

# Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT

## HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Volume V now in Preparation

MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER  
EDITOR

TELEPHONE  
4818 MURRAY HILL

171 Madison Avenue

(COPY)

New York, June 18, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon:

As I sat in the Senate gallery on June 14th and heard the final vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, my first thought was of you and Miss Clay, and I spoke of it to Mrs. Upton. Like myself, she had made the journey in the terrific heat to see the end of what she had worked for more than a quarter of a century. I know your heart is sore and that you are feeling resentful, but I am absolutely sure that the time will come when you will wonder how you could have been so bitterly opposed to this Federal Amendment.

I am enclosing a letter that our Press Department is sending out, which I <sup>think</sup> ~~believe~~ expresses the opinion at the present time of a large number of Southerners, who believe in woman suffrage and realize that it cannot be secured in all the States for many years except through a Federal Amendment.

Doubtless you have noticed that all of the Southern States but two -- Mississippi and South Carolina -- gave some support to the amendment -- 13 Southern Senators voted for it including those from Oklahoma. In the Lower House the preceding week the amendment received 71 votes from Southern States, as against 56 last year. Nine of the 11, in the delegation of Kentucky, Miss Clay's own State, voted in favor. The Democratic National Committee on May 29, after the



amendment had passed the Lower House, but before it had passed the ~~U~~pper, called on the Legislatures of the various States to hold special sessions, if necessary, to ratify it.

Can't you see, my dear friend, the great change in public sentiment, especially in your section of the country? There is every indication that the amendment will be ratified in time for the women of the entire United States to vote in the general elections of 1920. Not half of them would have been able to do so had we depended on the action of the States.

I hope when next we meet that all this turmoil will be over and that we will find ourselves in perfect agreement on the great questions which we will want to talk over. With love to your sisters and yourself,

As ever yours,



189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.  
June 9th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Your welcome letter of June 5th is at hand. The very first thing I want to say is that I do not want you to misunderstand my religious comfort by thinking I am not going to make all the effort I can to defeat the ratification of the Anthony amendment. I only mean that my heart is relieved by the assurance that responsibility is not on my shoulders beyond doing faithfully the part which is allotted to me, as I see my duty.

On the morning of June 5th, when I saw the announcement in the papers, I wrote at once to Mrs. Breckinridge, the state president, withdrawing from the Ky. Equal Rights Assn., ~~xxxxxxx~~ and another to the secretary of the Fayette E.R.A. of which I am president, to the same effect. The papers have said a good deal about it, and later I may send some clippings. But I want to convey as soon as possible any comfort I may to you.

It is probable that two other of the officers of the Fayette E.R.A. will resign; and as they are the hardest working members, it will stop some of the work of that local. Besides, we are already planning to form a sort of committee, such as went before the Republican convention, and see what we can do about getting the political parties to stand for a state amendment. Now my theory is this:

(1) The cause of woman suffrage is won; and there is no need for expenditure of time and labor for propaganda any longer, except as it comes up incidentally.

(2) There is no hope of defeating ratification except by getting the states to push state amendments, according to their national platforms of 1916.

(3) In Kentucky, we think we shall not try any other issue except state rights. That is a point well understood; and any attempt to bring in the negro question will do nothing except confuse the issue, and perhaps divide our friends.

I have received many expressions of approval for my stand; and I have not lost hope of getting active support from the Democratic party for the program I have sketched. I am going to write further to you perhaps on Thursday, as a few dissenters are going to hold a conference on Wednesday afternoon.

