

[Mar 2, 1919]

Sunday Morning

MRS. J. G. SOUTH ON G. O. P. COMMITTEE

Chairman Hays Also Names
Other Members of Repub-
lican Women's National
Body.

Special to The Leader

NEW YORK, March 1.—Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, today announced the appointment of Miss Maude Wetmore, of Newport, R. I., as a new member of the Republican Women's National Executive Committee.

The other appointees were Mrs. Thomas J. Carter, formerly of Montana, now of Washington, and Mrs. John G. South, of Frankfort, Ky. It is understood that Miss Wetmore had the backing of Senator and Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr.

Miss Wetmore is the daughter of George Peabody Wetmore, governor of Rhode Island from 1885 to 1887, and representing his State in the United States Senate from 1905 to 1913.

Mrs. Carter has been actively iden-

tified with war work in Washington and is well known in other lines of activity, altho she has never been connected with suffrage work.

Mrs. South is the daughter of former Governor W. O. Bradley, of Kentucky, and has been very active thruout the war period in State Council of Defense work in Kentucky. She also held the position of president of the State federation of women's clubs.

The committee, which is appointed to act with the Republican National Committee in planning ways and means of making certain the fullest possible participation of Republican women in party affairs, is now constituted of the following members: Mrs. Thomas J. Carter, District of Columbia; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York; Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, Kansas; Mrs. Medill McCormick, Illinois; Mrs. Florence Collins, Porter, California; Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston, Washington; Mrs. Raymond Robins, New York; Mrs. John G. South, Kentucky, and Miss Maude Wetmore, Rhode Island.

The new members, according to Mr. Hays, will give representation on the committee to sections of the country which heretofore have not been represented. The committee, he said, would act with the Republican National Committee, "in planning ways and means of making certain the fullest possible participation of Republican women in party affairs."

"DEFECT OF SEX" REMOVAL OBJECT OF SUFFRAGISTS

Mrs. Castleman, President of
Equal Rights Association,
Gives Keynote.

To remove the "defect of sex," as expressed by Mrs. Samuel T. Castleman, president of the Louisville branch of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, suffragists from all parts of Kentucky will open their annual convention to-morrow morning at The Seelbach.

Votes for women have the support of at least one Kentucky Senator and seven Representatives, five of whom will take the rostrum during the meeting in the interest of equal rights for women. All four candidates for Governor of the State are expected to be in attendance. The convention closes Wednesday night.

The Representatives and their wives will be guests at a tea to-morrow afternoon.

Delegates and members of the Board of Directors of the Equal Rights Association and various committees will hold business sessions in the mornings, but in the afternoons the sessions will be open to the public, and many distinguished speakers are on the afternoon program.

The session will open at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, at which time two important resolutions will be introduced by Mrs. Castleman, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. However, she would not give the contents of the measures until their formal presentation.

Mrs. John Glover South, of Frankfort, president of the State Association, arrived in Louisville this morning. Mrs. South recently received the honor of being appointed a member of the National Republican Committee.

At the afternoon session to-morrow Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, who has been working with the Bureau of Inquiry for the Peace and the Commission will speak on "An Unusual Phase of War Work for Women" and Mrs. Campbell Cantill will deliver a message to the Kentucky women from the National Suffrage Association.

Representative Charles F. Ogden will be among the speakers to-morrow night and on Wednesday night the four candidates for Governor, Lieut. Gov. James D. Black, Prof. H. H. Cherry, Edwin B. Morrow and Judge John D. Carroll, will speak.

The Louisville delegation has been instructed to put the consideration of the Federal amendment above all other business.

Miss Semple, who will be the speaker of the afternoon, to-morrow returns to Louisville after an absence of more than a year in New York, where she has been working with the Bureau of Inquiry. The bureau consisted of specialists in geography, history, technology and economics. The United States Government combed the nation for experts in these special lines and they were drawn from every section of the United States. In fact, the invitation to work on the commission came in the form of a summons, and the experts asked to serve were told to break any university engagements or drop any work on which they were engaged and report for duty.

The work of inquiry actually done was kept absolutely secret, and therefore Miss Semple can talk only in a general way of the method pursued, but cannot touch on any conclusion reached through the work.

Election Wednesday.

The election will be held at the Wednesday morning session, the nominations being made at the business session to-morrow morning.

Mrs. Samuel J. Shackelford, of Frankfort, State regent of the D. A. R., will speak Wednesday evening.

The four women who have served as presidents of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association will be present throughout the convention. Miss Laura Clay, of Lexington, president of the association for more than twenty years; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, who succeeded Miss Clay; Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, of Ellettsville, the third president, and Mrs. South, whose term expires with the present session, will speak.

CLOSING STOCK LETTERS

New York.—The opening to-day was steady with a good volume of trading. In the morning session, however, came a sensational rise in the oil shares and this seems to have produced a disposition to take profits in the rest of the list. It often happens that such tactics are the cover for realizing sales elsewhere and the floor traders are quick to act on such a theory. The action of the market was, however, more in the nature of a check to the advance than any substantial reaction. While it looks as if the strength and activity of the market would continue, it is a time for decided discrimination in the selection of purchases.—(Post & Plazg to Wakefield & Co.)

New York.—The day ended with some sharp net gains, even after allowing for considerable setbacks on realizing sales. The weaker issues were steels and coppers, which was not surprising, as the demand for both products is small and the steel trade faces some sharp cuts next week. Most attention was given to motors, oils, and other specialties and it was in those that the public took most interest. Pool manipulation will probably carry stocks higher, with various groups alternating as leaders.—(C. I. Hudson & Co. to Henning Chambers & Co.)

New York.—Trade in stocks has again been on an enormous scale, with evidence of increased public interest. Sharp advances have been recorded in a few specialties, but market, as a whole, has held about, or slightly below, yesterday's closing figures. The action of to-day's market suggests heavy realizing sales in the general list. Selling of this nature should be sufficient to force a moderate reaction from present prices, in which case more will be heard of future possibilities instead of present conditions, and the upward swing be resumed.—(Thomson & McKinnon to E. H. Morgan & Co.)

New York.—Market keeps a strong undertone, although price changes are irregular. After such a steady advance, profit-taking is to be expected and results in natural reactions. Believing in a further upturn, advise purchases on the setbacks favoring the rise.—(Ware & Leland to Williams & Monroe.)

Prospects Bright For Raising Funds

The Rev. Alfred A. Higgins, who is managing the progressive programme of the Southern Presbyterian Church for the Louisville Presbytery, composed of twenty-one counties in Kentucky, says the prospects are fine for collecting the quota of \$65,000 allotted to the Louisville Presbytery. The total amount the Southern Presbyterian Church expects to raise is \$3,600,000. Most of the Louisville churches next ask for pledges next March 23. The campaign closes March 23.

N. Y. CLOSING BID AND ASKED PRICES.
(Furnished by Henning Chambers & Co.)

Bid		Asked	
A. Gold	107	Do pld.	107
A. A. Ch. 105	106	Int. Har.	117 1/2
A. B. S.	73 1/2	Int. Paper	40 1/2
Am. Can.	47 1/2	K. O. S.	20 1/2
Do pld.	102	Lehigh	55 1/2
A. C. & F.	93 1/2	L. & M.	215
A. C. O.	45 1/2	Lorillard	153
Am. I. C.	74 1/2	L. & N.	115 1/2
A. H. & L.	18	M. Mts.	30 1/2
Am. Lin.	46 1/2	Mex. Pet.	180 1/2
Am. Loco.	87 1/2	M. & T.	8 1/2
A. S. & R.	70	Mo. Pac.	24 1/2
Do pld.	104 1/2	N. Y. C.	76 1/2
A. S. R.	117 1/2	O & W.	20
T. T. & I.	107 1/2	Nat. Lead.	68 1/2
Am. Tob.	209 1/2	N. Y. C.	76 1/2
Ana.	62	O & W.	20
Do pld.	86 1/2	N. Pac.	93 1/2
B. & O.	49 1/2	Pac. Mail	32
Do pld.	58	Pro. Gas.	49 1/2
Beth. St.	89 1/2	Fluta. C.	45 1/2
Do pld.	104 1/2	P. S. Car.	70
B. F. G.	68	F. P. Car.	119 1/2
Can. Pac.	163	Reading	84 1/2
Can. Lea.	97 1/2	S. I. & S.	82 1/2
C. & O.	69 1/2	Sloas	59 1/2
St. Paul	39 1/2	Son. Ry.	49 1/2
Chino.	41 1/2	Do pld.	48 1/2
C. P. & I.	41 1/2	Stude.	63 1/2
Con. Gas.	95	Ten. Cop.	12 1/2
Con. Prod.	34 1/2	Tex. Oil	20 1/2
C. C. S.	87 1/2	Un. Pac.	130 1/2
D. & H.	107	U. S. Inv.	11 1/2
Dist. Sec.	62	Do pld.	24
Erie	17 1/2	Rubber	61 1/2
Do pld.	28 1/2	U. S. Stl.	96 1/2
Do 2d...	20	Do pld.	114 1/2
G. Elec.	138	Utah. C.	72 1/2
G. Mire.	100 1/2	Va. C. Ch.	57 1/2
Do pld.	87	W. Md.	11 1/2
G. N. pld.	94	W. Union.	83 1/2
Ill. Cent.	93	W. house	40 1/2
Ins. Cop.	47	W. W. th	124 1/2
Marine	25 1/2		

U. S. GOVERNMENT BONDS.
(Furnished by John W. & D. S. Green.)

Bid		Asked	
Registered 2s. 1930	97 1/2		
Coupon 2s. 1930	97 1/2		
Registered 3s. 1946	80		
Coupon 3s. 1946	80		
Registered 4s. 1925	103		
Coupon 4s. 1925	103		

DECIDE TO DELAY STATE CAMPAIGN FOR VOTE RIGHTS

(Continued From First Page.)

Ask Presidential Suffrage.
The next section, also adopted, asked the State Legislature to grant presidential suffrage to the women of Kentucky. In this connection Mrs. Leech explained that twenty-four

wise, as well as disloyal to the national association, to pledge the State of Kentucky to any action that might be harmful to the future of the movement. Defeat in a State would mean much harm to the national movement at a time when the women are on the last lap to victory, she said.

Miss Clay took up the discussion and again favored a State campaign as a necessary educational proposition. Ultimate ratification is dependent upon this, she said. That a Federal amendment would be defeated in the Legislature, Miss Clay declared, is certain without a campaign.

Mrs. Samuel T. Castleman favored the Federal amendment in a brief speech.

Mrs. South favored withholding endorsement of a campaign until the policy of the national body was determined in two weeks, when a national convention will be held in St. Louis. She introduced a resolution to refer the matter to the incoming executive board, suggesting that upon returning from the St. Louis Convention the board submit its findings to the County Suffrage Leagues in Kentucky, with the resulting vote to determine the State plan of action. This resolution was carried by a 46 to 16 vote.

The next section of the Platform Committee report reaffirmed the nonpartisan policies of the association, but gave all women the right to work against any candidate opposed to woman suffrage. This section was adopted as presented.

The last section provided for a series of study classes for women voters. This also was adopted.

Programme For To-night.

