

States.

Such an attitude of State legislatures would be dangerous to the interests of any section. With the Anthony amendment has been connected in popular thought only with the same question in the Southern States. But to any view the Pacific and other far Western States are now in greater danger from the ~~pressures~~ ^{of Japan} persistent demand for international racial equality, which hitherto the Pacific States have been able to refuse to concede to them, only through the firmness of their State legislatures in adhering to the interests of the own State rather than yielding to the pressure from Washington. But with the augmented influence of Congress if the Anthony amendment is ratified, it is doubtful if State resistance can be continuously maintained.

If this line of argument appeals to your mind, I believe that you,

with the advantage of your official
position, could do a great patriotic
service to your country by presenting
to the Western Governors below the day
upon which their States will be exposed if
an important right of States is sacrificed
by the ratification of the Anthony Amendment.

With great respect,

Very truly yours,

Samuel Clay.

July 1 1919.

To His Excellency, Governor R. G. Pleasant,
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to express my thanks for your recent message to Southern Congress, urging State Suffrage amendments and the defeat of the S.B. Anthony Federal Suffrage amendment. I believe you have indicated the only course that will succeed in defeating that Federal amendment. For as State after State passes State amendments it will become increasingly apparent that the most extensive and permanent effect of the Anthony amendment is not suffrage, but the establishing of a power of Congress to legislate on State elections. And almost necessary consequence of this power will be that State legislators will respond in their acts more or less to the wishes of the dominant party in Congress rather than to the interest of the people of their own State.

Such an attitude of State legislators would be dangerous to the interest of any section. Hitherto the Anthony amendment has been connected in popular thought only with the race question in the Southern States. But to my mind the Pacific and other far Western States are now in greater danger from the persistent demand of Japan for international racial equality, which hitherto the Pacific States have been able to refuse to concede only through the firmness of their State legislators in adhering to the interest of their own States rather than

July 1, 1819

yielding to the pressure from Washington. But with the
augmented influence of Congress if the Anthony amendment
is ratified, it is doubtful if State resistance can be
continuously maintained.

If this line of argument appeals to you, I
believe with the vantage of your official position you
could do a great patriotic service to your Country by
presenting to the Western Governors also the dangers to
which their States will be exposed if an important right
of States is impaired by the ratification of the Anthony
amendment.

I am with great respect,
Congress to legislate on State questions and almost necessary

Very truly yours,

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persistent demand of Japan for international racial equality,
which hitherto the Pacific States have been able to refuse to
concede only through the firmness of their State legislators
in adhering to the interest of their own States rather than



"I believe that a public officer is only a servant of the people."

HEADQUARTERS

R. C. Oldham
CANDIDATE FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR
Lieutenant Governor

WINCHESTER, KENTUCKY

July 1, 1919.

Mrs. Laura B. Clay,
Raichmond, Kentucky.

Dear Mrs. Clay:-

You no doubt know that I have never been an ardent advocate of suffrage, tho' I have never opposed woman suffrage actively, but merely accepted the custom that men voted and women did not.

It is not my desire to dodge an issue at any time and therefore when I entered a political campaign I gave for the first time serious thought to the question of woman suffrage. I can not give any good reason why they should not have the right to vote and for that reason I declared in my formal announcement in favor of votes for women.

I am entering possible public life with one firm determination and that is, to welcome at all times an opportunity to express my position on any Public question and I have been invited now to express myself as to how I tho't suffrage should be granted to the women of Kentucky and I am ready to do that.

I believe that the question of whether or not the women of Kentucky should vote should be submitted as an amendment to the Kentucky State Constitution and that it should be submitted to the voters of Kentucky for their approval or rejection and I am therefore in favor of States Rights and of the voters of the State of Kentucky deciding the question as to whether or not the women of Kentucky should have the right to vote. If there is anything I can do to assist those interested in this way, I shall be very happy indeed to lend such influence as I may have.

Having known you since ^{my} childhood, I beg to add every expression of sincere personal esteem and to remain,

Very cordially and respectfully,

The Citizens Committee for
State Suffrage Amendment

130 N. UPPER STREET
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

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Miss Laura Clay,
Richmond, Ky.



Care of Mrs. Mary B. Clay

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Lexington, Ky.

July 8th, 1919.

Mr. James Allen,

Editor Cynthiana Democrat:

Dear Sir:-

I thank you very much for publishing the Open Letter of the Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment.

We want woman suffrage without giving up any state right.