Now about what you say of your plans: As I say, we are contemplating action in this state, and I find my friends do not approve the idea of joining any other organization. They think the time is gone by for that. Therefore, in my work in Kentucky I shall work only in conjunction with our new Committee, as we shall probably call it. But I shall hope to hold up your hands in any thing you do as president of the S.W.S. Conference as an individual member and as the vice-president. My expenses in Ky. will prevent my going into any engagement to try to help to raise fifty thousand dollars; but I stand ready to send the rest of the five hundred dollars I offered whenever you want it. Please let me know. I am thankful that you are going to make what effort you can, just as I am going to make what effort I can. I scarcely see how it is possible that 36 states will consent to give up their right to control their own state elections ~~consider~~ ~~agree~~ ~~offer~~ ~~help~~ ~~in~~ ~~stiff~~ ~~agitation~~ ~~can~~ ~~sustains~~ ~~no~~ ~~cost~~ ~~strength~~; and no doubt shall find it useful; but I mean that I shall not try to organize for it now.

Give my regards to your sisters, and keep up your heart. I am thankful that other women in other states feel as I do.

Very cordially yours,



189 N. Mill St?m Lexington, Ky.

June 10th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I was desirous yesterday to get my letter off to you as quickly as possible, to give you a word of cheer, if I could; and to say that after we have done all we could, the result was in the hands of infinite Love and Wisdom. And today, as you say you are going to ask a hearing before the Texas legislature, I thought I would write again, and tell you what arguments I am going to use. I send you a copy of an article I sent to the Herald, which gives one argument, <sup>a</sup> especially one to meet the objection that the Prohibition amendment has already destroyed state rights.

Another that I have on hand is that; The larger number of suffragists are not in the suffrage associations, and therefore have not spoken in the demand for the Anthony amendment. In every state referendum, whether we lost or won, there were a greater number of men who voted for us than there were in that state's suffrage asso. before the campaign. These suffragists were never enrolled in the N.A.W.S.A. and therefore have not spoken through it. They have spoken through their political delegates to their national conventions; and these have declared in favor of suffrage by state amendment.

I think it is well to stress the fact that the Anthony and the 15th amendments give Congress power to legislate on state elections; and that state rights is invaded thus, as well as by extending suffrage to women; and the effect may be very far-reaching.

I believe both parties are making a mighty bid for the woman vote for the 1920 presidential election; and that if we can tide over that, the enthusiasm for the Anthony amendment will subside. Therefore, it seems to me that every state which grants presidential suffrage <sup>it may be worth your while to give up the des-</sup> sire for a state amendment. I <sup>lower</sup> ~~would~~ you to think of this. I may not be right; but if you think so



tion to getting presidential suffrage than you have. It might be worth your while to stay in Texas awhile, and see if you can induce that state to grant presidential suffrage by legislature, and not merely primary suffrage. Also, to lay your plans for it in Louisiana.

My chief hope of effecting anything important in Kentucky by our Committee is to let the politicians know that women are not a unit in wanting the Anthony amendment, and that the party which ratifies is far from being assured that it will win votes thereby.

I received a letter from my friend, Mrs. Farmer, of St. Paul, Minnesota, today, in which she says it is thought that their governor will not call a special session of legislature to ratify. They have presidential suffrage; and are not in such a hurry to give up state control of state elections. One of the questions I am called upon to explain is; How does this amendment affect state elections? I am quoting a note of a Supreme Court decision which I have not yet read. "Section 2 of 15th amendment. Must be directed against state, not individual, action. (But see U.S. v. ~~xxxx~~ Miller (1901) 107 Fed. 915, wherein the Court said that while the amendment is primarily aimed at hostile legislation in denying or abridging the right of colored men to vote, yet Congress possesses power to secure the colored man against the deprivation of his right to vote by individuals, when such deprivation occurs on account of race or color Etc.")

That is, Congress has power to control individual action, as well as ~~the~~ state action. If you are not fresh on the workings of the Force Bill of May 31st, 1870, I think it would be well for you to read any good history of that time. We will have to inform many people of what actually happened under the Force bill. While much of it has been declared inoperative by the Supreme Court, enough of it remains, if executed, to give Congress practical control of state elections, if it desires to do so.

I expect to write again in a few days,; and I do hope you will write as often <sup>as possible</sup>. Affectionately, Regards to your sisters.