A splendid programme has been provided for the meeting at 8 o'clock this evening in The Seelbach auditorium. Mrs. John Glover South, retiring president, will preside. Lieut. Gov. James D. Black will speak on the subject, "The Right of Women to Vote is of the Spirit of Our Institutions." Edwin P. Morrow, of Somerset, will speak. Prof. H. H. Cherry, a State educator, will speak on "Efficiency and Waste," and an address will be made by Judge John D. Carroll, after which a brief address will be made by the incoming president of the association.

At a meeting last night the suffragist enthusiasts were given assurance by congressional representatives that the Susan B. Anthony Federal suffrage amendment will meet with success in the next House of Representatives. The speakers were Representatives Alben W. Barkley and J. Campbell Cantrill. Representative Barkley stated that an overwhelming vote in favor of the amendment is certain at the first opportunity, while Mr. Cantrill said that he had come to favor suffrage because he "had become tired of being against a proposition against which there is no argument." He was applauded when he asked "forgiveness of his sins of the past." He urged the women to seek State ratification of suffrage.

Kentucky Women Praised.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts, chairman of the National Congressional Committee of Suffrage Organizations, sent through Mr. Cantrill a message in which she paid tribute to the work of the women of Kentucky, who are laboring for the cause of equal rights. The message told of the fight in Washington to bring about the success of the Federal amendment, and urged even greater efforts in the future.

Telegrams and messages of regrets at being unable to attend last night's meeting were received by the president, Mrs. John Glover South, from Congressmen E. Y. Thomas, Ben Johnson, Charles F. Ogden, Senator George E. Martin and Congressmen W. J. Field, John W. Langley and Caleb Powers.

Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, international authority on geography and ethnology, told of her work on the Bureau of Inquiry of the Peace Terms Commission. She told of the methods used by them in determining the natural boundaries of the small countries involved in the discussions at the peace table. Peoples were divided into ethnical groups, she said, and these were shown on charts. Charts showing population, production, occupations of people based on production, were made, she said. She also said that previous boundaries of the countries were ascertained and study was made of the condition of the various countries for a period of years.

At 4:30 o'clock the Louisville woman Suffrage Association gave a tea in honor of congressional guests and their wives in the red room of the hotel.

A resolution adopted yesterday when presented by Mrs. Debra Brock-bridge plans a \$10,000 subscription fund for an educational campaign in Kentucky in favor of the suffrage movement.

ALLIES MUST ACT, HE DECLARES, TO PREVENT ANARCHY

Sunday, March 23.

N. Y. CLOSING BID AND ASKED PRICES.

Table with columns for Bid, Asked, and various market items including Gold, Bonds, and Stocks.

U. S. GOVERNMENT BONDS.

Table listing U.S. Government Bonds with columns for Bid, Asked, and Coupon details.

DECIDE TO DELAY STATE CAMPAIGN FOR VOTE RIGHTS

(Continued From First Page.)

Ask Presidential Suffrage.

The next section, also adopted, asked the State Legislature to grant presidential suffrage to the women of Kentucky.

Miss Clay pointed out that the women must not depend upon a Federal amendment to enable them to vote in the 1920 presidential election.

The next section, asking the Legislature to grant primary suffrage, brought out much debate.

Miss Clay also took a leading part in the discussion on primary suffrage, and said that from what she had heard Representative Cantrill say primary suffrage was proposed for the Kentucky women merely as a matter of "pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the Democrats."

Other speakers, including Mrs. Leach, took part in the discussion, and some declared they would not "pull out the Republicans' chestnuts, either."

Opposition to primary suffrage was strong because of the interpretation that voting in a primary would line the women up for a specific party.

Mrs. Mengel said this was objectionable because the more strategic plan would be to keep all parties guessing as to how the women would vote.

Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Lexington, in stating her position, said she was not strong "either way."

The "primary suffrage" plan was automatically defeated when a resolution was passed laying it upon the table.

Opposes National Aid.

The next section taken up sought the aid of the national organization in making a campaign in Kentucky, looking to the passing of a State amendment, through the medium of a referendum to the voters.

Vigorous opposition also was opened up on this question when Miss Clay opened debate on the subject. "There is absolutely no need of our asking the national organization for help," was her statement.

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(Continued From First Page.)

forbears, in days when the granddaughters of France, shoulder to shoulder with the sturdy countrymen of Washington, fought for the great principle which is the cornerstone of our republic.

"It was when the people of the United States came to a full realization that the liberty for which they had fought and to which they owed their power and prosperity was in danger; when they realized that France and the great democracies of Europe were imperiled from the attack of an ambitious autocracy that the nation with unsurpassed unanimity took up the sword with firm determination to do its part in freeing liberty and the world from autocracy.

Mighty Victory Won.

"A mighty victory has been won. The Imperial armies of the Central Powers have ceased to threaten. They no longer exist. Scattered and broken, they have returned to their homes, where hunger and privation await them—hunger and privation which are the consequences of their own blind faith in evil men who led them into this unrighteous war.

"Germany has suffered bitterly, is suffering bitterly, and Germany is entitled to suffer for what she has done. She has paid a fearful penalty for the crime of plunging the world into four years of blood and fire. To-day starvation and want are the portions of the German people. Violence and murder stalk through the streets of their great cities. Political institutions, industrial enterprise and the very structure of society are tottering. It is the price of their own evil doing, the just retribution of their crimes.

"We may be disposed to pity those innocent among the Germans, but our pity is almost dried up when we consider what France and other nations have had to suffer from the invading armies of the Teutons. Ten days after I landed in France in December 1 made it my business to visit the battlefields of the Marne, Aisne and the

March 12, 1919

CHURCH SUPPLANTED

Cum Laude
By Social Workers, Who Should
Take Heed, Warns W. J. Norton.

That social work should be done by the church, but has been taken over by social workers because the church has become professionalized and dogmatized, is the opinion of W. J. Norton, Detroit, former Director of Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, voiced at the dinner of the Social Workers' Club at the University of Cincinnati last night.

Mr. Norton prophesied that capital expense budgets, including finances for public works as hospitals, will be pooled, as the budgets of social organizations are combined in central budgets as War Chest and central budgets of the Council of Social Agencies.

More than 200 members and guests of the Social Workers' Club were given a comedy mental test after the plan of the group army mental test. As part of the travesty members of various groups were selected as "high-grade morons." The test was presented by W. W. Coxe, Assistant Psychological Laboratory Director, of the Public Schools. C. M. Bookman, Director of the Council of Social Agencies presided.

R—March 26, 1919.

FOR LEAGUE OF WOMAN VOTERS

National Suffrage Association
Mostly Favor Plan—Miss
Clay Asks Amendment to
Proposed Plank.

By Associated Press Licensed Wire.
ST. LOUIS, March 26.—A recommendation for the formation of a League of Woman voters was before the National Woman Suffrage Association in convention here today. Little opposition was expected and it was believed by its supporters that a constitution for the League will be introduced and work of the organization started before the end of the day.

On the regular program, the Federal Suffrage amendment was up for discussion.

The League is urged by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the association, it is recommended by the executive council.

That the League is to be non-partisan was assured by the adoption of a recommendation containing a resolution stating that the national association "shall not affiliate with any political party nor endorse the platform of any party nor support or oppose any political candidates unless such action shall be recommended by the board of directors."

When the recommendation that the Association, "continue to support and endorse the federal amendment which has been pending before Congress for forty years," came up, Miss Laura M. Clay, a delegate from Kentucky, objected. She proposed that certain sections be amended with particular reference to those parts that would permit enfranchisement of Negro women of the South.

With three delegates voting "no" the convention voted to support the amendment in the original form, but the Congressional committee was authorized to formulate changes in the wording.

MAR. 23, 1919

MISS CLAY ASKS FOR A REVISION

Seeks Change in Suffrage Amendment At Convention Regarding Vote of Negro Women in the South

LEAGUE PLAN IS ASSURED

ST. LOUIS, MO., March 25.—A league of woman voters, urged by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and recommended by the executive council, will come before the annual convention tomorrow for final action, its supporters tonight declaring there would be scarcely any opposition. The recommendation was taken up late this afternoon but a final vote was postponed until tomorrow.

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ROBINS ISSUES DENIAL

Denounces As "Totally False" Statement Regarding His Actions in Central Russia.

BOSTON, March 25.—Col. Raymond Robins, formerly head of the Red Cross mission to Russia, today denounce as "totally false" statements of Herman F. Donner before the National Civic Federation in New York yesterday to the effect that Robins made a secret trip to Murmansk and created the impression there that the American government supported the Bolsheviks.

In a letter to V. Everitt Macy, of New York, president of the National Civic Federation, Colonel Robins said he had never before heard of Mr. Donner adding: "The entire substance of his statement in so far as it refers to my activities in Russia, is totally false."

The letter calls upon the Federation president to demand from Mr. Donner "the evidence supporting the 'absolute knowledge' he claims to possess," and asks for himself "the right publicity to present the refutation of his (Donner's) baseless slanders before the same persons, or as nearly as may be, in whose presence these slanders were uttered."

WOMEN DENOUNCE WILD ANTICS OF MILITANT 'SUFFS'

March 11, 1919

Equal Rights Association Adopts Resolution Calling Acts "Reprehensible."

Denouncing the attitude of the militant suffragists as "fatuous, unwomanly and reprehensible," a resolution introduced before the twenty-ninth annual convention of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association at The Seelbach this morning by Mrs. Samuel T. Castleman, president of the Louisville Woman Suffrage Association and chairman of the Resolutions Committee, was unanimously adopted and without a dissenting voice being heard. The expected fight on the resolution did not materialize.

A second resolution was adopted praising President Wilson for his "unwavering loyalty to the cause of the enfranchisement of women" and for bringing the nation safely through "the dark days of perplexity and struggle to the dawn of a new day of peace founded on mercy, justice and good will."

Mrs. John Glover South, of Frankfort, president, called the convention to order at 10 o'clock. The sessions will last two days. To-morrow officers and delegates to the annual convention of the National American Women's Suffrage Association in St. Louis, March 24-29 will be elected. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Lexington, who was the association's second president, is said to be a prominent candidate for the presidency. On this afternoon's programme is Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, international authority on geography and ethnology. She will tell of her work with the Bureau of Inquiry of the Peace Terms Commission. Five Kentucky Congressmen will address the convention to-night and four candidates for Governor to-morrow.

The resolution denouncing the militants follows:

"Whereas, the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, has clear his advocacy of the political recognition of women and when in the weight of his spoken words enlisted he has ably supported the cause of woman suffrage in powerful and eloquent public utterances,

(Concluded on Eighth Page.)

WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED AS PRESIDENTS



PROMINENT women in the equal rights movement in this State, and who are taking a leading part in the suffrage organization convention at The Seelbach, are shown in the above photograph. Mrs. John Glover South, of Frankfort, who is the retiring president, is shown seated, being in the lower right-hand corner. Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, of Louisville, also is shown seated. Mrs. Smith is a past president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, and is the president of the Kentucky Federation of Women. Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Lexington, a past president, who is strongly spoken of for the election to the presidency to-morrow, is seen in the upper right-hand corner, while Miss Laura Clay, also of Lexington, is in the upper

left. Miss Clay served as president of the association for twenty-four years, and is a pioneer in the suffrage movement in this State.

