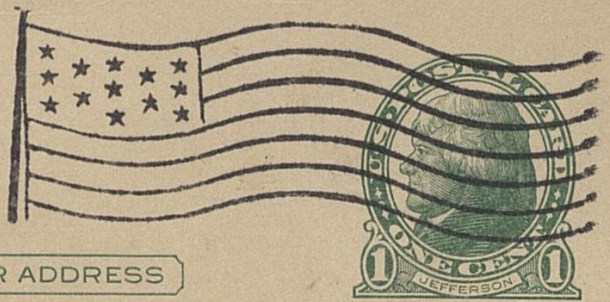


March 1, 1917.

My Dear Miss Clay:

Our bill for partial
suffrage was defeated.
Instead of reconsidering,
they tabled. We have
another bill which will
come up this session
for a constitutional
amendment, so are hop-
ing something from
that, as it has already
passed one session of
the legislature. Wishing
you much success in
your state for prohibition.
I am your friend
Samuel J. Price.



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Miss Laura Clay,
189 North Main St.,
Lexington, Ky.

Very truly yours,

Providence, R.I?
March 3rd. 1917.

Prof. Frost,

Berea Co.;ege.

Dear Sir,

Today I took lunch with Miss Sarah Eddy, a well-artist of Rhode Island, and one of its most prominent wpmen citizens. I found she knew of the work of the college, and was much interested in it. I found that she has given a number of her paintings to institutions where she thought they would be appreciated; and so I was very glad when I learned she was willing to give one to Berea College.

While she has beautiful landscapes and flpwrs I preferred I preferred those of human figures, of ideal types illustrative of religious or poetic subjects. She said before she sent a picture she would like to know these points:

Where would the picture be likely to be hung? That is, in a library, chapel or school room.

How large a space, horizontal and vertical could be allotted to it:

From which side would the light fall, right or left?

I told her I was sure you would appreciate such a gift to the college; and that I would put you in corre correspondence with her.

Her address is Miss Sarah Eddy,
Bristol Ferry,
Rhode Island.

Very truly yours,



Providence, R.I.
March 3rd. 1917.

Prof. Frost,
Berea College.

Dear Sir,

Today I took lunch with Miss Sarah Eddy, a well-known artist of Rhode Island, and one of its most prominent women citizens. I found she knew of the work of the college, and was much interested in it. I found that she has given a number of her paintings to institutions where she thought they would be appreciated; and so I was very glad when I learned she was willing to give one to Berea College.

While she has beautiful landscapes and flowers I preferred those of human figures, of ideal types illustrative of religious or poetic subjects. She said before she sent a picture she would like to know these points:
Where would the picture be likely to be hung? That is in a library, chapel or school room.

How large a space, horizontal and vertical could be allotted to it:
From which side would the light fall, right or left?

I told her I was sure you would appreciate such a gift to the college; and that I would put you in correspondence with her.

Her address is Miss Sarah Eddy,
Bristol Ferry,
Rhode Island.

Very truly yours,

EM 5, 1917

Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs

President: Mrs. Morris W. Bartlett
Lawrenceburg, Ky.

General Federation Director
Mrs. James A. Leech
The Cortlandt, Louisville

DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN

- Education**
Mrs. Charles P. Weaver
Kensington Court, Louisville
- Political Science**
Mrs. T. J. Smith
Richmond
- Conservation**
Miss Amanda Rodes
Danville
- Library Extension**
Miss Fannie Rawson
Frankfort
- Civics**
Mrs. Andrew Campbell
Paducah
- Health**
Mrs. J. C. Helburn
Eminence
- Social Hygiene**
Mrs. A. M. Harrison
Lexington
- Home Economics**
Miss Mary E. Sweeny
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- Industrial and Child Labor**
Mrs. L. N. Davis
Ashland
- Civil Service**
Mrs. Frank Johnson
942 First St., Louisville
- Legislative**
Mrs. Richard T. Lowndes, Jr.
Danville
- Art**
Mrs. Alfred Zembrod
Lexington
- Music**
Miss Katherine Cochran
Lexington
- Philanthropy**
Miss Rebecca Averill
Frankfort
- History**
Mrs. W. T. Lafferty
Lexington
- Press**
Mrs. George Starr
Lexington
- Bureau Information**
Mrs. Marc Kean
4540 Third Ave., Louisville

Federation Secretary
Mrs. Richard H. Lacey
Franklin

First Vice-President
Mrs. Luther Willis
Shelbyville

Second Vice-President
Mrs. George W. Grant
1525 Highland Ave.
Louisville

Corresponding Secretary
Mrs. Hardie B. Ripy
Lawrenceburg

Recording Secretary
Mrs. George Longnecker
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Treasurer
Mrs. H. G. Reynolds
Paducah

Third Vice-President
Mrs. Lafon Riker
Harrodsburg

Fourth Vice-President
Miss Ada May Cromwell
Frankfort

Auditor
Mrs. James Sims
Bowling Green

March 5th -
 My dear Miss Laura
 I am hoping
 you are greatly encour-
 aged today and that
 suffrage is nearer than
 ever before -
 We were sorry you could
 not have an article on
 Suffrage for the Prospec-
 tive of Woman's Work in
 Kentucky, but you must
 write the History of Suffrage
 in the State, from the
 very first and give special

emphatic to your part in woman
property rights - What is the big-
gest and most far reaching thing
ever done in the state for women -

Write the article when you get
home and have the time, as the
book will not be issued before
June -

I very much wish I
could help in the work at Wash-
ington, but suppose there are
more women in line than you
can use -

Most cordially

Dallace Bartlett -

Surely we will get Presidential
suffrage next year -

Andover, N.H., March 7, 1917.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am delighted that I have been able to arrange for you to come to Andover for over Sunday. I shall be happy indeed to see you once more.

I will explain about the trains from Newport to Andover. If you leave Newport on the morning train, you will arrive in Concord about 9:30 and can leave for Andover about 11 A.M. If you leave on the afternoon train, you will have to wait in Concord about three hours and reach Andover about 7-30. It will be much easier for you to come in the morning, reach Andover about noon. We shall be glad to have you here an extra half day. The people who will entertain you can meet you more easily on the noon train. Unless I hear to the contrary, we will expect you Saturday on the noon train. I intend to meet you if it is not too bad a day. You are to be entertained at the home of Rev. H.G. Ives. I am sorry I am not situated so I can entertain you. They have a large and comfortable home so you can have a quiet, restful time over Sunday.

I will explain that Andover is a very small place and many are sick. I am afraid we shall have a small audience for you which troubles me but I thought it would be a good place for you to stay over Sunday. We are planning to have you speak Sunday evening. That will be better than Saturday evening.

