that relate to it. Besides, I think she has not a great deal of time for the general reading which one must do to keep up with the rapid progress which is being made.

It requires strong effort to concentrate one's mind on nothing but the tremendous events with are taking place in Europe and the terrible suffering, which it seems only the United States has the power to alleviate. I will not read of it) but confine my reading to the political movements in the various countries and especially to the Conferences in Paris which are to affect the destinies of the whole world.

I have thus far escaped the influenza by keeping out of all crowds and the street cars and the subway but am feeling very anxious about a beloved sister who has it and is under the care of trained nurses. I hope that we shall see each other at our next National Convention, which will be the last we shall ever hold if the Federal Amendment has been submitted. Should it go through this winter, the Convention will be called in April or May to meet in St. Louis. We must try to "demobolize" with out ranks undivided.

Affectionately yours.

P. S. Since writing the above I find that Mrs. Catt is calling the Convention in St. Louis, April 21-26 to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary

Ida Austed Harper.

By clerical mistake this letter went to Richmond, Va. We re-directed it properly and it was returned marked "not in directory", so I will send to your old address. They cauld not get a hall inst. Louis, April 21, so Mrs. Catt has changed the Convention to March 24 - 29. I think I shall not care to go west at that inclement season and probably shall not attend the Convention but am not positive.

of the founding of the National Association.

Lour leller was mailed from Richmond, to greatly pleased that 3 States are likely to vote on an amendment like D. Dakota's, Jeyas, Mo, and

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EDITOR

TELEPHONE

4818 MURRAY HILL

171 Madison Avenue

Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

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I read your long letter and your printed article with the deepest interest and am filing them for future reference. I know of no one who can put the argument against the Federal Suffrage Amendment so clearly and strongly as you can but I believe that it has now gone so far that nobody and nothing can prevent its submission.

New York, May 19, 1919.

You have noticed, doubtless, that the Republicans have put it on their program and the dispatches this morning say that President Wilson will urge it in his message. You surely cannot think that after the National Association has spent fifty years in the struggle for this amendment, that it can now be persuaded to abandon it. For good or for ill I think it will have to 'bide by its consequences. Those of us who have advocated it are just as sincere in believing that these will not be injurious, as you and Miss Gordon and others are in believing that they will be. The steady advance in favorable opinion in the South is surely an argument in favor of the amendment. You will remember that it received the votes of fourteen Southern Senators and that nine of those from the West, who supported it, were Southern born and educated. Every one of the Southern State Suffrage Associations is endorsing it, and there is little doubt that it is a finality.

You must always bear in mind that the State can make any qualifications it chooses for exercising of the suffrage, and the United States Government cannot interfere if these are made to apply to all citizens alike. So that the only interference there will be with State's rights will be that they cannot discriminate on account of sex. You speak in your letter about the Japanese and the Chinese. Only the United States Government can provide for their naturalization, but all who are born in this country now have the right of suffrage and there never is the slightest attempt to prevent their using it, even in the Western States so far as I know, so our amendment would make no change in this respect.

Your reference to the refusal of the Ohio voters to remove the word "white" from the election clause, is the strongest possible evidence in favor of our Federal Amendment, for it shows how little the voters can be depended on. In Ohio they have voted against every amendment relating to woman suffrage and even against the act of the Legislature giving women presidential suffrage, and yet you would have us submit our cause to the voters in every State. I think you would be afraid to do it given in your own dear State of Kentucky. We know what was done in Louisiana and we shall soon see what will be done in Texas.

Dr. Shaw has just come back from three weeks in Texas and doesn't think our amendment has any chance. We get no encouraging reports from the State, but the alien clause may pull it through. You probably know that the Florida Legislature turned down everything and would not even take a vote on presidential suffrage. The Connecticut Legislature voted it down. The New Jersey and Pennsylvania Legislatures would not touch it, and so the list might be extended.