Five Doctors 'Up For Trial Thursday

Dr. Lee Heflin, Dr. J. T. Moser, Dr. M. P. Halpern, Dr. J. A. Alexner and Dr. P. Gunterman will face trial in Police Court to-morrow morning on charges of failing to report cases of influenza. The case against Dr. Philip Barbour was dismissed on the plea of Dr. Barbour that he was called in for consultation and the case which he was charged with failing to report was that of another doctor.

WOMEN DENOUNCE WILD ANTICS OF MILITANT "SUFFS"

(Continued From First Page.)

"Whereas, notwithstanding his absolutely unequivocal position in favor of this great cause, the militant suffragists have sought to harass and embarrass him, and

"Whereas, true suffragists have been obliged to suffer the shame and stigma of the untoward conduct of these pickets, although the President in his greatness has ignored them, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, assembled in its twenty-ninth convention at Louisville, Ky., March 11, 1919, resenting the obloquy thus cast on the great cause of woman suffrage, denounces the attitude of these militants as fatuous, unwomanly and reprehensible, and renders due thanks and appreciation to the President and to those members of Congress and the untoward conduct of United States who have not allowed the misconduct of these women to prejudice their sense of justice, and millions of American women who for half a century have been working quietly, patiently and soberly for their enfranchisement."

Tribute To Wilson.

The resolution paying tribute to the President read as follows:

"Whereas, Woodrow Wilson, steadfast and faithful to the great traditions of his race, has been in a very real sense a people's President, representing no class nor region nor interest, but the people as a whole, and consistent with the great principles of democracy, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and have upheld the justice of the political recognition of woman; and

"Whereas, Wilson, President of the United States, called upon the women of America to defend the ideals of liberty, humanity and justice, upon which this country was founded, and at the same time recognized that the demand for sacrifice and service was equally made upon the women of the land, giving their men to fight and themselves to toil in the heat of the day and the vigils of the night; and

"Whereas, his great mind was thereby quickened to the fact that since women were thus enlisted for the cause of democracy and in the name of womanhood they should at once be accorded the privileges of the Government whose burdens they were bearing with such efficiency; and

"Whereas, he found an added reason for the immediate granting of the suffrage in the country's urgent need for women in the problem of reconstruction; and

"Whereas, to this end President Wilson straightly gave his earnest support and utmost endeavor in behalf of the submission of the Federal suffrage amendment, and dressed the Congress of the United States in noble phrase and powerful argument, which exhilarated the spirit of the women throughout the country and heartened them to bear with renewed patience further delay and disappointment; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, in its twenty-ninth convention at Louisville, Ky., March 11, 1919, express its grateful appreciation to President Wilson for his unwavering loyalty to the cause of the enfranchisement of women, that it acknowledge with pride in his support as that of a just and recognized world leader to-day, that it applaud his shining merit, which has filled the world with his fame and that it rejoice that, under God's blessing, he has carried the nation safely through the dark days of perplexity and struggle, bringing it at last to the dawn of the day of peace, founded upon mercy, justice and good will."

To-night's Speakers.

Representatives Charles F. Orden, of Louisville; J. Campbell Cantrell, of Georgetown; Allen W. Barclay, of Paducah; John W. Langley, of Hicksville; and W. J. Fields, of Olive Hill, are to speak to-night. Gov. James D. Black, of Barbourville; Prof. H. H. Cherry, of Bowling Green, and Chief Justice John D. Carroll, of New Castle, candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor and Edwin P. Morrow, Republican candidate, have been asked to address the convention to-morrow night. Mrs. Samuel J. Shackelford, of Frankfort, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution also is on the programme.

The election takes place to-morrow morning. Mrs. South is retiring president. Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, of Lexington, as first vice president; Miss Laura Clay, of Lexington, as second vice president; Mrs. J. B. J. Harris, of Louisville, as treasurer, and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith as corresponding secretary.

Mrs. James A. Leach, of Louisville, third vice president; Mr. Samuel C. Henning, congressional chairman; Kentucky member of Post, of Paducah; Mrs. Edmund M. Post, of Paducah, Executive Council, and Mrs. Joseph Alderson, of Middleboro, association auditor, are to retain their offices.

List of Delegates.

The following list enumerates the delegates of the Louisville Woman Suffrage Association who have accepted appointment to regularly attend the sessions of the State body: Mrs. Samuel T. Castleman, Mrs. John C. Graham, Mrs. Morris Glover, Mrs. James W. Beattie, Miss Elizabeth L. Breckinridge, Mrs. R. P. Halleck, Mrs. Alma D. Bergman, Mrs. John D. White, Miss Lucie C. Watters, Mrs. Charles F. Hulshin, Mrs. G. Hope Lindenberger, Miss Carolyn Leach, Mrs. Frances F. Simpson, Mrs. Martha D. Cheney, Mrs. Harry R. Whiteside, Mrs. Katie B. Semple, Miss Alice Cane, Miss Mildred Anderson, Miss Madeline Cain, Mrs. Harry Bishop, Mrs. Herbert Bengel, Mrs. Sen. S. Washer, Dr. N. Louise Lawrence, Mrs. Aubrey Cossar, Mrs. Nellie Roach, Miss Mary Lee Hick-

ney, Miss Miriam Gaines, Mrs. Wallace Embury, Mrs. Charles B. Semple, Mrs. Arrives of the delegates—Miss Julia Seiler, Mrs. Fannie Macauley, Miss Sarah Gibson, Mrs. Henry L. Stone, Miss Emma Denton, Mrs. Virginia May, Mrs. Ranger Ambrose, Dr. Della Hertsch, Mrs. Howard Lee, Miss Mary Church Hill, Humphrey, Mrs. Charles McBride, Miss Emily Bullitt, Mrs. Harry Weissinger, Mrs. Alexander Semple, Miss Mary Duval.

The Suffrage Shop.

A highly interesting feature of the convention is the "Suffrage Shop," located on the convention floor immediately to the right of the speakers' platform. The shop is in charge of Miss Pauline L. May, of Louisville, who is assisted by Misses Mildred Anderson, Florence Joyce and Olive Irwin, the latter of Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.

On sale at the "shop" are numerous suffrage advertising novelties, in which the suffrage color and slogan, "Votes for Women," predominates. Banners, buttonhole bouquets, "suffrage" playing cards, napkins, thimbles, "bondholders" pencils, buttons, rubber stamps with the slogan, "In pads for the stamps, drinking cups, Hester, and the like. The proceeds of the sale will be used for the good of the cause.

Elaborate Decorations.

The huge Seelbach auditorium has been appropriately decorated for the convention with a gorgeous display of American flags, "Old Glory" being festooned and draped in most attractive around the big room. The colors of the Allies in small flags also are to be seen. The Women's League is prominent in the meeting hall, banners displayed being those of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, and the Mason, Madison and Franklin County Equal Rights Associations and Woman Suffrage Leagues.

Behind the platform is a huge sign in black and white, which is headed, "Don't Forget." The story which is printed beneath the heading tells of the eighteen Democratic and eleven Republican Senators who voted on February 19 against the submission of the Federal suffrage amendment.

When the meeting was called to order by Mrs. John Glover South, of Frankfort, president, only about fifty delegates were present. The roll call was led by Mrs. Laura Clay, of Frankfort.

Mrs. Castleman, as chairman of the local Arrangements Committee, announced a tea to be given this afternoon in the Seelbach ball room, in honor of the visitors.

The preliminary report of the Credentials Committee at this time showed eight officers and thirty-six delegates.

In her annual report Mrs. South, president, reviewed at great length the activities during the past year of the State suffrage body, and of the nation generally. The report pointed out that the suffrage movement more or less has been slackened during the year because of the press of war work. The progress of the year, though, was shown in the statement that four new leagues were added. Another statement was in line with war work the Kentucky organization doubled its quota of \$500 for the erection of overseas hospitals. The Louisville Association raised \$1,072 alone. Another war work was the purchase of an ambulance named the Miss Laura Clay, in honor of the second vice president. The ambulance went overseas.

The gains in sentiment were mentioned by Mrs. South, who said the most notable gains in sentiment favorable to the movement being The Courier-Journal and The Louisville Times.

"Kentucky has every reason to be proud of her showing in the fight for the Federal amendment," Mrs. South said. She was applauded when she declared that eight Congressmen are pledged to the movement in the next session, the organization holding the pledge of Senator-elect Gov. Stanley. All four of the gubernatorial candidates for next fall are favorable to suffrage, Mrs. South said.

Mrs. South detailed the occurrences of last year in connection with the visit of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president.

Postponement of Campaign.

Referring to her failure to carry out the instructions of the State convention last year, relative to the asking for the submission of an equal suffrage amendment to the Kentucky State Constitution, Mrs. South said that the campaign for the amendment was not made because Mrs. Catt asked that it be postponed.

The State convention voted in favor of a State campaign, but the national convention decided to ask Kentucky to forego the campaign, although the prospects were bright. The reason was lack of financial ability to make the best possible showing. It being preferred to concentrate the work in several other weaker States.

Mrs. South in her report declared that she was in a most trying position, in view of her campaign instructions by the State convention, until the Board of Directors of the association voted to abide by the policy of the national association.

The report stated that the board in its action was prompted by the knowledge that a successful campaign would require a fund of at least \$25,000, because of a lack of thorough organization and because the instructions for a State campaign also required co-operation with the national body.

Prizes For Oratory.

In her annual report Mrs. Laura Clay, second vice president, impressed upon the convention the benefits to the movement arising out of the prize plan of offering awards for suffrage oratory and writing in schools. Mrs. James A. Leach, of Louisville, third vice president, endorsed the plan.

Mrs. Edmund M. Post, the State member from Kentucky, read a report of the national meeting in Indianapolis, and urged all women interested in the movement to stir themselves for the good of the cause.

The report of Mrs. J. E. Judah, of Louisville, treasurer, covered the pa-

...bands, Paducah, First district. The various congressional chairmen told of the work in their different territories dealing especially with stirring up interest in the suffrage movement.

A warm debate, according to suffrage leaders who are here to-day attending the Kentucky Equal Rights Association convention at The Seelbach, is expected to develop to-morrow morning when the matter of a platform for the coming year is considered by the assembly. The platform question will be the first matter considered by the convention to-morrow, the last day of the two-day twenty-ninth annual meeting.

In determining upon the question of policy for the coming year, the suffrage body will determine upon whether it will favor primary suffrage or if presidential suffrage will be sought. Ardent supporters of each plan of suffrage are to be found throughout the association's membership, and a lengthy discussion is certain to develop, it is authoritatively said.

The debate cropped out to-day at noon, when the initial session of the convention was at the point of adjournment. The discussion to-day was prompted by Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, who explained some of the principles of "primary" suffrage.

Mrs. Breckinridge said in opening the discussion that primary suffrage can be obtained from the Legislature without the necessity of having a State campaign, as would be necessary if the association were to adopt plans looking to a State amendment favorable to suffrage. On the other hand, there is the question of presidential suffrage, which suffrage leaders to a great number say is preferable because they believe that the next Congress will enact the suffrage measure.