Under the 15th amendment ~~manxofxthexys~~ the electoral rights of ~~yellow~~ the men of the yellow and black races come under the legislative power of Congress. If the Anthony Federal amendment is ratified, the electoral rights of all women also come under it; and only the electoral rights of white men will be free from Congressional legislation. ~~Thisxwill~~ ~~putxthax~~ ~~electoralxrightsxofxwhitexmenxixthex~~ Thus the power of Congress will be enlarged, and there has been no constitutional check proposed for its new power. ^A ~~The~~ check provided by the framers of the Constitution, ~~andxperxwhichxtheyxreliad~~ in the unabridged State control of State elections will have been removed; ~~and~~ no other constitutional check ~~hasxbeenxproposedx~~ ~~providedx~~ taking its place.

We feel that this is a ~~dangerous~~ ^{the} step towards ^{of the Feder} autocracy, dangerous government every section of the country; and one to which the leaders of public opinion should direct the attention of the people before the State legislature acts upon it.

Hoping that you will continue to give the valuable service of your paper to this very important question of ~~ratifyingxix~~ of the effect of the Anthony Federal amendment, in conjunction with the 15th amendment upon the rights of self-government of the people, I am

Very respectfully yours,

Lexington, Ky.
July 8th, 1919.

Mr. James Allen, Editor Cynthianan Democrat,
Cynthianan, Ky.

Dear Sir;

I thank you very much for publishing the Open letter of our Citizens Committee for State Woman Suffrage Amendment.

We are very desirous to bring before the public that the Anthony amendment involves a serious grant of power to Congress without adding any check to it constitutionally. When the check of complete state control of State elections is taken away, any such addition to Federal power must be in the nature of a step towards autocracy. This result is sedulously ignored in the newspaper articles printed in its favor. For instance, immediately following our Open Letter there was a short notice of the action of Governor Pleasnat of Louisiana headed Louisiana Governor opposes woman suffrage. The fact is, Gov. Pleasnat has shown himself a consistent advocate of woman suffrage by the State route. It was no fault of his that the city of New Orleans defeated the State amendment in 1918. He now recognizes that the Anthony amendment is sure of final passage by the same means of militancy that its passage was forced through Congress; because the ~~pressments~~ of the War amendments established the precedent that any legislature ratifying an amendment could not afterwards rescind; but one refusing to ratify, could afterwards rescind. Thus making it only a matter of time when an amendment pushed by a determined party must finally be ratified. He sees quite clearly that the only way now to defeat it is to carry state amendments so that by lessening the number of states which would enfranchise women through the Federal amendment, it would become apparent to all that the Anthony amendment was in its principal effect an amendment to establish ~~Federal power~~ a Federal power of legislating on State elections rather than a suffrage amendment.

With fifteen states having full suffrage and all except seven having some form of suffrage this is evident now to those who watch it closely. But this fact must be more apparent before the majority of the people are awake to the menace it is to free state elections. Another danger which is overlooked is that regarding the effect of the 15th amendment alone, which affected only the negro population, a small fraction of the whole people, and principally resident in a few states, it is carelessly assumed that the enforcing clause of the Anthony amendment, if it does not revive the issues of the 15th amendment is not likely to have any effect at all. This seems to some of us a very dangerous assumption. The enforcement of the Force Bill under the 15th amendment was allowed to fall into suspension because the dominant party in Congress ceased to obtain any valuable partisan advantage from it; and the negroes, deprived of its backing, were too feeble to enforce its continued action themselves. But the same process of interference with state elections would result in giving undue influence to Congress in any section of the country. The West might be the section most vitally affected by the Anthony amendment. Because the Japanese are persistent in their demands for international racial equality, and for concessions which have been denied to them by treaties, principally because the legislatures of the Pacific States exercised their States Rights in refusing the necessary state compliance. But with the opening made by the Anthony amendment, if ratified, it appears a delusory hope that finally Japanese diplomacy and propaganda in other sections of the country would not eventually break down this opposition.

Seeing that the National Democratic party platform of 1916 declared in favor of extension of suffrage by State action, it seems that it is now a part of party policy to stand firmly on that ground in

July 8th, 1919.

Mr. James Allen,

Editor Cynthia's Democrat;

Dear Sir:-

I thank you very much for publishing in a recent issue of the Democrat the Open Letter of the Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment.

We want woman suffrage without giving up any State right.

With the electoral rights of men of the yellow and black races under the legislative power of Congress by the 15th amendment and if the Anthony amendment is ratified, the electoral rights of all women also under that power, only the electoral rights of white men remaining free from Congressional legislation, we realize that the system of a balance between the Federal and the State governments will have been disjointed. The power of Congress will be enlarged and a check provided by the framers of the Constitution in the unabridged State control of State elections will have been removed with no other constitutional check provided.

