

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Febr. 26th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am writing to say that I go to Louisville March 10th to attend our State convention, of which I send you an announcement. Therefore, I want to hear from you about the action of the Southern Conference Board. I have written an article for the paper, in which I spoke fully of my objections to the Anthony Amendment; and I have stated to my friends that I would oppose that amendment all the time. Now as our convention comes on, I feel the necessity of having something very definite to offer instead. Please answer these questions fully.

(1) What is the exact amendment the Southern Conference has worded as it desires?

(2) Are you willing that I should advocate amending the 14th amendment as I indicated, by striking out the word "male" wherever it occurs?

In some conversations, that suggestion has been well received. But I think unanimity adds to our strength, so I am not bound to advocate that instead of what the Southern Conference Board may suggest. But if you think it consistent with your plans, please let me know if you are willing to suggest my proposition also as a possible substitute for the Anthony Amendment.

I enclose some clippings which may interest you.

My regards to your sisters.

Hoping to hear from you promptly, I am

Very cordially yours,

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Febr. 21st, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have your letter of the 18th, which I judge you wrote after receiving my telegram, but before you got my letter.

I am sorry you feel blue about the situation. I ~~am~~^{doubt} whether anything can be carried out this session; and if the N.A.W.S.A. has been made to accept anything except the Anthony amendment I consider that a gain of the first importance. The spell that has bound the Asso. to that amendment, if once broken, will allow more reasonable measures to take its place.

I wish I could have a conversation with you on all this great subject. I am glad you say why you object to the amendment of the 14th Amendment. It is a point I have not considered as deeply as you have; and it might be that if I saw in full force what you see, I might change my view.

My objection to the amendment you propose in your letter to Gamble is; 1st. I still believe that the United States Election Bill is constitutional; therefore the pressure brought to make states give women the right to vote for Senators and Representatives might be arrived at in a simpler way, without the delay of passing and ratifying an amendment, if all suffragists would take it up. Otherwise I consider it hopeless. ~~And~~ presidential suffrage is so easily gotten by the present method that it does not add much to the importance of the proposed amendment. 2nd. I do not believe the suffragists generally would be willing to do all the work for a Federal Amendment when it did not in a greater degree relieve them of the labor of getting State suffrage.

My mind is open to conviction about the rightfulness of recognizing the 14th Amendment by amending it. But I want to say this by way of advocating that policy. 1st. A reconstruction amendment was an imperative necessity. Neither nor the constitution ~~and~~ the Supreme Court had ever defined what constituted a citizen of the United States, or his privileges. The

celebrated Dred Scott decision in 1857 declared that the negro could not be a citizen of the U.S., whether born free or not. After the war, it was impossible to let such a decision stand. Other provisions, also, were demanded by the exigencies of the situation, which was reconstruction after a revolution. Was it not the result of too obstinate a resistance on the part of the reconstructed states which caused the overthrow of the reconstructed constitutions and the inauguration of the military rule? 2nd . An amendment, throwing out the most objectionable feature, would in effect make it a new amendment, and one which the southern states might with self-respect accede to. Too large a portion of our national history has been made since that era to hope entirely to deny its legality. 3rd. It would leave the qualifications for suffrage entirely untouched, throwing upon the states themselves the responsibility of accepting a disability if they preferred not to have suffrage universal. This amendment might never be ratified, but as I said in my previous letter, the very fact that there was a possibility of its ratification would make every state hasten to make state constitutional amendments; The politicians would do this; and the great argument that arduous campaigns were demanded of the women would be silenced.

In the meanwhile, keep up your courage. Nothing is lost yet; much has been gained by forcing something besides the Anthony Amendment upon the attention of suffragists and politicians.

Write to me again very soon, please. I have no one to discuss these things with; and yet I feel that the Southern Conference now has a possibility of turning public opinion in a very important way, if we are vigilant.

My regards to your sisters

Very cordially yours,

JEAN M. GORDON, President
MRS. W. A. GORDON

Phone Main 5001

FANNIE R. GORDON
KATE M. GORDON

JEAN M. GORDON & CO.
MANUFACTURERS' AGENTS

508 MAGAZINE STREET

Big port mark *Febr. 18, 1919,*
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am hurrying off these few lines to tell you that I have just heard that Gamble's Amendment is to be offered to the Committee and will be accepted. The whole thing is in my mind unconstitutional and certainly defies the 15th Amendment. Gay certainly goes back on his promises but I believe it is solely to keep the Republicans from getting the credit of submitting.

Now my one hope is that the Republicans will refuse to accept this Amendment as they certainly ought to do for it is a discrimination against the negro woman and I feel that while I would have no feeling in giving white women their suffrage while negro women did not get it I hate to see the negro woman kept inferior to the negro man which this thing tries to do.

Now about our amendment. I did not act on your suggestion to preferably amend the 14th Amendment — 1st because I do not regard the 14th Amendment as having been legally ratified. 2nd, because I did not want ~~xxxxxx~~ to have the war amendments brought into the discussion at all.

I am inclosing my reply to Gamble which I will ask the papers to publish. I have been bluer about this stage of the amendment than at any time for I counted on the South defeating any Federal suffrage but this subterfuge will probably be ratified as a Democratic Party Measure. It is certainly a sacrifice of Democratic Party Principle.

Affectionately,

Maie H. Gordon

WESTERN UNION

Form 2

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TELEGRAM

THEO. N. VAIL, PRESIDENT

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 18

1919

To *Mrs Kate M. Gordon,*
508 Magazine Street New Orleans, Louisiana.

*I go to Planters Hotel, arriving Sunday, or
sooner if you wish.*

Louisa Clay,

189 North Mills St,

Seymour,

Ky.

JEAN M. GORDON, President
MRS. W. A. GORDON

Phone Main 5001

FANNIE R. GORDON
KATE M. GORDON

JEAN M. GORDON & CO.
MANUFACTURERS' AGENTS

508 MAGAZINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Feb 12, 1919
February 12, 1919

Feb 12, 1919
My dear Miss Clay:

Congratulations that for the present the menace of the Federal Suffrage Amendmnet is postponed. Now we ought to get busy and see if before the next Congress convenes we could not get some agitation that will be effective. Gamble comes out this morning with the proposition that the Suffragists take out the enforcement clause but which ~~xxxxxxx~~ you disagreed with me would be a good move.

Now I see your view point but I realize that there has to be something done to shake up the southern states to act and I believe before the Republicans are in control is the time for action. Now it occurs to me that we have a very good bludgeon if all the suffrage associations, National, Woman's Party and Southern Conference would unite on an amendment to make the basis of representation ~~which makes xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx disqualifi-
cations~~ in any state which makes sex a disqualification, correspond to the numerical strength of the male population of such state. It would take the objectionable feature of the 14th amendment out of the discussion, which is designed to protect a distinct class. Any state that objected to enfranchise its women would pay a self imposed penalty for the privilege and I believe as it is a case of hurting practical politicians while endangering any section that did not respond we have the form of coercion needed without the dangers of a federal ^{suffrage} amendment. If you think well of the suggestion let me have a reply, preferably by telegram and I will submit to the Officers of the Southern Conference. I am inclosing Mrs. Harper's last letter.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Febr. 17th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I hope you received my telegram promptly on Saturday, telling you I agreed with your proposition to take up a new amendment for national work. While your ^{letter} does not say so definitely, I understand that you mean practically striking out the word "male" wherever it occurs in section two of Amendment fourteen. Even if you propose a separate amendment it means the same thing. I want to tell you how very thoroughly I endorse this suggestion. It gives me new vigor in suffrage work. If you can induce the N.A.W.S.A. to drop the Anthony Amendment and work on this, you will confer an inestimable help on the suffrage cause. It does not interfere with States Rights; it does not involve any other political issue except suffrage; it is a way of helping state suffrage campaigns, whether it finally passes or not. For it is evident if we could get this amendment as near passage as the Anthony amend. seemed, every state would hasten to pass state amendments lest it be caught and forced to give up half its representation until it did do so. Now that Mrs. Catt says the states need no longer look to the National for financial help, and she still intends to keep up expensive headquarters and lobbying force in Washington, it is extremely important that the work in Washington should help work in states, rather than paralyzing it, as I have found waiting for the Anthony amendment has done.

I know that the early suffragists tried to have the word "male" left out of the 14th amendment, seeing that it would force states to give suffrage to women. Could you not make an appeal even in Miss Anthony's name that her earlier efforts should now be renewed, since the amendment bearing her name no longer meets the situation, seeing there are 15 states which would derive no benefit from it, but would be required to

give up their control of their state elections? One of my reasons for objecting to the Anthony amendment with the enacting clause left out is, that I have been informed, that the Supreme Court has decided that Congress has power to enforce every provision of the Constitution whether or not an express power to do so is stated or not. Therefore leaving out the enacting clause would be of no real benefit or protection.