You can remain here until Monday afternoon when you go to Franklin for an afternoon meeting at the home of Mrs. Griffin, president of the Woman's Club.

It seems too good to be true that you are to be in New Hampshire a week and will come to this little town. It will seem like old times to me to see you. You may be assured I have always had a wonderful admiration for you and your devoted service to the suffrage cause.

Anticipating your visit, I am,
Most cordially yours,

Mary A. Chase.

Maine Woman Suffrage Association

PRESIDENT

MRS. KATHARINE REED BALENTINE

First Vice President, MRS. WILLIAM R. PATTANGALL,
Augusta.

Second Vice President, MRS. BENJAMIN BREWSTER,
Portland.

Corresponding Secretary, MISS HELEN BATES,
65 Sherman Street, Portland.

Recording Secretary, MRS. EDWARD S. ANTHOINE,
Portland.

Treasurer, MRS. KATIE I. LUCE,
Old Orchard.

Auditor, MRS. A. L. T. CUMMINGS, Portland.

CONGRESSIONAL COUNSELLORS

1st District—MRS. F. E. WOODRUFF, Brunswick.

2nd District—MRS. OBADIAH GARDNER, Rockland.

3rd District—MRS. HENRY W. COBB, Augusta.

4th District—MRS. RALPH K. JONES, Orono.



32 Deering Street,

Portland, Maine.

March 7, 1917.

Miss Laura Clay,

C/o Miss Martha S. Kimble,

92 North Main Street,

Concord, N. H.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I have written to Mrs Livingston, our campaign manager, to arrange an itinerary for you, if you desire to make some speeches for us. She will write to Mrs Kimble direct.

I have arranged a very important date for you in Portland. The Rotary Club will have an anti speak before them March 16th at noon at the Falmouth Hotel in Portland. At their request I have announced that you will speak on our side.

I shall expect you to stay with me while you are in Portland and trust you will let me know immediately if this arrangement is satisfactory. I am looking forward with much pleasure to meeting you again.

Cordially yours,

Katharine Reed Balentine

President Maine Woman Suffrage Association.

1916

New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association

HEADQUARTERS, 92 NORTH MAIN ST., CONCORD

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Robert P. Johnston, Manchester

RECORDING SECRETARY
Dr. Inez Ford Nason, Dover

TREASURER
Mrs. Vida Chase Webb, Lisbon

PRESIDENT
Miss Martha S. Kimball, Portsmouth

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Winston Churchill, Cornish

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Frank Knox, Manchester

AUDITORS
Mrs. Susan C. Bancroft, Concord
Miss Anna Stearns, Nashua

FIELD ORGANIZER
Mrs. Mary Post

Portsmouth, N.H.,
March 9, 1917.

My dear Miss Chase:-

Miss Clay expects to arrive in Andover tomorrow, Saturday, at about twelve o'clock probably, from Durham. Will you please tell her that her itinerary had to be changed a little? so that she will be in Franklin Monday probably over night; Tuesday in Concord. Wednesday she will go to Nashua for a meeting in the evening and Thursday goes to Portland, Me., where they have arranged for a meeting for her that evening, and also for her to speak at a men's luncheon Friday noon.

Mrs. Katherine Reed Balentine will entertain her, and I told her that Miss Clay would probably arrive sometime in the afternoon, but that she would telegraph when she found out the train she would take from Nashua.

We shall try to plan a meeting or a reception in Portsmouth for her on her return from Maine, which will probably be Saturday night, as they cannot send Miss Clay around much on account of weather conditions now, and they are also giving themselves over to organization instead of much speaking.

Yours very sincerely,

Martha S. Kimball.

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

President
MRS. JOHN GLOVER SOUTH,
 State Headquarters,
 Frankfort

First Vice President
MRS. ROBINSON A. McDOWELL,
 Louisville.

Second Vice President
MRS. JOSEPH ALDERSON
 Middlesboro

Third Vice President
MRS. JAMES A. LEECH, Louisville

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. E. L. HUTCHINSON, Lexington

Recording Secretary
MRS. J. D. HAYS, Owensboro

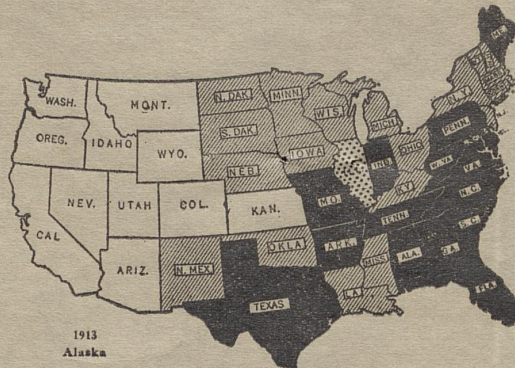
Treasurer
MRS. J. B. JUDAH, Louisville

Auditor
MRS. W. F. LILLARD, Lawrenceburg

Chairman of Campaign
MRS. HARRY R. WHITESIDE,
 Louisville

State Member National Executive Council
MRS. EDMUND M. POST, Paducah

Chairman of Congressional Work
MRS. SAMUEL HENNING, Louisville



1913
 Alaska

White States, Full Suffrage; Shaded States, Partial Suffrage; Dotted State, Presidential, Municipal and Partial County Suffrage; Dark States, No Suffrage.



Advisory Board

MISS LAURA CLAY,
 Lexington

MRS. DESHA BRECKINRIDGE,
 Lexington

MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH,
 Louisville

MRS. JAMES BENNETT,
 Richmond

MRS. JOHN B. CASTLEMAN,
 Louisville

MRS. S. M. HUBBARD,
 Hickman

FRANKFORT, KY..

March 9, 1917.

Miss Laura Clay,
 Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

Allow me to thank you on behalf of the Kentucky Suffrage Association for the splendid article you sent us for our Special Edition. It added much to the charm and influence of our paper. I have taken the liberty of holding your plates for a day or two, as the ladies in Bowling Green are thinking of getting out a Special Edition, and wish to use your article and picture. I will take splendid care of the plates and return them to you in good condition.

Our paper did not go off as well as we desired, as the managing editor was taken very ill at the last and there was no one else in Frankfort capable of taking his place. We simply were compelled to do the best we could. We hope the paper may be of some benefit.

Thanking you so much for your co-operation and encouragement and extending my very best wishes to you, I am

Most cordially yours,

Christine Bradley South

(Mrs. John Glover South)
 President Kentucky Equal Rights Association



BEREA COLLEGE

Berea, Kentucky

President's Office

March 9, 1917.

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:

Berea has gained national reputation, but President Frost especially appreciates the approval and endorsement of friends and acquaintances of our own Commonwealth. You have shown yourself a valuable friend to Berea by speaking this word for Berea to Miss Eddy.