We feel that this is a step towards the autocracy of the Federal government dangerous to every section of the country; and one to which public attention should be directed before our Kentucky legislature acts upon it.

Hoping that you will continue to give the valuable service of your paper to the very important question of the effect of the Anthony Federal amendment, in conjunction with the 15th amendment, upon the rights of self-government of the people, I am

Very respectfully yours,

Member of Citizens Com. for State Suffrage Amendment.

July 9th, 1919.

Mr. Martin Dee Calhoun,

Selma, Alabama.

Dear Sir:-

This morning I received the package of literature from you, after some delay, as it was mistakenly directed to Covington, Ky.

I value it a giving information from the anti-suffrage view point; but as I am an ardent believer in woman suffrage after a life time study of the question, I cannot say that my mind is open to conviction on that subject.

However, I am as stongly a believer in the States Rights method of securing suffrage as any student of the question can well be. Much as I dislike the Anthony Federal amendment I can see no way to avoid its evils except a quick settlement by way of State action, according to the National Platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties in 1916.

For as the precedent of the War Amendments decides that a State legislature once ratifying an amendment cannot rescind that action by a later legislature, but that a state which refusastoratify may do so by a later legislature, it is certain that enough states will at least yield to persistent lobbies to ratify the Anthony amendment unless by quick State amendments it becomes apparent to the whole people that the Anthony Amendment is not so much a suffrage amendment in its extent and permanence as an amendment to establish Federal power to legislate on State elections. Fifteen States already have full suffrage, and cannot benefit by Federal action; and all but eight of the remainder have some form of suffrage. All of them, however, must submit their state elections to the power of Congress to legislate under the enforcing clause of the Anthony

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However, I am a very strong believer in the States Rights doctrine; and am doing all in my power to defeat the Anthony Federal Amendment in the only way I think is now possible, which is to try to get quick action by the State amendment method so as to make it increasingly evident that the principal provision of the Anthony amendment is not in its first, or suffrage clause, but in its second, or enforcing clause, which gives Congress power to legislate on State elections. The enforcing clause affects all States alike; the suffrage clause cannot affect at all the fifteen States which have full suffrage already, and in only a partial way the twenty-five other States which have some form of partial suffrage.

I am enclosing some literature which I hope may interest you.

Respectfully yours,

Member of Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment.

The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment

Headquarters: 130 North Upper Street

Lexington, Kentucky July 9th, 1919.

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Selma, Alabama.

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Respectfully yours,

I.

14th

[July, 1919]

References to Court decisions under Federal Amendments 15 and 17.

The 14th amendment creates and defines citizenship of the United States. It had long been contended and had been held by many learned authorities and had never been judicially decided to the contrary, that there was no such thing as a citizen of the U.S., except as that condition arose from citizenship of some State. No mode existed, it was said, of obtaining a citizenship of the United States except by first becoming a citizen of some state. U.S.v. Anthony (1873) 11 Blatch f. (U.S.) 200, 24 Fedens, No. 14, 459.

15th Amendment.

The power of Congress to legislate at all upon the subject of voting at purely State elections is entirely dependent upon this amendment (15th) Karem v. U.S. (1903) Fed. 254.

Sec. 5 of the Enforcement Act of 1870////////// was not within the power of Congress to enact. U.S.v. Amsden (1881) 6 Fed. 821.
Section 2 of 15th amendment . Must be directed against state, not individual, action. (But see U.S.v. Miller (1901) 107 Fed. 915, wherein the Court said that while the amendment is primarily aimed at hostile legislation denying or abridging the right of colored men to vote, yet Congress possesses power to secure ~~this right~~ the colored man against the deprivation of his right to vote by individuals, when such deprivation occurs on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.-----

17th Amendment.

The right to vote for U.S. Senators is not derived from the constitution of the State in which they are chosen, but has its foundation in the Constitution of the U.S... U.S.v. Aczel ~~1918~~ (1915) 219 Fed. 917.

References to Court decisions under recent Federal Amendments.

Karem v.U.S. (1903) 121 Fed.255.

U.S.v.Lackey (1900) 99 Fed.962.

U.S.v.Miller.(1901) 107 Fed .914&915.

-----Sections 5507 and 5508 of Enforcement Act of
1870 were not within power of Congress to enact. But see title Civil
Rights, 1st volume, U.S.v.Amsden(1881) 6 Fed.821

Coffield v.Farrell.(1913) 38 Okla.608 134 pac.407.

2005 and 2006 valid.

"Force Bill"

Passed

May 31st, 1870. House Bill 1293, to enforce the right of citizens
of the United States to vote in the several states of this Union who
have hitherto been denied that right on account of race, etc. Under the
15th amendment.