I want you at once to let me know when the Southern Conference accepts your idea, as I do not doubt it will. For as I have definitely decided that I will not in the future even keep silent about my opposition to the Anthony Amendment I feel that we greatly need some feasible substitute for it. Your suggestion fills the need. In the meanwhile, I am enclosing a clipping giving Cantrill's views on primary suffrage. The KY.E.R.A. has been advised by the National to adopt this advise, and if we find it is constitutional in Ky., I presume we will do so. Our State convention comes about the middle of March, having been deferred on account of 'flu, and difficulties of getting speakers.

This new suggestion is one I am not willing to allow to drop, even if it is not immediately taken up by the National. I hope you are making your plans to go to the N.A.W.S.A. convention in St. Louis in March, prepared to have favorable action taken there.

I am returning Mrs. Harper's letter, with thanks for the opportunity to read it. She never seems to see that Federal supervision of state elections might prove a weapon of some other section using compulsion on the north. If the advocates of it could understand that it is a sword which cuts in all directions they would lose some of their enthusiasm for it.

My regards to your sisters. Let me hear from you soon again. How did your injunction about the election turn out?

Very cordially yours,

WESTERN UNION

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TELEGRAM

THEO. N. VAIL, PRESIDENT

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Febr. 15th, 1919.

191

To Miss Kate M. Gordon,

508 Magazine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Yes; preferably by striking out word male in section two of
Fourteenth ~~Amendment~~ amendment.

Laura Clay, 189 N. Mill Street,

Lexington, Ky.

189 N. Mill , Lexington, Ky.

March 17th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am writing to say that I could not get a room at the Statler, and have just received a telegram that they have secured me a room at the Planters. I am so glad you are going to the convention. Our State convention voted to wait till the National decided whether or not they wished Ky. to have a state amendment submitted next legislature. The Louisville a Asso. is completely under the influence of the National, and had the majority of delegates in the convention. This vote was in opposition to the wishes of Mrs. Breckinridge, who was practically chosen president unanimously. They are willing to have a state amendment submitted, if the National does not object! So we shall not know for two weeks. And now we have had a serious auto accident, in which Mrs. Breckinridge was badly bruised. I doubt whether she will be able to go to the convention; and she is so frail it may interfere with her work as the president. I do so much wish to have your counsel and support at this time. I shall hope to see a great deal of you even if we are not at the same hotel. We had three candidates for Governor address our convention; and all promise to support suffrage, and I am afraid they mean the Anthony amendment. Cantrell also addressed the convention, and says the Federal amendment will go through next Congress. However, the convention laid on the table has proposition about primary suffrage. They were not willing to line up the women on party lines, and Ky. is nearly evenly divided, and we thought it would give the politicians an advantage over us. It is so dark I am not sure of my spelling; but I must get this off at once.

My regards to your sisters.

Very cordially yours,

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

MRS. O. F. ELLINGTON, Rec. Sec'y,
721 W. Morkham St., Little Rock, Ark.

MARIE LOUISE COLLENS, Co. Sec'y,
1309 Berlin St., New Orleans, La.

MRS. H. B. BARTLETT, Treasurer,
155 Audubon Boulevard, New Orleans, La.

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
419 Camp Street, New Orleans, La.

KATE M. GORDON, President,
1800 Prytania Street, New Orleans, La.

LAURA CLAY, Vice-President at Large,
Lexington, Ky.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS

MRS. JAS. M. McCORMACK,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. W. M. STONER, 2d Auditor,
1538 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

March 3, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

Well I breathe easy I see that miserable Gamble -Gay amendment a and Jones8 equally useless one has gone to sleep. Now the point I hope I may be able to accomplish is two-fold: 1st. to convince the suffragists that since the democrats have been placed at a political disadvantage by the suffragists (who are to my mind rank republicans) they have nothing to lose and will in all probability defeat as they can ^{see the merits down of} ratification; 2nd. to make the republicans as a party repeating the error of the other amendment dealing with national suffrage. If I can make them see through some of our leading republican men in the south (and I know some very influential ones) the wisdom of not opening the race issue in the south, the opportunity for a white republican party may be built up. The Amendment dealing only with the representation in Congress will accomplish results without any of the bitterness and without the sacrifice of the great state right principle.

No, I do not think simply striking out the word male from the 14th Amendment would achieve as easily results, for it would dictate to the state who should vote for the legislature and judicial officers. ~~xxxxxxx~~ The cutting down of representation is in the 14th based upon the vote, and that is the rub in my amendment it is based upon the total population of the female population and applies only to United States elections. If submitted it would achieve woman suffrage and leave less acrimony and with ~~less~~ no sacrifice of principle for the State is absolutely free to define under it any qualifications so long as they are applied to both men and women. It does place the United States in a position to maintain a standard by which its government "may ~~depend~~ be tried and not found wanting" in the application of our basic principles of Consent and Representation and yet maintains the other basic principle of the sovereignty of the state.

I feel that if we touch the 14th Amendment we will inject the race issue and the psychological effect would be bad. Negro men would feel that they were to be robbed of something in the way of protection which in reality they have never had. I do not know whether I sent you this editorial from the States, you see at once they recognize that this would give woman suffrage and are willing to take chances on the ratification of the Federal Amendment if submitted. They are robbed of this opportunity ~~with~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~paying~~ of defeating woman suffrage with this "Representation Amendment" unless they pay for the piper and have their representation cut down.

Now about the National Convention. I do not know whether without notification they have dropped the Louisiana State Suffrage Ass'n from their rolls. We have had no communications of any kind for the last eight months altho I know of ~~xxx~~ communications sent the Womah's Party. That of course would cut me out of a vote. but that is a small matter, if I can have the privileges of the floor which I suppose my Life Membership grants me. However I have seen such unfair things done I hate to subject myself to it.

However I have written to the Statler Hotel to reserve me a room near you or Mrs. Boyer. If you should be going to another hotel let me know as I prefer to be ith you.

All the Southern Conference Officers are in favor of the amendment except Mrs. McCormack of Memphis and Mrs Ellington of Arkansas now living in Dallas, Texas, neither of whom have replied to my letter. Did I write you that both Dr. Bruns and Don Caffery indorse the amendment.

Relative to the election suit. Mr. Caffery found a technicality that would require the Governor to order the Attorney General to proceed to open the boxes. Jean saw the Governor and he is afraid of disturbing the tax amendments. It is waiting now on the Governor. We are in hopes that the failure of the Gamble Amendment and the surety that woman suffrage will be submitted by the republicans will influence the situation.

I do not see why you should not push the U.S. Elections Bill. The Southern Conference will give its support. I believe we should ~~go~~ charge on every line possible compatible with principle. Did you note in Mrs. Catt's speech to Congress she states why the National rejects the state method. Was there ever any amendment to the constitution for such rejection?

Cordially

Kate M. Gordon.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

MRS. O. F. ELLINGTON, Rec. Sec'y,
721 W. Morkham St., Little Rock, Ark.

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MRS. W. M. STONER, 2d Auditor,
1538 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

March 14, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

I have just sent off the inclosed request for a short conference with the National Board for you and me. I do not see how they can well refuse it but Mrs. Catt is so intolerant it may be she will not consent, Anyhow I think it is a good policy to put her on record.

Of course you have seen the move of the Liquor people on the part of Rhode Island in what is termed the Eaton Resolution. If the point of attack was not against prohibition, I would rejoice as I do think the tendency to achieve reform of every kind thro National Amendments does strike at the safety of the State Right Principle, and which seems to me to be the the sole safeguard against the fate of Germany.

I hope you will not think it presumptuous to have made this appointment without asking for your consent. I simply hope to get them not to attack the representation amendment. It is almost beyond hope to have them indorse it.

I will leave here for St. Louis next Saturday the 22, and will be in St. Louis about noon Sunday. Mrs. Boyer also arrives Sunday and we can all have a nice little conference before we see the other delegates. Of course if the National accords the conference and appoints an earlier time I will wire you and ask you to meet me earlier. Are you going to the Statler? I have reserved a room there but if you are to any other hotel I would rather be where we could be together.

Cordially
Kate M. Gordon.

BOND
HAWNEBWITT

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

April 26th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have been delayed in receiving your letter of Apr. 19th because I have been a few days in Richmond, Ky. Now I will answer it in paragraphs.