President Frost is not at home now, but I shall take this matter up with him as soon as he returns. He seems to enjoy the selection of paintings so much.

Most respectfully yours,

C. Crow Batson,

Sec'y to President Frost.

The two "nutshell accounts" enclosed may interest you.

1916

New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association

HEADQUARTERS, 92 NORTH MAIN ST., CONCORD

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Robert P. Johnston, Manchester

RECORDING SECRETARY
Dr. Inez Ford Nason, Dover

TREASURER
Mrs. Vida Chase Webb, Lisbon

PRESIDENT
Miss Martha S. Kimball, Portsmouth

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Winston Churchill, Cornish

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Frank Knox, Manchester

AUDITORS
Mrs. Susan C. Bancroft, Concord
Miss Anna Stearns, Nashua

FIELD ORGANIZER
Mrs. Mary Post

Portsmouth, N.H.,
March 10, 1917.

My dear Miss Clay:-

I hope your New England trip is going on well in spite of the wintry weather conditions, and I know it helping us a good deal, even if you do not have large audiences at this time of the year.

The Woman's Journal has just brought us the good news that Arkansas has granted its women the right to vote in the primaries, which will be fine news for you to give your audiences.

Mrs. Balentine has just telephoned me from Portland, saying that the newspaper wants an abstract of what you will say in your twenty minute talk at the Rotary Club (men) luncheon Friday noon. The Anti will speak after you, and then you will have the rebuttal. She also would like to have an abstract of your speech at the public meeting Thursday evening in Portland. Mrs. Balentine will introduce you and Mrs. Livingstone will also speak, but yours will be the principal speech.

Yours very sincerely,

Martha S. Kimball.

Maine Woman Suffrage Association

PRESIDENT
MRS. ARTHUR T. BALENTINE
32 DEERING ST., PORTLAND

Auditor, Mrs. A. L. T. CUMMINGS, Portland.

First Vice President, Mrs. WILLIAM R. PATTANGALL,
Augusta.

Second Vice President, Mrs. BENJAMIN BREWSTER,
143 State Street, Portland.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss HELEN BATES,
65 Sherman Street, Portland.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. EDWARD S. ANTHOINE,
87 Emery Street, Portland.

Treasurer, Mrs. KATIE L. LUCE,
Old Orchard.



CONGRESSIONAL COUNSELLORS
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2nd District—Mrs. OBADIAH GARDNER, Rockland.
3rd District—Mrs. HENRY W. COBB, Augusta.
4th District—Mrs. RALPH K. JONES, Orono.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN:

Campaign—Mrs. DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, Bangor.

Press—Miss ALICE LORD, Lewiston.

Enrollment—Mrs. FRANK L. PALMER, Saco.

Printing and Supplies—Mrs. AUGUSTA M. HUNT, 165 State St., Portland.

Literature—Mrs. F. ERNEST HOLMAN, 141 Neal St., Portland.

Finance—Mrs. W. R. PATTANGALL, Augusta.

Program—Mrs. CHARLES H. DAVIS, Bangor.

March 11, 1917.

My dear Miss Clay,

Replying to your letter of March 9th, you will be asked to speak for twenty minutes at the Rotary Club next Friday, opening the debate. The anti, who will follow you, is Mrs Morrill Hamlin, a current events lecturer. She spoke at the legislative hearing and scored many points for us. We look forward to a very enjoyable time at this luncheon. On Thursday evening, at the mass meeting, you will be the principal speaker. I shall speak very briefly, introducing you, then you will speak, and then Mrs Livingston, our state organizer will speak and take up a collection. We shall be very glad to have you speak on the progress of suffrage in the South or any subject that you may select. Kindly let me know just when you are coming.

Yours cordially,

Katharine Reed Balentine

[Mar. 15, 1917]

My dear Miss Clay,

Would it be possible to engage you to address the Equal Suffrage League of Newton Massachusetts either at a luncheon or an afternoon meeting?

If you can come next week for instance, it will be for an afternoon meeting.

or if you can come
sometimes in April, you
would speak at our
Annual Luncheon.

Will you kindly write
me as soon as you
receive this, and let
me know if there is
any hope of securing
your services and what
would be the expense to us.

11 Washington St. July 1908.
Newton Mass. Kate M. F. H.
March 13th 1911.

Accepted for Thursday, Mar.
22nd on terms satisfac-
tory to Messrs Kimball.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS
MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.



AUDITORS

MRS. JAMES M. McCORMACK,
7 S. McLean Blvd., Memphis, Tenn.

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

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

March 17, 1917.

191

Dear Member of the Official Board:

We have reached a crisis in the work of our Southern Conference. We achieved our aim when the Democratic Party went on record for State rights' suffrage. Our judgment has been vindicated-- "that until the Democratic Party went on record no Southern State would submit the question." I have further made the statement, in the name of the Conference, that the Democratic Party, for its own protection, will have the South in line and we will vote for the next president. Just how this will be achieved is yet to be determined. The primary may be the medium employed in the one-party States to get us through without submission. I presume you all realize that the primary right to vote excludes the Negro woman. We call our primaries "white primaries." I tried hard to get this qualification over in our 1912 hearing. You will readily see what a death-knell this form of suffrage sounds to the ratification of a federal amendment.

Personally, I feel most optimistic about the South, and if we had the money to continue as we have been working, I would be glad to do so, for the moral effect of a distinct southern suffrage organization, in sympathy with the traditions and policies of the dominant political party, is beyond discussion. I presume all of our board are aware of the fact that suffrage in the South is purely a political proposition, propaganda, organization, etc., etc., being beyond the issue.

I have consulted both Miss Blackwell and Mrs. Harper for an unvarnished opinion on the value of the southern press service. They are enthusiastic as to its usefulness and therefore it does seem a pity to draw it to a close at the present time when the goal is within reach. Yet, my honest opinion on suffrage in the South is that it is one of party expediency and that the Democratic Party cannot fail to act. Our greater service would naturally be in the southern-border States, where two well-defined parties exist.

However, to continue, our expenses cannot be reduced below \$4,000 annually, and this does not include stenographic help. To summarize:

Mrs. Boyer's salary-----	\$2,000
Press service-----	600
NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN-----	1,080
Incidentals -----	250

c. Ma. 17, 1917

(This can be reduced by advertising, but the element of chance enters into it and cannot be relied upon in an estimate).

I could personally conduct the press work, but, of course, it would be a poor substitute for Mrs. Boyer's magnificent work; but under no consideration would I attempt the publication of the magazine. It would mean, also, that our headquarters would have to be closed and the work conducted from my home. I have the wherewithal, if all pledges are paid, to carry on the work for another month or two. I will bring the matter before our local suffragists and see what they will contribute.