In addressing the convention to-day Mrs. Breckinridge stated that it would be well to consider the problem of platform whenever possible, in view of the importance of the connection of that topic. She pointed out that while the "primary" suffrage would bring the vote earlier, it would have the effect, in her opinion, of keeping women voters of a single party until full suffrage was obtained.

Mrs. James A. Leach, one of the association vice presidents, favored presidential suffrage as the form that is to be desired. She said that politicians are anxious for "primary" suffrage, and expressed the hope that the first vote would be one in which the women would not have to line up with a party, as would be necessary under the primary plan.

President Mrs. South declared that primary suffrage has proved a big factor to women in some States.

"It is a wonderful weapon for woman, if properly handled," she stated, declaring that she did not believe that women "would stay lined up" if the candidate was not worthy of the party.

The consideration of the platform policy for the year will be considered to-morrow morning just previous to the nominations for election of officers.

The action of the convention in this connection will have a great bearing upon the election of officers, as quite naturally the president elected for the ensuing year will be a woman who is thoroughly in accord with the accepted policy of the State suffrage organization.

"What's the use of going to the trouble of a State campaign for a State amendment now, if the Federal amendment is practically assured?" was the attitude of a local leader this afternoon. This authority stated that a State campaign would mean expense and work, which is not necessary at this time.

DRAFT OF TREATY COMPLETED, SAYS BRITISH PREMIER

(Continued From First Page.)

Will Call Germans Soon After March 20

Paris, March 11 (by A. P.)—The progress that has been made with the work of framing the peace treaty insures the completion of the task by March 20. The first rough draft will be in readiness when President Wilson arrives in France Thursday, and the revision will be concluded before the 20th. It is the present purpose of the peace conferees to call the Germans to Versailles soon after March 20, probably from March 22 to March 25. The document then will be delivered to the German delegates and in case they are not prepared to sign it at once they will be given the opportunity to return to Germany to consider it and return for their own signing at Versailles.

The plan obviates the necessity of holding sessions for debate at Versailles, and the functions to be conducted with the Germans to delivery of the document and their affixing of their signature or such other action as they desire to take.

It is known definitely that Count von Bernstorff, former German Ambassador to the United States, will not be one of the German delegates at Versailles.

The presence of Premier Lloyd George in Paris is permitting of daily conferences of the Premier of the Powers in a steering committee to direct the course of the main work of the conference. The session in this regard was attended by Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George and Col. E. M. House, representing President Wilson.

Premier Orlando, of Italy, will join the other Premiers to-morrow, and when President Wilson arrives, it is expected that these conferences of the Government heads gradually will take the place of the council of the great Powers, which experience has shown to give too much time to speeches. The conferences of the Premier of the other hand, are providing an effective executive organization for the rapid discharge of business. This rapidly insures the drafting of the peace treaty within the limit fixed, a week from next Thursday.

Neutralization Of Austria Discussed

Paris, March 11 (by A. P.)—While the possible neutralization of Austria has not as yet come before the "big five" in a formal manner, it is being discussed here by certain socialists. Elements in Austria are striving hard to prevent neutralization, but there are other influences which are anxious to see it effected, as it would

head and Brown, 1857; The Revised Statutes, 1852, and the General Statutes of Kentucky, 1872.

I can not express the horror and surprise with which I read the word "white" before the word "woman's" in every statute in the subject in the Revised Statutes of 1852. In the General Statutes, 1872, the word "white" had disappeared.

I had not access to the Session Acts so that I could not say at what session between 1835 and 1852 the ignominious word "white" was put into the Statutes nor at what session between 1852 and 1872 it was dropped; but I do know that the Fifteenth Amendment was proclaimed to be in force March 30, 1870.

Probably not one negro in 100,000 knew that the word "white" was in these statutes; but if the presence of the negro in the electorate influenced the amending of these statutes, that one thing, justified the Fifteenth Amendment and its compensation for all the terrors suffered by the Southern people because of the infamous manner in which the negro was enfranchised. At least the white race is cleansed of the shame of legalizing the outraging of negro women.

Does not this suggest that the interests of even the weakest element in the body politic are better protected when that element is included in the electorate?

Further Justification.

When I saw the first company of negroes in khaki after war was declared in 1917, and when I realized that the German propaganda was gaining no headway among them but that they gave ready and loyal response to every appeal to them as citizens of the United States, I again thanked God for the Fifteenth Amendment that made them indeed responsible citizens. They have been a terrible incubus, they have caused no end of political corruption. But they are an important part of the white man's burden, and without question the burden since April, 1917, has been much lighter with them as citizens, whose pride and loyalty should be appealed to, than they would have been as a seething, disgruntled mass of alien malcontents, ready soil for the seed of German propaganda.

Which suggests that any element in the population can be appealed to in time of national need with greater hope of loyal response if that element is clothed with the pride and responsibility of citizenship rather than the irresponsibility of wards or subjects. So that after all Article XV, Section I, of the Constitution of the United States which says: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous conditions of servitude," is worth all that it has cost, great as the cost has been.

There is much more that could be said in justification of admitting the negro to the electorate; but that is a closed issue, and any discussion of it has value only as it throws light upon a pending issue. I await with eager expectation Mr. Shelby's answer to my three questions. I believe the answers will help to clarify the issue under discussion.

Very respectfully,

Alice Lloyd.

Maysville, Ky.

People's Forum

(Contributions to this column expressing the opinions of our subscribers on matters of public interest will be published and appreciated.)

WAS THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT A CRIME?

To the Editor of the Herald:

The discussion between the Herald and Mr. John T. Shelby on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment is of absorbing interest to many readers of the Herald. Will Mr. Shelby, for those who distinguished ability, high qualities of learning, character and citizenship, I have long cherished profound respect, permit one of the parties in interest, a disfranchised woman seeking enfranchisement, to enter his class or grant her the privilege as an on-looker of asking a few questions? His answers, coming from ripe scholarship and mature judgment, must be valuable to other Herald readers.

Mr. Shelby writes: "The Fifteenth Amendment conferring the right of suffrage upon the negro was wrong. It was necessary that, sooner or later, the ballot should be conferred upon the negro; but to do it at the time, under the conditions and in the way in which it was done was a political crime of the first magnitude."

1. Why was it "necessary that, sooner or later, the ballot should be conferred upon the negro?" The answer to this question is of vital and basic importance and is awaited with intense interest.

2. How soon or how late should the ballot have been conferred upon the negro? A matter of expedience—but still important.

3. How should the ballot have been conferred upon the negro in the fifteen slave-holding states? A matter of method, but most important.

It is was "necessary that, sooner or later, the ballot should be conferred upon the negro" in one state, it was just as necessary in all the slave-holding states. How should this "necessary" end have been reached?

I was born and brought up to believe that the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were vicious conditions, imposed upon a conquered people by a ruthless, vindictive conqueror, in violation of every principal of the Constitution. As a school girl, and until the recent past, I always had the feeling that when I had finished Article XIII, I had read the Constitution and that what followed was just as much mud slung at the Constitution to insult and humiliate the Southern people.

However, for some reason, that until very recent years I never undertook to analyze, I never saw the time when I would have voted to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment, though I looked upon it as conceived in iniquity and written in malice. I am not now prepared to say that the spirit and manner of its enactment was creditable to those responsible.

Finds Justification.

But twice in the last three years I have thanked God aloud for the Fifteenth Amendment, looking upon it as another evidence that "God makes even the wrath of man to praise him."

In the Spring of 1916 the chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, of which committee I was a member, instructed me to make a compilation of the laws of Kentucky for the protection of the chastity of women, giving as her reason, "that we may know what tools we have to work with."

Having gotten the laws then in force from Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1915, I was interested to learn what historic development, if any, had been made in dealing with this subject. I examined Littell's Laws of Kentucky, 1811; More-

E. E. J. 19

STILL HOPE TO PASS SUFFRAGE THIS CONGRESS

Senator Jones Announces That
Eleventh Hour Effort Will Be
Made to Submit Ques-
tion to States

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—Chairman Jones, of the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, announced today that before Congress adjourns another effort would be made to secure adoption of a resolution authorizing submission of an equal suffrage amendment to the federal constitution. In making the announcement Senator Jones introduced a modified resolution giving states initial authority to enforce the proposed amendment.

The new resolution was designed to meet objections of Senators from the Southern states, and was reported to have the approval, as a compromise measure, of President Wilson and leaders of woman suffrage organizations. Senator Jones discussed the subject yesterday with the President, who was said to have expressed hope that the resolution would be adopted before adjournment.

The measure provides that franchise shall not be abridged because of sex and contains the following enforcement clause:

"The several states shall have the authority to enforce this article by necessary legislation, but if any state shall enforce or enact any law in conflict therewith Congress shall not be excluded from enacting appropriate legislation to enforce it."

MR. SHELBY ANSWERS ^{Feb. 19 1917}
MISS LLOYD'S QUESTIONS

To the Editor of The Herald:

In The Herald of Sunday Miss Lloyd asks permission to enter my "class" or grant her the privilege as an on-looker of asking a few questions. If I were conducting a class, Miss Lloyd would be one of the last persons I would think of as a pupil, for the very apparent reason that she could teach me very much more than she could ever learn from me. But although I have a lurking suspicion that she desires an answer to the questions she propounds, not so much with the object of securing information, as for the purpose of using the evident answer as a "base of operations," it would be impossible to refuse to answer when a lady speaks. I may be, no doubt I am, reckless to undertake to do so, but one would better run this risk than to incur a charge of discourtesy.

May I, therefore, ask for enough of your valuable space in order to discharge this duty without undertaking to justify my answers by either argument or discussion?

Referring to my recent statement, in the interchange of opinion between The Herald and myself to the effect that it was necessary that the suffrage should sooner or later be conferred upon the negro, but that to do this "at the time, under the conditions and in the way in which it was done" was a political crime. Miss Lloyd propounds these three questions:

1. Why was it necessary that the ballot should be conferred upon the negro?

I would say that it was necessary for the very reason which Miss Lloyd herself suggests—because otherwise the mass of our negro citizenship would sooner or later have become a "seething, disgruntled mass of alien malcontents," a ready soil for the seed of any pernicious un-American propaganda. It is unthinkable that in a democracy there should continue to exist (except as slaves) a permanent class of citizens without the ballot, which is essential, not only for their own protection, but also to enable them to discharge their duties to the State.

2. How soon or how late should the ballot have been conferred upon the negro?

To this I would respond, just as soon

ON THE HERALD

as, and no later than, the body of negro citizenship just raised from the status of slaves could, by a process of intensive training and education, have been prepared for the responsibilities of the suffrage.

3. How should the ballot have been conferred upon the negro in the fifteen slave-holding States?

From the views recently expressed in my "interchange of opinion" with The Herald, it follows, if they be sound, that this should have been done by the proper action of the several states themselves and not by the process of the imposition by other states of their own will upon them, especially at a time when these other states were ignorant of local conditions, unappreciative of the danger to free institutions involved in premature action, and were under the, as yet, unextinguished passions and prejudices engendered by four years of fierce civil strife.