THE KENTUCKY SITUATION. I put this first, because I want your immediate advice and assistance. On Sunday before we left St. Louis Mrs. Breckinridge, and other Ky. delegates, including myself, saw the National Board, and laid the Ky. situation before them. Mrs. B. asked their moral and financial support for a state referendum. Mrs. Catt expressed reluctance to a state referendum, but after discussion, Miss Hay moved that the National promise support to any measure the Executive board of Ky. undertook. With this promise, we held a Board meeting in Louisville Monday morning. Though I am no longer on the Board, as you will see explained in a clipping I enclose, I have a right as ex-pres. to sit at the meetings and have a voice, but no vote. We hoped the Louisville members, who are in a majority, would now consent to a state referendum. You will see by the clipping that the state convention expected the final conclusion to be submitted to the local branches, though the resolution adopted does not embody that expectation. But the appearances are that the opposition will simply refuse to carry the matter before the local branches, and hold all work for a referendum back until the called session of the Congress passes an amendment or adjourns. This delay would be fatal to my plan of having both parties endorse a state referendum, and thereby carry the burden of the campaign themselves. Therefore, as you will see by the clipping, I am thrown back to work the best way I can to go before these party conventions and claim the fulfillment of their National platform promises. I have said distinctly to my friends that I intended to join any effort possible to do this, if the Ky. E. R. A. did not do so. As far as I understand, it is the purpose of the Board to ask for support of Presidential suffrage and a Federal Amendment, but to hold the State amendment in abeyance. Now I have been reflecting how I could go about acting independently of that Board. For me and my friends to appear simply as a committee, without any organized body back of us might prove a position too weak to do any good. But while talking it over with Mrs. Bennett, it occurred to me that I might act as vice-president of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference; this would give the background needed. Also, I think it would have a healthy effect as showing that there is an organized body which stands for the state route. What do you think of our Conference taking as its official ground that it will claim the promises of the two great parties? And that in the course of official procedure, you will write to members in the several states where the situation justifies it, asking them to bring this matter before the party conventions? If this appeals to you, then you could write me a letter officially to that effect. However, if you do not think it best to speak officially in Ky. or the other States, I see no reason why I should not act as vice-president, with the aid of a committee who desire the fulfillment of the Platform pledges. My idea is by no means to withdraw either from the State E. R. A. or the N. A. W. S. A.; but to assert my liberty as a citizen to claim those pledges. My idea is, to collect in the short time I have to act, a number of friends who will sign cards as members of the Conference as a local branch. I am so desirous to get this letter off that I cannot spare the time to look up the Conference constitution. Can we form a local, which will pay dues, say of five dollars or so, as a branch, without the individuals paying dues separately? That is a method which is customary in our E. R. A. and would be far less difficult in the short time before us than collecting individual dues. The Republican Convention meets in Lexington May 14th for one day's sitting. So the time is short. Will you please give this matter your immediate and careful

2.

consideration, and write to me promptly. Any suggestions would be gratefully received. I have an abundance of membership cards; but if you have our constitution, especially a local constitution, I shall be glad to have it. Mrs. Bennett says she is going to write to you herself; and also that she will come as a delegate from Richmond, so we can have at least two counties represented.

Congressional WORK.

I am going to follow your lead in the Federal Amendment work, as I am sure you will regard the States Rights doctrine; and you are well fitted in every respect to carry it on. I am only going to try to help you in every way I can. I can transfer the promise of five hundred dollars I made to the Louisiana work and place it for this work instead. So I am enclosing an installment of one hundred dollars, to be used at your discretion; and as soon as you formulate your plans, you can call upon me for any portion of the pledge you desire.

As suggestions only, I say again I think your Federal Amendment would be more popular if it made Presidential, Congressional and Senatorial suffrage obligatory, and did not merely put pressure upon the states to grant it.

For your information, I think from several things I have heard, that the N.A.W.S.A. intends to bring in the S.B. Anthony amendment shorn of its enforcing clause; which once you suggested yourself. I find that leaving it off will prevent Congress passing legislation interfering with state elections; and therefore will be much less offensive than the present form. The courts, however, can force states in state elections when cases come before ~~them~~ them. Therefore, it will be a serious invasion of state rights.

Again, I have thought if your amendment does indeed, as Mrs. Catt feared, draw enough votes away to make its passage impossible, then perhaps the National will itself introduce a more moderate amendment. It seems to me that the United States Elections bill would be the best solution of the problem, and I believe it could be carried if the National supported it. I wish you would read the article in the Woman Citizen of April 12, called Are Woman People? It seems to me that in it the National seems to be looking around for some other measure; and if the suggestion comes from some of their New York women, they may yet study the merits of the U.S. Elections bill. Therefore, I advise you also not to forget it. When you call the attention of your friends to it be sure to make them read Mr. Miner's article in the Arena. To many it will seem stronger than mine, if for no other reason than that he was a practicing lawyer. If you study it, be very careful not to be led off into Mrs. Colby's error of providing qualifications; but stick firmly to the position of Mr. Miner that states are to furnish qualifications, but that sex cannot be made one, as people are unalterably composed of men and women.

Your Louisiana /LEGISLATURE. If you do have a called session I would by all means ask for presidential suffrage. The fact that it is derived from the U.S. Constitution, and that State constitutions cannot deprive legislatures of the right of granting it has now been established by so many states that even Louisianan lawyers must concede it.

THE RACIAL GROUPING. In order to make my point quite clear there, I will say that I would dwell on the fact that the European nations are making racial groupings a fundamental principle. When the men have the right conferred upon them by the 15th Amendment of "exemption from discrimination" on account of race

on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude", they practically have the vote conferred upon them by Federal enactment, and not like white men, by state gift. Therefore, when they have a cause of complaint about any election they have immediate recourse to United States ~~xxx~~ courts and laws instead of to state courts and laws, to which white men must go unless the election is of Federal officers. This draws a political line between white men and colored peoples, whether negroes, Japs, Chinese or what not. Now if women are enfranchised by that same method, ~~they~~ they are by the same means grouped politically with colored peoples instead of with white men. This may be all suitable for colored women; but it is antagonistic to the principle of race determination in the case of white women; and while any consequences ~~at~~ at all may seem far-fetched to persons unacquainted with the workings of a law, there are very real consequences ~~at~~ which may follow such a grouping. For every one at all experienced in law, knows that sometimes the most unexpected effect is a consequence of a law. This argument does not apply to Federal Amendment for Federal Elections; for all persons have already recourse to Federal Courts and Federal laws for protection in all cases of Federal elections.

Please give my regards to your sisters. I am sorry to hear of Miss Jean's sickness.

Hoping to hear from you speedily, I am
Very cordially yours,

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
April 26th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have been delayed in receiving your letter of Apr. 19th because I have been a few days in Richmond, Ky. Now I will answer it in paragraphs.

THE KENTUCKY SITUATION. I put this first, because I want your immediate advice and assistance. On Sunday before we left St. Louis Mrs. Breckinridge, and other Ky. delegates, including myself, saw the National Board, and laid the Ky. situation before them. Mrs. B. asked their moral and financial support for a state referendum. Mrs. Catt expressed reluctance to a state referendum, but after discussion, Miss Hay moved that the National promised support to any measure the Executive board of Ky. undertook. With this promise, we held a Board meeting in Louisville Monday morning. Though I am no longer on the Board, as you will see explained in a clipping I enclose, I have a right as ^{you} ex-pres. to sit at the meetings and have a voice, but no vote. We hoped the Louisville members, who are in a majority, would now consent to a state referendum. You will see by the clipping that the state convention expected the final conclusion to be submitted to the local branches, though the resolution adopted does not embody that expectation. But the appearances are that the opposition will simply refuse to carry the matter before the local branches, and hold all work for a referendum back until the called session of the Congress passes an amendment or adjourns. This delay would be fatal to my plan of having both parties endorse a state referendum, and thereby carry the burden of the campaign themselves. Therefore, as you will see by the clipping, I am thrown back to work ^{the} the best way I can to go before these party conventions and claim the fulfillment of their National platform promises. I have said distinctly to my friends that I intended to join any effort possible to do this, if the Ky. E. R. A. did not do so. As far as I understand, it is the purpose of the Board to ask for support of Presidential suffrage and a Federal Amendment, but to hold the State amendment in abeyance. Now I have been reflecting how I could go about acting independently of that Board. For me and my friends to appear simply as a committee, without any organized body back of us might prove a position too weak to do any good. But while talking it over with Mrs. Bennett, it occurred to me that I might act as vice-president of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference; this would give the background needed. Also, I think it would have a healthy effect as showing that there is an organized body which stands for the state route. What do you think of our Conference taking as its official ground that it will claim the promises of the two great parties? And that in the course of official procedure, you will write to members in the several states where the situation justifies it, asking them to bring this matter before the party conventions? If this appeals to you, ^{then} you could write me a letter officially to that effect. However, if you do not think it best to speak officially in Ky. or the other States, I see no reason why I should not act as vice-president, with the aid of a committee who desire the fulfillment of the Platform pledges. My idea is by no means to withdraw either from the State E. R. A. or the N. A. W. S. A.; but to assert my liberty as a citizen to claim those pledges. My idea is, to collect in the short time I have to act, a number of friends who will sign cards as members of the Conference as a local branch. I am so desirous to get this letter off that I cannot spare the time to look up the Conference constitution. Can we form a local, which will pay dues, say of five dollars or so, as a branch, without the individuals ^{paying} dues separately? That is a method which is customary in our E. R. A. and would be far less difficult in the short time before us than collecting individual dues. The Republican Convention meets in Lexington May 15th for one day's sitting. So the time is short. Will you please give this matter your immediate and careful

2.

consideration, and write to me promptly. Any suggestions would be gratefully received. I have an abundance of membership cards; but if you have our constitution, especially a local constitution, I shall be glad to have it. Mrs. Bennett says she is going to write to you herself; and also that she will come as a delegate from Richmond, so we can have at least two counties represented.

Congressional WORK.