189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

May 23rd, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I sent off my special delivery letter in such haste that I did not write in it anything about our hearing before the Republican convention. I found that the friends who were most active in helping me preferred to go simply as citizens, and not as a branch of the S.S.W.S. Conference; and of course I acceded to their wishes. I am glad to have your letter ready for use when occasion arises.

Work was comparatively easy because the convention met in Lexington. What our plans will be to get at the Democrats is not yet decided. Their primary comes off Aug. 2nd.

Mrs. Breckinridge did not wish our committee to make our appeal; and asked me if the Louisville women would promise to support the plank which the Republicans did pass if we would discontinue our effort. But I replied that as we stood on the broad platform of citizens it was incompatible with that attitude to make any sort of agreement at all. She

She then altered her petition to asking only for support of a Federal amendment and for presidential suffrage. In some way the Resolutions committee asked both our delegation and that of the Ky. E.P.A. to appear at the same hour. I feared to change any arrangement, as time was so precious, and I did not think it would make much difference, as I hoped most of the effect would be through newspaper publicity. I took my manuscript (typed) at once to the Leader, and it put it up in the attractive form you saw. You notice however, that their plank does not promise a state amendment. However, I sent out about 85 copies with that article by Mr. Morrow, in stamped envelopes to about 45 members and senators; with a pencilled line, Please read. I have had several replies, to which I have answered briefly, stating that many suffragists both in Ky. and other states are opposed to the Anthony amendment, or any which would extend suffrage without the voice of the people, and asked support of a state amendment on the ground of the national platform.

Now as to what we shall argue to prevent ratification, for I fear all hopes of defeating the passage of the Anthony amendment in Congress, is past, unless your proposed amendment helps out greatly.

I cannot see what interest the enfranchised Western states have in the passage of a Federal amendment. They can gain nothing, and they will lose much. Whether they care for the grouping with negroes or not, it is plain that the political influence of the Eastern and more populous states will be greatly increased. All of the Pacific states and the Mountain division have only 55 votes in Congress and the Electoral College. N. York and Massachusetts have more than that. All states west of the Mississippi have only 176 votes out of the 531. It seems to me the belief that the west will consent to give up important state rights to add to the already preponderating power of the East for the purpose of forcing suffrage upon twelve unwilling states is ill-founded. I believe my now on we ought to make our chief effort to point this out. I know the negro problem will have great effect in the South; but I think if the southern people are not fully awake to that without our help, we can do little or nothing more. But in the west they may not be fully awake to what they are doing.

I want your help in studying out this argument, viz: The Japanese question is being strongly urged by Japan, a nation as astute in propaganda as the Germans. They want rights which so far the United States has not been able to grant them on account of the opposition of the Pacific and western states. These states have been able to make good



their opposition only because their control of state elections through state rights was entirely unimpeded. There is little doubt that the eastern states for commercial advantage would have given the Japs the treaties they desire. They have no more regard for the western dislike of the Jap problem than they have for the negro problem in the south. If they have a chance, there is every reason to believe that they would sacrifice the west for their commercial profit just as they have been willing to sacrifice the south. Now through the enfranchisement of women through the Anthony amendment, Congress will have the right to pass certain enforcement laws. I have studied out that several of the most oppressive provisions of the Enforcement Bill of May 31, 1870, were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1882. Exactly what remain I am not perfectly informed. But those illegal laws had done their work in the South before they were arrested by the Supreme Court. I cannot suppose that able constitutional lawyers in Congress did not know they were unconstitutional when they passed them; just as the South knew the grandfather laws were unconstitutional. Both hoped for a mere temporary benefit; and both got it. The grandfather laws were not nullified for fifteen years. Now though laws might be allowable under the 15th amendment, the negroes to whom they apply are so small a percentage of the population, and the nation is so thoroughly awake to the possibility of abusing the Congressional powers under it, we may argue that there is little danger of new oppressive laws under the 15th amendment. But it would be different if women are enfranchised under an amendment exactly of the same principle as the 15th. The country is not suspicious. As the claim is openly acknowledged that its advocates expect to force suffrage upon at least 12 unwilling states, perhaps more, it is reasonable to expect that in some of those states refusal to allow women to vote on account of their sex will occur; especially if strong interests, like those of the Japs and the eastern manufacturing states, are looking for cases. As Congressional laws apply to all the states, it would not matter in what states such violations of the amendment should occur, it would form a cause for asking Federal laws to protect women. Such laws, if designed for a selfish purpose, would result in interference with state elections. If Congress, with design, should pass laws providing Federal inspectors at state elections, it would mean that state legislatures and their representatives in Congress would vote as the interests decided. I do not believe that Western legislatures and western congressmen would betray their states on the Jap question any more than southern legislatures and congressmen would violate the interests of their own states on the negro problem. But history proves that such violations are possible, indeed certain, if Congress can interfere with state elections on any pretext. What has happened in the south under the 15th amendment, though possibly not again possible, may happen in the west, under the Anthony amendment.