This process might have taken more time than many would have liked, but my confidence in the capacity for democratic self-government inherent in our Anglo-Saxon civilization and in the scope afforded for its effectual working under our Constitution as it came from the fathers is such as to lead me to believe the right result would have come at a time and in a way involving less danger to the negro and to American institutions than was involved in the "new-fangled" process which was adopted.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect for both Miss Lloyd and The Herald,

Very truly yours,
JOHN T. SHELBY.

Sunday, February 23, 1919

Strangest Feminine Career Of American History Ended By Death of Dr. Mary Walker

Won Medal of Honor for Valor
During Four Years of Service
as Surgeon in Civil War
With Rank of First
Lieutenant

EXCHANGED AS PRISONER
FOR MAN OF EQUAL RANK

Only Woman Authorized by Con-
gress to Wear Male
Attire

WATERTOWN, N. Y., Feb. 22.—Dr. Mary Walker, aged 87 years, died at her home on Bunker Hill, near Oswego, at 8 o'clock last night after a long illness.

She was a surgeon in the Civil War, and was awarded a congressional medal of honor. She gained considerable fame by being the only woman allowed to appear in male attire by an act of Congress.

Dr. Walker led a picturesque career. Four years were spent on the battlefields of the Civil War. The remainder of her active life was spent in fighting for feminine dress reform and woman's right to political suffrage, in which movements she was a pioneer. She frequently claimed to have been the first American woman to attempt to cast a ballot in a legal election. Her livelihood was earned during all these years by her private practice and by writing.

Silk Hat and Cane

By special authorization from the Federal Congress Dr. Walker adopted male attire during the Civil War and for the half century since she had continued to wear it in civil life—the only woman in the country who ever had her rights in this respect prescribed by the national legislators. She wore a black frock coat, trousers and a high silk hat and carried a cane.

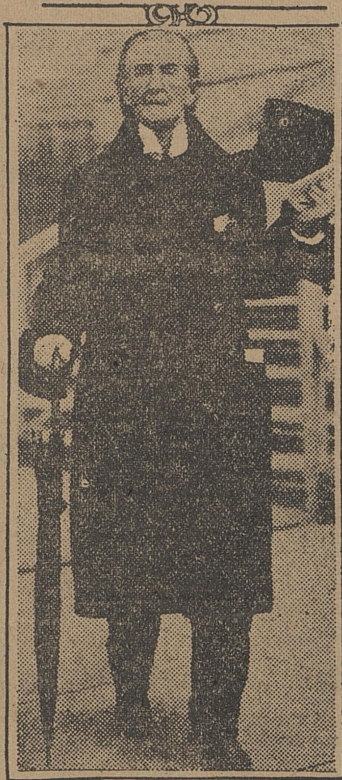
Dr. Walker also was distinguished as the only woman in history who, when held as a captive in war, was exchanged as a prisoner of war for a man of equal rank in the army of the foe. She was also the first woman to be regularly enlisted in an army as a surgeon.

Born in Oswego, N. Y., in 1832, Miss Walker was a graduate doctor with the degree of M. D. at the age of 23. Beginning practice immediately she soon adopted masculine clothes. Her war career began at the age of 20. She volunteered her services, entering the Union army as an assistant surgeon with the rank of first lieutenant. She dressed like her brother officers, having a gold stripe running down the trouser legs, wearing a felt hat with gold cord, and an officer's overcoat. Her jacket was cut like a blouse and fitted loosely at the neck.

"When I had on my overcoat," Dr. Walker declared, "I looked every inch the man, and I am sure I acted it."

Never Married

Dr. Walker never married. Her proud possession was the bronze medal of honor of the Congress of her fr-



Dr. Mary Walker

legend: "Presented by the Congress of the United States to Mary E. Walker, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army."

She became celebrated in the United States and England as a lecturer during the half century following the Civil War.

"Do I ever have unkind things said to me?" she once said, echoing an interviewer's question. "Yes of course, by ill-bred people, but they are few. When any one says anything unpleasant I usually have something to say in return which makes us quits. Oh, I tell you, trousers are a great thing."

Occasionally Arrested

Occasionally, a policeman failing to recognize the little gray haired woman, placed her under arrest. This recently happened in Chicago. Showing the documents which gave her the right to wear masculine attire, she was released. Her only remark regarding the guardian of the law was:

"He's an idiot."

Although a pioneer in the woman suffrage movement, Dr. Walker was out of sympathy with the methods of some of her sister workers.

"Women will get suffrage just as soon as they stop making fools of themselves," she declared recently with considerable vigor. "They've got to stop talking so much and do some work. These everlasting amendments will never get them their rights. They want to state what they want and stick to it."

EFFORT TO HALT "DRY" LAW IN U.S. ROUNDLY SCORED

Opponents of Prohibition De-
nounced as "Breeder of
Revolution and Teach-
ers of Bolshevism"

DESTRUCTIVE, SAYS BECK

Once Attorney General Sees
Prohibition "Deadliest Men-
ace in 50 Years"

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22.—Agitation throughout the country of various plans to ignore, evade or defeat national prohibition was denounced in the Senate today by Senator Jones, of Washington, Republican in an address urging observance of law and order as a means of suppressing radical unrest.

Prominent newspapers, public officials and public men, Senator Jones asserted, are advocating defiance of the prohibition law. He criticized President Wilson for "interfering" in the case of Thomas J. Mooney, of California. The Senator, although an advocate of woman suffrage, also attacked the President for alleged improper conduct in addressing the Senate in behalf of the suffrage amendment and declared officials of high position were disregarding constitutional limitations and great and responsible interests were inciting the law's defiance.

Referring to alleged attempts of newspapers and public men to nullify prohibition laws, the Washington Senator declared:

"By their words and their acts they are defiers of law; breeders of revolution; teachers of Bolshevism, un-Americanism and unpatriotism. They do not urge the law's enforcement, they incite and encourage resistance to it."

"We are told that the law and this amendment are to be annulled in one way or another; that the people's verdict is to be nullified and that great lawyers are going to prostitute their talents to defeat the people's will; that legislators are going to disregard the sentiment of the people; that labor proposes to strike; that revolution is at hand."

December

[Feb 19, 1919]

Wednesday Afternoon-

The Fayette Equal Rights Association delegates and alternates are: Miss Laura Clay, president, Mrs. Harrison Gardner Foster, Mrs. William Dowell Oldham, Mrs. Anthony McQuaid.

Some of those attending will go over to Georgetown by motor car and others on the interurban cars, which go to Georgetown in the morning and return in the evening at convenient hours.

Mrs. W. T. Lafferty and Mrs. Shelby Harbison, Lexington members of the Federation Board, will be among the speakers.

The program of the convention will be as follows, Miss Ada May Cromwell, of Frankfort, the District Chairman, presiding:

Mrs. Joseph E. Marks, of Georgetown, will act as secretary. Mrs. Louis L. Bristow is chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, Miss Mamie Stone and Mrs. Ben Graves are the Committee on Registration, and Mrs. V. O. Gilbert, of Frankfort, is chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Morning Session—9:30 O'clock.

Prayer—Dr. F. W. Eberhardt.

9:40—Music, Miss Coffman.

10:00—Address of Welcome, Mrs. Mal Rankin Roberts.

10:10—Response. Mrs. Leran Scott, Campbellsburg.

10:20—A Word for Our President, Mrs. Lafon Riker, Harrodsburg.

10:40—Address, "The New Democracy," Mrs. John Glover South.

11:10—Department Echoes: History and Research, Mrs. W. T. Lafferty, Lexington; Social Hygiene, Mrs. Shelby Harbison, Lexington; Library Extension, Mrs. W. H. Coffman, Georgetown; Education, Mrs. Joseph E. Marks, Georgetown.

Luncheon—12:30 to 1:30.

Roll Call.

Club Activities of the Twenty-six Clubs of the Seventh District—Mrs. Charles P. Weaver, Louisville, presiding.

Afternoon Session.

1:30—Message of the Chairman, Miss Cromwell, and election of officers.

2:00—Music, Sergeant Paul Ranchier.

2:15—Address, "Prohibition and the Reconstruction," Dean John L. Hill.

2:50—Address, "Pooling Our Interests for Reconstruction," Mrs. Nat B. Sewell, of Frankfort.

5:30—Address, "The 1919 War Garden," Mrs. Sherman, Washington, D. C.

The district meeting in Georgetown of the State Federation of Women's Clubs will be an interesting occasion of Thursday. All the members of federated Women's Clubs will be welcomed at the meeting whether delegates or not.

A number will go from Lexington to Georgetown on the interurban car, reaching there shortly after 9 o'clock.

District Meeting at Georgetown.

The State Federation of Women's Clubs will hold the Seventh District meeting on Thursday at Georgetown, beginning in the morning at 9:30 o'clock.

A large number of delegates from all over the district will attend, several from Lexington, representing the Woman's Club, of Central Kentucky; the Woman's Club of the University of Kentucky, the Fayette Equal Rights Association; and others of the clubs of the city belonging to the Federation.

The Woman's Club will be represented by the President, Mrs. Samuel H. Halley, her appointee, Mrs. J. R. Downing, and the delegates and alternates, Mrs. Clarence Williamson, Miss Josephine Simpson, Mrs. Charles Allen Thomas, Mrs. Preston Johnston, Mrs. Charles Berryman.

Alternates—Mrs. William Wallace Anderson, Mrs. J. A. Edge, Miss Isabel Schmidt, Mrs. George Starr, Mrs. J. M. Kelly.

The delegates and alternates from the Woman's Club of the University of Kentucky are: Mrs. Paul P. Boyd, President, Mrs. Frank L. McVey, Mrs. Thomas P. Cooper and Mrs. Edward Franklin Farquhar.

ever, that the public generally did not know that you knew it and were beginning to feel just a little suspicious that your recent writing, instead of being a bit of harmless camouflage was evidencing really your normal state of mind.

Now then that we are agreed that the real issue is not as to the interpretation of Senator Beckham's vote but relates to a vital question of Constitutional methods, let me, in closing our debate, re-state our respective positions in the hope that by quiet meditation and reflection you may be led to return to the old ways wherein The Herald has been accustomed to walk.

I affirm that this nation is a federal republic organized by sovereign States upon the fundamental principle that all matters of local concern were, as they should have been, left, under the control of the States respectively, to be dealt with as they, with their knowledge of local conditions and needs, might determine for themselves; in other words, as it is expressed in the Tenth Amendment, which was adopted to emphasize this principle beyond all possibility of doubt or necessity for debate, that all "powers not delegated to the United States by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people;" that among these powers so reserved were what is denominated "the police power," that is, the power to regulate, among other things, the habits and customs and morals of the citizens of the States and the power to prescribe the qualifications of the electors who should vote for and choose the State officials; that the Constitution was adopted by many States upon the pledged faith that this Tenth Amendment, along with certain others designed to remove certain doubts, should be adopted; that this constituted an implied compact—something more than "a gentleman's agreement"—that the power to amend the Constitution should not be used to change this essential nature of our government; that this compact was violated, grossly and in bad faith, when the power of amendment was misused, in the case of the Fifteenth Amendment, to enable one section or group of States to impose its will as to the qualifications for suffrage upon other States; that this experiment was a disastrous one, and as it involved a violation of pledged faith and of the vital principle of local self-government, it therefore furnished no precedent or excuse for another such violation in the cases of the prohibition and woman suffrage amendments.

