

National American Woman Suffrage Association.

MEMBER NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

Honorary President, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, 26 West 61st Street, New York.

Honorary President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
2008 American Tract Society Building, New York.

Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA H. SHAW,
1830 Diamond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Corresponding Secretary, RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer, HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.

Auditors { LAURA CLAY, Lexington, Ky.
CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH,
The Rookery, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 2008 AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY BUILDING, N. Y.

OFFICE OF HONORARY PRESIDENT, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

17 Madison St.,

June 5, 1900.

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington,
Ky.

Dear Miss Clay: --

Your letter is just received. I am very glad indeed to know you will undertake the work for Kentucky. I enclose a few additional suggestions which have been made in reply to letters of inquiry received, and which I am sending to each of those who have agreed to write the State chapters. Very possibly they will not be needed by you. You will notice, however, that they cover a number of points besides woman suffrage.

Trusting to receive your chapter in good time, I am,

Very truly yours,

Ida Husted Harper.

The postal of reminder was one of many sent out by my secretary. I know of your great sorrow at the time my first letter reached you. I have been through it and you have my sincere sympathy.

[June 5, 1900]

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS.

1. Please note the ten points in my last letter, which cover a variety of subjects besides Woman Suffrage.
2. In addition, state whether any new occupations have been opened to women, or any new industries founded by them within the period assigned. If possible, compare the census figures of 1883 with those of recent dates.
3. Avoid all prejudice, and give due credit to all workers.
4. Of course you are at perfect liberty to call as many persons to your assistance as you choose. Your State Librarian probably can furnish data. If you can obtain access to files of the Woman's Tribune or Woman's Journal, you will find therein a vast amount of material. The secretaries of various associations, too, doubtless can give you information. The State reports made each year at the national suffrage conventions will be especially valuable. It may be possible that we can send you some records from here which will help. Please be particularly careful of dates, and do not go back of 1884.
5. It is, of course, impossible to assign any definite length to your report. Put in all of the facts with no superfluous words. If you will keep a copy it will be much easier to suggest any necessary changes than to return the entire MS. to you. Please let it be typewritten, if possible. We are anxious that the work of your State should be well represented in the History, and this rests with you.
6. While you can have until October 1st to complete the report, the earlier it comes the better it will be for your chapter. I shall not write you again concerning it unless you ask for information.

[June 5, 1900]

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9. Any progressive steps made by the women of your State not enumerated under the above heads.

10. Mention of prominent men, women and newspapers that have directly aided in securing these results.

We do not ask for descriptive writing, theories or prophecies, but only for a plain, simple historical statement in the fewest possible words.

As Miss Anthony is obliged to bear the entire expense of this History from her own private means she cannot offer financial compensation for these State chapters, but the writer's name will be attached to her report and will go down to posterity in good company.

We ask you as State President if you are willing to undertake this work. If not, will you give the matter your careful consideration and, at the earliest possible moment, kindly suggest the person you consider most capable?

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Ida Husted Harper.

Please accept my most sincere sympathy in the loss of your mother. It is a sorrow I have known, and something inexpressibly dear went out of my life never to return when my mother left me. We may love another as much as we did her but no one ever will love us so well as she did, and the world is lonely with her gone out of it, and it never ceases to be lonely. My love to your sisters.

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OFFICE OF HONORARY PRESIDENT.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.,

Nov. 2, 1900.

My Dear Miss Clay: --

It is now over a month since the time when the Kentucky chapter for the History of Woman Suffrage was to be ready. I have been expecting it daily, and have reached a place in the work where it is almost necessary that all of these State reports should be on hand. It is impossible to assign any fixed amount of space to each until I see how much is required for all of them together. If your chapter is ready, will you kindly let me have it at the earliest possible moment?

Permit me to request that you do not fail to consider each one of the heads in the letter of suggestions, except that I do not care particularly for the work of women in the Spanish-American War, as I find that it was about the same in all of the States. Many of those preparing the chapters have neglected to answer some of these points, and have been careless about dates, the exact legislative votes, etc.; and their reports have had to be sent back for revision.

No one appreciates better than myself the labor necessary for the preparation of these chapters, as I have been doing that kind of work almost incessantly for the past four years, but I am sure you will feel repaid when the History is finished and you see the amount of information which has been collected.

Hoping for an early reply, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Ida Husted Harper.

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OFFICE OF HONORARY PRESIDENT.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.,

Nov. 21, 1900.

My Dear Miss Clay: --

Your postal card is just received. Miss Anthony's continued ill-health is making a considerable change in our plans. I expected to take up the work here about the first of September, and have it finished by the first of January. On account of her sudden attack, it was the last of October before I could resume the duties laid aside the first of July. Since that time she has not been able to examine a single chapter, or read a single letter sent or received; and while she is slowly recovering, it will be impossible for her to place the History in the hands of the printer before next spring. Therefore I probably shall lay it aside the first of December and spend the winter in Washington, as is my custom, returning here in April to finish it.

By this date, Miss Anthony hopes, as do all of us, that she will be able at least to pass judgment on the work. She is beginning to write a few letters, and is hending every energy toward garnering sufficient strength to open the Suffrage Bazar December 3. The physician has positively forbidden her to do this, but her desire to appear once more in public with her old co-laborer, Mrs. Stanton, is so great that doubtless she will make the attempt.

I therefore can extend the time for your chapter until March, but must have it then without fail. Let me beg of you to observe the heads

in our letter of suggestions, as that is the only way in which the chapters can be made uniform. Many of the ladies have disregarded this entirely, and their chapters have had to be returned for revision.

I have decided not to mention the work in the Spanish-American War, as I find it was practically the same in all of the States.

You speak in your postal-card of sending the facts for me to arrange. As your chapter will go into the History over your own name, this would not be advisable, and probably with this extension of time you will be able to arrange them to your own satisfaction. I realize how very busy you are, but there is certainly no one but yourself in Kentucky who ought to prepare this part of the History.

Very sincerely yours,

Idausted Harper.

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OFFICE OF HONORARY PRESIDENT.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.,

17 Madison St.,

April 19, 1901.