Noted "Force Bill introduced by Lodge on July 2nd, 1890. House bill
11045. Federal Election Law. This bill passed the the House by 155 yeas
to 149 nays. Was defeated in Senate, after noted parliamentary fight.
Opponents threatened Silver currency legislation not desired by advocates

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EUROPEAN PLAN
ABSOLUTELY FIRE-PROOF

Planters Hotel

EDWIN H. LEE,
GENERAL MANAGER

St. Louis, Mo.

Mch. 18th, 1919.

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

Dear Madam:-

The Hotel Statler, which is already

House Bill 1293, to enforce the
right of citizens of the U. S. to vote
in the several States of this Union
who have hitherto been denied
that right on account of race, etc.
Under the 15th amendment

May,

1870

July 10, 1919

July 10th, 1919

Hon. R. C. Oldham
Winchester

Hon. R. C. Oldham,

Winchester, Ky.

Dear Sir:-

I thank you for your letter of July 1st, and your promise

of support of a state suffrage amendment.

I also note with interest your willingness to take a position

on any public question.

Our Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment was formed

for the purpose of obtaining suffrage without sacrifice of state rights;

for since the admission by Congress of the Susan B. Anthony Federal a-

ment the rights of the states have become involved to a very serious

degree. We realize that probably the only effective way to prevent

the ratification of the Anthony amendment is by rapid action of states

in granting suffrage by state action, and thus making it increasingly

evident that the chief potency of the Anthony amendment does not reside

in its first, or suffrage, clause; but in its second, the enforcing

clause, which confers a power on Congress to legislate on state elec-

tions, exactly like that of the enforcing clause of the 15th amendment.

The suffrage clause cannot effect at all the fifteen states which have

full suffrage, and in only a partial degree the twenty-five others which

have partial suffrage; but the enforcing clause operates in all the

states, and will continue to operate after suffrage is attained.

The Force Bill under the 15th amendment with its disastrous re-

sults is part of our national history. But a Force Bill under the An-

thony amendment will be more far-reaching and important in its effects

in the same proportion that women are a larger, more widely dispersed

and more important part of the population than the men of the yellow

MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Mrs. Andreas Ueland, President

403 Essex Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

Corner Nicollet Avenue and Tenth Street

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Ole O. Sageng, Dalton

Old Capitol.

St. Paul, Minn.

My dear Miss Clay:

July - 11 - 1919.

I have not forgotten you. Thanks for the paper you sent from Livingston. But I do not at all, like your leaving the State Association. You and I together with 4 others formed the State Association. How is it possible that you could break the tie which bound us together? Well! I thought you always favored the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. We voted down a State Suffrage Amendment, as we considered the expense of holding a convention greater than we could bear. The passage of the Federal Amendment by Congress was too late to be ratified by our Legislature - but the Governor will call the extra session later. As our Legislature stands ready to ratify. It seems to me that I have never had so much to do as at the present time. The formation of the Patriotic Instructors, and now a part of the National Security League have increased our labors. We had a great demonstration on the 4th at Lake Phalen. We distributed literature

and fed about 200 newly enfranchised Citizens with
their children. I am now interested in our Congress,
what they will do. I do not favor the League of Nations -
We will lose our independence, and America should
be free from any foreign power and the ~~of~~ Romish
power. I am not a Wilson woman in any way whatever.
What I may say or think on this subject will not
change my love for you. Being a good Republican
I shall vote for a Republican President, providing
he is a better man than the Democratic Candidate -
if not - it will be the better man of the two.

We have the presidential vote here now - I shall be happy
when we can all have the same right and privilege to vote.

I am now 84. and feel as well as I did 20 years ago.

Dear Anna Shaw was spared to see the end.

How are your sisters? I often think of you all and
wish many times that we might see each other again.
Give my love to each one, and accepting a good big
Shaw for yourself - believe me always, your truly sincere
loving friend,
Eugene B. Forward.

MINNESOTA
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

EUGENIA B. FARMER
OLD CAPITOL
ST. PAUL
MINNESOTA

SAINT PAUL
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1919
MINN.



Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington,
Kentucky.

July 11th, 1919.

Hon. Pauline O'Neill,

Phoenix, Arizona.