I am going to follow your lead in the Federal Amendment work, as I am sure you will regard the States Rights doctrine; and you are well fitted in every respect to carry it on. I am only going to try to help you in every way I can. I can transfer the promise of five hundred dollars I made to the Louisiana work and place it for this work instead. So I am enclosing an installment of one hundred dollars, to be used at your discretion; and as soon as you formulate your plans, you can call upon me for any portion of the pledge you desire.

As suggestions only, I say again I think your Federal Amendment would be more popular if it made Presidential, Congressional and Senatorial suffrage obligatory, and did not merely put pressure upon the states to grant it.

For your information, I think from several things I have heard, that the N.A.W.S.A. intends to bring in the S.B. Anthony amendment shorn of its enforcing clause; which once you suggested yourself. I find that leaving it off will prevent Congress passing legislation interfering with state elections; and therefore will be much less offensive than the present form. The courts, however, can force states in state elections when cases come before them. Therefore, it will be a serious invasion of state rights.

Again, I have thought if your amendment does indeed, as Mrs. Catt feared, draw enough votes away to make its passage impossible, then perhaps the National will itself introduce a more moderate amendment. It seems to me that the United States Elections bill would be the best solution of the problem, and I believe it could be carried if the National supported it. I wish you would read the article in the Woman Citizen of April 12, called Are Woman People? It seems to me that in it the National seems to be looking around for some other measure; and if the suggestion comes from some of their New York women, they may yet study the merits of the U.S. Elections bill. Therefore, I advise you also not to forget it. Then you call the attention of your friends to it be sure to make them read Mr. Miner's article in the Arena. To many it will seem stronger than mine, if for no other reason than that he was a practicing lawyer. If you study it, be very careful not to be led off into Mrs. Colby's error of providing qualifications; but stick firmly to the position of Mr. Miner that states are to furnish qualifications, but that sex cannot be made one, as people are unalterably composed of men and women.

Your Louisiana /LEGISLATURE. If you do have a called session I would by all means ask for presidential suffrage. The fact that it is derived from the U.S. Constitution, and that State constitutions cannot deprive legislatures of the right of granting it has now been established by so many states that even Louisiana lawyers must concede it.

THE RACIAL GROUPING. In order to make my point quite clear there, I will say that I would dwell on the fact that the European nations are making racial groupings a fundamental principle. When the men have the right conferred upon them by the 15th Amendment of "exemption from discrimination" on account of race

on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude", they practically have the vote conferred upon them by Federal enactment, and not like white men, by state gift. Therefore, when they have a cause of complaint about any election they have immediate recourse to United States ~~xxx~~ courts and laws instead of to state courts and laws, to which white men must go unless the election is of Federal officers. This draws a political line between white men and colored peoples, whether negroes, Japs, Chinese or what not. Now if women are enfranchised by that same method, ~~they~~ they are by the same means grouped politically with colored peoples instead of with white men. This may be all suitable for colored women; but it is antagonistic to the principle of race determination in the case of white women; and while any consequences ~~at~~ at all may seem far-fetched to persons unacquainted with the workings of a law, there are very real consequences ~~at~~ which may follow such a grouping. For every one at all experienced in law, knows that sometimes the most unexpected effect is a consequence of a law. This argument does not apply to Federal Amendment for Federal Elections; for all persons have already recourse to Federal Courts and Federal laws for protection in all cases of Federal elections.

Please give my regards to your sisters. I am sorry to hear of Miss Jean's sickness.

Hoping to hear from you speedily, I am
Very cordially yours,

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

April 19, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

Jan has been sick and I have had to lay aside every activity and give attention to business. I have however been watching and planning for the move we shall make on Congress.

I inclose some clippings which show at least that the Business interests are being roused. I am writing to Kirby to see if he will join us in contributing to a campaign fund to fight the Federal Amendment (stand corrected S.B.A. Amendment).

I have not been able to see either Wolff or Caffery on your ~~xxxxxxx~~ point that sex is not a qualification. I did see Mr. Farrar on my amendment as I knew his opinion would have tremendous weight in the community as well as in any legal circle in the United States. He authorized me to quote him as saying "that in his opinion it was so fair a proposition that it would not be accepted." Now this is what I am planning to bring about. To send my letter to every member of Congress and to appeal to both democrats and republicans to lay aside partisanship. To the republicans I am going to appeal that they not repeat the error of the seventies. I think that is our trump card. The party is so anxious to get a standing in the South. I will try and arrange plans for a hearing before both the suffrage committees and will go to Washington for the purpose. I will try and get some woman in each of the southern states to write to to their state representatives and ask for the substitution of this representation amendment for the S. B. A. If we can get the money to do it I will send a letter to every Legislator in the country.

the Congressional

Now I want to frame ~~that~~ letter this week and submit to you for your criticism and suggestion. I find it very convincing when I quote your point that what a sacrifice the S.B.A. Amendment demands of the states who have done justice to women and then find that S.B.A. Amendment will give the power to Federal Government to supervise their state elections. Now I want to include in the letter you ~~raial~~ ~~subdixixixxxxx~~ division and am going to ask you to send me immediately that printed interview with you that I was not able to get. I will be careful of it and return it. I want also that you sign the letter with me if you approve it.

What was the outcome of the meeting in regard to submission in Kentucky. I hope your Board agreed to try for it and that you

be spared from making the attempt without your Board. However I would not be dissuaded from your original plan.

The prospects are very bright for a special session of the Legislature and the Governor is pledged to include Woman Suffrage in the Call. I would prefer this as it gives us so much more time in which to arrange for a campaign.

If the newspapers are correct about Wilson and House being in favor of racial equality for the Japs then I will lose every bit of ~~xxxxxx~~ respect I have had for his judgment. It has been strained to the breaking point as it is.

I hope you continued to sow the seeds of a divine discontent among the conventionites. I declare I was horrified at the wholesale ignorance that existed on the effect of the enforcement of the Amendment.

Affectionately

Walter H. Gordon.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

April 28, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

I hasten to reply to your letter received this morning and which has been followed up by Mrs. Bennett's letter with dues for the local organization. I will answer your letter when thro' with your reply.

I am delighted that you have determined to put into effect your idea to go before the political conventions and appeal for action in conpormity with their platform pledges. I agree with you that the appeal may be made with perfect consistency ~~in~~ on the part of the Southern Conference and as vice-president at large act as the spokesman of the Conference.

I will frame a letter to both conventions which you may present or not as your judgment in the matter deems best.

You will note by the inclosed copy of our constitution that you are completely within the scope of the Conference in organizing such a local. In fact as an individual you would be within your rights to make the appeal but as you well say asking in the name of a state's right organization lends an added weight, ^{and particularly} as we went before the Nt'l Democratic ^{convention} and made a special appeal. I will send a file of the Citizen in case you have not kept copies in the July 1916 number you will find both planks.

If you have a hearing or if you prepare a written statement I hope you will embody the racial grouping point. To me it is most appealing and viewed from the standpoint of self-determination the states right argument is the only logical application of Mr. Wilson's ~~misikix~~ contentions or solutions abroad.

I am glad to hear that the National is considering dropping the enforcement provision of the S.B.A. Amendment. I am also glad to learn that leaving it off will prevent Congress passing legislation interfering with state elections but if the U.S. Courts has the power it hangs like a sword of Damocles all the time. Then in the race question in the south we must never forget that the 15th Amendment has the power to accomplish just what they are trying to avoid, by the omission. I think we made Sister Catt do some tall thinking after that conference which she started off so confidently

~~xxxx~~ to tell us that the Federal Suffrage Amendment was an accomplished fact .

In regard to making my amendment obligatory on the States to give federal suffrage I think we weaken our position. It is absolutely left to the states to determine their own fate. But it strikes so vulnerably at the power of a state that would ignore it that I feel it is one of the very strongest points we make. This was the point I found so many of the southern men object to in your bill. Many thought the Amendment preferable. It may have been that they felt it more difficult to pass an amendment. I am going to write to Owen and ask him to put in your bill. You remember he said we could not have too many bills. My own idea would be a suit to again test our right. Certainly the claim seems well founded.

I wonder if the Japanese question has had any influence on the Republican Party that Mrs. Catt has changed her attitude. Hay would be in close touch and may give her the inside information. I myself feel that our trump card is going to be an appeal to the Republican Party not to repeat the error of the seventies.

In haste, affectionately
Kate M. Gordon.

Thanks O thanks for Lady Bountiful for your check and promise.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, N. Y.
May 28th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am just writing to cheer you up. I do not know if you are taking it as hard as I am that the House has passed the Anthony amendment, and perhaps by the time this reaches you, it may have passed the Senate. Then our only hope must be that 26 states will not consent to give Congress so much power over their state elections. I do not see how I could stand this terrible strain of anxiety and distress if it were not for my religion. I find great comfort in Christ's words "If then ye are not able to do that which is least, why are ye anxious concerning the rest?" I am trying to do what I can to avert what I believe will be a terrible calamity to our country; but having done that I rest in the thought that the disposal of events is in the hands of infinite Love and Wisdom.

I have been doing some reading about the California legislation to which I asked your attention; and as it may help you some to find out the dates to which you should direct your reading, I am enclosing a few notes.