I don't know how you can possibly say, as you do; "it looks now as though all the women will be able to vote at the next presidential

election". Most of the Legislatures have adjourned and will not meet again until after that Kasialature is over, so that we have about all the presidential suffrage we can hope for except from some of the few which will meet next winter. Do you expect to get it in Kentucky?

You may have noticed that South Africa has given the full suffrage to women, which leaves the United States as the only English speaking nation in the world that has not enfranchised women. You have yourself been through several State campaigns that have failed and you know what they involve in time, labor and money, and yet you would have us keep on with our expensive headquarters, our publishing company, our big force of workers, and have our ablest women give up their whole time to this cause for years to come until we had gained it State by State. I certainly do think it would be better to risk the effects of a Federal Amendment than to go on with this great task indefinitely.

Mrs. Stanton often said, when Miss Anthony would restrain her from taking up some political question; "I am sick of sitting on the gate-post and singing 'suffrage, suffrage', forever." Most of us feel the same way and we cannot and won't stand the present situation much longer.

So this is the way it looks to me, my dear friend, and we cannot know which of us is right until the experiment has been made, as I think it undoubtedly will be. I hope we shall both live to see this the result. We had twenty-fire State Legislatures this last winter pledged to ratify, leaving only eight more to gain, but now that work will all have to be done over again and must be deferred until 1921.

My daughter and myself escaped the influenza, but both of my sisters were very ill with it, and I was anxious for a considerable time, but they recovered. I have never seen or heard of Miss Brigham since I

left you and her together at the table in the Hamilton. When I have been to Washington since then I have stayed at our National Headquarters.

I appreciate your confidence in my friendship for you, which I assure you cannot be affected even by so large a thing as a Federal Amendment.

Affectionately yours,

Affectionately yours,

P. S. Will you tell me on this post card the full name of Professor

Giltner, President for forty years of a woman's college in Kentucky,

who was at the National Suffrage Convention in Portland, Oregon, in

1905?

189 N.Mill St., Lexington, Kentucky.
May 3rd, 1919.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.

171 Madison Ave., New York.

My dear Mrs. Harper,

I was much pleased to get your letter of Jan. 14th, not only because of the friendly pleasure I take in hearing directly from you, but also on account of the fair minded way you treat subjects where there are differences of opinion.

I want to express my deep satisfaction that you are going to write the Fifth History of Woman Suffrage. I know of no wiser expenditure of the Leslie fund than to take advantage of the present opportunities to secure such a valuable contribution to historical works as your new volume will be. Of course, it will tax all your powers, but then it is a permanent contribution to literature of a high order; and I suppose all authors make up their minds to endure personal sacrifices for their noble end.

I went to the St.Louis convention, which was a most interesting occasion, and pleasurable to me, as I saw so many of my old friends; though I missed you, and would have so loved to have had your views on some of the points under discussion. Miss Gordon and I made it evident that we did not believe it the part of wisdom to try to renew efforts for a suffrage Federal amendment in the form which Mrs.Catt says is mistakenly called the S.B.Anthony amendment. The fact is, that miscalled amendment is a reproduction of the I5th amendment, whose history and after effects would in themselves be an argument against it in the minds of all who know them. Even if the enforcement clause is omitted, at still the fact that the I5th amendment has the enforcing clause insures all the objectionable features of enfranchising women by an amendment equivalent in principle. I hope you will be patient with me if I am