Now you admit all of this except the conclusion and proceed to draw from the foregoing premises the illogical and, it seems to me, unethical deduction that because this original wrong against our venerable Constitution was committed, it justifies another and still others; that there is not anything of it left that is worth preserving; that anybody who wants anything, the getting of which may be somewhat slow or a little difficult by the old way, may rush to Congress and by this new process of having a certain number of States impose their will upon others bring about other structural changes in our government. Alas, the door once opened, facile est discessus Averni! But it does grieve me to see The Herald joining with the rest of the crowd which is sliding down that descent and crying in the maddening rush, "Come on, boys, let's each of us get all he wants, or all he can get out of the old wreck."

No, my dear Herald, the old ship has had some rough sailing and her beauty has been somewhat marred by the storms she has encountered, but she has weathered them and is still staunch, fairly seaworthy and good for many another voyage. To change the figure, our beloved Constitution is still sufficiently intact to furnish the sheet anchor of our hope for the political liberties of mankind if only those who venerate it will, from age to age, stand as its defenders against the assaults of all assailants who strive to mar its fair propositions. There is enough of it left to make it worth while for humanity to fight for it and to die for it, and, please God, there always will be. So don't be a pessimist, but brace up, look pleasant, and keep your place in the ranks of those who march to the slogan of "an indestructible states" all will yet be well.

If there be sought of merit in what I have said, the question propounded in the last paragraph of your editorial has perhaps been sufficiently answered. You say that if woman leaves an equal suffrage state to reside in a male suffrage state, she is deprived of the right to vote and has no recourse, and you ask, in effect, if this is fair. Yes it is fair, just as any other difference in the laws of any two countries would be fair. For many purposes the States are, as respects their relations to each other, on the footing of distinct sovereignties, each entitled to make its own laws and to it seems best in matters of local concern. Each citizen of the United States is free to make his or her domicile in any State he or she may choose. If the laws of any State are not to one's liking, he may do either of two things—stay out of it or reside in it and seek by Constitutional and legal methods, not by revolutionary and destructive methods, to change its laws and institutions. The first is the Anglo-Saxon way, the latter is Bonapartism. If you should go to France to make your domicile you could not claim the same rights of trial by jury which would be yours under the English law. Yet you could not fairly complain that this would not be fair, and that you should, therefore, be entitled to chop down the altars of justice or burn down the temples of the law. One must be reasonable and sane even if one cannot get at once all he wants. In other words, if the laws of your country be wrong, change them in the mode provided for this purpose, but don't destroy your country in order to effect the change.

My dear Mr. Editor, I "close the incident" both in sorrow and in hope—sorrow that it should ever have been necessary to correct errors of The Herald not justified by its early training, hope that having again had pointed out to it the good way, it will yet return to the faith of the fathers and evermore walk therein.

With all good wishes for yourself and for all,
Faithfully yours,
JOHN T. SHELBY.

Now the prohibitionists know that Germany is hopefully beyond the gate of civilization. The new national German constitution was adopted with no restrictions as to the manufacture and sale of beer.

MR. SHELBY STILL UNCONVINCED

Lexington, Ky., Feb. 20, 1913.
Dear Mr. Editor:
The surrender of The Herald, as evidenced in your editorial of Tuesday, the 18th, is so complete that I herewith return your sword so precisely yielded up by you, with permission to still retain your side-arm. I knew, of course, Mr. Editor, that you knew that the issue between us was not Senator Beckham, but the Constitution of the United States. I, getting just a little afraid, how-

Feb 21, 1919

HISSES

Met By Witnesses

Who Testify at Senate Propaganda Inquiry.

Spectators Are Barred From Plot Hearing.

Woman Writer Tells of Her Work in Russia.

Burning of President in Effigy and Meeting at Which Anarchy Was Proposed Is Brought Out.

Washington, February 20.—Spectators were cleared from the hearing room of the Senate Propaganda Investigating Committee to-day because hisses, attempts at applause and general commotion interrupted the testimony.

Louise Bryant, wife of John Read, an American writer recently returned from Russia, testified that her husband was employed in the Propaganda Department of the Bolshevik Government.

Trouble started from the moment Miss Bryant, as she is known, took the stand and began answering questions about her religious beliefs and understanding of the nature of an oath.

Manifestations of interest among the spectators grew as she was examined about her participation in woman's party demonstrations, including the attempt to burn President Wilson in effigy before the White House.

Asked About Speech.
She also was asked about the speech she made at a recent Washington meeting that was largely responsible for the committee's new investigation.

As the spectators were being put out, Chairman Overman began to ask the witness about her husband's employment. Miss Bryant's answer brought from Senator Nelson the admonition, "Don't be so impertinent."

A section of the audience applauded again, and the clearing out proceeded more rapidly.

When the room was cleared, Senator King picked up a book written by Miss Bryant, and asked, "Were you a member of the International Revolutionary propaganda with which Boris Reinstein of Buffalo, was associated?"

"Yes," replied the witness.

Miss Bryant said she had a Bolshevik passport when she went to Stockholm from Russia, and admitted she was "a comrade of the Bolsheviks." She explained that "everybody is called comrade."

American as Comrade.
"Would the Bolsheviks call a representative of the American Government comrade," asked Senator Nelson.

"Oh, no," replied the witness, "because Mr. Francis was not popular. They called Mr. Robins (an American Red Cross official) comrade, though he was regarded as a real American, in sympathy with the revolution, and the real representative of America."

The witness stated that she wished to get into the record that the Soviet Government was not responsible for the nationalization of women.

"The anarchists did that and they were shot," said the witness.

Miss Bryant said she went to Russia as a correspondent for a Philadelphia newspaper and that she visited Petrograd and Moscow. She said it was true that she left Russia on a Bolshevik passport as an official courier of the Bolsheviks.

Refers To Y. M. C. A. Head.
The questioning turned back to the nationalization of women, and the witness said Jerome Davis, head of the Y. M. C. A. in Russia, would support her contention. She said Davis had made a statement to this effect in a New York newspaper.

"That's a Socialist paper, isn't it?" asked Senator Nelson.

"Yes," replied Miss Bryant.

Miss Bryant said the propaganda with which her husband had to do was aimed at starting a revolution in Russia.

Questioned about her present knowledge of affairs in Russia, the witness said she obtained her information from the man in charge of the Finnish Information Bureau, a Mr. Nourteva, and also from Mr. Robins in New York. Nourteva had told her, she said, that "if there is any Bolshevik propaganda in the United States I am it."

Miss Bryant said while in Russia she met Miss Beattie Beatty and A. Douche-Fleurat, newspaper correspondents.

Humes Examines Writer.
"Who brought information to Colonel Robins, of the Red Cross?" asked Major Humes.

"You say your husband, Boris Reinstein and Albert R. Williams were engaged in propaganda in Petrograd—"

"Yes, to influence the Germans on the front," interrupted the witness.

"Was part to be accomplished by attacking the United States and President Wilson?"

"No."
"Well, here's a paper which this propaganda got out containing an attack on the United States and President Wilson."

"They had nothing to do with that," the witness said. "My husband can tell you more about it than I can. He is here—why don't you call him?"

Miss Bryant said before signing the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Russians had sent a message to the United States saying they would not sign if they could get help. She said it was not true that the Soviet Government was sympathetic with the Germans, declaring they had been fighting them.

Senator Overman here sent word to the crowd waiting in the corridor outside the committee room that they could return if they would not engage in further demonstrations. Asked as to freedom of the press in Russia, the witness said anybody could write what they pleased under the Bolshevik rule.

"What was the purpose of your meeting in a Washington theater?" asked Senator Overman.

"To protest against intervention in Russia."

"Are you anxious to have the Bolsheviks retain the Government in Russia?" asked Senator Nelson.

"Well," said the witness, "if the people of Russia want Bolshevism they ought to have it."

The Master

July 17, 1919

Resolutions.

At the regular meeting of the Fayette Equal Rights' Association held Tuesday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock in the parlors of the Phoenix Hotel the following resolutions regarding Representative Cantrill's suggestion that the Democratic party at the next General Assembly give women suffrage in primary elections:

"The Fayette Equal Rights' Association heartily endorses Representative Cantrill's recommendation to the Democratic party to extend primary suffrage to women at the next Legislature.

"And it calls on both parties to champion the measure as one step to redeeming their national platform pledges to give women suffrage by state process."

—(o)—

Rummage Sale In March.

The Ladies' Aid Society of the First Baptist Church will have a rummage sale in March. Mrs. J. W. Richardson, chairman of the arrangements, asks every one who can will make con-

JOHN T. SHELBY STILL HOPEFUL
AND AS EVER INSTRUCTIVE.

February 17, 1910.

Editor, Lexington Herald.

Dear Mr. Editor:

In your delightful editorial of Sunday you express your gratitude that I have afforded The Herald an opportunity "to make clear and distinct the issue that it failed to make clear and distinct in its first utterance" on the subject of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. My pleasure would have been enhanced, however, if it were not patent that you had failed to take advantage of this opportunity; for it is plain that The Herald either does not yet see the issue or is darkening the waters, so that it may escape without facing it. Won't you relieve me of the painful necessity of having to accept this alternative?

For, my dear Mr. Editor, the issue is really not whether Senator Beckham is, or is not, consistent in the matter of his voting upon the prohibition amendment, for which he voted, and the woman suffrage amendment, against which he voted; but it is whether The Herald, recognizing that the two are upon the same footing as to wrongfulness of method of bringing about what they respectively seek to accomplish, i. e., by amending the Federal Constitution—and admitting as a matter of principle that the local governmental policies of the States ought not to be controlled in this way, is safely leading public opinion when it advocates the adoption of the suffrage amendment upon the ground that the wrongful passage of the 15th amendment makes it right to bring about woman suffrage by the same unholy means? This is the proposition which you affirm and which I deny and this is the present issue between us.

If you will do me the honor to re-examine my first communication, you will see that my reference to Senator Beckham was not for the purpose of directly illustrating this issue, but of pointing my implied protest against your division of those who opposed the woman suffrage amendment into two classes, viz: those who were such ancient dodderers, lingering superfluous on the stage of affairs as to be incapable of doing much harm or anything else and, therefore, fit only to be placed behind glass doors in a museum and those others who were young and virile enough to work harm by hindering progressive legislation and ought, therefore, to be retired from the positions where they could no longer do so by throwing such rubbish as constitutional limitations under the wheels of progress. As I could not myself hope to be put with the young fellows and disliked exceedingly to have to take my stand with the glass door crowd, I sought to find the possibility of there being a third set, namely, those whose mentality was yet possibly worth while, but who preferring to stand super antiquas vias were unwilling to hasten the movement of even progressive legislation by unconstitutional and ultimately destructive methods. To this end I cited Senator Beckham as an instance of one not old enough to be thought of as a "dodderer," nor yet so youthfully impetuous as to desire to hinder useful legislation by scattering mere rubbish under the wheels of the car of progress.

I am only afraid that I do discredit to the usual astuteness of The Herald by making this labored explanation, and make it only because, in the exercise of my paternal function of chastisement, I only wish to leave nothing undone to cause it to walk in proper paths.