I sent Mrs. Harper the newspaper report of our hearing before the Republican convention. Here are a few things in her answer which may interest you. She says: "Dr. Shaw has just come back from three weeks in Texas and doesn't think our amendment has any chance. We get no encouraging reports from the State, but the alien clause may pull it through". You probably know that the Florida Legislature turned down everything and would not even take a vote on presidential suffrage, the Connecticut Legislature voted it down. The Pennsylvania and New Jersey Legislatures would not touch it, and so the list might be extended"

I think the fact that Texas carried in spite of the fears of Miss Shaw go to indicate that the southern politicians are making a move to get the western woman vote without ratifying the amendment. Possibly the mass of voters do not want woman suffrage. My argument is that they will vote as their leaders tell it is to the interest of their party to do. It seems the Northern and Republican states are no more willing for women to have the vote than the southern; and thereby hangs my hope that the Republicans may not work hard for ratification. Mrs. Harper further says: "We had 28 State legislatures this last winter pledged to ratify, leaving only eight more to gain, but now that work will all have to be done over again and must be deferred until 1921".

I read with interest the copy of the Remarks of the Crisis. I found nothing incendiary in them; and I suppose the real objections to what is said is to other parts of the paper. Keep me informed all you can, and I will do the same for you. I have received your letter to Congress, and think it most admirable. I trust it will do good.

Remember me to your sisters.

Very cordially yours,

May 17th, 1919.

Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I have just received your special delivery letter and am going down street to telegraph that you may sign my name to the letter you wish to write to Congress; but saying that I am sending this letter by special delivery, embodying some changes which I prefer, though I am willing to leave the final draught to your judgment.

Through the line ending "such an important part in European adjustment" I have no suggestion to make. After that, in what you quote from a former letter of mine I suggest instead this:

"Statesmen have been careful to regulate them by racial affiliations; because racial sympathy is recognized as one of the universal principles of human nature. If this principle is regarded in the enfranchisement of white women, then women must receive the right to vote from the same source as white men. White men have the right to vote in State elections by the will of the people expressed through their State constitutions and not through the Federal constitution. The racial sympathies of colored women, whether negroes, Chinese, Japanese or others, will be protected no matter by which process suffrage is conferred, because they come within the provisions of the 15th amendment. But white women cannot be the political peers of white men, united with them in sentiment toward the source of their rights, and in the legal questions into which that source may ~~run~~ run, unless they are enfranchised by State action, and not by any Federal amendment in which their right to vote in State elections is conferred in part by the legislatures of other states. This argument does not apply to Federal amendment for Federal elections, for Federal laws already protect all persons in cases of Federal elections".

According to your suggestion, I wrote my little ~~speech~~ for the

Republican convention, in which I said a good deal about the racial grouping. But on the advice of friends, for the sake of prudence, since the negroes vote the Republican ticket, I revised it and said what is in the clipping I enclose. However, I am enclosing one of the copies of what I had first written to say; and you will see that it contains the sentences I have suggested for change in your letter. It is the result of my careful study in phraseology, and I prefer it to what I wrote in my letter to you.

Again, in another paragraph of your letter, "We recognize the claim that the inaction of the States, etc. I suggest this; "We recognize the ~~the~~ importance of the claim that the inaction of the States has made some Federal action necessary in order that the United States ~~in order~~ ~~that the United States~~ government shall conform to its principles of a democracy. But the remedy does not consist in the submission of an amendment which attacks the very distinctive features of its dual form of government, and entails consequences far more serious than ~~any~~ ~~any which may be feared~~ ~~any which may be feared~~ any which can result from delay in State action."

These changes are only suggested. I shall willingly sign any letter you may decide on in reference to your amendment at this time; and hereby authorize you to affix my name to the letter you propose to write at this time.

Please excuse bad typing. I feel hurried to get the telegram and the letter off.

Very cordially yours,

Do not let the situation in the "boack belt" mislead your judgment. The rest of the country cannot be made to feel dangers from the negro source which seem so imminent to you; whether your fears are just or not.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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1538 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am sending this off for your approval and if possible I want you to sign it with me as I feel it will give greater weight.

You will note I bodily have incorporated your racial grouping idea and have played upon it. I think it is a magnificent point you have made. I dictated a letter yesterday to you but as I did not go to the office in order not to be interrupted it has not yet been returned to me.

I mention in it the fact that I am sending ~~the~~ a copy of the Crisis to you, but I am only sending the Editors comment on America etc etc under the title of Opinion. I was told the United States had suppressed it but I am going to take counsel with some leading men and see if we cannot make it a cause for Louisiana men to order Ransdell to change his vote. I will need the copy. It was given to me under great secrecy.

Yesterday evenings paper had a call from them to form 100,000 strog for a convention in Cleveland. If there is any support given to the utterances in the May Crisis there will certainly be some dead niggers. It is very evident that there has been trouble with the negro troops in France for Moton was sent by Wilson to specially talk to the negroes. The U.S/ evidently has cautioned the French against race equality and this has evidently sent Dubois who is a Georgia nigger graduate of Harvard off on a tangent. It may be however the best thing that ever happened for the defeat of the Anthony Amendm.

If you will sign the Congressional letter, wire at once. I did not think the special session would be called before June at the earliest. I hope they will not consider suffrage at all and postpone it to the regular session. However I hear that there is very little chance of its not being submitted and the tragedy of it all is that southern men have made it possible. I know now the meaning that politics make strange bed fellows.

Affectionately,
Kate M Gordon.

President, JEAN M. GORDON, 1800 Prytania St.
Vice-President, FLORENCE LOEBER, 624 Gravier St.

Treasurer, MRS. DAVE POKORNY, 2111 St. Charles Avenue
Secretary, MRS. OLIVER J. PAUL, 1220 Short Street

Milne Asylum for Destitute Orphan Girls

[May 16, 1919 ca
a little later]
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

TO THE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference earnestly requests the substitution of the inclosed amendment with reasons appended, for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the United States Constitution.

This amendment is a protest from women as earnestly in favor of woman suffrage as the protagonists of the Anthony Amendment. It represents those who, tho' rankling under the injustices of professional state politicians in their attitude to woman suffrage by state enactment, still feel that a greater patriotism and a clearer perception of democracy demand that in securing self government for the individual we do not destroy self government for the state.

We point to the fact that there now stands in the ~~Constitution~~ Constitution of the United States the prototype of the Anthony amendment, discredited with the consent of the nation, by unenforcement. A tribute to the sober, second judgment of the states, that the amendment is violative of the principle of self-determination which in the scheme of the United States Constitution is delegated to the State.

The Susan B/ Anthony Amendment, meritorious as its object is, should not be allowed to galvanize into life, a would be forgotten issue. This is no time for partisan political advantage to be ~~considered~~ considered. The Southern Conference appeals to Democrats and Republicans as Americans and not as partisans, to uphold the dual character of the Constitution of the United States, which is both federal and state, and which wisdom of the founders was never so apparent as ~~to-day~~. We direct attention that a federal suffrage amendment dictating who shall vote in a state and enforcing this decree is destructive of the character of our government by substituting mere administrative units for self governing ~~local~~ entities/

The Southern Conference is well aware of the fact, that there are those, who, decry the old order of things and would relegate to obscurity even the Constitution of the United States. But we point to the advocates of the new order, that the Anthony amendment which cannot be considered apart from the 15th amendment of which it is but an amplification, contravenes the principle of racial groupings, which is playing such an important part in European adjustment.

Should women have conferred upon them by the Anthony amendment of the right of "exemption from discrimination" on account

of "sex" they ^{will} have their vote, conferred like negro men, by federal enactment, and not like white men by state gift. Recourse from complaint in any election would rest with United States courts and laws, instead of State courts and laws to which white men men must ^{go} except in federal elections. This draws a political line between white men and colored peoples, whether negroes, Japanese, Chinese or what not. If women are enfranchised by that same method they are by the same means grouped politically with colored peoples instead of with white men. This may be all suitable to colored women; but it is antagonistic to the principle of race determination in the case of white women; while consequences may seem far fetched to persons unacquainted with the workings of the law there are very real consequences which may follow such a grouping. For every one at all experienced in law, knows sometimes the most unexpected effect is the consequence of a law. This argument most does not apply to Federal Amendment for Federal Elections; for all persons have already recourse to Federal courts and Federal laws for protection, in all cases of federal elections.

In this crisis the Southern Conference appeals to the members of the Sixty-sixth Congress to substitute the representation amendment which is drawn in strict conformity with the dual character of our government, limited to federal suffrage, the only form of suffrage the United States should have jurisdiction over. We recognize the claim, that the inaction of the States has made federal action necessary in order that the United States Government conform to its principles of a democracy. But the remedy does not consist in the submission of an amendment, which if ratified means one of two things; mutilation of the Constitution by legislation not intended to be enforced or the opening of a race war the far reaching consequences of which no one may forecast/

We appeal to the Democrats, to stand by party traditions of the state right principle. We appeal to the Republicans that the substitution of this amendment affords the opportunity to retrieve the party's responsibility for the 15th amendment and the further opportunity to build a white republican party in the south. We appeal to both parties to fulfill thro' this amendment their party platform pledged recommending "woman suffrage by state enactment."