prolix in my explanation of my objections; for it is a matter of the deepest importance to me, and I feel that new that there must be a new start in Congressional work every true suffragist should use frankness and bring up differences of opinion in order that the best results may be obtained in a friendly spirit. Therefore, I want to say that the Anthony amendment (for I continue to use that name for the sake of being explicit) is dangerous to the liberties of the people because it puts in the hands of a dominant party in Congress the power to interfere in state elections by the enforcing clause, which is not diminished even if not repeated, since it exists in the 15th amendment. This power might bem made use of by corruption by made-up cases in every state at everyelection, just as woman suffrage was defeated in Washington Territory by the use of a corrupt saloon keeper's wife, as you have so well told in your history. But when all women are enfranchised, the Anthony amendment would be much more dangerous than the I5th, because there are women in every state and in every presinct. Moreover, the corrupt interests would not be confined to one section or one party; but might be used with equal effect by any partyand against any section. For instance, "race, color or previous condition of servitude applies to Japs and Chinese as well as to negroes, and thus involves the Western states and their preblem of Oriental immigration even more vitally than it does the South with its negro problem. It might be used against the manufacturing states, by corrupt manipulation of the ignorant foreign vote of industria al masses. It is dangerous, and its injury may not be measured by what is likely to happen in our life times, but is to be considered with reference to the future as well as to the present.

Again, it has the effect of grouping women politically with colored peoples instead of with white men. The political events of the settlement of the European new nations on lines of racial sympathies warns us that alignments on xxxxxxx racial lines is recognized as a principle of

nations, because it is founded on a deep human feeling. Now white men are given the ballet by the severeign power of the people as expressed in state constitutions. These of "race, color or previous condition of servitude" are granted it by the power of legislatures; and as an historical fact, by legislatures under the influence of party passion and military domination. Remembering that anotheramendment extending suffrage, if written on the same principle, cannot disengage itself from the legal effects of the I5th Amendment, makes it clear that women will be politically grouped exactly where these are, who possess, in the RENEE language of the Supreme Court, descriptive of the I5th amendment, the "right of exemption from discrimination " on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. They derive their right from the Federal government, and unlike white men, they have access to Federal Courts in grievances that may come up in State elections, whereas white men have such access only in cases of Federal elections. These things make za line of political distinction, which after nearly fifty years have passed are still distinctly felt. A curious illustration of this is seen in Ohio, whose legislature ratified the I5th Amendment, but which has never removed the word "white" from the eletion clause in its state constitution. Evidently, the negroes found some disadvantage in this fat fact, for a few years ago they procured the submission of an amendment to strike it out; but singularly enough, the amendment was defeated at the polls by a laggemajority, presumably of white voters.

I would not venture to be so lengthy in my remarks to many persons, my dear Mrs. Harper, but I am trusting to your patience, because you are one of the few of our leading suffragists whose reading and underatanding of the lagal aspects of the question fit you to form an opinion unprejudiced by sectional or partisan feeling. I am enclosing a bewspaper clipping which gives some other of my views on the present suffrage situation.

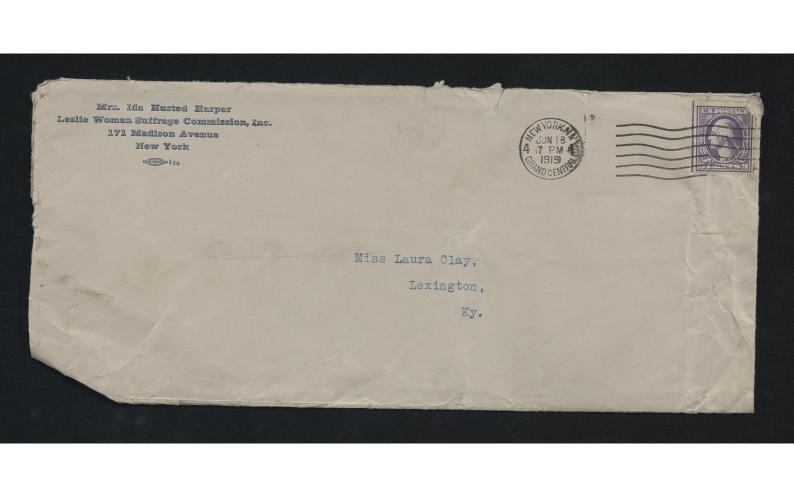
We are in the midst of the campaign for the Victory Loan. Fayette Co. has successfully gone over the top, the quota being reached at a great meeting addressed by one of our returned heroes, who is also prominently spoken of a a candidate for governor. The influenza has abated and we hear nothing more of it on our state, except that many persons complain of the languer and weakness which are its after effects. I hope you and yours escaped any serious results.