Again, my dear Herald, nothing in this world is perfect, or even always consistent. I could prove even from your own files, and from no source more conclusively, that the democratic party has no occasions in the past, been grievously in error, possibly guilty of crimes of potential magnitude. Now I do not twit you with affiliating with it when, on the whole, it stands for and, in any contest, affords perhaps the only effective means of bringing about what you think best for the country. So I beg of you do not convict Mr. Root and myself—thank you for the association—of condonation of crime in supporting the Republican party at this date when, in another age and under stress of unusual conditions, it committed an atrocious outrage in forcing upon the South the deplorable conditions resulting from the adoption of the 15th Amendment.

Hopefully yours,

JOHN T. SHELBY.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1919.

WAS MR. SHELBY SERIOUS OR MERELY JESTING?

The Herald had the honor of publishing Thursday morning a communication from John T. Shelby, Esq., in which he undertook the task, recognized by him as discouraging, of attempting to keep The Herald straight; that is, straight in accord with his views. The Herald considers it not only an honor but always a pleasure to publish any communication from Mr. Shelby. His English is so pure, his humor so sweet, his wit so brilliant, his culture so broad, that even when The Herald is the object of his verbal castigation it rejoices and revels in the spanking he administers.

The particular cause for the last castigation administered by him with parental affection, and severity, is The Herald's comment on the refusal of the Senate to submit to the legislatures of the state the Susan B. Anthony amendment. With the same professed pain that the father evinces when he administers correction by means of the shaving strap to the unruly youth, Mr. Shelby writes:

"It is a principle held by not a few eminent publicists that it is wholly contrary to the spirit of the compact between the States embodied in the Federal Constitution that the power of amendment which it gives should ever be used for the purpose of enabling one section or one group of States to impose its will upon another in matters of local concern; and it is a commonly accepted doctrine that the question as to what shall be the qualifications of the voters of any State, is one peculiarly within the province of the State itself to determine."

"Indeed, one of our most eminent statesmen, whose views upon constitutional law have always been heard with profound respect, even when not with acquiescence, has declared that if you enable some of the country to coerce other parts of the country in their local affairs by the use of national power, you will destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union."

After quoting from the editorial in The Herald, again Mr. Shelby writes: "Even though one be in favor of conferring suffrage upon women, but believes that, under a correct theory of the Federal Compact, this can be properly done only by the action of the people, not by the legislatures of the respective states, his, or she, is a poor dodderer lingering superfluous on the stage of human affairs, whose only remaining function should be to adorn a glass case for the reverent wonder of the present generation, instead of being free to move about and retard legislation, or if he be young and vigorous, physically and mentally like Senator Beckham, is deserving only of being retired to private life where he can no longer retard legislation and hamper the wheels of progress by interposing such miserable obstructions as Constitutional limitations!"

Reduced to the plain parts of speech in use in newspaper offices, the gravamen of Mr. Shelby's contention is that it would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States to grant to women the right of suffrage by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, ratified by the requisite number of states. As an illustration of the gross injustice of such a method, as a very climax to his kind, but vigorous disapproval of The Herald's position, he writes:

"If any state is there not some reason for the position of those who believe that the qualifications of the voters of a State should be fixed by the State itself, when one considers that under the process of Federal amendment four such States, for example, as Idaho, Utah, Wyoming and New Mexico, would have four times as much power as Kentucky herself in determining who should vote for her judges, sheriffs, Clerks, Justices of the Peace, Constables, etc."

We have a profound reverence for the Constitution. We admit an ignorance of the exact meaning of the Constitution almost as profound as our reverence, an ignorance almost equal to that of the average senator of the United States. We believe the constitution as agreed upon by the Fathers and crystallized into words and phrases, construed by the rules of legitimate construction, gave to any member of the Union the right to secede from the Union. Millions of Americans held that view. Finally by the arbitrament of arms, it was decided that no state had the right to secede; since the surrender at Appomattox, that question of the construction of the Constitution has been settled.

Soon following the surrender at Appomattox, the Congress of the United States submitted to the Legislatures of the states the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the purpose of which was to give to the negro men, bound by the shackles of ignorance though freed from the

shackles of slavery, the right to vote, the equal right to that held by any citizen of America. That constitutional amendment was adopted. For half a century the Republican party which Mr. Shelby honors with his allegiance, has appealed successfully to the negroes of America to support its candidates because the Republican party gave to the negroes the right of suffrage. We do not recall at the moment ever having heard a Republican denounce the action of the Republican party in insuring suffrage to negro men by an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Is it unreasonable to assume that for all time by the decision finally recorded at Appomattox, the right to amend the Federal Constitution to insure equal suffrage was settled by the precedent following the decision at Appomattox? Surely, no one, most assuredly not so far famed and just a man as John T. Shelby, will contend that it was constitutional for the Republican party to force upon the Southern states an amendment giving suffrage to negro men just freed from slavery, and unconstitutional for the Democratic party to submit to the states an amendment the purpose of which is to grant equal suffrage to white women? Is the precedent of the states to be disregarded in the consideration of the limitations imposed by the written constitution adopted one hundred and thirty-two years ago?

The clear import of Mr. Shelby's castigation of The Herald is that the Senators who voted against the Susan B. Anthony amendment were impelled by their intellect and conscience to observe the provisions of the Constitution as construed by them. Is this either true or probable? We have not examined the record of those who voted against the submission of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. But merely in a spirit of inquiry, we respectfully ask Mr. Shelby upon what he bases his supposition that any one of them ever read the Constitution? We do not doubt that there are members of the United States Senate who have read the Constitution of the United States; in fact, we are strongly inclined to believe that there are some who have read it even since their college days. But we should welcome information from Mr. Shelby that would even tend to justify the supposition that their vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment was based upon their intellectual and conscientious construction of that ancient document.

It is but comparatively recently that the Senate of the United States submitted to the Legislatures of the States an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Admitting humbly but frankly the limitations of our understanding, we re-affirm that we are unable to understand the mental process by which a member of the United States Senate who voted for the prohibition amendment and familiar with the precedent set by the Fifteenth Amendment, reached the decision to vote against the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

As the very acme of injustice Mr. Shelby points out that under the Susan B. Anthony amendment "four such states, for example, as Idaho, Utah, Wyoming and New Mexico, would have four times as much power as Kentucky herself in determining who should vote for her judges, sheriffs, clerks, justices of the peace, etc." Granted. Under the prohibition amendment the four states cited by Mr. Shelby have four times as much power as Kentucky herself in determining whether a citizen of Kentucky should be permitted to manufacture or to purchase alcoholic beverages. The Senators who voted for the prohibition amendment made it possible for those states to say to the citizen of Kentucky, "You shall not make nor buy a glass of beer nor a drop of whiskey." Do those Senators and Mr. Shelby think it proper and constitutional to give to those states the right to regulate the personal habits of the men of Kentucky, but impose an unconstitutional to give to the women of Kentucky equal political rights with the men?

Under present conditions there are states which have themselves forbade the manufacture or the sale of intoxicating beverages. When a citizen goes from a state that permits the sale of such beverages to a state which prohibits those sales, he relinquishes the right to purchase them. There are states which give to men and women equal rights. When a man and wife move from an equal suffrage state to a male suffrage state, one of the citizens of the former state is deprived of the right of suffrage. If it is unconstitutional for the requisite three-fourths of all the states to impose their will on the remaining one-fourth in regard to the purchase of intoxicating beverages, is it unconstitutional for three-fourths of the states to impose on all the states equal suffrage that their citizens shall not be deprived of the right state to another?

With all humility, admitting again our ignorance of the Constitution, we nevertheless believe the Constitution of the United States to be an elastic creation pulsating with life, not an inelastic dead body hampering and hindering the development of the nation. Unfamiliar as we are with the Constitution, we recall that in the powers granted to Congress it is provided: "Postoffices; To establish postoffices and postroads." Under

the power granted in that sentence of six words, the United States has built up the greatest postal system in the world. Postmaster General Wanamaker to Burlington have advocated government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines, tracing their authority to that short phrase. Today the Postmaster General and grave and reverend Senators advocate government ownership of cables from this country to all the continents of the world, with no further constitutional authority of which we are aware than is contained in that brief phrase.

Yet it is seriously contended that the Constitution prohibits the submission of an amendment to grant to American citizens equal right of suffrage. And John T. Shelby suggests that the Senators who voted against the amendment are controlled by these views. O tempora! O mores!

Lex. Herald Feb. 19, 1919

Sees Link Between Two Measures

Miss Laura Clay Says Anthony Measure Grants Congress a New Power Never Contemplated by Framers of Constitution, and Without Constitutional Check

Editor The Herald:

Just now there is a division among suffragists on the policy of ratifying the Susan B. Anthony Federal Amendment, some objecting to it on account of its similarity to the Fifteenth Amendment in its invasion of the principle of States Rights. The friends of ratification see in this objection an illogical reference to a likeness which they claim is in the form only of the two amendments, without any real similarity in the effect on public affairs.

Whether States Rights are invaded or not depends upon the definition accepted of that phrase.

The Federal Government is one of strictly enumerated powers. All not granted to the Federal Government are reserved to the several States or to the people. The line of demarcation between the reserved rights of the States and those of the Federal Government was jealously guarded by the framers of the Constitution; and checks were provided to keep the balance between the jurisdiction of the States and that of the Federal Government. The chief check was that each of the dual governments should control the elections for its own officials.

The phrase States' Rights is used somewhat loosely either to refer to the laws as limited by the reserved rights of the States, or to designate what are the reserved rights of the States. In the first sense the Anthony amendment is not an invasion of States' Rights, since it has been legally proposed and if ratified by 36 states legislatures becomes a part of the Constitution by the prescribed method. But in the second sense of the phrase it is an invasion, because it plainly adds to the enumerated powers of the Federal Government one of the rights originally reserved to the States; and one never yielded in the slightest part until in 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment was passed admittedly by military domination and against the consent of the responsible people of the States most affected by it.

There are two sections to the Fifteenth and to the Anthony amendments. The first section of each deals with suffrage, and extends State as well as Federal suffrage to certain classes of persons. Each State could do that for itself, and Federal amendments are not required for that purpose.

The second section of each amendment does what each State cannot do for itself. It grants to Congress a new power never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution and one for which no constitutional check is provided, either in the original Constitution or in these amendments—namely, a right to legislate upon State elections.

When Congress is given power to legislate upon State elections it is virtually granted power to control State legislation according to the interests of the majority of votes in Congress instead of according to the interests of the majority of votes in the several States.

When this new unchecked power was conferred on Congress by the second section of the Fifteenth amendment it applied only to a minor fraction of the people, residing chiefly in a few States. The Force Bill of 1870 was the legislation enacted to carry the new power into operation. It is the province of history to recount what that legislation did. The acknowledged fact is that while it was enacted ostensibly to protect the negro man in his constitutional right to vote, it became quickly an instrument to exploit the States subjected to it for the advantage of the adherents of the party holding the majority in Congress; for the State elections reflected the will and the interests of the majority party in Congress and not the will and the interests of the majority of the people of the States. This is the logical result of the control of elections; and is not all to be attributed to the accident of what party may have ascendancy in Congress. All the history of the world goes to prove that autocratic power will sooner or later act for its own selfish purposes. This will be the re-

sult of autocratic power in Congress, whether it is conferred by the violent passage of the Fifteenth Amendment or by the quiet passage of the Anthony amendment.