But above all we appeal to the race pride of the men of the sixty-sixth Congress, that in the final extension of the suffrage to the women of the United States, white women will be found politically grouped with white men. The Susan B/ Anthony Amendment makes this impossible. The substituted amendment does.

BOND

HARRIS R. MILL

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

May 7, 1919

TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE KENTUCKY REPUBLICAN STATE
CONVENTION,

GENTLEMEN:

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference in pursuance of its policy to secure from the dominant political parties the fulfillment of their 1916 platform indorsements of woman suffrage by state enactment, earnestly requests of the Kentucky Republican State Convention to put into effect this obligation by recommending to the Kentucky Legislature the submission of an amendment to enable women to vote on equal terms with men.

We call to the attention of your honorable body, that by this method alone may the men at large in any state have an opportunity to enfranchise their own women. Should the extension of this great basic right come through federal action and legislative ratification, without a state referendum, the freedom of your women will be the gift of men from other states.

The Southern suffragists point with pride to Kentucky a southern state as the first of the Union to recognize the principle of woman suffrage and we therefore hope that in this final extension of this great principle there will not be denied to Kentucky men the opportunity to express themselves on the status of citizenship they wish to see accorded to Kentucky women.

Accordingly the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference has requested your distinguished stateswoman and our Vice-President at Large, Miss Laura Clay, to request of your convention a resolution recommending to the Kentucky Legislature the submission of an amendment to the voters. We further request the support of your organization for the ratification of the amendment, if submitted.

In urging upon the political parties of the states the fulfillment of their national pledges, the Southern Conference believes a great injustice will have been done to the men of every state whose legislatures do not ^{states} accord them an opportunity for self determining the political of their women. Gentlemen of the Convention grant this request and make Kentucky "safe for Democracy."

Very truly yours,

Kate M. Gordon.....President
Marie Louise Colleys.....Cor. Sec'y.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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New York City

HEADQUARTERS

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

May 15th, 1919

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Miss Clay:

I have been anxiously watching for a letter telling me the result of the Republican Central Committee and whether or not you were able to use my appeal.

I am sending my mail to-day copy of the May "Crisis," which I understand has been suppressed by the United States Government, from which you will note that there has been trouble in France with the troops. This evening's paper publishes a pretty stiff demand for negro rights. In the face of all this, why we have to have the Federal Woman's Suffrage Amendment put over is absolutely beyond understanding. I heard yesterday, when I went to bring to the papers an article that I wanted published in regard to the Amendment, that there was no question but that the Amendment would be submitted. I am hoping however against hope, and I will certainly campaign with all the power that is in my body against ratification.

I enclose a little clipping that seems a little strange, coming from the Vice-President. I can read into it nothing else but rejection of submission when he warns states to control their own electorate.

Be sure, after reading The Crisis, to return it to me at once as I have to return it to the source whence I received it, that does not want me to let on that it came from him.

I go into retreat tomorrow to write my letter to the Congressmen. May I sign your name to it? I think it will give greater force. Wire me if I may.

Cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon

KG-cmr

This letter is belated - I have kept the copy of Crisis - to consult with some of our men. I had about decided on another letter asking the Members of Congress before they meet in the 15th of August - to reject out - whether it has been suppressed or not - add read for themselves what the effect of it should be in the election of President.

The magazine is evidently as printed of the manner of U.S. colored troops. I have been hearing the French not to fraternize with them.

FROM
THE CRISIS
MAY, 1919

O P I N I O N
of
W. E. B. DUBOIS

MY MISSION:

I went to Paris because to-day the destinies of mankind center there. Make no mistake as to this, my readers.

Podunk may easily persuade itself that only Podunk matters and that nothing is going on in New York. The South Sea Islander may live ignorant and careless of London. Some Americans may think that Europe does not count, and a few Negroes may argue vociferously that the Negro problem is a domestic matter, to be settled in Richmond and New Orleans.

But all these careless thinkers are wrong. The destinies of mankind for a hundred years to come are being settled today in a small room of the Hotel Crillon by four unobtrusive gentlemen who glance out speculatively now and then to Cleopatra's Needle on the Place de La Concorde.

You need not believe this if you do not want to. They do not care what you believe. They have the POWER. They are settling the world's problems and you can believe what you choose as long as they command the ARMIES and NAVIES, the world supply of CAPITAL and the Press.

Other folks of the world who think, believe and act: - THIRTY TWO NATIONS, PEOPLES and RACES, have permanent headquarters in Paris. Not simply England, Italy and the Great Powers are there, but all the little nations; not simply little nations, but little groups who want to be nations, like the Letts and Finns, the Armenians and Jugo-Slavs, Irish and Ukrainians. Not only groups, but races have come - Jews, Indians, Arabs and All-Asia. Great churches like the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic, are watching on the ground. Great organizations, like the American Peace Society, the League to enforce Peace, the American Federation of Labor, the Woman's Suffrage Association and a hundred others are represented on Paris to-day.

In fine, not a single great, serious movement or idea in Government, Politics, Philanthropy or Industry in the civilized world has omitted to send and keep in Paris its Eyes and Ears and Fingers! And yet some American Negroes actually asked WHY I went to help represent the Negro world in Africa and America and the Islands of the Sea.

But why did I not explain my reasons and mission before going? Because I am not a fool. Because I knew perfectly well that any movement to bring the attention of the world to the Negro problem at this crisis would be stopped the moment the Great Powers heard of it. When, therefore, I was suddenly informed of a change to go to France as a newspaper correspondent, I did not talk - I went.

What did I do when I got there? First, there were certain

things that I did NOT do. I did not hold an anti-lynching meeting on the Boulevard des Italiens. I would to God I could have, but I knew that France is still under martial law, - that no meeting can be held today in France anywhere or at any time, without the consent of the Government; no newspaper can publish a line without the consent of the Censor and no individual can stay in France unless the French consent.

But it did not follow that because I could not do everything I could do nothing. I first went to the American Peace Commission and said frankly and openly: "I want to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris." The Captain to whom I spoke smiled and shook his head. "Impossible," he said, and added: "The French Government would not permit it." "Then," said I innocently: "It's up to me to get French consent!" "It is," he answered, and he looked relieved.

With the American Secret Service at my heels I then turned to the French Government. There are six colored deputies in the French Parliament and one is an under-secretary in the War Department. "Of course we can have a Pan-African Congress," he said - "I'll see Clemenceau." He saw Clemenceau, and there was a week's pause. Clemenceau saw Pichon, and there was another pause. Meantime, our State Department chuckled and announced that there would be no Congress and refused Negroes passports. England followed suit and refused to allow the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society even to visit Paris, while the South African natives were not allowed to sail.

But there are six Negroes in the French House and Clemenceau needs their votes. There were 280,000 black African troops in the war before whom France stands with uncovered head. The net result was that Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, gave us permission to hold the Pan-African Congress in Paris.

What could a Pan-African Congress do? It could ~~not~~ agitate the Negro problem in any particular country, except insofar as that problem could be plausibly shown to be part of the problem of the future of Africa. The problem of the future of Africa was a difficult and delicate question before the Peace Conference - so difficult and so delicate that the Conference was disposed to welcome advice and co-operation.

If the negroes of the world could have maintained in Paris during the entire sitting of the Peace Conference a central headquarters with experts, clerks and helpers, they could have settled the future of Africa at a cost of less than \$10,000.

As it was the Congress cost \$750. Yet with this meagre sum a Congress of fifty-eight delegates, representing sixteen different Negro groups, was assembled. This Congress passed resolutions which the entire press of the world has approved, despite the fact that these resolutions had two paragraphs of tremendous significance to us:

WHEREVER PERSONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT ARE CIVILIZED AND ABLE TO MEET THE TESTS OF SURROUNDING CULTURE, THEY SHALL BE ACCORDED THE SAME RIGHTS AS THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS; THEY SHALL NOT BE DENIED ON ACCOUNT OF RACE OR COLOR A VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, JUSTICE BEFORE THE COURTS AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EQUALITY ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND DESERT.

WHENEVER IT IS PROVEN THAT AFRICAN NATIVES ARE NOT RECEIVING JUST TREATMENT AT THE HANDS OF ANY STATE OR THAT ANY STATE DELIBERATE

LY EXCLUDES ITS CIVILIZED CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS OF NEGRO DESCENT FROM ITS BODY POLITIC AND CULTURAL, IT SHALL BE THE DUTY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO BRING THE MATTER TO THE ATTENTION OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

Precisely the same principles are being demanded today by the Jews and the Japanese. And despite the enormous significance of these demands, Colonel House of the American Peace Commission received me and assured me that he wished these resolutions presented to the Peace Conference. Lloyd George wrote me that he would give our demands "his careful consideration". The French Premier offered to arrange an audience for the President and Secretary of the Conference. Portugal and Belgium, great colonial powers, offered complete co-operation.

The League for the Rights of Man, which freed Dreyfus, appointed a special commission to hear not only of the African, but the facts as to the American Negro problem.