I know you are so busy that I am going to say that you must not feel obliged to answer this letter; though I would value a reply very highly. We must all of us try to devise the best means of bringing our suffrage question to a speedy settlement. It looks now as though all the women will be able to vote at the next presidential election, at least. I am particularly rejoicing at Tennessee's success, for I have frequently been to that state on suffrage tours, and in every way it is very closely allied to Kentucky.

I am plased to hear that Miss Spencer still remembers me as one who sat at table with her at the Hamilton. Please remember me to her. How about our old friend Miss Brigham? I remember you did not have much patience with her anti-suffrage views.

with my very best wishes for your great new historical enterprise, which I am confident will reflect credit upon you, as well as conf fer an inestimable benefit upon the reading public, and with a warm feel ing for you in my heart, I am

Very sincerely yours,



Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc. MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE Volume V now in Preparation MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER TELEPHONE 4818 MURRAY HILL 171 Madison Avenue New York, June 18, 1919. My dear Miss Clay: In order to save time, for I am exceedingly busy, I am enclosing a carbon copy of a letter which I have just written to Miss Gordon, and which is exactly what I would say to you. Some one has told me that you have resigned from the Board of your State Association, but I do not know whether it is true or not. I have the deepest sympathy with you in what I know must be your feelings at the present moment, but I am absolutely sure that you will live to see that there was no occasion for your apprehension in regard to this amendment. I was only in Washington a few days and was thankful to get away from the terrific heat. There was no room for me at our National Headquarters, as I knew before I went down, so I took a room at our old hostelry, the Hamilton, and had my dinners at the Headquarters so that I could be with our friends. Very few people were there -- no one I knew or could ask what had become of Miss Brigham. The proprietor and his wife were just starting in their automobile for Wellesley where their daughter was graduating at Dana Hall, the preparitory school, and I only spoke with them for a minute. Thank heaven none of us will ever again have to do any work in Congress for woman suffrage, but I dophope that you and I will meet at the next National Convention, which I think will be held in Chicago, and celebrate the one hundredth birthday of Susan B. Anthony.

In haste, but affectionately yours, Ida Husted Harper. CONTRACTOR 154

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Kentucky. May 29th. 1920. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, I7I Madison Ave., N.Y. My dear Mrs. Harper, I did not intend to be so long in answering your letter of May 4th, but I thought at first I would try to write a short article explaining the United States Election Bill I worked for the winter we spent at the Hamilton, and I never found time to do it. New, however, I have concluded that it is not needed, and that you can make out with a full answer to your questions, and the printed leaflet I used that winter ter. Willeh I enclose. (T) The difference between my bill and that of Mrs. Bennett's was prineipally that she based her claims upon the I4th amendment, for protection in the right of Federal suffrage. - that is, for presedential electors. Rengesentatives and Senators of the U.S. (I) My bill was based upon the second section of Articke at I of the Ca Constitution, asking protection by a declaratory law in the right to vote for U.S. Representatives and Senators. There was no difference between my bill and that which hev. Olympian Brown's society originally demanded. Francis Minor made the great argument for it after the Yarbrough decision of the Supreme Court, The Federal Suffrage Asso. (Mrs. Brown's) was organized to work on his argument. But when I came into the work I found that Mrs. Colby had abandoned his argument and started up another on another clause in the U.S.Constitution, which, in my opinion, infringed upon the doctrine of States Rights, which Mr. Minor's argument did not. When I asked her why she had abandoned Mr. Miner's position she answered that she had forgotten about it, which was to me tantamount to an admission that she had never understood it. This she said just before I left Washington, at which time she told me she would have had no objection to substituting my bill for

hers which she had introduced in the House by Mr.Raker. But it was then too late to do anything about it.