This is the line of thought which has presented itself to me. I want you to help me to study it out. In the meanwhile, I do not wish you to quote me on it, because I have not yet sufficiently studied the question to be sure of my ground.

Please remember me to your sisters. Write as soon as you can what your plans are. I have not written before because I have been very busy about what I tell you in this letter. I am fixing my hopes now upon failure to ratify rather than defeat of the Anthony amendment in the Senate.

Cordially yours,



189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.  
June 13th, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon,

As I have written, we had a meeting on Wednesday, formed a Committee of the four former members of the T. Rights asso. who had resigned publicly from the asso., and whose names had been mentioned on the papers. We have several other members who say they are with us; but we feel the time is so short now that numbers are not what we need, but a working committee. We have published the Open Letter, of which I enclose a copy. We find the two city papers are willing to give us space for publishing anything like news; and we have ordered this letter printed, and intend to send it out to all prospective candidates for state office.

I think we will be able to do all the work which can be done effectively in this state. But I feel very keenly the need of some newspaper worker like Mrs. Bayer. However, time is too short to do anything that requires time to organize. I believe our only hope to defeat the Anthony amendment is to get states in rapid succession to pass state amendments. Then the fact that the Anthony amendment is more for the purpose of establishing Federal control of state elections than for suffrage will become apparent; and its progress might be stayed.

I shall have to go to Madison to attend to harvesting my wheat next week; but I shall do what I have never done before- I shall return to Lexington and remain here if I see that I can do any good for the suffrage cause. If you write to me so that I will get your letter next week direct to Richmond, Ky. After that, I will let you know where to address me. Anyway, I always have my letters forwarded, so the delay will be short; even if they come to Lexington.

The Mrs. Foster whose name is on our committee was one of the woman delegates from Washington state to the St. Louis Democratic convention in 1916. Mrs. Oldham has an office with her son on a business street, and her office is our temporary headquarters. I feel that we have made a good beginning; and I expect to work against the Anthony amendment as long as there is any hope of defeating it. I shall want to help you all I can; and I am always so glad to hear from you.

My regards to your sisters.  
Very cordially yours,



# Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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

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

LAURA CLAY, Vice-President at Large,  
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MRS. H. B. BARTLETT, Treasurer,  
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HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT  
MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,  
New York City

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

HEADQUARTERS  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

June 5, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

The blow has fallen and now to defeat ratification if possible, which is possible if we can raise enough money for a national campaign. When we say Ntl I mean in about twenty or twenty five states selected largely thro the sentiment of the opposition to the submission.

I to-day send to the Secretaries of State in the Union for a list of Legislators and will write a personal letter. I will try and get certain newspapers to recognize an opposition. We must now appeal to the woman who is neither anti nor suffragist not to be caught in the maelstrom.

I see that Texas is to hold a special session in two weeks. I will ask for a hearing. I intend to consecrate whatever strength I may have to prevent this monstrous thing happening. I feel very confident that if we could raise enough money to maintain a committee in 20 states we could win. But it is a matter of at least fifty thousand dollars and I doubt my ability to do it.