My Dear Miss Clay: --

I should have acknowledged the receipt of your Kentucky chapter long ago; but as you said in your letter that you were just about to start on a three weeks trip, I did not do it at once and so have allowed the time to slip by. I have had it copied on the typewriter, and both Miss Anthony and I are very much pleased with it. You may be complimented to know that it is the one and only chapter, of over forty which have been sent, that did not require a single letter, ^{from me} for information, corrections, etc. It has been a common thing for me to write a dozen letters before I could get a chapter into proper shape, and many of them I have had to re-write entirely, from the first word to the last. In still other cases, nothing but a big bunch of clippings, etc., has been sent from which to prepare the chapter myself. But a great many of the ladies have done beautiful work, which it has been a pleasure to receive.

When I go over your chapter the second time, point by point, it may be that I shall find something which needs to be condensed or elaborated, and in that case I will write you in regard to it.

I send herewith a list in which full names have not been given. Please supply them if possible. Also give the date of the Breckinridge campaign.

Ida Husted Harper.

And I have signed wrong sheet.

(Miss L. C.)

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C. Apr. 19, 1901

In all these chapters I have made it a rule not to mention the names of women who were appointed to offices if they were not known suffragists. The fact that a woman can hold the office should be stated, as a tribute to the efforts of the workers, but there is no need of immortalizing the name of any woman who enjoys a reward she has not earned. Before your chapter goes to the printers I will return it to you to have all such names marked out, as I take it for granted you did not keep a copy.

In spending more weeks than you had expected to give days, you have had the experience of all who have undertaken these chapters. It is almost an impossibility to get definite and accurate information. No one can realize this, who never has attempted it. I had the same experience in writing the Biography, but of course it is even more difficult in regard to this History. I do appreciate the work you have done, but it would be superfluous to thank you for it, because you have just as much interest in the History as I have myself.

Miss Anthony is not as well as she was a few weeks ago. She is very weak, but I hope that with the approaching spring she can have the assistance of out-door air and exercise. Thus far we have had very few pleasant days. *She is doing no work on the History except looking over a finished chapter occasionally.*

I am going to New York the first of May to take an editorial position with the McClures, as substitute for an editor who is to have a six months trip abroad. I am working night and day to get these chapters together, and then expect to take them with me and give them a careful revision. I should have much preferred to remain here until the book was ready for the printers, but both Miss Anthony and myself think that this position offers certain advantages which it would be a mistake to neglect.

Sincerely yours,

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Member National Council of Women

Honorary President, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y.

President, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
160 Bay 31st St., Bensonhurst, N. Y.

Recording Secretary, ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
3 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

Vice-President-at-Large, REV. ANNA H. SHAW,
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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, WARREN, OHIO.

OFFICE OF HONORARY PRESIDENT, 17 MADISON ST., ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Oct. 13, 1903.

My Dear Miss Clay:-

I send herewith your Mss. as you requested.
I trust you will pardon the marks I have made on it
as I did not know that you would ask its return.

With many thanks for your great helpfulness
in preparing the book, I am as ever,

Very truly yours,

Ida Husted Harper.

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717 Masonic Temple, Minneapolis, Minn.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 2008 AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY BUILDING, N. Y.

Office of First Auditor, Lexington, Ky. April 3rd 1902.

My dear Mrs. Harper,

I have just received your postal, asking about the Klair school suffrage repeal bill. Yes, Gov. Beckham signed the bill, a few days after the adjournment of the General Assembly. My heart is very sore over this. As yet, I see no compensating circumstances about this grievous loss. I send you by this mail a remonstrance gotten out by the women of Lexington. Those who know Ky. families will recognize many of the most prominent names of Central Ky; among others, the two remaining daughters in law of Henry Clay, two of his grand daughters, a relative of

John C. Breckinridge, a sister-in-law of Gen. John Morgan, of Confederate fame, a daughter of Gen. Federate
Gen. Withers, and many others of equal weight in Ky. Though their influence was not sufficient to stay disfranchisement, they will prove that the women wanted the ballot, that there was no reasonable fear that negroes would dominate the school elections. The whole truth is our state is in a miserable political condition, Democracy torn into two factions, and the faction dominating in the General Assembly determined not to lose one particle of partisan advantage over Republicans or the other faction of Democrats, even in so small a matter as electing a school board. ^{practically} All the negro women ~~for~~ even Republicans and the white women were divided between the parties, school suffrage gave the Republicans an advantage in Lexington, where there are many negroes, though

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Office of First Auditor, Lexington, Ky.

not enough to outweigh the white women, if the whites had turned out as generally as the poor negroes. In the other two cities, Covington and Newport, there are not enough negroes even to hold the balance of power. Until this year, the negroes never registered in as large numbers as the white women in Leesington. Unfortunately, this year the fear of the appointment of an unpopular negro man as principal of the negro schools brought out an enormous number of the negro women, while nothing caused a marked increase of white women, though their registration was not inconsiderable. The negroes, however, did not even attempt to

to nominate a ticket. The worst
they could have done was to
elect the ^{prohibit} Republican ticket, nomi-
nated by whites.

The suffragists will not give up
under this discouragement, but
I am not prepared now to say
what our future line of action
will be.

In the list of women signing
the memorial there are many
representatives of the Woman's
Club, the W. C. T. U., and those
with no organization affilia-
tions, as well as the C. C. A.

While I was in Frankfurt, I
looked up the Senate vote on
the Husband & Wife bill of 1874,
and found the vote was 21 yeas
to 10 nays. I hope the information
will not be too late for your his-
tory.

Please give my love to Miss Buttho-
mag, and believe me
Very sincerely yours
Laura Clay.

Oct 1903

The wife cannot dispose of real estate without the husband's signature. If the husband disposes of real estate without the wife's signature, it is liable for her dower ^{right of a life estate in one third of it, if she outlives him.} I think you should mention whether a wife can dispose of her real estate without the husband's signature, and whether he can do this without her's, and I will put it in on page 18. This information is given in all of the other States.

On page 24 you will see that the suffrage possessed by the women of Kentucky, according to the law as it now stands, gives widows or spinsters having children of school age or paying taxes the vote on school trustees, but not on questions of taxation. But in 1886 it seems that tax-paying widows and spinsters were enabled to vote on school taxes but not on trustees. I think our statement is not perfectly clear and if you can devise any means of making it more so I wish you would.

I want you to keep the chapter as long as necessary for verification but no longer, as I shall soon have the MS. ready for the publisher. With the earnest hope that you may find the chapter satisfactory, and with the highest appreciation of Miss Anthony and myself for the splendid work you have done for the History, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Ida Husted Harper.