My own opinion is that we should make no public statement, but let the Conference continue in name, even though it does no active work. I do feel that next fall a southern conference in a southern State could be made of inestimable value in hastening the inevitable in the South.

If you have any suggestions on the subject, let me hear from you at once.

Cordially yours,

IV-A

Findings of the
Unofficial Commission
which met at the
Holland House, New York City
March 19-24, 1917

"To devise ways and means of a peaceful
solution of our international crisis."

INTRODUCTORY

During the week of March 19, 1917, an unofficial commission gathered around the council table at the Holland House, New York City, upon the invitation of the Emergency Peace Federation to devise ways and means of solving the intricate international crisis without resort to arms. The commissioners, because of the press of other business, were not all able to attend all the sessions, but at least a quorum was present at every gathering. The sessions took place from ten to one in the morning, and from three to six in the afternoon.

The plan was due to a pressing sense of the need of deliberate, balanced, constructive discussion of the issues confronting this country - discussion quickened and broadened by the clash of differing points of view, different technical equipment, different lines of approach.

The invitation to take part in the commission gave short notice, and it was the more gratifying that the response was what it was, acceptance often involving great personal inconvenience. Dr. Jordan came expressly from California not only to preside but to help organize the commission. Following was the personnel of the commission:

Dr. David Starr Jordan, chancellor of Stanford University, California, Chairman.
Miss Emily Greene Balch, professor of economics at Wellesley College, Massachusetts.
Joseph D. Cannon, long identified with the Western Federation of Miners, Colorado.
Edward P. Cheney, professor of European History at the University of Pennsylvania.
Stoughton Cooley, editor of "The Public," New York City.
William I. Hull, professor of History and International Relations at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.
Louis P. Lochner, former secretary of the Ford Peace Commission, Illinois, secretary.
John F. Moors, broker, Boston, Massachusetts.
H. A. Overstreet, professor of Philosophy, City College, New York.
Arthur Le Sueur, legal adviser for farmers' organizations, North Dakota.
Winter Russell, attorney and publicist, New York.
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, chairman of the Emergency Peace Federation, New York.

From day to day various persons versed in international affairs or specially equipped with reference to technical matters coming before the commission, appeared. Among these were Professor J. McKeen Cattell, Amos Pinchot, Paul U. Kellogg, James P. Warbasse, Darwin J. Meserole, Professor Franz Boas, Charles T. Hallinan, and others.

The findings of the commission are embodied in the recommendations or resolutions which follow. In addition, the commission sent a confidential communication to President Wilson, in which certain suggestions were proffered.

It is of course not suggested by the Commission that all of these recommendations should be put into effect simultaneously. They serve rather as suggestions for various alternatives out of the present impasse.

IV-C

JOINT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AND CONCILIATION.

In view of the fact that the great contribution which the United States can make to civilization during the present war, is the championship of neutral rights, and the advocacy of an international organization of guaranties of future peace - a policy in accordance with the best American ideals and the prime achievements of American diplomacy, including those of the administrations of Presidents Washington, John Adams, Lincoln and Wilson.

We respectfully urge upon the President, the Congress and the people of the United States of America the steadfast adherence to that policy.

In pursuance of this policy we urge the President to offer to appoint two Joint High Commissions of Inquiry and Conciliation with Great Britain and Germany, respectively, for the purpose of agreeing at least upon a MODUS VIVENDI - perhaps upon the basis of the Declaration of London until the end of the present war, which shall conserve neutral rights.

THE ESSENCE OF NEUTRALITY IS IMPARTIALITY,- an impartial assertion of neutral rights, and an impartial observance of neutral duties. The Joint Commissions of Inquiry and Conciliation are a LEGAL, AMERICAN, and preeminently successful means of maintaining our neutrality.

MEDIATION

The United States agreed with other nations at the Hague, that it could never be deemed an unfriendly act for a nation to offer mediation either before or during a war. In accordance with their convention the United States has itself proffered its good offices to the belligerents during the present conflict.

The rumor now comes that a neutral nation is offering mediation in the issue between the United States and Germany, and that the United States government is contemplating the summary refusal of the tender.

We submit that such a refusal on the part of the United States would be inconsistent with principles for which this country has stood. Should an offer of mediation be tendered, therefore, we urge that it be accepted.

Conference of neutrals.

The United States has, through its President, attempted to stand as a representative of International Rights. Individually it has suffered no greater infringement of its rights than several other neutrals, yet it has already resorted to more drastic measures than any non-belligerent, by breaking off relations and arming its ships. Before it takes any further step, either in defending its prestige or in assuming to establish international law and represent neutral nations, it should call a conference of neutrals to clarify, and, if possible, unify the neutral attitude toward the illegal methods of all belligerents.

Consequences of Entering the War

Statistics show clearly that to send a considerable army to Europe would involve such a drain on our food resources as to plunge us into the famine conditions of Europe. The popular idea that war producing an

IV-D

embargo on the exportation of foodstuffs would lower prices here in the precise contrary of the real result to be expected. The idea that war would bring any real prosperity to the country at large is a cruel illusion, even though doubtless some individuals or industrial groups might profit for a time.

If, on the other hand, the United States should adopt the suggestion of certain financial leaders and use money only, not armies, we should find ourselves as a nation merely an appendage to the financial system of London and New York City, there being already bonds, sold and unsold, covering thousands of millions of dollars awaiting endorsement by the Government of the United States.

A member of the Federal Reserve is quoted as saying: "As banker and creditor, the United States would have a place at the peace conference table, and be in a much better position to resist any proposed repudiation of debts, for it might as well be remembered that we will be forced to take up the cudgels for any of our citizens owning bonds that might be repudiated." We believe that to make war for the purpose thus expressed would be a betrayal of every noble tradition of American Democracy. It would make of the republic a sort of assistant sheriff for the collection of bad debts of peoples bankrupted by war.

To undertake to protect by force any part of the European war debt involves the protection of the entire debt and tends to encourage war for the extension of loans. It is not, or will not be the mere matter of the two and a half billions of loans already made in Europe by American financiers, nor the further billions contemplated for that purpose, but the seventy-five to one hundred billions of which they would be a part, most or all of which would have to be protected if any of it is protected. Thus the control of the world would be put into the hands of the Unseen Empire of finance.