My dear Mrs. O'Neill,

I am writing to tell you that I feel the ratification of the Anthony Federal Amendment is so dangerous to the welfare of the people, for reasons part of which I told you when I saw you in St. Louis that when it was submitted by the Senate, and when the Equal Rights Association's Board decided not to work for a State Amendment I saw that I could not consistently remain in the Assoc. any longer, and that I withdrew from it on June 5th. Some suffragists who think the same way I do are now working for a State Amendment. We think that probably the only way now to defeat the ratification of the Anthony Amendment is by rapid State action; for with every state which grants suffrage by the State method it will become increasingly apparent that the potency of the Anthony Amendment is not in its first, or suffrage clause; but in its second clause which gives Congress power to legislate on State elections. Such power removes the check on Federal action which the framers of the United States Constitution provided in unbridled State control of State elections; and is a step towards autocracy which is dangerous to every section of the country. You know in what danger I think the Western States are from the Japanese demands for international racial equality. With their diplomacy and with the aid of the Enforcement clause of the Anthony Amendment they can devise means and ways for removing sufficiently State legislative opposition to gain by Congressional action all they want of concessions in the United States. Every diminution of State authority increases the importance of those states which have large representation in Congress. New York and Massachusetts have ratified; and

those two States have more representation in Congress than all the Pacific and Mountain Division States together.

Your experience in the Legislature makes you fully aware of the importance to the States with small representation in Congress of keeping intact all the authority which is given by State control of State election. The effect of the Force Bill of the 15th amendment is no guess work. It is a part of our national history; and in its light is the surest indication of what a Force Bill under the Anthony amendment will be. The Force Bill of 1870 exploited the States which fell under its operation by reason of their large negro population residing chiefly in a few States. This result was entirely natural, and may be expected to be repeated whenever the dominant party in Congress finds an inducement sufficiently strong in any section to set the machinery of the Force Bills into action. It is sedulously kept before the popular mind by advocates of the Anthony amendment that no effect is to be expected for the enforcement clause of that amendment except in the States already affected by the 15th amendment. The fact is, that other sections, if they have not sufficient protection by State rights, are just as liable, or more so, to be the objects of Congressional exploitation. If the South by diplomacy can obtain a party favorable to their views in the Western States, the Western States offer temptations to an exercise of this power greater than the Southern States do now.

I am hoping that you will do what you can to prevent the ratification by Arizona of an amendment which cannot possibly do her any good; but will assuredly lower her State dignity and authority by conferring additional power to States which have a larger representation in Congress.

I am enclosing some literature in which I hope you will be interested.

Very cordially your friend,

July 11th, 1919.

Hon. Frances E. Munds,

Prescott, Arizona.

My dear Mrs. Munds,

As a co-worker with you for obtaining suffrage in Arizona my thoughts turn naturally to you now that ratification of the Susan B. Anthony Federal amendment is coming up for discussion before your legislature.

I am very strongly opposed to that amendment; and as you see from the heading of this paper, I am working for a State amendment. We believe that rapid action by the State route is probably the only way now to defeat the Anthony amendment, because it will increasingly show that the principal potency of that amendment does not reside in its first, or suffrage, clause; but in its second clause, containing the enforcement provision, which is exactly the same as that of the 15th amendment. The suffrage clause cannot affect the fifteen states which already have full suffrage, and can affect in only a partial way the twentyfive others which have partial suffrage. But the enforcing clause will empower congress to legislate on State elections in all the states; and it will continue to operate after suffrage has been attained.

The operation of the Force Bill under the 15th amendment is no guess work. It is a part of the history of our country, and the very best indication possible of the character of the legislation which will follow the ratification of the Anthony amendment. We know that it resulted in the exploitation of the States which feel under its operation because of their large negro population. Ostensibly used for the protection of the negroes, in fact it was used for partisan purposes for the party dominant in the Federal administration. This was its

natural result, and may be expected when any States, deprived of the protection of unbridged control of State elections, offers a sufficient inducement to a dominant party or section to set in operation the Congressional machinery for partisan or sectional profit. The 15th amendment was limited in operation because it referred to a minor fraction of the population, who were resident principally to a few States. If that power of legislating on State elections shall be augmented by including all women, under the Anthony amendment, only white men will receive their electoral rights from State authority; and unbridged State control of State elections, which was a check on Congressional power designed by the framers of the United States constitution, will have been removed, without any other constitutional check being provided.

The inevitable result will be that the States having the more numerous representation in Congress will have a vastly increased power, not only in national affairs, but in the direction of many matters hitherto controlled by State legislatures. The idea has been sedulously kept in the foreground that the Anthony force clause, if it operates at all, will operate only in the same States wherein the 15th amendment produced its effects, and will have no effect at all except in the race problem of the South. The fact is that a little reflection will show that the Western States are in far more immediate danger from the Japanese race question. The Japanese are now a world power. They are insistently demanding racial international equality. For years they have been pressing for certain concessions in the Pacific and Western States which have been denied them simply by the action of State legislatures, since it has been shown that both the administrations of Roosevelt and of Wilson were quite willing by treaties to grant much, if not all that they wanted. I see that Sen. Phelan is making a demand in Congress against any sort of Japanese immigration; and that Sen. Hiram