We got, in fact, the ear of the civilized world and if it had been possible to stay longer and organize more thoroughly and spread the truth, - what might not have been accomplished?

As it was, we have organized the "Pan-African Congress" as a permanent body, with M. Diagne as president and myself as secretary, and we plan an international quarterly BLACK REVIEW to be issued in English, French and possibly in Spanish and Portuguese.

The world-fight for black rights is on!

ROBERT R. MOTON.

Neither R. R. Moton nor W. E. D. DuBois had the slightest idea ~~that~~ the other was planning to sail for France, December 1, until they met in Washington on a quest for passports, November 30. They sailed on the ORIZABA and frankly discusses their agreements and disagreements. When they reached France, each went about his own business.

Dr. Moton was sent by the President of the United States and the Secretary of War to see and talk to Negro troops. Dr DuBois was sent by the N.A.A.C.P. and THE CRISIS to gather the historical facts concerning Negro troops and to call a Pan-African Congress.

On the night before Dr. Moton started out a colored man of national reputation and unquestioned integrity who had been in France six months took him aside and told him frankly the situation: the rampant American prejudice against black troops and officers and the bitter resentment of the victims. Dr Moton's letters gave him every opportunity. A special Army Order preceded him, which read:

"DR. R. R. MOTON, PRESIDENT OF TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY, WILL BE PRESENT IN THE DIVISIONAL AREA FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THE DIVISION COMMANDER DIRECTS THAT COMMANDING OFFICERS RENDER ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE IN ANY VISIT OR INSPECTION DR. MOTON DESIRES TO MAKE. THEY WILL ALSO SEE THAT HE IS ACCORDED EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE ANY OBSERVATION HE MAY WISH TO MAKE."

What did Mr. Moton do? He rushed around as fast as possible. He took with him and had at his elbow every moment that evil genius of the Negro race, Thomas Jesse Jones, a white man. Dr. Moton took no time to investigate or inquire. He made a few speeches, of which one is reported by a hearer as follows:

THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. MOTON TO THE MEN CONSISTED OF ONE OR TWO JOKES BY A COLORED PREACHER, THE ASSURANCE THAT THE PEOPLE AT HOME WERE PROUD OF THEM AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY

SHOULD ACT UPON THEIR RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, DWELLING ALMOST ENTIRELY UPON THE PHRASE "NOT TO BE ARROGANT". AFTER HE HAD SPOKEN TO THE MEN THE MAJOR INFORMED THE OFFICERS THAT DR. MOTON DESIRED TO HOLD SECRET CONFERENCE WITH THEM. ALL OFFICERS CONGREGATED IN THE OFFICE. AFTER BEING PRESENTED TO THE OFFICERS DR. MOTON STATED THAT HE HAD BEEN SENT TO FRANCE BY PRESIDENT WILSON AND MR. BAKER FOR THE PURPOSE OF SPEAKING TO THE COLORED TROOPS. HE ALSO STATED THAT HE HAD JUST LEFT PARIS WHERE HE HAD BEEN IN CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT WILSON AND HAD ASKED THE PRESIDENT HIS VIEWS AS TO THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF DEMOCRACY TOWARD THE COLORED MAN IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT ENDING BY SAYING: "I WAS VERY MUCH PLEASED WITH HIS REPLY; BUT, GENTLEMEN, I CANNOT QUOTE THE PRESIDENT."

AFTER DR. MOTON FINISHED HIS TALK NO OPPORTUNITY WAS GIVEN TO THE OFFICERS TO INFORM HIM OF THE CONDITIONS THAT HAD EXISTED IN FRANCE, AND HE DID NOT SEEK ANY INFORMATION RELATIVE TO SAME FROM ANY OF THE OFFICERS AFTER THE CONFERENCE ENDED.

Dr. Moton then returned to Paris and met Colonel House, General Pershing and others. Colonel House told the writer that he urged Dr. Moton to remain in Paris and that if he would, Colonel House would give him an opportunity to appear in person before the Peace Conference to speak for the black world. Dr. Moton refused to stay, but promised to return. He then went to England and secured an audience with Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England. The destiny of the black race today is in the hands of England and the destiny of England is in the hands of Lloyd George. Yet, Dr. Moton did not keep his appointment; but rushed to catch his boat in order to be present at the Tuskegee Conference. He sailed, with Thomas Jesse Jones still watching him, and did not return to Paris or to the Pan African Congress, which he said favored and promised to support.

No one questions the personal integrity of Robert Russa Moton or his kindly disposition, but no one, friend or foe, can look these facts in the face and not feel bitter disappointment.

TO MR. EMMETT SCOTT.

The Negro world and you will bear us witness that THE CRISIS and its Editor has given you loyal and unselfish co-operation, even at the cost of suspicion and criticism. We have done this, FIRST, because the war demanded, and had a right to demand, unswerving loyalty and unity on the part of the Nation and its constituent groups; and, SECONDLY, because we believed that you were doing all that was possible under very difficult circumstances. A visit to Europe has, however, revealed to the Editor a state of affairs in regard to Negro troops which is simply astounding! Some of these facts we are publishing this month and others we shall reveal later. Meantime, we are withholding judgment in your case and simply asking you publicly three questions:

1. DID YOU KNOW THE TREATMENT WHICH BLACK TROOPS WERE RECEIVING IN FRANCE?
2. IF YOU DID NOT KNOW, WHY DID YOU NOT FIND OUT?
3. IF YOU DID KNOW, WHAT DID YOU DO ABOUT IT?

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A League of Nations is absolutely necessary to the salvation of the Negro race. Unless we have some supernational power to curb the nati-Negro policyt of the United States and South Africa, we are doomed eventually to fight for our rights. The proposed internation will have overwhelming influences around it which will oppose the doctrines of "race" antagonism and inferiority. It will from the beginning recognize Negro nations. It will be open to the larger influences of civilization and culture which are ineffective in the United States because of the provailing barbarism of the ruling classes in the South and their overwhelming political power. What we cannot accomplish before the choked conscience of America, we have an infinitely better chance to accomplish before the organized Public Opinion of the World. Peace for us is not simply Peace from Wars like the past, but relief from the spectre of the Great War of Races which will be absolutely inevitable unless the selfish nations of white civilizathion are curbed by a Great World Congress in which black and white and yellow sit and speak and act. The refusal to adopt the Japanese race equality amendment is deplorable, but it is an argument for and not against a Nation of Nations. It is the Beginning of a mighty End.

HISTORY.

Most American Negroes do not realize that the imperative duty of the moment is to fix in history the status of our Negro troops. Already subtle influences are preparing a fatal attack. It is repeated openly among influential person: "The black laborers did well--the black privates can fight-- but the Negro officer is a failure." This is not true and the facts exist to disprove it, but they must be marshalled with historical vision and scientific accuracy.

Sensing this some months ago, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People commissioned Dr. DuBois to prepare a history and appropriated \$2,000 toward the expense. Dr DuBois immediately sought to associate with him-- not as subordinates, but on terms of full equality-- a board of three or four editors and a large consulting board of colored men. It immmediately developed that co-operation was impossible.

A whie man, Mr. F. P. Stockbridge of New York, had already planned and was preparing a popular history and had secured the cooperation of Mr. Emmett Scott and others. Neither he nor Mr. Scott wished to change their plans and neither would accept co-operation, except upon terms which we deemed impossible. Mr. C. G. Woodson, Editor of The Journal of Negro History, refused to co-operate except as Editor-inChief.

Unity being thus plainly impossible, Dr. DuBois disposed to drop the project as far as he was personally concerned and leave the work to others.

The Executive Officers of the N.A.A.C.P., however, thought it best for Dr. DuBois to proceed to France and look over the

field especially with regard to a Pan-African Congress and the facts obtainable there concerning Negro troops.

The result of this trip is that we are convinced:

1. That the truth concerning Negroes in this war must be told impartially and entirely.
2. That no person in official position dare tell the whole truth.
3. That notwithstanding the unfortunate duplication of effort and multiplying of histories, it is the plain duty of the N.A.A.C.P. and THE CRISIS to compile and publish a complete history of "The Negro in the Revolution of the Twentieth Century."

Such a history is, therefore, projected in three volumes, preceded by a brief forecast. The forecast will be issued as a supplement to the June CRISIS. It will be a short but complete history of the Negro in the war. It will be followed this year by Volume I of the full history; Volumes II and III will appear in 1920 and 1921.

Every reader of THE CRISIS is asked to help in the compilation of this history. Please write us immediately and let us know what co-operation we may expect.

RAPE.

The charge of rape against colored Americans was invented by the white South after Reconstruction to excuse mob violence. No such wholesale charge was dreamed of in slavery days and during the war black men were often the sole protection of white women.

After the war, when murder and mob violence was the recognized method of re-enslaving blacks, it was discovered that it was only necessary to add a charge of rape to justify before the North and Europe any treatment of Negroes. The custom became widespread. In vain have Negroes and their friends protested that in less than one-quarter of the cases of lynching Negroes has rape been even alleged as an excuse. And in the alleged cases guilt has not been even probable in the vast majority of cases.