Woman suffrage in the Anthony amendment is its minor proposition. It is true that its first section provides for woman suffrage; but when fifteen States have full suffrage already and twenty-five have partial suffrage by State action; when women can vote for 336 out of the 531 presidential electors and every political party of 1916 declared for woman suffrage, a Federal amendment is too late to be prime importance for woman suffrage, whatever it may have been in 1878 when it was first proposed.

The major proposition of the Anthony amendment is in its second section, providing for Federal legislation on State elections in all of the States, and it is cumulative in effect to the second section of the fifteenth amendment.

The second section of the Fifteenth Amendment put in the thin edge of the wedge to transfer one of the reserved rights of the States to the Federal Government. The second section of the Anthony Amendment drives in the wedge still further.

The Fifteenth Amendment affects about one-tenth of the population residing chiefly in a few States. The Anthony Amendment affects one-half of the population, distributed in every State. If white women and the colored races affected by the Fifteenth Amendment were equally distributed in every State it would mean that Congress will have the power to legislate on the electoral rights of 55 per cent of the voters, and only the white men, or 45 per cent of the voters, would be free from the supervision of Congress in the exercise of the rights of voting in State elections.

By this new power without any constitutional checks upon it long steps will be taken to make Congress the most autocratic legislative body in any constitutional government, because for the length of time for which the members are elected it can do what it will; while in other constitutional governments there are checks provided. Those who admire these approaches to a centralized constitutional government, like that of Great Britain, for instance, should bear in mind that though the members of the House of Commons are elected for a term of years they are not secure of retaining their seats a day beyond the time their acts reflect the will of the majority of the people. Parliament is subject to dissolution by constitutional provisions to which there is nothing similar either in our original Constitution or in these second sections of the Fifteenth and Anthony amendments.

The country has had a foretaste of what an autocratic Congress means in the Force Bill of 1870. It is futile to urge that the Force Bill went to extremes on account of the passions engendered by the Civil War. The war had ended five years before the Force Bill was enacted; and every four years in the presidential elections partisan passion is excited enough to induce Congress to pass partisan measures within their power.

The chief effect of the Anthony amendment in conjunction with the Fifteenth Amendment would be to add another to the enumerated powers of the Federal Government, and that without any constitutional check. It is not needed for woman suffrage. All that woman suffrage requires for complete success is for the Republican and Democratic parties to fulfill their pledges given to the people in 1916, and faithfully to submit and sustain at the polls State suffrage amendments.

LAURA CLAY

One Year Ago Today

French captured 2200 prisoners northwest of Soissons.

British captured Roze, an important railway center.

People's Forum

(Contributions to this column expressing the opinions of our subscribers on matters of public interest will be published and appreciated.)

MISS LAURA CLAY EXPOUNDS HER POSITION ON THE ANTHONY AMENDMENT.

Editor of The Herald:

May I extend my remarks on the S. B. Anthony so-called suffrage amendment which appeared in The Herald February 16? My meaning has been so misunderstood by as careful a reader as Mrs. Breckinridge, as shown in her letter of February 22, that I feel some solicitude to make my position clearer upon a subject so generally interesting.

I object to the Anthony amendment, because it incorporates besides woman an suffrage a more extensive political provision, antagonistic to the liberties of the whole people. That other provision is to authorize Federal supervision of state elections.

I pointed out that this provision is expressed in the Fifteenth Amendment; but that by heroic efforts of its opponents, it had never been put into effect, largely because it related to a minor fraction of the people and interested only a few of the states. But when it should apply to women, one-half of the people, found in every voting precinct of every state, it was hopeless to suppose that this provision would be allowed to remain a dead letter. I never supposed the evils of such laws would be felt only if states attempted to deny suffrage to women; but I consider the establishment of Federal supervision of state elections as an instrument of tyranny ready to the hand of any party or group of states which gains the supremacy in Congress and cares to use it.

There is not a representative government on earth which would believe its liberties were secure if a foreign power were permitted to place election officers at its polls. In the same way, there is nothing in our political history or the current course of politics to justify the belief that a group of states or a political party which might hold the supremacy in Congress would always refrain from using such a power to further its own selfish purposes. To induce in such a confidence when we know to what extremes party passion and fanaticism will carry the people at times is to my mind merely to lull ourselves into a delusive somnolence, while it will remain forever true that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The Anthony amendment purposes to right the wrong of denying suffrage to a fraction of the women by taking away a guarantee of liberty from the whole people. For though the Federal supervision of state elections in the two amendments would apply technically only to colored people and white women in practice it would be difficult to keep it from having an effect on white men. I think the ardor of many advocates of the Anthony amendment would cool if they caught the view I have—that Federal supervision is a sword which cuts in all directions; and that it is quite in the range of possibility that the South with its race problem would not be the first or the only section to feel its edge.

I do not think it is a sound contention that because the legality of the Fifteenth Amendment has never been denied by the Supreme Court there is an argument for repeating its false or at least doubtful principle in another amendment. The world would have little ground to complain of injustice anywhere if there were no injustices which did not come within the cognizance of the courts or which the courts did not rectify. This country has never felt the whole force of the Fifteenth Amendment, as Federal supervision has never been put into effect; and yet, after nearly a half century of experience of it, its rightfulness and usefulness are constantly denied by impartial people. If suffragists must have a federal amendment for woman suffrage they should propose one which would accomplish their object without injuring the rights already secured to the people. But as to the Anthony amendment no suffragist has a right to blame Congress for not submitting it when under the cover of suffrage for women it really demands a more extensive political provision which probably never could have obtained even a hearing if it had been presented only on its merits.

Since the declaration of all parties for the principle of woman suffrage in 1916 there is no cause to say the people of the United States are indifferent to the rights of women. After those platforms were adopted a greater number of women have been enfranchised by state action than in all the previous years of agitation. For while the number of states have not been more the population of them is greater. There is no reason to fear that when the electors are appealed to through their proper political leaders every state in the union will respond to a call upon their loyalty to support their platforms. Our own beloved Kentucky is no exception. It is well known that our last legislature could have been won easily to submit a state amendment if the organized suffragists had asked it. But the counsels prevailed of those who wished not to divert any sentiment from the Anthony amendment in the great drive to force it through Congress. Now the Senate, in its wisdom, has defeated that amendment, and the way is clear for action along the state lines indicated by the people through their delegates.

to the national Republican and Democratic conventions of 1916. Will Mrs. Breckinridge unswervingly use her great abilities and wide influence to secure from the incoming legislature the submission of a state suffrage amendment and give the people of Kentucky an opportunity to decide this question for themselves?

Laura Clay.

February 24, 1919.

the exercise of its powers would be the gradual absorption of the powers of the States until they should ultimately be merged into a strong, central organization, to the destruction of the right of local self-government. Do you think for a moment that this opposition would have been overcome had it been supposed that any Congress in the future would dare to submit to the legislatures of the States an amendment of the national organic law designed to control the personal habits of the citizens of the States or to deprive a State of the power to regulate the qualifications of the voters who were to choose its own officials? And, therefore, was not Mr. Root right when he declared that the exercise of the power of amendment for the purpose of enabling one group of States to impose their will upon others in matters of local right and concern would "destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union?"

It is not true to say that whatever may be legally done may be rightfully done. There is a distinction between legal power and moral right; and it is not right that three-fourths of her sister States should deprive, say Virginia, where Patrick Henry made his great fight, of the power to control her own domestic affairs by a forcible change in the essential character of the national government which she helped to form.

2. If the foregoing principles be sound, then it follows that the 15th Amendment conferring the right of suffrage upon the negro was wrong. It was necessary that, sooner or later, the ballot should be conferred upon the negro, but to do it at the time, under the conditions and in the way in which it was done was a political crime of the first magnitude, and I am sure you will find many Republicans and many negroes who assent to this view. Indeed, so late as June 27, 1918, in his speech in the Senate on the Anthony Amendment, Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut, speaks of the State's control of the ballot having been denied only once, "in the case of the negro, and then disastrously."

4. It is a matter of surprise, indeed, of paternal sorrow, that The Herald, not denying that such an exercise of the power of amendment as the Federal Constitution is in itself wrong, should justify it in the case of the Woman Suffrage Amendment by the fact that twice before—in the case of the negro amendment and in that of the prohibition amendment—the same outrage was committed; in other words, should urge that the commission of two wrongs extenuates, instead of aggravates, the perpetration of a third of like character. May I not indulge the hope that a bit of fatherly chastisement, administered "more in sorrow than in anger," may help in the cure of this—shall I say mental or moral—aberration, so that you will not again ask, as you do in the caption of your editorial of today, Was Mr. Shelby serious or merely jesting?

Very respectfully,

JOHN T. SHELBY.

THOUGH ADMITTING VERITY OF HERALD'S CONTENTION, MR. SHELBY INDULGES IN PARENTAL CORRECTION.

Lexington, Ky., Feb. 14, 1919.

Dear Mr. Editor:

I have so thoroughly enjoyed The Herald's editorial of this morning on the Susan B. Anthony amendment and there is so much of it that with slight modification of its application is sound that it seems ungracious for me to appear again in the role of critic. My interest, however, in The Herald's partures so largely of the nature of a family affection that I do not like to contemplate the risk that even slight errors might have the same effect upon it as the dead flies had upon the "ointment of the apothecary." (See Ex. 1013.)

1. You are absolutely correct in your position that the prohibition amendment and the woman suffrage amendment stand exactly upon the same footing as to the propriety of their incorporation into the Federal Constitution. The former is a bold and, unfortunately, a successful attempt to insert in the organic law of the Nation what is a police regulation and thereby to control the habits and customs of the citizens of sovereign States, while the latter is a most unjustifiable effort to interfere with the right of a State to prescribe the qualifications of the voters who are to choose the officials to manage its affairs. Please note that one may hold this view and at the same time be in favor of both prohibition and woman suffrage as governmental policies.

2. You say that the gravamen of my contention is that it would be "unconstitutional" for three-fourths of the States by the exercise of the power of amendment to impose on other States equal suffrage for men and women, and ask whether those who are opposed to the Susan B. Anthony amendment think it proper and constitutional to allow a certain number of States to regulate, through the prohibition amendment, the personal habits of the men of Kentucky, but improper and unconstitutional to give to the women equal political rights with the men. You have unfortunately mistaken my meaning, for it is clearly not the gravamen of my contention that either of these amendments is "unconstitutional" in the sense of being without legal authority or beyond the legal power of adoption. But it must be said that both are utterly opposed to the spirit of the Constitution and violative of the implied understanding between the States upon the faith of which they ratified the work of the convention of 1787. There is no limitation expressly imposed by the Constitution upon the power of amendment. Perhaps it would have been impracticable to do this. Beyond a peradventure, however, it was understood that its object was to organize, not a consolidated republic, but a federal republic of sovereign States under which matters of local and domestic concern were left in the exclusive control of the constituent sovereignties.

You will recall the bitter fight that was made against its adoption in some of the States by a group of brilliant men, the most conspicuous of whom was probably Patrick Henry, upon the ground that the result of