REFERENDUM

We hold:

First: That the vesting in Congress of the sole power to declare war should not in any way be rendered formal or illusory;

Second: That there should be no declaration of the existence of a state of war without a vote of Congress to that effect;

Third: That Congress should neither declare war, nor declare the existence of a state of war, without considering the result of a previous advisory popular referendum.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I left the Charnel House of Europe a little over two months ago. On every hand there was evidence that the peoples - the rank and file - of Allied and Teuton coalition alike were prayerfully looking to the United States to lead them out of the unspeakable agony into which they had been dragged through no fault of theirs. America to them was the embodiment of liberty, of democracy, of freedom of speech, of steadfast opposition to military conscription. They were well aware that they had not been consulted until after their governments had declared war, nor until it became necessary to vote the war credits: with Karl Liebknecht they said, "Nowhere have the masses desired this war;" and in America, they felt, it would be impossible to launch a war without consulting the people.

When the news came to us over there of the re-election of President Wilson, I happened to be engaged in a visit to the various neutral countries of Europe. You would have been touched, as indeed I was, to see how my friends and even remoter acquaintances came to congratulate me as an American upon the result. "For," said they, "it means that now your President has the endorsement of the nation for keeping America out of war. No matter what crisis may arise, America will hold him to his pledge to keep the country out of war." Wherever I went, America was looked upon as the great peace power of the world.

I came away from Europe with a keen sense of the horror of what has been going on for over two years. I had recently been in Cologne, where at the great railroad station a military band was playing gay airs to dispel the gloom of the soldiers as they were being marched off to the front like so many cattle to kill people whom they had never seen before and with whom they had no real quarrel. I had seen the exchange of Austrian and Russian wounded prisoners at Hallsberg, in Sweden, had seen whole carloads of consumptives, other carloads with men deprived of one or both legs, special cars with insane, with blind, with men from whom their very bowels had been torn - a ghastly sight. I had seen that world metropolis, London, transformed into a dark, unlighted country village because of the fear of a Zeppelin attack, and had been subjected to military regulations which, three years ago, I should have deemed impossible in as democratic a country as England. I had seen groups of 20 or 30 German children come from time to time to The Hague as the guests of humanitarian Hollanders, to be fed up before returning to the misery of their fatherland. From the agents of our Neutral Conference in various centers I knew something of the stormy scenes in the French Chamber of Deputies, where the representatives of labor were declaring that the limit of their endurance had been reached. I knew something of the chaotic conditions prevailing in Russia, where only the most iron-fisted discipline could hold the hungry masses in leash; knew something of the frequent cabinet changes in Austria, precipitated by internal unrest; knew something of the yearning of the Belgians, with many of whom I came in daily contact in Holland, for the coming of a better day, and of their implicit confidence that the same country which was feeding and clothing them would also lead the world to a truly democratic peace.

This is the Europe I left two months ago. This is the Europe I came to picture to President Wilson and to my friends and co-workers in the peace movement. This is the Europe which I came to ask my fellow citizens to save from itself before it was too late. Nothing brought greater joy to my heart than that historic speech of the President before the Senate on January 22nd, in which Mr. Wilson makes himself the standard bearer of those silent millions upon millions throughout the length and breadth of Europe who, like him, cherish the ideals of government by the consent of the governed, of the right of all nations, big and small, to decide their own fate, of freedom of the seas, of disarmament by international agreement, and of a real partnership of the nations in a league of peace - those silent millions, I say, in Germany, Russia, France, England, Austria, and elsewhere, who have lost the right of free speech, who have been sent to prison if they protested against war, or who have

had their newspapers suppressed. Out of their hearts spoke Woodrow Wilson when he addressed the Senate on January 22nd.

Then, ten days later, something happened. A nation half starved, utterly disappointed to see its peace proposal rejected, fighting for its very existence, resorted to measures which, however unjustifiable from the viewpoint of international law, however brutal in their consequences upon innocent neutrals, are aimed, not at the people of the United States, but, let us remember, against the Allies. Throughout this crisis let us keep in mind that, whatever injuries we chance to sustain will have been incidental to a life-and-death grip of two powerful belligerents. Just as Great Britain's blockade of German ports is not intended as an interference with our commerce, just so Germany's submarine blockade order is not aimed at American shipping.

I justify neither the one or the other, I am looking confidently to the time when, if any two sea powers insist upon quarreling, they will be made to go off somewhere to the North Pole and not block the traffic! I heartily agree with the President that, to quote his great peace speech in the Senate, "the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free." But I insist that the method for translating this principle into practical politics is not force of arms, is not legalized murder, but rather, again to quote the President, "a common agreement for a common object." And the time for realizing this ideal of the freedom of the seas is not now, after almost three years of every conceivable infringement of international law by Ally and Teuton alike, but rather when the mad dance of death shall have been ended, when the nations, regaining their reason, shall gather around the council table to agree upon those terms of an enduring peace for which they all profess to be striving. Again to quote the President, "The present war must first be ended."

What, then, are we to do in this crisis? First of all, I would have every school child memorize, every parent teach his children, every pastor remind his flock, every business man recall to his employes, these words of our President, addressed to the whole world through our Congress when he announced the severance of diplomatic relations:

"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial (German) Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them."

At every step that we are about to take as a nation in our further relations with Germany, let us ask ourselves, "how does this square with the announced policy of friendship toward Germany? Is killing and being killed the most up-to-date method of demonstrating friendship?"

Secondly we can place upon ourselves a self-denying ordinance not to travel on belligerent ships or on ships carrying contraband. Better still, each patriot can resolve not to go to Europe for the present at all. We are altogether too prone, I fear, to speak constantly of our RIGHTS, and to forget our DUTIES. Citizenship entails not only PRIVILEGES (such as protection by the Government), but it also includes OBLIGATIONS. And one of these obligations, I hold, is that of seeing to it that I don't endanger my country.

If there is a row down at the street corner near my house, I have the undoubted RIGHT to pass by that corner. But if I am sensible, I'll not make my rights the paramount consideration. I'll rather think of my duties to my family. I'll therefore avoid taking the chance of getting smashed up, and will go out of my way a bit so as not to pass by that particular corner. It may be inconvenient; it may anger me; it may try my patience. But nobody will say that I am losing my honor by avoiding the fray. Honor is something that none can take away from me except I myself. If I descend to the level of the mob at the street corner, and mix in the fight, there is not very

much of my honor left.

In the present situation, the real patriot to my mind is not the man who accepts the dare of Germany, if a dare it be, but he who says to himself, "I refuse to be a possible factor in bringing on war. If I really must go abroad, I'll go on a ship taking a safe route and loaded with absolutely neutral cargo."

Germany, like all the warring nations, is abnormal. With food scarce, with her hopes for an early peace shattered by the refusal of the Allies, fighting as she does for her very existence, her perspective warped by her isolation of over two years from the rest of the world, bleeding as she does from a thousand wounds - is this the most honorable time for us to press our rights? Let us show ourselves truly big and truly great and truly deserving of world leadership by postponing the vindication of our rights until we as well as our opponents are normal again. It surely is no national disgrace for us to say to Germany or to any of the other nations that are stepping upon our rights, "We'll not do business with you while you are sick."