On page 24 I have written the law as it now stands. I have scratched out several paragraphs as unnecessary. The winning of school suffrage for second class cities is sufficiently recorded elsewhere; and as it is now repealed, it is not necessary to repeat it on this page.

[June 17, 1907]

157 E. 37th St.,

New York, June 13!

(COPY)

My dear Miss Thomas:-

I am almost too busy to write to you or read this letter but I must tell you a little incident.

I had occasion to go to the office of the Outlook a day or two ago and found Dr. Mabie very much perturbed over your letter stopping the magazine on account of its attitude towards woman suffrage. "Just to think," he said, "that a woman of Miss Thomas' strong character and broad views should stop a magazine because it differed from her on one point. Why I don't expect every periodical I take to agree with me on everything."

"I know scores of prominent women," I answered, "who have stopped the Outlook for the same reason Miss Thomas has but they did not write and tell you so. It is not because your magazine is unfavorable to woman suffrage but because it is so very unfair. It misrepresents the situation absolutely, it makes statements which are wholly untrue, and then it refuses to allow corrections or to give the other side a hearing."

He tried to deny these charges but I cited one case after another and he was forced to admit all of them. I said, "Now Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett are so deeply interested in this question, and believe so strongly in the justice of it, that they have just raised a fund of \$60,000 to help in the enfranchisement of women. Do you think they want to open the Outlook every week and find not only an attack on it but a misrepresentation of facts, and never see any adequate statement from the side on which they stand? I don't see that any other course was open to them."

He then spoke in highest eulogy of you and said, "I think Miss Thomas and the rest of you women make such a mistake in assuming that you are placed in an inferior position by being disfranchised." I replied, "So long as our dis-

[June 17, 1907]

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franchisement places us in a class with the outcasts of society, with lunatics, idiots, felons and Chinese, we cannot regard it as other than a mark of degradation."

I can't take time to tell you other statements he made and I tried to answer, but finally he said: "Well, Mrs. Harper, I must have an hour's conversation with you on these points but every minute is crowded to-day. Will you give me some time in the near future?"

To-day I received a note from him saying that he would ask me to give him the opportunity of a fuller talk at the earliest possible moment.

I am writing this to say that your letter to the Outlook was a master stroke and will be followed by some good results. O, if women would only resent the outrageous things that are done and said! Did you see my article in last Saturday's Sun? If not I'll send it to you.

I suppose Miss Garrett and you will soon be sailing - I wonder where.

With love to you both,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Ida Musted Harper.

[Mar 26, 1908]

C O P Y

United State Senate,
Washington, March 9, 1908.

My dear Mrs. Harper:-

I am very sorry indeed not to have been able to see you; your note is the first information I have that you were here. I was not at the hearing because I have been very, ~~busy~~ very ill indeed, and got out to the Senate only on the day the hearing was held. I never had any notice of it because, as I suppose, I was sick in bed and it was not transmitted to me there.

I shall vote in the committee in favor of your position, but if the committee makes an adverse report I do not feel that it would be the proper thing for me to make a minority report. I have now about as much on my shoulders as several men together can carry -- child labor, tariff commission and the other great fights in which I am leading. If I load myself with much more I fear that I will be so burdened that all will be lost.

It is a real pleasure for me to send you the book you request. Whenever you want anything of any kind, please always remember that it is ~~always~~ more of a gratification for me to do it than it is for you to have it done.

(Signed)

Beveridge.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

President, Dr. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
Moylan, Penn.
1st Vice President, Mrs. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Swarthmore, Penn.
2nd Vice President, Mrs. FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York.
Corresponding Secretary, Prof. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. ELLA S. STEWART,
5464 Jefferson Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Treasurer, Mrs. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON,
Warren, Ohio.
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Lexington, Ky.
Miss ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Headquarters Secretary, Prof. MARY GRAY PECK.



OFFICE OF PRESS COMMITTEE
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK
MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, CHAIRMAN.

Sept. 27, 1909

Dear Friend:

In the moving of the National Headquarters from Warren to New York and the transferring of the press work the service was unavoidably interrupted, but now we shall resume sending the press articles at once. I am very pleased to tell you that Miss Hauser is to be associated with me in the press department whose work she understands better than anyone else.

Assuring you of my desire to co-operate with you and trusting we may be successful in our efforts, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Dictated.

Ida Husted Harper
Chairman. *Id*

Sept 27, 1909

Press Bureau National Woman Suffrage Association
New York City.

Woman Suffrage Headquarters in New York.

The Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been moved from Warren, Ohio to New York. The offices are located on the 17th floor of a handsome new office building at 505 Fifth Avenue. Rev. Anna H. Shaw and Prof. Frances Squire Potter, President and Corresponding Secretary are the officers in charge. The Press Department is under the personal direction of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, biographer of Susan B. Anthony, assisted by Elizabeth J. Hauser, of Ohio.

The New York State Woman Suffrage Association has its Headquarters on the same floor, and the two remaining rooms are occupied by Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont as offices. Thus the entire floor is given over to the propagation of the woman's cause.

Among the distinguished visitors who have called to express their interest are Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, Kate Barnard, State Commissioner of Charities of Oklahoma, John Temple Graves, Editor of the New York American, Hon. I. N. Stevens, editor of the Colorado Chieftain and author of The Liberators, Chas. E. Duryea, an automobile manufacturer of Reading, Pa. who volunteered to enclose woman suffrage leaflets in all of his advertising, Mrs. Clarence Mackay and other women of prominence.

Governor Johnson on Woman Suffrage

In the death of Minnesota's Chief Executive the woman suffragists lose one of the most valuable allies they have ever had in public life. Governor Johnson has been a staunch advocate of the enfranchisement of women for years and has repeatedly expressed his convictions in public and private.

Lexington, Ky. Nov. 16/09.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,

New York City, New York.

My dear Mrs. Harper,

I desire to inform you that at the Annual Convention of the Kentucky E. R. A., just held in Louisville, we appointed Miss Emma Dolfinger as Press Superintendent. I am sorry that I neglected to get her address but as I told her to write to you, no doubt you will soon hear from her. We had excellent press reports from the Louisville papers and hope by the appointment of this Louisville lady to obtain entrance into the Louisville papers, which Mrs. Obenshain and Dr. Southgate were unable to do. I believe Miss Dolfinger is not a press woman, but a teacher whom her friends think will do excellent work. Any encouragement and help you may be able to give her will be very much appreciated by our Association.