As to why I did not work with her, you may remember better than I, & that you and I agreed that you, as one of the members of my committee, should speak to Mrs. Colby whom you were going to meet at some lectures, and that her reply practically cut off all co-operation except merely that she would allow me to work with her on her plans and initiative. I conferred with Mrs. Brown, as the president of the Asso., and I did not there receive any offer of co-operation on any other terms. As Mrs.Colby('s -bill did not at all coincide with my views (those of Mr. Miner), there was no possibility of co-operation, and I went on alone with the assiste ance of the Committee we had formed from the Southern States Toman Suffrage Conference. Mrs. Colby at my last meeting with her said she had never understood that it was an official message which had come to her through you, and that I ought to have seen her personally. But if she did not understand, it was her own fault, and if she had any disposition to work with me except on the terms she reported through it was clearly her place and part of courtesy, to seek me, a stranger in the city, rather than expect me to look her up after such a discouraging message.

I re-enclose the letter and newspaper article of mine which you sent, as you may wish to refer to them. They do not bear at all upon the U.S. Elections Bill, but merely express my adherence to the States Rights doctrine, and the reasons for my opposition to the Anthony amendment.

Permaps you have seen that I was elected a delegate- at- large to the Democratic convention in San Francisco, with one half a vote. I am anticipating a very interesting experience in going to a poltical convention. Besides, as I have never been in California, I expect to go to Los angeles and to the Yosemite.

Very cordially your friend.

Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc. MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE Volume V now in Preparation MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER TELEPHONE 4818 MURRAY HILL 171 Madison Avenue May 4, 1920. New York, Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Kentucky. My dear Miss Clay: I want to have a chapter in the History about other suffrage associations besides the National. Among these I shall have a little account of Olympia Brown's Society. I know that you never organized for the purpose of pushing the suffrage bill but I do want to speak of it and of your long and able effort to secure it. I never could understand the difference hetween it and what Olympia Brown's Society wanted. Was there any difference or did you simply not care to work with them? Or did they not want to work with you? Could I compile from these enclosures, your argument, or would you rather send it to me in the form in which you want it used? I cannot give a great deal of space as I am in despair at the immense amount of material that I have on hand and do not know how it is to go between the covers of one volume, which it has to do. If you prefer to send me a few hundred words, I will be glad to have you do so. Will you tell me the difference between Mrs. Bennett's measure and yours? I have several of her appeals but they are all too long for me to use and I wish that I could explain in a paragraph the difference between her bill and yours. Could you tell me this? I had expected to have the History finished by July 1 but I have been hindered in every possible way and shall be fortunate if it is entirely completed by fall. Mrs. Catt has urged me to lay it aside and go to the Geneva meeting but I cannot think of doing so, as it would weigh so heavily

[May 4, 1920] -2on my mind that there would be no pleasure in the trip. I expect to stay right here without even a vacation until I have entirely finished the task. Did you go to the Chicago Convention? Very sincerely yours. Ida Husted Harper.

old letter head. Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT BUREAU OF SUFFRAGE EDUCATION ROSE YOUNG, DIRECTOR Department of Editorial Correspondence MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, CHAIRMAN TELEPHONE · 4818 MURRAY HILL 171 Madison Avenue New York, Jan. 9. 1923, My dear Miss Clay: -In going over my letters and papers I fud the enclosed, which should have been returned to you long ago. My seemingly endless task was practically completed last november but by that time the publishers were in the midst of their Christmas rush and the History had to wait. It will now be ready for distribution in a week of so. I hope you are on the list for a complimentary copy. I will ingrire about it. You know it expanded into two huge volumes. Nobody can ever know the work of put into it or the discouragements I had but the nauces of the workers and their work are preserved! I wish you would let me know at once whether your other volumes are bound in sheep or nurslin. I have been out of touch with every body and everything for several years and I shall soon be going to Washington for the rest of the winter to get me bearings, I wish you were to be there! Hoping all is well with you and yours, affectionately,

Ida Husted Harper