July 11, 1919

Johnson is basing a large part of his opposition to the League of Nations upon the advantage it will give the Japs to press their claims for concessions in this country which have hitherto been denied by State legislative action. It ought to be apparent to both these gentlemen, in the light of the workings of the Force Bill of 1870 that with the ratification of the Anthony amendment the Japanese will have no need of help from the League of Nations to gain all they wish in the United States. If by their propaganda and diplomacy they can win a party in the Eastern States favorable to them, they will find means of controlling the State legislation of the Eastern States sufficiently to remove the obstacles which so far have stood in their way. New York and Massachusetts have been quick to ratify the Anthony amendment. Conjointly they have more representation in Congress than the Pacific and Mountain Divisions combined. Any lessening of State dignity and authority must mean the corresponding augmentation of the authority of the States having the larger representation in Congress. Without the aid of the Western States, which already have woman suffrage, but have not a large representation in Congress, the Anthony amendment cannot be ratified. The States with small contingents in Congress will still have the protection in their domestic problems of unimpaired control of State elections. It would be a striking and tragic evidence of selling a great right for a small immediate benefit if the States with small representation in Congress should for hope of gain in the next presidential election give up their main power to resist the selfish interests of more populous states.

It is mere nonsense to say that when the majority of the people of any State want woman suffrage the State constitutions are too hard to amend to give it to them. What States need more than anything else is security against the strides towards autocracy in the Federal government. The advocates of a strong centralized government generally hold up as an example the government of England. But it should be borne in mind that the

English people have the power of quick recall over the members of Parliament; whereas our system elects Congress for two and six years, and that until the end of their terms the people have absolutely no control over them except the hope of future elections. In the interim, acts may be passed which cannot be easily overturned in the future, such as treaties with the Japanese, abhorrent to the German people, but made acceptable to other sections by Japanese diplomacy.

I am enclosing a little literature which our Committee for State Suffrage Amendment is using.

I do not wish you to feel compelled to answer this long letter; but if you are willing to do so, I should be extremely interested in learning your views on the subjects I have mentioned.

With my very best wishes, and in friendly remembrance of the days we worked together in Arizona, I am

Very cordially yours,

Lexington, Ky.

July 12th, 1919

Mr. J. M. Shely,

Lawrenceburg, Ky.

Dear Sir:-

After reading your excellent articles ~~appearin~~ on the League of Nations appearing in the Forum of the Lexington Herald, I am led to suppose that you are a believer in the doctrine of States Rights, and so I am writing to ~~ask~~ your attention to the aim of the Citizens Committee for State Suffrage amendment.

Our aim is to attain woman suffrage without sacrificing any right possessed by the States. Now that the Susan B. Anthony Federal amendment has been submitted by the U.S. Senate we think it is probable there is no other way of preventing its final ratification by the requisite 36 state legislatures except by the rapid passage of State amendments. For with each such State amendment it will become increasingly apparent that the principal potency and effect of the Anthony amendment does not reside in its first, or suffrage clause, but in its second clause which provides for Congressional legislation on State elections. The suffrage clause will confer nothing on the fifteen states which already have full suffrage, and only partial suffrage on the twenty-five other states which have partial suffrage. But in all the States the Enforcing Clause will give Congress power to legislate on State elections.

This Enforcing Clause is exactly the same as that of the 15th amendment. The effect of the Force Bill under the 15th amendment is not guesswork. It is a part of our national history; and affords the best means of foreseeing what will be the effect of another Force bill under the Anthony amendment. We know that ~~under~~ the Force Bill of 1870 was used to exploit the State which fell under its action by reason of their large negro population for partisan advantage of the party dominant in Congress. This

July 12, 1919

is the inevitable effect of conferring upon Congress a new power without any Constitutional check upon its arbitrary and partisan exercise. It ~~impairs~~ it a power not contemplated by the framers of the United States constitution; and the 15th amendment, ~~and still more so the Anthony amendm~~ impaired the check upon Congressional authority which was provided in the complete control of State elections by the States themselves.

The enforcement clause of the Anthony amendment will be even more potent in this direction, as women form a larger and more important portion of the population than men of the yellow and negro races. In conjunction with the 15th amendment its effect will be to ~~make~~ the electoral rights of all women and those of the men of the colored races ~~independent~~ dependent upon Federal action; and only the electoral rights of white men will remain dependent upon the States. Thus the balance between the Federal and the State governments ~~will be gravely impaired~~ in the absence of some new check upon Congress, ^{taken} will be disjinted; and a step towards autocracy, dangerous to all sections of the country.