I also have another favor to ask of you along press lines. My friend, Miss Belle H. Bennett of Richmond, Ky., President of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, has asked me to do what I can to call attention in the eastern papers to the memorial which The Home Missionary Society has recently sent to the General Conference, asking that the women of the church be granted the full rights of the laity. The Conference is not to be held until
over.

next May and the fear is, that this memorial may be smothered in committee. She writes: "The enclosed clipping from an editorial by Mary Helm, in our Home Mission paper, is about what I want to get before the public generally. Public sentiment and public discussion is what I want and what we must have, to prevent the measure being killed in the ~~Senate~~ room. The General Conference to which this Memorial is to be presented does not meet until next May. In the meantime we must and will make a vigorous campaign. The women have to be enlightened and established as well as the preachers. I will be greatly obliged if you and Dr. Shaw will help us, whenever and where ever you can."

I enclose a full ~~copy~~ of the Memorial. As this involves the laic rights of the half million of women of the Southern Methodist Church, I believe you will feel that it is a matter worthy of your attention as a press woman, and I assure you that anything you may do to help us will be very gratefully appreciated by The Kentucky E. R. A. as well as by the progressive women of all the southern states.

I have never had an opportunity before to say how glad I am that you have Miss Elizabeth Hauser with you and that we are not losing her help in our good cause. Please give her my affectionate regards and believe me.

Very sincerely yours,

Dict.

Feb 2 1910

Jan. 31. 1910

My dear Dr. Shaw;

I am just in receipt of a note from Mrs. Upton, in which she says that if I have anything to say in regard to Progress she would like to have no need it to Warren at once, as Mrs. Avery will be there and they can talk things over. I had expected to write a letter to the Board regarding Progress as soon as I had finished this month's work on the paper, and so I will hasten it a little.

Of course when I offered in my letter to the Board at Seattle last Summer to edit Progress, I had no idea of what the situation would be here in New York. I had supposed it would take some time to work up the business of the Press Bureau and that there would be plenty of time to do the necessary work on the paper. On the contrary, from the minute our doors were opened we have been literally overwhelmed with callers, reporters, requests from everywhere for material, and more work than it would be possible to do even with twice the force we have.

As you know I arranged at your December meeting to give half of my time to the office and pay a stenographer out of my small salary. This I have done for January and yet have given more hours to the office than in any of the preceding months, staying here often all day and until eight, nine and ten o'clock at night, and then leaving much undone.

With my utmost endeavors, I could not get the material ready for Progress until the middle of January, and then had to begin at once on the February number. The last of that will go, I hope, to the printer to-day, but with the proof-reading, etc., the paper cannot go out before the last of this week. It will be an absolute impossibility for me to undertake it another month. As the Board took no official action on my offer to edit the paper, I feel that I am at liberty to withdraw it, although I really regret doing so.

I fully believe that an eight-page paper could be made out of it and pay the extra expense with advertising that could be secured here in New York, even with the small circulation; but it would require all of one person's time to work out

Feb 1912

I.H.B. #2

the necessary plans. Here and there is impressed upon me the wisdom of two publications - The Woman's Journal and Progress - going to practically the same subscribers and with very little difference in the subject matter. Especially since the death of Mr. Blackwell, leaving the entire burden of the Journal on one person, it seems to me that some sort of a combination could be made. The two papers should be merged, and one strong, comprehensive, 8 page paper should be published. I believe this plan could be worked out in some way to the advantage of all concerned, and especially to the cause of Woman's Suffrage. The time has certainly come when we need a strong, aggressive paper, with a good business manager who could work up a large circulation, and I know that this would be entirely possible. I have many ideas as to what could be made out of it, but it is utterly impossible for me to carry them out with the great burden of work which I have already, as I must write and lecture constantly when I am not in the office, in order to make my living as a woman.

Whoever undertakes the editing of Progress shall have my hearty cooperation and assistance as far as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Edw. Weston Harper

[Feb 2, 1913]

February 1, 1913.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,
Chairman Press Committee,
Office.

My dear Mrs. Harper:

I have carefully read your letter in regard to the preparation and editing of PROGRESS.

You state that - "As the Board took no official notice on my offer to edit it (Progress), I feel at liberty to withdraw." Such a statement is wholly outside of the facts. Your letter expressing your willingness to accept the press work included your offer to prepare the material and edit PROGRESS, and the Board acted upon your proposition as a whole, and upon that understanding you were appointed Chairman of the Press Committee. That is all as understood it is shown from the correspondence in regard to PROGRESS at the time of the removal of headquarters to New York, and that without referring to the fact that you thought the Board took no notice upon your proposition to edit the paper, you have done so far too much.

I feel, and think the Official Board and the whole Association will feel, that you have no moral right to refuse to continue your contract. We have taken subscriptions for the paper, and you owe it to the people, and to the National Association, at least until we meet in a stellar convention in April, when other arrangements may possibly be made; but until that time, it is absolutely impossible to make a change.

Faithfully yours,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

President, Dr. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,
Moylan, Penn.
1st Vice President, Mrs. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Swarthmore, Penn.
2nd Vice President, Mrs. FLORENCE KELLEY,
105 East 22nd Street, New York.
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Lexington, Ky.
Miss ALICE STONE BLACKWELL,
6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Headquarters Secretary, Prof. MARY GRAY PECK.

AUXILIARIES

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FRIENDS EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
PRESIDENT, MRS. MARY BENTLEY THOMAS, EDNOR, MD.

EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
PRESIDENT, MRS. KATHERINE DUER MACKAY, 1 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE, MURRAY HILL 124



April 2/1910

OFFICE OF PRESS COMMITTEE
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK
MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, CHAIRMAN

DEAR MEMBER OF THE OFFICIAL BOARD:

I have talked with Miss Shaw and Mrs. Avery in regard to accepting the Press Committee Chairmanship at the convention, should the Board desire me to do so. They both think that I should not do this unless I can guarantee to remain a full year, or until the next National Convention. It does not seem possible for me to do this, as I cannot tell what changes the year may produce, and in fact I never have been willing to pledge myself to anybody for a full year, as my life seems to have so many changes in it. I could not absolutely guarantee to remain in the office longer than six months, although I might be able to extend the time, and for this period I could conduct the Press Bureau and edit the paper. I think, however, you might find it more satisfactory to elect your Press Chairman at your convention, and therefore I will not stand for re-election.