However I will try. I wish I could have the comfort that you are having in your religious acceptance of the situation. I feel it is a triumph of ignorance, on th part of many who know not what they do.

Yesterday we had to dine with us Mrs. Ellington and Miss Watkins of Arkansas (one of the southern organizers of the Ntl) returning from campaigning in Texas. Mrs. Ellington did the talking and said in the Dallas District the things that were said and done and the absolute apathy of the women was beyond belief. Miss Watkins who was given the Beaumont Dist. was told by Mrs. Cunningham that it was hopeless, yet it carried and raised all the money they needed and a surplus. All were agreed that the prohibitionists were against them and while I know this has always been their



attitude I am at a loss to explain it to-day except on the ground that they fear the legal test on the duality of the Constitution and wanted an adverse expression from the referendum to affect the legislature <sup>for</sup> ratification. There is going to be a great reaction on this centralization effort and my prayer is that it will not be too late to save us from ratification.

I am utterly miserable and feel so helpless.

Affectionately,



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# Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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HEADQUARTERS  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.



My dear Miss Clay:

I am inclosing the Congressional letter which while late for the House may have some effect on the Senate, altho I think Wilson has gotten in his deadly work. I think there is hardly a chance to prevent submission but I doubt seriously ratification. Whatever has happened in France with the negro troops I think there has been a terrible opposition awaken'd in their attitude to French whitewomen and your racial argument I regard as little short of inspiration.

I want to congratulate you on your appeal to the Republican Committee and the results. It is a great pity you did not make that appeal to the Legislature last year and Kentucky would I believe with the enfranchised states. It is infamous the way the Ntl has tried to keep the states from submitting the question.

I am writing Mrs. Stoner to find out whether she can get a hearing for me befor the Committee, in which case I will go to Washington. But I do not think anything will keep it from submission. We must try and try to prevent ratification..

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon



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

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FANNIE R. GORDON  
KATE M. GORDON

# JEAN M. GORDON & CO.

MANUFACTURERR' AGENTS

508 MAGAZINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

June 19, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

I wonder if you will ever fully appreciate what a comfort your letters have been with their splendid information and suggestion. What appalls me in the whole situation is the lack of understanding. Yesterday I had a letter from Mrs. Boyer which gave me <sup>my</sup> solar plexus blow and it was in reference to your Elections <sup>Bill</sup> which I certainly thought she understood. I quote from her letter: "Was dismayed when I read of Miss Clay's withdrawal from Kentucky suffrage ranks. I know she acted from conscientious motives, but I cannot clearly understand her championship of the U.S. Elections Bill and such extreme States Rights attitude. The U. S Elections Bill would have given Federal authorities certain supervision over state elections and undoubtedly admitted ~~negro men and~~ women to participate in Presidential and Congressional elections. I confess I am a little hazy, but my faith in and love for Miss Clay is undaunted.

When Mrs. Boyer can make such a grievous error that your Bill gave certain supervision over state elections and shows that she does not know that the Federal Government now has supervision over Federal suffrage if it chooses to exercise it. I grow positively hopeless to make people understand the cataclysm that threatens our whole form of government.

Well I've called a meeting of women for tomorrow who are not suffragists and will propose a Defenders League to secure ~~thirteen~~ states to promise to postpone action until after 1920 and in the meantime to organize the South to give state suffrage. I will try and get the financial wheels moving.

I had a nice letter from Governor Hobbs of Texas stating he had no authority to give permission to me to address the Legislature but suggesting me to write at once to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. Which I have done. I am writing to Arkansas for the same permission.