The effect will be to increase the strength of those states which have large representations in Congress, and proportionally to diminish that of those which have a small representation.

I see that Sen. Hiram Johnson bases part of his opposition to the League of Nations upon ~~his~~ his objection to the demands of Japan for certain concessions in this country which have been hitherto denied by the action of the State legislatures of the Pacific States. But it seems to me that Japan will little need any greater opening to gain all she desires than will be given by the ratification of the Anthony amendmtn. Already it has been shown that the eastern states are not of the same mind on that subject as the Western states. Both the Roosevelt and the first administration of Wilson tried to overcome the resistance of the California legislature; but in vain, because the right of the state was too strong for them. But Japan is one of the world powers, and her demand is insistent

July 12, 1913

for international racial equality is persistent. If by her diplomacy she can win a party in another section in favor of her demands she can find means under the combined ^{enforcement clauses} provisions of the 15th and Anthony amendments to modify the state resistance sufficiently to obtain most, if not all she wants by national treaties.

~~Restate authority is diminished~~ The power of States with large representations in Congress is augmented by impairing the authority of states, just as the power of states with small representation is diminished. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts have representation in Congress equal to that of all the Pacific and the Mountain Divisions combined. They have been quick to ratify the Anthony amendment; but neither granted presidential suffrage to women, though ~~it is in the power of~~ their legislatures to do so. Why did they ratify the Anthony amendment, since it appears that they do not wish women to vote?

July 17th, 1919.

To his Excellency, Gov. Oliver L. Shoup,

Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir:-

Our Committee is in receipt of your letter of recent date; and as you are soon to have a session of your legislature, you may be interested in a further expression of our views on the Anthony Federal amendment.

We want suffrage by State amendment because that will not transfer to Congress any power now residing in the States. With each State enfranchised it will become increasingly evident that the principal potency of the Anthony amendment is not in its suffrage clause, but in its second clause containing the enforcement provision, which is exactly the same as that of the 15th amendment. The suffrage clause cannot affect the fifteen states which already have full suffrage, but the enforcement clause will empower Congress to legislate on state elections in all the states, and it will continue to operate after suffrage has been attained.

The operation of the Force bill under the 15th amendment is not guess work. It is a part of the history of our country, and the best indication possible of the character of the legislation which will follow the ratification of the Anthony amendment. We know that it resulted in the exploitation of the states which had a large negro population and a diminished Congressional representation at that time, though now happily restored to their full quota in Congress. Ostensibly enacted to enforce the 15th amendment it was soon diverted to serve the partisan purposes of the party dominant in the Federal administra-

State Motto: Standing, Having Done All Stand

National Motto: For God and Home and Native Land

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MRS. FRANCES E. BEAUCHAMP,
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WOMAN'S BALLOT FOR THE KING'S BUSINESS.

Superintendent of Franchise Department: MISS LAURA CLAY.

189 NORTH MILL STREET, LEXINGTON.

[July 17, 1919]

Dear Sir

tion. This was its natural result and may be expected when any States, deprived of the protection of your letter of

Our Committee undivided control of State elections, offer a sufficient inducement to a dominant party or section to set in motion the Congressional machinery for the purpose of securing a further expression of the will of the States to Congress of

transfer of any judgment by the Anthony enforcement provision, only power of Congress is vested in the States; that is, by State amendments. Rights will be under State authority, and un- white men's electoral rights will be under State authority, and un- bridged control of State elections, which was a check on Congress pro- vided by the framers of the Constitution of the United States will have not been removed, without the enforcement provision, which is exactly the same as that of the 15th amendment. The suffrage clause cannot affect the fifteen states which will have an increased power, not only in national affairs, but power to legislate on State elections in all the States. The idea has been sedulously fostered that led by State legislatures will operate after suffrage has been attained.

The Anthony Force bill will operate only in the same states as that of the 15th amendment, and will have no effect except in the race prob- lem of the South. It is a part of the history of our country, and the best indication possible of the character of the legislation which will fol- low the ratification of the Anthony amendment. We know that it re- sulted in the exploitation of the negro population, and which may offer some inducement for the larger negro population, and the diminished Congressional representation of the Southern States which are the ones principally benefited by the enforcement clause of the Anthony amendment. The Pacific and far Western states in fact it was used for other purposes more than the Southern states. present this combination of circumstances of the party dominant in the Federal administration of supplying a commercial inducement and of The Japanese are capable of supplying its natural result, and may be expected when any State is deprived of the protection of unbridged control of State elections for concessions in the Pacific states which have they have been pressing for a sufficient inducement to a dom- been denied them solely by State legislatures, since the administrations

July 17, 1919

efit by such interference. The Japanese are now urging racial equality in concessions which the Washington administrations, both under Roosevelt and Wilson, showed they were perfectly ready to grant by treaty, but which the California legislature, reflecting the will of their own state, were able to defeat. But with state control of State elections weakened by the Anthony amendment, is it not doubtful if such demands of the Japanese may can be long resisted, if they employ their propaganda and diplomacy to build up in Congress a faction favorable to their claims, either by presenting some political gain, or even for commercial advantage?