I think it will be necessary for me to remain in the office until May 1 in order to get out the next number of Progress, as a new chairman could not very well come in toward the end of the month and do this, even though that chairman should be Miss Hauser. I will say, ~~however~~ therefore, that I will go out of the office on April 30, if this plan is agreeable to the Board.

Very sincerely yours,

Ida Husted Harper.

Dear Miss Clay: As you seemed so much interested in the report I gave on the press

work at your board meeting I want to say to you that the reason I am not going to the convention is because the program gives only ten minutes for the press report, and for the first time omits the press conference. As I think it will be the general consent that there never was as much or as important press work done in any previous 7 months I cannot help but resent the situation, altho I have not said this to any one. Miss Hauser will represent the Press Bureau and we will have an exhibit.

Farragut Apartments.
Washington, Mar. 8. '14.

My dear Miss Clay:—

I imagine that like myself you have been almost too busy to eat or sleep this winter. I have worked day and night. I sent you a paper a long time ago with my opinion of the National Association. Things have grown steadily worse here all winter and it is a heart breaking situation. The suffrage cause has steadily lost prestige with the public and with Congress, but the latter of course cannot get away from the tremendous influence of those women voters out West. The Senate vote will, I think, be a great disappointment to those who are running matters this winter. — I am quite sure it will be useless for us to try to do anything with our bill at present. As soon

as the one for the amendment is defeated the M^c-Cormick-Funk contingent has one ready to present, that on petition of 10% of the voters in any State a suffrage amendment must be submitted to the electors! They expect to get a national amendment for such an absurdity! They have kept up the attacks on the Congress. Union all winter and Congress is awfully disgusted. I think we'd better let our bill rest till the situation clarifies, although I am in favor of it and want to help make a fight for it. — I have almost decided to go to Rome about the middle of April as delegate to the International Council of Women. My heart is not very much in suffrage work just now.

I've had a very pleasant little furnished apt. here, not far from the Gordon, with a dining room in house. Please let me know what you think about all this. Very sincerely yours,
Ida Husted Harper.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

March 11th, 1914.

My dear Mrs. Harper,

My mind is much relieved by your letter of the 8th, just received. For though I wrote you that I was still working on our "brief", I have been so busy in Frankfort that I had done nothing more, and I am now in the claws of "the grip", and am unable to do work of any kind. If I am well enough, I expect to go to Des Moines to the Miss) Vay. Suffrage Conference, and give a paper on the constitutionality of our bill, which will be pretty much what I would have written for you. I hope I shall see you at Des Moines. I am most interested in what you tell me of the situation in Washington;- I see little about it except what appears in the Woman's Journal. Under such circumstances I think it is well that the suffragists should meet in non-organization consultation like these conferences.

I thank you for the paper and the clippings you have sent me. If I felt better I would like to write you longer about the situation in Kentucky; but as it is, I must close, with thanks for your continued interest in our bill. I rely greatly on your judgment in this matter, and shall hope to consult with you in Des Moines.

Very cordially yours,

Laura Clay.

November 1, 1916.



Hotel Martha Washington
29 East 29th Street
New York

My dear Miss Clay: -

The enclosed is one of 150 editorials on our A. C. convention that I read and I intended to send it to you at once but never could find time to write even a note to go with it. I was greatly disappointed not to have a little visit with you and I think the regret of our conventions always is the lack of opportunity for social intercourse. I wonder if you were satisfied with the way things went. I heard so many compliments on your

statesmanlike addresses. It was so late the day
you explained your bill and the delegates were so
tired they did not grasp it at first. It seems to
me that convention was all that saved us from
the damage that is being done by the "woman's
party"; if indeed we are saved. They have injured
us terribly in our State and national work and Mrs.
Belmont's letter ^{our workers} ~~they~~ say will lose us West Virginia.
Miss Shaw is just back from there and I dined with
her this evening. She says that if Wilson is defeated
she does not see how we can expect the Democrats
to do anything for us anywhere. Mrs. Call says



Hotel Martha Washington
29 East 29th Street
New York

she thinks it won't make any difference to our movement which party wins, and that is the way I have felt. I'm sick of the campaign and shall be glad when it is over. I am to be Mrs. Catt's guest at the big luncheon Friday for Mrs. McClung. There will be a suffrage ball election night.

I fear we won't have our table together at the Hamilton this winter. Shall you lobby for your bill? My plans are not definitely made but I begin a series of six weekly talks at the Suffrage School

here Nov. 15th which will keep me till the holidays
and I may do some work at the National Headquarters.
My heart is always in Washington but it is a
bad place for my work. Have you had any more
trouble from tic douloureux? I've had an ulcerated
tooth lately. I hope I will see you this winter.

Affectionately yours,

Idausted Harper.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

189 North Mill Street,
Lexington, Ky. Jan. 31st, 1917/

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,
New York.

My Dear Mrs. Harper:-

I enjoyed and appreciated your letter even if I have proved very slow in answering it. I thank you also for the newspaper clipping you enclosed.

I am now in Lexington spending the winter and as I do not have to look after the farm so much I shall have more time for correspondence. I wish I could have your wise judgment about several aspects of the Suffrage question just now. I think the Supreme Court decision on the Webb-Kenyon bill is going to make a Federal Prohibition amendment harder than ever to get, since the states are now able to protect themselves; and it will also make the Suffrage amendment harder to pass because some men have no doubt voted for it because they did not like to be accused of inconsistency in voting for the Prohibition amendment and refusing to vote for the Suffrage amendment. My impression is that the Suffrage lobbyists

are realizing more fully than they did the difficulty they will have to overcome in Congress, and would like to find some Congressional work that is more promising. For that reason as well as others I attach importance to Poindexter's proposed amendment to the Fourteenth amendment which is described in the last Woman's Journal. I have not yet formed any opinion about it, but I think almost anything is better than persistence on the S.B.A. amendment. Mrs. Catt writes me very plainly that she does not believe in Owen's United States Electionsbill. I continue to believe in it, possible more strongly than when I saw you last; but as I think all our hopes of getting anything from Congress depend entirely upon the pressure brought to bear I see no prospect of winning that bill at present since the National is not urging it. I have no thought of going to Washington myself again as I came to this conclusion after my work there last winter. Perhaps the Democrats may take up the bill as a political measure; for they are aroused to the necessity of doing something for Suffrage and I do not believe they will pass the amendment.