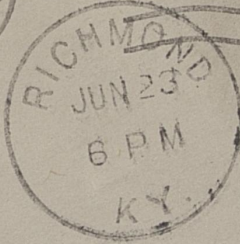
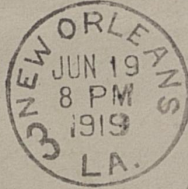
What is alarming me not a little is the attitude of the Catholic Church. It has always been such an opponent, to woman suffrage and already it seems laying its plans against ~~the~~ a national divorce law. With the way the Senate has been catering to the Irish vote in meddling with great Britain it would not surprise me to see a religious menace rise also to the surface. I cannot but believe there is catholic intrigue in Ransdell's attitude. Anything else is unexplainable. We will soon have Government by Knights of Columbus.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon



SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE  
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA



Due 1 cent

Miss Laura Clay,  
~~Richmond, Ky.~~

~~Please forward~~  
Richmond Ky  
~~189 north main~~  
~~Springton~~  
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New York City

HEADQUARTERS

NEW ORLEANS, LA.



July 23, 1919

My dear Miss Clay:

Wish I had something hopeful to write about. The democratic party has evidently made up its mind to move heaven and earth for the woman vote as the republican party owns the negro vote. The idea of Mr. Wilson making his appeal to the Georgia and Alabama Legislatures "to save the democratic party." The democratic party has no more chance of being returned if old party lines exist at all in 1920 than I have. I wrote as I told you to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of the Texas Legislature but received no answer. Wrote the Gov. of Ga. inclose his letter I wrote asking for the privilege to address the Legislators but received no answer. Wrote Alabama Governor and had no reply. Never had such discourtesy and the truth is that they do not want to be committed to anything that might affect them with the National situation.

Arkansas will ratify next week unless the race situation will make them go more cautiously. I am reading carefully the leading negro papers. I learn a lot of white news from their unbridled animosity to the south, and the race determination for their suffrage rights. In the meanwhile the animosity of the southern soldiers against the negro soldiers in France has reacted in favor of Germany. The Kuklux are forming and any putting into effect of the recommendations of these negro papers will result in fearful loss of life. I wish if any more assaulting of white women takes place in Washington it will be the wife or daughters of some prominent politician. I personally wish it could be Mrs. Wilson or Mrs. Ransdell for those two men are more responsible than any others for the amendment. Apropos of negroes in one of these papers I read that Mrs. Terrell of Washington having been in attendance at the international congress of women and having had many of her suggestions adopted into recommendations. While in Paris the clipping reports that Miss Jeannette Rankin the first woman elected to Congress and Mrs. Terrell were roommates and she travelled in company with Mrs. Louis Post. With white women marrying them in France do you wonder that these poor fool niggers think there is going to be race equality for them at last.

I am sending to the Arkansas legislatros an appeal to defer action until a regular session of the Legislature may act. Know it will do no good but it at least shows some protest. I am heartsick and weary of the whole thing, but I'LL fight to the last ditch. Want to write to Mrs. Bennett.

*Affectionately  
Kate M. Gordon*



## MISS KATE GORDON INDICATES MENACE

### Makes Statement Regarding Opposition to Anthony Suffrage Amendment.

The following statement was made Wednesday by Miss Kate M. Gordon regarding the opposition to the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage:

If anything further was needed to show the menace of the Anthony federal suffrage amendment it has been furnished by the "Democratic Women's Wrath" as reported by The Times-Picayune's Washington correspondent. The wrath has descended because of Governor Pleasant's statesmanlike demand for the Southern states to immediately submit and ratify woman suffrage amendments and defeat ratification of the federal amendment. They prophesy that any attempt for the South to protect itself "will result in harm to the South more widespread and more far-reaching than anyone can now foresee."

Their ire is particularly aroused because the governor has riveted the attention of the whole country on the South and the fact that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are "scraps of paper." They admit that "justifiable subterfuges" have made these amendments of no avail, but the moral right to apply the same questionable methods to an amendment legally ratified as is applied to the fraud amendments does not seem to enter into their calculations.