In my judgment, no section of the country is safe against the new power proposed to be conferred upon Congress.

Thanking you for the two copies of your leaflet, I am

Very respectfully yours,

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

JOHN E. RAKER, CAL., CHAIRMAN.
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MAE OFFTERDINGER, CLERK.

House of Representatives U. S.

Committee on Woman Suffrage

Washington, D. C.

July 19, 1919.

Miss Laura Clay,
130 N. Upper St.,
Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:

Copy of your Open Letter
to the Public, signed by yourself
and other members of the Citizens
Committee for State Suffrage Amend-
ment, at hand.

Thanking you for your
views on this subject which I assure
you will have my personal attention
and best consideration, I am

Yours most truly,

John E. Raker
M.C.

JER/JCS-S

Lexington, Kentucky
July 28th - 1919

My dear Miss Laura:-

Nothing particularly to say, but just thought I would drop you a word or two to let you know how you are missed and that we are holding the fort. Dunster has sent out quite a lot of literature and where - in my judgment - it will be of untold influence. One can never tell just where a forest fire

with most of the South a no
mean factor. Mrs. Buckinridge and
Mrs. Hutchinson are to start for
Nantucket to-day, and Dunster
and I are going to get busy.
There is to be a conference here
of the Democrats, and we are
thinking of getting out some pithy
facts and on the same page paste
the 'two amendments and party
platform and distribute. This is
Dunster's suggestion, and to my

thinking—a fine idea.

From the Sunday Leader we see
where the Woman's National Party
~~are~~ sending a Miss Pwice—as a spec-
ial worker—to the West to see if
the States there can not be prod-
ded into line. The longer the delay
the more hope for non-ratification.

Our cause is not yet lost and
I do not believe it will be.
Hope that you are getting along
splendidly with your harvesting
or rather threshing. Will be glad to
see you back in Lexington
With love
Alice Bronson Oldham

will start, but we do know
that when once going it
causes quite a change
and destruction. As we do
not know just where our
literature may start a
fire of enthusiasm for
state rights against a
centralized government. To
my mind the blaze is
already to burst into flames
against the ratification
of the Anthony Amendment,
and the West - I believe -
is to be the battleground

Dear Sir;

To R. C. Sedgwick

5/18/83

I thank you for your letter of July 1st, and your promise of support of a State Suffrage amendment.

I also note with interest your willingness to take a position on any public question.

Our Citizens Committee for State Suffrage amendment was formed for the purpose of obtaining suffrage without any sacrifice of States Rights; for since the submission by Congress of the Susan B. Anthony Federal amendment the rights of the States have been involved in a very serious degree. We realize that probably the only effective way to prevent the ratification of the Anthony amendment is by rapid action of States in granting suffrage by State action, and thus making increasingly evident that the chief ^{potency} effect of the Anthony amendment does not reside in its first, or suffrage clause, but in its second, the enforcing clause, which confers a power on Congress to legislate on State elections, exactly like that of the enforcing clause of the 15th amendment. The suffrage clause cannot affect at all the fifteen states which have full suffrage, and in only a partial degree the twenty-five others which have partial suffrage; but the enforcing clause operates in all the states, and will continue to operate after suffrage is attained.

The Force bill under the 15th amendment with its disastrous results is part of our national history. But ~~therefore~~ a Force bill under the Anthony amendment will be more far-reaching and important in its effects in the same proportion that women are a larger, more widely dispersed and more important part of the population than the men of the Yellow and negro races.

The Enforcing clauses of the two amendments combined practically disjoints the balance between the State and the Federal governments designed by the framers of the ~~Federal~~ United States constitution. They destroy the check upon Congress of the unabridged State control of State elections, without providing a new constitutional check. The new

power of Congress is a step towards autocracy dangerous to every section of the country.

If you would give your attention to this dangerous feature of the Anthony amendment in your consideration of public questions, and of the methods of extending suffrage to women, you would assist us in the work of our Committee, and, we believe, give a valuable and patriotic service to our whole people.

~~Thanking you for your~~

Gratefully appreciating the help offered in your letter, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Member of Citizens Committee for State Suffrage amendments.