Is it not glorious news from North Dakota? I suppose you know that Tennessee also has a bill framed on the Illinois plan which has already passed the House by a big majority and goes to the Senate under favorable auspices. Mrs. Boyer writes me about the Oklahoma situation as very promising and there are to me indications all over the south that the Democrats are taking seriously the Suffrage plank in the National platform. I wish very much the National would held the Oklahoma campaign. Mrs. Catt ought to be able to do so now that she has gotten part of the big fund.

[Jan 31 1917

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In Kentucky we have not quite decided on our policy yet as to whether to ask only for presidential Suffrage in 1918 or for a Constitutional amendment. We have about decided to wait till this session of Congress is over before forming a definite plan as the Suffrage situation seems to be changing almost daily.

What do you think of C. U. picketing the White House. Sometimes I don't wonder that our opponents think women have not got sense enough to vote. I wish the National would turn over the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the C. U. and take up some other phase of the work; because as long as both associations are lobbying for the same thing in Washington we are obliged to bear the burden of their vagaries.

Don't remember my delinquencies in corresponding against me but write to me soon.

Believe me always

Cordially yours,

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

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DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

PRESIDENT
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LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

1ST AUDITOR
Miss HELOISE MEYER
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

2ND AUDITOR
Mrs. PATTIE RUFFNER JACOBS
ALTAMONT ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT
Miss ESTHER G. OGDEN

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
171 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL

NATIONAL PRESS COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
Mrs. IDA HUSTED HARPER

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
Mrs. WALTER McNAB MILLER

HEADQUARTERS
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Washington Headquarters,

February 7, 1917.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am not answering your letter immediately in order to make you indebted to me again but only because it has several points that I think you would like to have answered. In the first place, all work for suffrage in the present Congress was abandoned by the National Association as soon as the break with Germany occurred, as it was utterly useless to expect any attention. ^{whether} In a way it was a good excuse as there was not a particle of hope for the amendment in either house. ¹ In all probability the Poindexter, the Porto Rican, the Danish Islands and other bills in which we are specially interested are shelved for this session. I do not know how far along the Prohibitionists will get with their Federal Amendment, but I think not ^t very far. The ^{law} ~~amendment~~ for prohibition ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ the District may come to a vote.

If there is an extra session, we will of course go to work on that, but we doubt if there is one. There is no use in hoping that the National Association will give up the Federal Amendment. Mrs. Catt expects to use the Leslie fund largely for this purpose. The Association was formed in 1869 to get this amendment and there is no more reason for giving it up now than at any time during the half century. I cannot understand how you can oppose it as you do when you see the defeats that we have in State after State and you know the many

Miss Clay - 2.

Feb 7, 1917

and corrupt influences that are used against us. You cannot believe that the amendment if submitted now in Kentucky could be carried and yet you would be prohibited from trying again for five years. When we do manage to carry a State, we are counted out, as we have been six or eight times, and if we must wait for the State by State method, we will all be dead a long time before ^{suffrage} ~~it~~ becomes universal..

Even the bill for Presidential suffrage has just been voted down in Tennessee and I will make the prophecy that it will not be carried in one Southern State, notwithstanding the plank in the National Democratic platform. I doubt if it is carried in another Northern State. It only went through North Dakota because they have a big progressive movement there and the reform party has got control of the Legislature. If just one Southern State should even so much as submit the amendment there might be some excuse for the opposition of Southern women to the Federal, but I think you will find that this winter will be merely a repetition of past winters and not a Southern State will submit it. Then their women will have to wait two years longer for another chance. The women of the whole country are rallying to the support of the Federal Amendment and we may as well accept the fact that it never will be dropped by the National. I do not think, however, that it will be submitted by the incoming Congress, but I do believe that President Wilson will recommend it before the end of his second term, *and that it will be submitted.*

You know by this time that Mrs. Catt has called an emergency conference of the executive council, presidents of the States, chairmen of committees, etc., to meet here February 23. Its primary purpose, as stated, is to consider the action of the Association in case of war, but she is particularly anxious to have the council act in regard to the States that are determined to have amendment campaigns when they are not ready for them. The Oklahoma matter will come up then and, if it seems best, I am sure Mrs. Catt will help that campaign, but as it seems to be wholly a Democratic measure, she may decide to let that party conduct it. I have not talked with her on the subject as she is very seldom here. Just now she has gone to Maine. We feel very hopeful indeed of carrying that State. As

Miss Clay - 3.

[Feb 7, 1917]

you know the amendment has again been submitted in North Dakota and this new party tells us it will be carried. It is also resubmitted in South Dakota and the political leaders there say it will be adopted this time. Mrs. Catt wants to go right on with another campaign in Iowa, if the Legislature will submit the amendment, and that certainly is all the National can attend to this year.

Mrs. Catt has not yet got the Leslie money actually in her possession, but about half a million dollars has been ordered to be turned over to her. I do not know how soon she can begin to use it, or whether she will only want to use the interest.

We have had here a lovely woman from Paducah, Kentucky, Mrs. Edmund Post, who has done splendid lobby work in Congress. She has now returned home.

The Congressional Union is doing us the greatest possible injury, far and wide. I have written to about 200 editors begging them to draw a clear distinction between the two organizations and many of them are beginning to do so. Here in Washington their picketing has fallen as flat as a pan-cake and the President's contemptuous indifference has been the best possible way of meeting them, but I believe that the public itself will attack them before very long, as so many of the men feel furious at them for standing there in the way in the midst of the special police guard placed at the White House gates. They are determined to stand there until in some way they can make martyrs of themselves, but I do not know of anything that can be done. I believe they are killing their organization, as I hear of many who are leaving it, and I doubt if Mrs. Belmont will continue to finance it.

We are delightfully situated here at the Washington headquarters but we are all nearly worked to death. I think I wrote you that in addition to my regular editorial and newspaper work, I am giving a series of lectures every Wednesday morning covering a period of six weeks, with audiences of 250 or 300. I presume I shall return to New York immediately after the Inauguration. I wish you could be here. Do make an effort to come,

Always, with love, *to the Council, it will be well worth while.*

Ida Husted Harper.

Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc.

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CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT

BUREAU OF SUFFRAGE EDUCATION

ROSE YOUNG, DIRECTOR

Department of Editorial Correspondence

MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER, CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE 4818 MURRAY HILL

171 Madison Avenue

New York, November 18, 1918.



White—Suffrage
Blue—No Suffrage

Miss Kate Gordon
1800 Prytania St.,
New Orleans, La.

My dear Miss Gordon:

I have been longing to write you every minute since the final news of the elections was received, but we have been literally swamped with work here. The great victory for peace following immediately upon our suffrage victories in this country has made it difficult for any of us to stick to the ordinary business routine.

Louisiana will divide the honors with Oklahoma for giving us the greatest surprise in the election results. ^{Notwithstanding} ~~Nevertheless~~ ^{believe} your optimistic letter of October 11, we could hardly ~~that~~ you would not be badly defeated. The dispatches for several days said the State had been lost for suffrage by 15,000 and you can imagine our surprise and delight when we learned definitely that the margin was so small. All of us said that it was in reality a victory and we have wondered whether it would not have been possible to overcome that small majority of less than 2,000 if you had had more money to do the necessary work. I presume that the National Association would have been perfectly willing to send the money if you had wished it. The Association had twenty-two of its most capable organizers with Mrs. Shuler, the corresponding secretary, at their head, working in the other three States for many months, and I think that about \$33,000.

[Nov. 18, 1918]

Miss Gordon -2

were furnished to them from the National Treasury. Without this help they could not possibly have been carried. It would not have been advisable to send Northern women into Louisiana, but it seems to me it would have been perfectly proper for you to have had your share of the campaign funds. My understanding is that you did not want any financial assistance from that source.

We have still 33 states to win and if the campaigns are to be paid for at this rate we will be a long time in getting them, for our treasury is approaching the bottom. The New York Campaign, as you know, costs about \$750,000. but the money did not come out of the National Treasury. I can assure you, my dear Miss Gordon, that if we are to get the suffrage state by state, you and I cannot possibly hope to live to see it become universal.

Mrs. Cotnam of Arkansas has just been heard attending a National Board Meeting and she thinks their constitution, which will be voted on December 14th and which provides for equal suffrage, will not be adopted on account of the drastic prohibition clause. The Texas law has gone to the Supreme Court. The Secretary of State in Iowa failed to publish the necessary announcement that the amendment resolution for suffrage would come up in the next legislature, so that its passage by the last legislature is null and void and there can be no Iowa campaign next year. The only one now pending is that of North Dakota. If successful it would give us one-third of the states, with the remaining two-thirds almost impossible to carry.

I do not see how you can avoid taking this view of it. I noticed that your amendment did not propose to change your State constitution in the slightest, except to take out the word "male",

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And the Federal ^a amendment would not interfere in any other way with your State constitution than simply to make it obligatory to omit that one word. As for Federal interference, why would it be any more likely in the case of negro women than in that of negro men? Your willingness to wait is admirable but we of the North are worn out with this long struggle and if we can obtain a short cut, we are going to do it. We feel almost sure that these three State victories will enable us to get the Federal amendment through during the present session. We think the Democrats will not ~~commit~~ ^{commit} the blunder of leaving for the Republicans the opportunity to submit it. If they do they will have very little claim on the votes of women in the equal suffrage states in 1920, as the women cannot vote for either candidate "because he kept us out of war." If, however, the measure goes over until the next Congress, we have enough of the new members pledged to it to carry it beyond a doubt. Even if the amendment is submitted, this will not prevent state campaigns.

Now, my dear friend, do accept the inevitable and, even if you cannot work for it, do not try to impede it. I sympathize with your feelings on the subject, but I am sure that after it is "un fait accompli" you will wonder why you were so bitterly opposed. Your Senator ~~is~~ ^{Quinn} could, and possibly would give the lacking vote if your organization would consent. The new Senator Pollock of South Carolina has pledged his vote in favor. We are extremely anxious that the other vote also shall be Democratic in order that the Republicans cannot claim a partisan advantage. Three-fourths of their Senators voted in favor on October 1st and less than half of the Democratic Senators. President Wilson saw at what ^a disadvantage ~~at which~~ the party would be

↑

Nov 18, 1918

Miss Gordon -4

placed at the next election and that was one reason why he endeavored to save the situation.

We knew that the idea of primary suffrage was yours and you shall have the credit for it in the next volume of the History, if I have anything to do with it. All of us give you and your sister the lion's share in your recent near-victory. I haven't heard from Laura Clay for ages. There is not a woman in the world whom I admire more than I do her.

Mrs. Shuler had to stay in Oklahoma until November 15th because there was no doubt that arrangements were under way to "count out" the suffrage majority. They may be able yet to accomplish it, but she thinks there has been so much publicity that this ~~would~~ ^{will} be impossible.

We do not want any more state campaigns if it can be avoided. We put your platform and call on our bulletin board here at headquarters and thought they were ~~splendid~~ ^{excellent}. You may be sure always of my warmest personal friendship and my appreciation of the splendid service which you have given to the cause of women suffrage. I hope when you are rested a little you will write me a letter and tell me all about your campaign.

With my warmest love to you and your sisters, I am, as ever,

Sincerely yours,

Idausted Harper

~~Editorial Chairman, Leslie Suffrage Bureau.~~

I was careful not even to write a letter to one of your newspapers during your campaign.

Dec. 9. 1918.

My dear Mrs. Harper:

With this letter I send the official returns just received from the Secretary of State. It differs from the newspaper returns inasmuch as it records 14 Parishes out of the 64 as against and the papers reports were 9. In fact Tensas, West Baton Rouge were reported to us as having carried and I believe they did. Plaque mines was reported with a great adverse majority and on my sending word to our Chairman she demanded a recount and turned the tables. My own opinion is that of those listed against, Assumption, Vernon West Baton Rouge, Tensas and Cameron did give us a majority and the first reports were the correct ones. However the thing that killed us was the animated pay roll in H.O. under directions from Martin Behrmann the Mayor.