The reason they see such harm for the South is that "the negro population is not limited to the South." There are enough negroes in Ohio, New York, Indiana and Illinois to turn elections. "Just now the negro has a power he never had before. A labor party has admitted him to equality of membership. This party offers them an acceptable alternative. True, not paid to vote the labor ticket, but in a position to drive a bargain." And the bargain these Democratic ladies warn us against comes in the form of a suggestion: "Suppose they demand that the Republican Party redeem its pledge of 1904 to reduce representation in Congress and the electoral college in any state that makes 'special discrimination' in connection with the franchise."

There you have in a nutshell the real

meaning of any federal suffrage amendment. It delegates power to the federal government to supervise state elections, and destroys, root, stock and branch, the right of self-determination delegated to the states by the original Constitution. It vitalizes that provision of the fourteenth amendment which authorizes the cutting down of representation. As a matter of fact, if the Anthony amendment is ratified, the only honorable thing to expect is the application of these penalties, otherwise the covenant of the nation is befouled.

The whole story is a contemptible surrender to political party expediency by the Democratic Party. We of the South are expected to accept the mutilation of the Constitution, wink at frauds and call Democracy the one-party tyranny that we have endured to maintain a white majority. The reward the South has received for unswerving allegiance to the Democratic Party as a white man's party is to accept the federal amendment, continue the frauds or "far-reaching harm will result." Be-

cause in four states not in the South the negroes hold the balance of power. These wrathful women have confronted us with one more danger involved in sacrificing the integrity of self-governing states with invasion by federal power. They have shown conclusively that in the United States the negro is the political umpire.



State of Georgia  
Executive Department  
Atlanta

July 8th, 1919.

Miss Kate M. Gordon, President,  
Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference,  
1800 Prytania Street,  
New Orleans, La.

Dear Madam:

Referring to your communication of  
July 4th:

I hardly believe that there is any  
probability that the Susan B. Anthony  
Amendment will pass the General Assembly  
of Georgia. I will present your request  
for permission to address the General As-  
sembly to that body however, if after  
receipt of this letter in view of what  
I state, you still feel that you would  
like that privilege.

The representatives of the Suffrage  
Party from Washington are here now, and  
cooperating, I think, with local repre-  
sentatives and it may be that they will  
change the sentiment of the members of  
the General Assembly of our State, but  
I hardly think so.

So far as I am personally concerned,  
I strongly favor woman suffrage. While  
I should much prefer to have seen it given  
through amendment to our State Constitution  
I am not prepared to say that I would not  
be glad to see the Federal Amendment pass.

Awaiting your pleasure, I remain,

Yours truly,

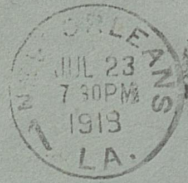
*Hugh Mearns*

G o v e r n o r .

*Note I'd still like to speak  
& appeal for subscription - no answer*



Era Club  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.



Miss Laura Clay  
Lexington, Ky.

Richmond Ky

**VOTES FOR WOMEN**









Richmond, Kentucky,  
July 3rd, 1919.

My dear Miss Gordon:

*to work on Sen. Mann's bill*

I am writing to you as I shall to Laura Clay, to say that I think the best thing you can do in your fight for the preservation for the sovereignty of our States, is to use the fact that Congress has recommended the adoption of the Anthony Amendment, as a club, to drive our men to confer the ballot upon women by amending State Constitutions. For I believe it was the knowledge that Congress had recommended the ratification of the Anthony Amendment, that induced Governor Pleasant of Louisiana, to confer the ballot upon women.

Tell the people that our Democrats and Republicans put a plank in their platform at their last convention, which declared that they were in favor of conferring the ballot upon women by amendments to their State Constitution; but that since then our Congressmen have adopted a Resolution, which recommends that the ballot shall be conferred upon women by the adding of the Anthony Amendment to our National Constitution: Tell them that under the 15th Amendment of our National Constitution our Federal Government forced our men in 1870, to allow black men to vote at state elections, the Constitution and laws of our States "to the contrary notwithstanding": That the Anthony Amendment is similar to the 15th one, and that our Federal Government could therefore force our men under this Amendment to allow women to vote at State Elections, the Constitution and laws of our States "to the contrary notwithstanding." But that you the members of the citizens committee think that this would dishonor our men, and partially destroy the sovereignty of our States, so you ask our Democrat and Republican men to be true to the suffrage planks of their party platforms, and give women the ballot, by amending our State Constitutions.