Besides, I am not at all sure that we are normal. I fear we are mentally ill ourselves. For, we who have cheered Karl Liebknecht to the echo for his refusal to vote the war credits, we who have deplored the fact that Germany did not have more Liebknechts - we now denounce every pacifist as a traitor. That noble band of Congressmen and Senators who stood out against armed neutrality, are being burned in effigy, are being censured, in some cases, by their legislatures back home, are, like our honored guest of this evening, Senator Norris, confronted with every insult and indignity. Have we already become so unbalanced that we don't allow a senator to do his duty as he sees it? I don't approve of the filibuster. But I protest against the way in which men even in high places have impugned the motives of a small group of men who had the courage of their convictions, who conscientiously strove to serve the highest interests of their country, and who - don't forget - do not merely represent themselves, but who are the spokesmen of millions of patriotic Americans who love their country so well that they do not want to see it made a pawn in the European chess game.

Now, I submit, if we are already so abnormal that we threaten to intern William Jennings Bryan, that we refuse to let Bob La Follette fill lecture engagements, that we propose to oust Bill Stone from the foreign relations committee, that we work for the recall of Bob Owen - are we, I say, likely to talk business with Germany in Lincoln's spirit of "malice toward none, with charity for all?"

Fourth, if this is truly a government of the people, then certainly the people should be consulted on the vital issue of war or peace. The President has well said in his Senate peace speech that "governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property." I suppose nobody who listened to that address had an inkling that ten days later a situation would arise which would put this principle to a test right in our own country. Surely in a democracy the people should have the right to say whether they want to fight another nation, whether they want to kill and be killed. We are not in the habit of giving a blank check to the President or to Congress in other matters. Then why say with reference to this most important and most fundamental question confronting the American people: "Mr. President, here is a blank check. Fill in anything you please. Our blood, our treasures, our happiness, our individual conscience - fill in anything you please." Is that a worthy course for an enlightened democracy to take? For my part, it seems to me that if ever there was a time when a referendum of the people was justified, it is now, when war or peace are hanging in the balance.

Fifth: Is it not tragic to think that at this very time when, more than ever, we ought to be negotiating with Germany in an effort to clear up our difficulties, we

are so completely cut off that Dr. Zimmermann in an interview yesterday declared, "Our access to news from America is confined to Reuter". How in Heaven's name are Germany and the United States to come to an understanding when their only means of learning about each other is a British news agency? You will recall the wild stories about Germany's treatment of Ambassador Gerard. Yet the first correspondent from Berlin to reach Cuba telegraphs that these stories were pure inventions. And you will also recall the excitement in Berlin occasioned by criminally false stories to the effect that we had taken possession of German ships, all of which went to Berlin via Reuter. I repeat: is it not tragic that all other avenues of communication are cut off?

It seems, therefore, to me that the very first thing our Government ought to do is to send a commission abroad to talk things over with Germany. That's what Washington did when, in 1796 (?), he sent Chief Justice John Jay over to England when Great Britain was trampling on our rights upon the seas and many people in America were clamoring for war. War was averted because Washington had the courage to stand out against war. It was not an easy thing to do. Washington became so despondent that on one occasion he said he wished he had never been born. And yet - today he is "first in the hearts of his countrymen." That's what John Adams did in 1800, when France was violating the freedom of the seas. Against the will of his party and against the advice of his cabinet Adams sent commissioners to France, even after hostilities had already commenced, to talk things over, and they returned with the difficulty amicably adjusted. That's what Cleveland did in 1895, when England threatened to go to war over the Venezuelan boundary question. A joint commission was appointed, and war was averted.

Supposing, then, that instead of abruptly shutting ourselves off from the Germans, we send say three warm-hearted, coolheaded, internationally minded Americans to meet a similar delegation of Germans. Do you doubt for a moment that good would result from it? If during the 19th Century 247 international disputes were settled by joint commissions, if in 1912, during the Tripolitan war, Italy and France were able by a joint commission to adjust the dispute over the sinking of a French steamer, if in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese war, Great Britain and Russia were able by similar means to prevent war between them over the sinking of a British fishing fleet, is it to be imagined that the United States and Germany would fail to come to some sort of friendly arrangement?

We are told to "stand behind the President." Well, I am ready to stand behind him in anything he does for PEACE. We have re-elected him because we want him to keep us at peace. You will remember how high popular feeling ran when, on May 7, 1915 the Lusitania was torpedoed. Then, if ever, we had a right to feel aggrieved. Yet three days later in Philadelphia, speaking to 4000 newly naturalized citizens, President Wilson had the courage to say:

"The example of America must be the example of peace not merely because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not.***There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."

And we all applauded. We were so proud of his position on the question of peace that we re-elected him. Let the President repeat this statement now to the world, and millions upon millions throughout the nation will stand behind him.

"Stand behind the President." I'd certainly like to, but ever since he asked for armed neutrality a gang of "war hawks" has crowded in ahead of us and is trying to

keep us pacifists away from the President. There's no standing room left behind the President. I was amazed, when I listened to the debates in Congress last week, so note what kind of a crowd was "standing behind the President." Have you ever heard of Senator Lodge before this as a loyal supporter of the President? Yet he is now behind the President, and he tells us that submarines must be sunk on sight, before we even know whether they are planning to attack us. In other words, Mr. Lodge wants us to do what the Germans did in Belgium: strike first and then call it self defense! Another patriot behind the President is Senator Brandegee. Here's how he interprets armed neutrality:

"If our vessel of war sinks a German submarine when she comes to attack one of our vessels there will be war."

Take another "patriot" - Senator Fall of New Mexico. Here's his version of the situation:

"I think the President of the United States had in mind***that this Senate act if adopted is a declaration of war, a limited declaration of limited war***I therefore say frankly that in the event this act is passed, necessarily war follows if the Congress declares that the method of German warfare now being carried on is unlawful."

These are some samples of the utterances of the men who are now behind the President. Yet the President, in asking for armed neutrality, stated "I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it."

Who, then is really standing behind the President - those who are supporting him because they believe that armed neutrality leads to war, or those of us who are taking the President at his word when he says that he is not contemplating war, and who are anxious to show him that he is playing with fire when he proposes so dangerous a step as the arming of merchantmen?

That he is playing with fire becomes patent the minute one considers what armed neutrality implies. The other day I stumbled upon an exceedingly interesting document. It is called "Informal and Confidential Letter from the Secretary of State to the British Ambassador." It is dated Washington, January 18, 1916 and signed Robert Lansing. Let me read just two sections from it:

"Any armament on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an OFFENSIVE armament. *** I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government."