I was not too optimistic in believing the amendment would carry. I am still wondering how the German Kaiser dared to defy every political advice and advisor in the state. The Governor stood like a stonewall behind us. The man whos has been reckoned Martin Behrmanns Boss, Bob Ewing National Committeeman, while admitting to me personally he did not believe in woman suffrage, said we had to make a choice of evils and his papers in New Orleans and Shreveport came out in the strongest editorials advising for the safety of the state that we had to take our medicine or take it by Federal Amednment. Every prominent political leader in the state was on record, as advising fulfilling the Democratic Party's advice for woman suffrage by state Enactment. Of course had Fla conditions not been what they were we still could have won without New Orleans. Usually September and October are drouth months (we call it sugar weather because the cane stops growing and the sacharine forms) but this year the rain pored every day until in most of the Parishes the Auto's went to their hubs and all unnecessary travel was out of the question. From the 10th of Oct. to the 24th of November no meetings of any kind were allowed so what should have been our most active time was for vote getting was lost. The inclosed letter will show you what we did in reaching the voters and it was regarded as unanswerable. We sent in Orleans to the 43,600 registered voters this letter. Many of the parishes did likewise.

Now you ask whether the small majority against could have been turned had we had more money. No, I answer unequivocally. Not unless the amount of money had been big enough to buy the gang as individuals. The biggest argument as a sentiment maker was the fact that Louisiana women were financing the campaign and that the National had been requested to stay out as we were running a state right campaign. In fact the liquor people were trying heaven and earth to get something on Jean and me as favoring a federal amendment and went so far as to advertise that we were playing double because we were listed as Life Members of the National.

[Dec 9, 1918]

No, the proper and wise thing to have done in our campaign was done in requesting that no National money be sent to the state, and the National fulfilled my request in this regard.

I have read your comments on the the suffrage situation as you see it and your conclusion that a federal amendment is inevitable. But is it? I have always admitted the probability of submission but I lock on ratification as not a short cut to the suffrage. It is impossible to go into a discussion of why even with the republicans in power I think they will be slow to repeat their historical blunder of the 70's even if they could but which south will block.

On the Subject of Gay's vote I do not possibly see how his vote can be secured. He made his campaign very definitely on a woman suffrage plank but against the federal amendment at any cost. When I first became a suffragist, I really believed women would introduce a higher political standard and would honor men carrying out the mandates of their constituencies. When I read Mrs. Catts eulogy on Ransdell's treachery to his state, as expressed in a letter to me, I know that all she has said on the rights of a constituency was poppy cock as far as believing its application when it interfered with what she wanted. Then too I have never been able to reconcile suffragists being willing to argue for woman suffrage as a war measure — a basic human right war or no war. A nation drafting men to fight and die for the principle of suffragism and democracy visualized, our inconsistency but never justified the leaders of our movement substituting an expediency claim.

The trouble with you northern suffragists in this federal amendment discussion is your inability to see that the principle of self government for the state is as great as self government for the individual. Centralize government and its dangers have certainly been demonstrated in Germany and when we federalize elections then we will have certainly perpetuity for the party in power that will take another civil war to undo. I wish I felt free to express the danger I see looming ^{over} for America and which the great state right principle will be our ^{only} saving grace. No even if I had the power to change Eddie Gay I certainly would not exercise it, neither will I not try to impede. As I reread your letter on the negro woman and the question propounded, I realize how far apart we are in the understanding of the question. It is not the negro woman. nor the negro man especially but the falsifying of the frauds of the 14th and 15th Amendments, and which if applied will mean for the south to accept the ideals of an inferior race or continue to perpetuate upon our people the tyranny of a one party power as a matter of self defense.

you

But now I'm through I cannot convince you any more than I can convince me on the wisdom of a federal woman suffrage amendment. Had the National not resorted to every influence under the sun to discredit the Southern Conference now would have been a golden opportunity for the flank stroke. I still have some cards to play if I ever get a chance to be free to play them. It is possible that the question will be up again in La. in the very near future. We are hard at work getting all the poll taxes paid before the end of 1918, for of course you know that no man can vote in 1920 unless 1918 and 1919 taxes are paid. Many, many, many favorable votes for our amendment were lost because in 1916 some fellow failed to pay his poll tax. It works to the advantage of the professional politician in every instance.

Yes without vanity Jean and I can claim credit for the suffrage sentiment that is so genuinely widespread in La. The Woman Suffrage Party under Mrs. Holmes as far as I could make out when they straddled us were able to rally four women. They claimed the Suffrage House group

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but as far as work was concerned not a blessed one of them did a hands turn, in fact after the submission, came out with a public statement that they would give up suffrage activity to concentrate on Red Cross. Well the latest development is some row with the Suffrage House Suffragists and the Woman Suffrage Party. I have always called the suffragists that went out of the Era Club in that Meehan row as the "Great Common Denominators" because they were always dividing. N.O was regaled by Mrs. O'Donnell announcing that the members of Suffrage House "did not give a rap for suffrage" They have now renamed the organization "Suffrage Club" have divided (or repudiated) the Party) and now announce after the above brilliant statement that they would affiliate with the National.

The National Party has a group of workers in the state. Have established H'qrs and are trying to bring pressure to bear on Gay. What I do not understand is if only one vote is lacking to submit, you concentrate on Louisiana.

Apropos of the Primary idea. Yes I am the author of it and we offered it as a substitute in our Legislative hearing as far back as 1912. I have always thought it petty that the National could not or did not give credit to one of their women that had served as faithfully and as disinterestedly as I have. Mrs. Boyer wrote that Minnie Cunningham had written to know the truth of Arkansas stating the idea was mine, but while she had confirmation she never gave any credit that I ever heard of.

Why do not you Federal Amendment advocated if it is simply the principle of suffrage you want to establish, amend your bill and leave out the enforcement provision. In that form it might achieve ratification I offer the suggestion.

Have you heard anything from Boyer. Glad to know Caroline is wealthy enough to have law suits over property. Can you give me a little history of Pollock. Is he a native of S. Carolina, his politics, his business, his religion. I am working out a theory of mine that may or may not be useful.

Jean and I were wrecks after the campaign. Lady the real reason women do not get the suffrage is because so few want it. All join in kindest remembrances. I here from Miss Clay frequently we comfort one another for we are of one opinion on the suffrage situation.

Miss Clay

Affectionately

I want to find out if Pollock is a Catholic, without raising suspicion - have you any way to find out?
[Kate Gordon]