Affectionately Yours,

Sarah C. Bennett



XXXXXX

Richmond, R9R9D9#4

Aug9ist, 19199

My dear Miss Gordon,

Just received yours of July 23rd today. owing to delays because of being in the country I have just finished hauling my wheat in spite of rains, and so am relieved for the moment of business cares.

Whilst in Lexington my excellent coworkers and I have done a good deal of distributing literature and writing letters. Mrs. Dunster Gibson Foster was one of the women delegates to the Democratic convention at St. Louis from Washington; and that fact and her large acquaintance in the West has made her particularly valuable in the West. For we believe our most hopeful chance is in the West. by pointing out that the States which have small representation in Congress will be exploited for political or commercial advantages by the larger states, if Congress gets the right to legislate on State elections by the Anthony amendment. I never write of the Anthony amendment as a suffrage amendment, but simply call it the Anthony Federal amendment, and I endeavor to show all the time that its suffrage clause is quite secondary, the second clause containing the real gist of it, in conferring the right upon Congress to legislate on State elections. Is it not significant that the legislatures of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts refused to extend Presidential suffrage, and in a few days ratified the Anthony amendment by large majorities? The states with large congressional quotas are compensated for loss of state dignity and power by increased Congressional power, which can be used to exploit weaker states and sections.

I did a good deal of reading whilst in Lexington in the old Con-



Congressional records of May, 1870. reporting the passage of the Force Bill of May 31st, 1870. Among other things, I learned as never before how autocratic that Force Bill was, and designedly for party purposes. Also, how fraudulent and unconstitutional was the passage of the 14th and 15th amendments. I have been purposing to write to you that while I think your position is strong on those amendments I do not think the passage of the Anthony amendment will justify what I believe is your position- that it will virtually being to condone the passage of the other two. I think the position of women in a nation is essentially different from that of the men of an alien race; and a race which all admit never could have evelved a government like ours; and are not now capable of sustaining it by themselves.

I find that the advocates of the Anthony amendment, aware of its steps towards autocratic power in Congress, are now saying that if it should prove that these new powers, conferred without any new check upon them, should prove destructive to free government, the States should repeal the Anthony amendment, after the state constitutions were amended to give women suffrage by the State route. Of course, this is a wholly a dangerous and rash way of looking at what they know is a revolutionary change in our government; but I mention it ~~and~~ at least a forlorn hope in the future, if the Anthony amendment is ratified, and as a reason why we should continue the fight against it, and for state amendments as quick as possible under any circumstances.

We are not without hope of defeating the Anthony amendment in Kentucky, and that the West will rouse itself to the danger of concessions to the Japanese by United States treaties, if the Anthony amendment confers upon Congress the power to manipulate the State legislatures of the Eastern states.

Well, I shall hope to the last; and in any case I feel that work against the autocracy of Congress will bear good fruit, if even after fif-

Yours



This granting to Congress power to legislate on state elections without any new constitutional checks

provided would eventually overthrow our form of government; and I doubt if that will not be proved in less than fifty years. In any case, the whole matter will involve the rights of men as well as women; and whatever steps will be necessary to recover our lost liberties will demand the efforts of men as well as women. It is part of my purpose and desire to show that women never demanded such a sacrifice; and are willing to do their share toward exerting it. Thus I possess my soul in patience. I am greatly sustained by knowing that you and others are also striving to maintain the fundamental principles of the government that for 140 years has held up the principles of free government, even if not wholly consistently in all things.

Write to me again. I believe in Ky. we feel that the situation is more hopeful than you feel it to be.

Give my regards to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially yours

Assuming that the Government desires