To arm merchantmen, then, is to convert them into ships of war, equipped with offensive armament. If that isn't heading us straight for war, what is?

"Stand behind the President." Yes, let us all stand behind him on the platform upon which he was elected: "he kept us out of war." Let us crowd away from his presence those sham patriots who profess now to be his friends, but who are merely waiting for their chance to push him over into the abyss of war. Let us draw him away from the brink of the precipice, over to the safe plateau of dispassionate neutrality, and then let us say to him, write him, wire him from every hamlet, from every fire-side:

"AMERICA REFUSES TO GO TO WAR."

Louis P. Lochner.
Former Secretary of the Neutral Conference for
Continuous Mediation, founded by Henry Ford

I

HOW YOU CAN HELP TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR.

1. On or before April 1st and once or twice a week until the danger of war is over, get clubs, organizations, and individuals to arrange for peace meetings. If possible organize a citizens mass meeting in the largest auditorium in your community. Don't worry about so called "big men" as speakers. The people will come to a peace meeting to protest against war, whoever the speakers.

2. In addition to the large meetings, arrange for having churches, clubs, schools, business groups, etc. pass peace resolutions as often as possible. Hold meetings in factories, parlors, on the streets, everywhere you can get together a few friends of peace.

3. See that resolutions are passed at every meeting and sent immediately to the President, Cabinet, and Members of Congress.

4. If your speakers are busy people, give them the enclosed material.

5. After sending resolutions and telegrams, write a letter to the President, your Congressman, and Senators, in your own way. The personal touch counts.

6. At the meetings, get people to promise to ask their friends to write and telegraph to Washington. One New York woman assumed the responsibility for having 100 people call on, write, or telegraph to their Congressman before April 1st. You and your friends can do as much. And see that promises given are carried out. People are liable to forget or become indifferent because they do not realize the danger of war and realize still less the influence of personal letters and telegrams to the President and Congress.

7. Above all else, reckon with the fact that there is a powerful, efficiently organized attempt to force a declaration of war as soon as Congress assembles. Only a tremendous and immediate response to this and other appeals will counteract the efforts of the war party.

If America is to remain at peace, YOU MUST HELP to organize the peace forces.

8. Publicity is an important factor.

Note instructions in enclosure V.

SUGGESTION FOR RESOLUTION

This is merely a suggestion as to the general tone of resolution which should be passed at all possible meetings between now and April 2nd, and until the danger of war is over. We hope you will NOT use the exact words. The Resolution Committee should write the words in their own way. The more variety to the text of the Resolutions sent to Washington, the better. But the general meaning should be the same. As soon as the resolution has been passed, it should be wired to the President, the Cabinet, Senators and Congressmen immediately. It should also be sent to every newspaper in the city together with an account of the meeting; also to representatives of the Associated Press, the United Press and any other agencies likely to give it publicity.

-----*

This meeting (or mass meeting) of citizens of _____ assembled at _____ protests against the proclamation by the metropolitan press that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany; protests against the campaign of misrepresentation promoted by those who would profit from plunging this country into the abyss of war; protests against the systematic inflammation of the public mind by hysterical preparations for war.

We believe that overt acts, however brutal, do not afford adequate cause for war to a republic, whose essential relation to international affairs is summed up in the words "conciliation", "arbitration" and "democracy". War is an old world tradition, a backfire against democracy, which should be entirely foreign to our American system.

We respectfully urge that instead of entering upon the misery, distress and desperation of international warfare, the government of the United States appoint a Joint High Commission to meet deputies of the Imperial German Government, to attempt by joint agreement settlement of the issues involved. We point to the successful application of the principle of the joint high commission by George Washington, John Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, and other Presidents of the United States.

We urge that our government defer the settlement of issues that cannot be adjusted at this time until after the completion of the European war, and we further urge that any offer of mediation by neutrals be accepted.

Finally, we demand that Congress should, in no case, issue a declaration of war without first consulting their constituents by an advisory referendum.

ON TO WASHINGTON!

Since the enclosed letter was written, The Emergency Peace Federation has decided to send out a call for a great peace delegation to Washington on April 2nd. The war hawks are becoming more insistent and insolent every day. They talk, plan, and act as if Congress was to meet only to ratify their own declaration of war, to vote huge war credits (upon which Wall Street alone reaps the profit) and to authorize a great army for the battlefields of Europe.

The true patriots of America have on their hands the biggest fight that ever was waged against militarism and high finance. Let us come to Washington by thousands, crowd the hotels, swarm into the lobbies of Congress, insist on hearings before the President, the Cabinet, the important Congressional Committees, and above all make every Congressman realize that the people of America REFUSE to be stampeded into war. Let Congress know that we know that the war clamor is an eleventh hour attempt of Wall Street to make the American people underwrite their war bonds. (Send for literature on this point.)

The Emergency Peace Federation appeals especially to the West and Middle West which proved last November that the country could decide its policies without the vote and help of the Wall Street interests. This is too short notice for many, but there will be later delegations, for those unable to reach Washington by April 2nd. If you cannot come, send some one who can. Wire immediately if you can join the April 2nd or any other peace delegation.

Organization

I Organize an Emergency Peace Committee to be affiliated with the Emergency Peace Federation. Don't spend much time on details of organization, get together a group of people who will ACT, and get busy on the meetings, telegrams, letters, publicity, and the proposed delegations, at once.

II Elect an executive secretary who will give all his time to the work.

III Elect a finance Committee and appeal to all classes for funds. We need money desperately.

Publicity

I Appoint a publicity committee which shall see that all peace activities are reported to the local press. A special member should be delegated to see that peace letters are written to the papers.

II The report of the Commission should have especially good news value.

[Mar 22, 1917]

Miss Laura Clay

My dear Mrs Clay

I learn through The Journal your successful work in "The Cause"; may you be spared to us for many day till you lead us all to victory.

This is good news from N. Y.

Do you not think they have a good chance this time? I don't know but I feel they will win this year.

I have a chance of working there, if a good word is said strong enough for me - You were good enough to enclose my particular card in St Louis. I have been at it in six states for the past six

years & have picked up "a
bit" of experience in these
several campaigns.

I believe that Mrs Catt is
the person to speak to for
N. Y. Would it be asking too
much for you to intercede
for me.

I receive no salary just
expenses paid.

With hopes to meet you
soon again

Sincerely yours

Mary E. Ringrose

2618 Sacramento St

San Francisco

California.

IV-B

PLEA FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE ISSUES

An Open Letter

New York, March 23, 1917.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

We earnestly press upon you that when Congress convenes you lead and clarify public opinion, now not only confused, but intentionally misled and in conflicting directions.