We do not for a moment deny or seek to deny that Negroes are guilty of rape and of other horrible crimes. What we do deny and what the facts overwhelmingly prove is that as a race they are less guilty of such crimes of violence than any other group similarly oppressed by poverty and compulsory ignorance.

Today the nasty and absolutely false charge returns to justify the outrageous treatment of Negroes by Americans in France.

What is the Truth?

I have written to twenty-one Mayors of towns and cities in all

parts of France where Negro troops have been quartered asking them as to the conduct of black troops. These are some of their replies:
Montmorillon (Vienne)

"They have earned our high regard by their discipline and their faultless behavior."

LeMans (Sarthe)

"They have been accused of no crimes or misdemeanors."

St.Die (Vosges)

"Very excellent conduct".

Bourbonne les Bains (Haute-Marne)

"Pleasant remembrances and irreproachable conduct."

Liverdun (Meurthe-et-Moselle)

"Excellent conduct -- no complaints."

Rayon l'Etape (Vosges)

"Fine character and exquisite courtesy."

Fresne (Haute-Marne)

"No complaints concerning their conduct."

Domfront (Orne)

"Won the esteem and sympathy of all the population."

Marbache (Meurthe et Moselle)

"No complaint -- well disciplined."

Bordeaux (Gironde)

"No unfavorable comments."

Serqueux (Haute-Marne)

"Well-conducted -- no crimes."

Chamberey (Savoie)

"Proud to welcome them."

Brest (Fonostere)

"Not qualified to give information."

St.Nazaire (Loire Inferieure)

" Cannot give any information."

Docelles (Vosges)

"Good conduct, good discipline and fine spirit."

Couptrain (Mayenne)

"Perfect propriety without complaint".

Gezoncourt (Meurthe-et-Moselle)

"No complaint as to conduct or morals."

Frouard (Meurthe-et-Moselle)

"Well-regulated conduct."

We have, too, official figures covering the Ninety-second Division, consisting of Negro troops, with largely Negro company officers.

Only ONE soldier of the Ninety-second Division in France was convicted of rape, while TWO others were convicted of intent of rape.

It is doubtful if another Division of the U.S. Army in France has a better record.

What was the real animus back of this wholesale accusation? It was the fact that many Americans would rather have lost the war than to see a black soldier talking to a white woman. For instance, the Mayor of Bar-sur-Aube issued this Order, on June 26, 1918:

According to orders given by American Military authorities, it is strongly recommended that no French women receive visits from colored soldiers or talk with them on the streets.

On the other hand, what is the official American opinion of Negro troops?

General Pershing in his address to the Ninety-second Division at Le Mans, France, January 29, 1919, said:

"The Ninety-second Division has without a doubt, been a success in its work at the front, and I desire to compliment the officers and men upon the discipline and morale which has existed in this command during its stay in France".

Brigadier-General Hay, 184th Brigade, Ninety-second Division, said:

" I HAVE BEEN WITH COLORED TROOPS FOR TWENTY FIVE YEARS, AND I HAVE NEVER SEEN A BETTER SOLDIER".

Captain Willis, Supply Officer, 365th Infantry, said:

"THE TROOPS OF THE NINETY-SECOND DIVISION ARE THE BEST DISCIPLINED AND BEST SALUTING SOLDIERS I HAVE SEEN IN FRANCE".

Brigadier-General Sherburne said:

"THE BRIGADE COMMANDER WISHES TO RECORD IN GENERAL ORDERS THE ENTIRE SATISFACTION IT HAS GIVEN HIM TO HAVE COMMANDED THE FIRST BRIGADE OF NEGRO ARTILLERY EVER ORGANIZED. THIS SATISFACTION IS DUE TO THE

EXCELLENT RECORD THE MEN HAVE MADE".

Allen J. Greet, Colonel, General Staff, signs this order of General Ballou:-

"FIVE MONTHS AGO TODAY THE NINETY-SECOND DIVISION LANDED IN FRANCE.

"AFTER SEVEN WEEKS OF TRAINING IT TOOK OVER A SECTOR IN THE FRONT LINE AND SINCE THAT TIME SOME PORTION OF THE DIVISION HAS BEEN PRACTICALLY CONTINUOUSLY UNDER FIRE.

"IT PARTICIPATED IN THE LAST BATTLE OF THE WAR WITH CREDITABLE SUCCESS, CONTINUALLY PRESSING THE ATTACK AGAINST HIGHLY ORGANIZED DEFENSIVE WORKS. IT ADVANCED SUCCESSFULLY ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE BATTLE, ATTAINING ITS OBJECTIVES AND CAPTURING PRISONERS. THIS IN THE FACE OF DETERMINED OPPOSITION BY AN ALERT ENEMY AND AGAINST RIFLE, MACHINE GUNS AND ARTILLERY FIRE. THE ISSUE OF THE SECOND DAYS BATTLE WAS RENDERED INDECISIVE BY THE ORDER TO CEASE FIRING AT ELEVEN A.M., WHEN THE ARMISTICE BECAME EFFECTIVE."

A report from the officer in charge of Leave Area, November 6, 1918, says:

"NOTHING BUT THE HIGHEST PRAISE CAN BE GIVEN THE COLORED SOLDIER FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH HE CONDUCTED HIMSELF WHILE IN FRANCE. HE CONDUCTED HIMSELF IN A GENTLEMANLY MANNER IN EVERY SECTOR IN WHICH THE DIVISION OPERATED, AND WON FOR HIMSELF THE LOVE AND COMMENDATION OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE."

RETURNING SOLDIERS

We are returning from war! THE CRISIS and tens of thousand of black men were drafted into a great struggle. For bleeding France and what she means and what she has meant and will mean to us and humanity and against the threat of German race arrogance, we fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideals, we fought in faroff hope; for the dominant southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington, we fought in bitter resignation. For the America that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality and devilish insult-for this, in the hateful upturning and mixing of things, we were forced by vindictive hate to fight, also.

But today we return! We return from the slavery of uniform which the world's madness demanded us to don to the freedom of civil garb. We stand again to look America squarely in the fact and call a spade a spade. We sing: This country of ours, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed, is yet a shameful land.

It LYNCHES.

And lynching is barbarism of a degree of contemptible nastiness unparalleled in human history. Yet for fifty years we have lynched two Negroes a week, and we have kept this up right through the war.

It DISFRANCHISES its own citizens.

Disfranchisement is the deliberate theft and robbery of the only protection of poor against rich and black against white. The land that disfranchises its citizens and calls itself a democracy lies and knows it lies.

It encourages IGNORANCE

It has never really tried to educate the Negro. A dominant minority does not want Negroes educated. It wants serfvants, dogs, whores and monkeys. And when this land allows a reactionary group by its stolen political power to force as many black folk into these categories as it possibly can, it cries in contemptible hypocrrisy: "they threaten us with degeneracy; they cannot be educated."

It steals from us.

It organizes industry to cheat us; it cheats us out of our land; it cheats it out of our labor. It confiscates our savings. It reduces our wages. It raises our rent. It steals our profit It taxes us without representation. It keeps us consistently and universally poor, and then feeds us on charity and derides our poverty.

It insults us.

It has organized a nationwide and latterly ~~wide~~ a world-wide propaganda of deliberate and continuous insult and defamation of black blood wherever found. It decrees that it shall not be possible in travel nor residence, work nor play, education or instruction, for a black man to exist without tacit or open acknowledgement of his inferiority to the dirtiest white dog. And it looks upon any attempt to question or even discuss this dogma as arrogance, unwarranted assumption and treason.

This is the country to which we Soldiers of Democracy return This is the fatherland for which we fought! But it OUR fatherland It was right for us to fight. The faults of our country are out faults. Under similar circumstances we would fight again. But by the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if now tha the war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battel against the forces of Hell in our own land.

We RETURN

We RETURN FROM FIGHTING

We RETURN FIGHTING

Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

MRS. O. F. ELLINGTON, Rec. Sec'y,
Dallas, Texas.

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New York City

HEADQUARTERS
NEW ORLEANS, LA.



May 6th, 1919

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

I was in a panic Sunday when I imagined the Republican Convention was to meet Thursday and I mistook the date of the month. I send a better copy of my letter to the Chairman. Also some paper, but I am horrified at the quality, which is a mistake; and also the way they arranged the head note; but they are to make it good. However I haven't time to wait for the better stationery.

Now you understand you are to do just as you feel best. If this appeal is not what you want, just sign my name to anything you may draft. I have perfect confidence in whatever you may do.

I enclose a clipping from the Congressional Record, at the time the final vote was taken on the suffrage amendment in the Senate. It is a view-point I think neither of us has considered, and with so much unrest and uncertainty about foreign people, shaping our policies of government is uppermost in the mind, ^{and} it certainly is worth while ^{for} insisting upon no such power be granted to women emigrants as the S. B. A. would grant without some such Amendment. ^{Oh} that we had the time and the money to fight with equal strength, the advocates of this Amendment.

I shall be anxious to hear from you on the result of the hearing before the State Convention. When will the democrats hold theirs? I think we ought to send in an identical appeal to them, in order to show that we stand in a purely unpartisan attitude.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,

Kate M. Gordon