We urge that you analyze the international situation for the benefit both of Congress and of the public at large, expressing the national desire to keep alive international law, and to make effective protest against ruthlessness and lawlessness.

We beg you to set forth the significance of the conflicting policies publicly urged upon Congress, that in making decision it may clear its purposes to itself and to the public. For instance, if war should come, what of the following questions: should the United States form an alliance, informal or formal, with the Entente Allies, or enter the war without any understanding with them, or how should it proceed? Should this country enter the war to establish the right of neutrals to defend by force of arms their commerce with belligerents? Should this country enter the war for the purpose of underwriting foreign bonds, as is now urged by officers of the Federal Reserve Bank? What, precisely and clearly, is the purpose of war, if war comes, and on what terms would we consent at any time to a settlement?

We recall that last summer, when millions of your fellow citizens could see no outcome of the Mexican crisis except war on Mexico, - on the innocent and the guilty alike - you announced that that was the long way and the wrong way to settle international issues, making mere might the basis of settlements, arousing hatreds, and leading the citizens of the nation against which war is declared to feel it an imperative patriotic duty to defend their fatherland.

We believe that the same principles hold good in the present crisis, and we look to you in earnest hope for their realization.

(Signed)

David Starr Jordan

Chairman.

Louis P. Lochner

Secretary.

"We walk by faith not by sight."

W. C. T. U. OF RHODE ISLAND.

HEADQUARTERS,

319 Butler Exchange, Providence, R. I.

MRS. GEO. F. ROOKE, PRESIDENT,
MISS MARY E. OLNEY, CORRESPONDING SEC'Y,
MISS EMMA G. WELCH, RECORDING SEC'Y,
MRS. EVA H. SMITH, TREASURER,

319 BUTLER EXCHANGE, PROVIDENCE, R. I.
319 BUTLER EXCHANGE, PROVIDENCE, R. I.
255 WASHINGTON ST., PROVIDENCE, R. I.
WASHINGTON, R. I.

March 26, 1917

My dear Mrs. Alger.-

I am enclosing checks
for \$10. as our recognition of Miss
Alley's fine address.

A woman who is willing to
give a month's service surely believes
in the cause she presents, and her
words carry weight.

Most Cordially
Eva H. Smith.

Mar 26, 1917

"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them."
Woodrow Wilson, Address before Congress, February 3, 1917.



Emergency Peace Federation

Object: To Keep America From War and its Attendant Consequences

Room 901, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York

Telephone Chelsea 5458

PROGRAM

1. To urge our Government to defer settlement of any international conflicts affecting America (which cannot now be settled by peaceful means) until the present war is over.
2. To keep Americans out of the danger zone.
3. To consult the people by advisory referendum before declaring war.

Chairman

MRS. HENRY VILLARD

Vice-Chairmen

EMILY GREENE BALCH
 Chancellor DAVID STARR JORDAN
 PHILIP SARGANT FLORENCE
 LOUIS P. LOCHNER
 BENJAMIN C. MARSH

Secretary

LELLA FAYE SECOR

Treasurer

DR. FREDERICK LYNCH

Field Secretary

REBECCA SHELLY

Executive Committee

JOSEPH CANNON
 MRS. J. SARGEANT CRAM
 DR. H. W. L. DANA
 MRS. ELSIE BORG GOLDSMITH
 PROF. ROBERT W. HALE
 PROF. HARRY OVERSTREET
 TRACY D. MYGATT
 DR. HENRY NEUMANN
 FANNIE M. WITHERSPOON

Legislative Headquarters
 Room 648, Munsey Bldg.
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Friend of Peace:-

War has already been declared by the Metropolitan Press. Mayor Mitchel of New York has dared to say that "the 'country will not be living up to her obligations unless she sends not less than one half a million men" to the battlefields of Europe.

When Congress convenes on April 2 the issue will be peace or war - but the decision congress will make does not rest with the munition centers, not with the powerful financial interests, and not even with the "patriotic" societies and military clubs throughout the country.

The members of Congress are directly responsible to the people who elected them - and there are one hundred million of us. The Emergency Peace Federation believes that the people of America want peace today as much as they did last November when they re-elected Mr. Wilson because "he kept us out of war". We are also confident that members of Congress will do as their constituents tell them. It is for you and me to demand that Congress and the President stand by the slogan on which they were elected, and continue to keep us out of war.

In the name of humanity and America's best interest the Emergency Peace Federation urges you to act immediately on the enclosed suggestions. If you are ill or for any other reason cannot act, please give this letter and material to someone who can. I am sure many would eagerly welcome the opportunity herein provided.

It is a holy and patriotic task to which we invite you. Help save America from the shame of a cowardly and useless war.

Yours for Peace and Democracy,

Fanny Garrison Villard
 CHAIRMAN.

David Starr Jordan, Vice-Chairman
 Lella Faye Secor, Secretary

March 29, 1917

I am sending a letter now to each member of the Board asking their opinion. As this appeal will touch all Kentuckians it has seemed best to me to announce in the papers that while the Kentucky Equal Rights Association will make this a special work, they will welcome the co-operation of any persons outside the Association who wish to help. I hope in this way to interest a good many people who are not suffragists.

Full printed directions are furnished us from Washington City free of charge. I will be in position to mail these directions in a few days to all who desire them. I will also be able to tell where the wool can be procured.

If you will co-operate with us in this matter will you put it before your league, taking the names of those willing to knit these articles and sending me the list? Try to influence each woman to pledge herself to knit a set rather than separate articles. We will be allowed three months in which to complete the supply for the Kentucky.

Hoping to hear from you by return mail that you approve of this plan, I am

Very cordially yours,

Christine Drapley South

(Mrs. John Glover South)
President Kentucky Equal Rights Association

CBS:M

PROVIDENCE, R.I.



VOTES FOR WOMEN

394 Angell St.

March 31, 1917.

My dear Miss Day -

As you did not give me your sister's street address I will send this letter to Lexington with the expectation that the lure of your farm will prove too great for you to prolong your visit in Richmond.

Both mileage books came all right and

-2-

Mar 31, 1917

I thank you for their
prompt remittance. I
used the N. Y. N. H. & H.
our Thurs day in visiting
my mother whom I had
not seen for a long time.
Though almost eighty
years of age she seems
well and just as in-
terested in suffrage and
the war as her baby
(who happens to be myself).

What wonders are
happening in England
and France! It seems
almost unbelievable
that France should

[Mar 31, 1917]

-3-

out do New England.

The enclosed clipping shows your reply to Mrs. Misch and also our from Miss Hall. The one I wrote may come out next Sunday.

Our bill has not yet come from the Judiciary Committee with only two more weeks of legislative work.

You did indeed do a great deal of good in New England. Our own women were very much impressed and inspired to work harder.

[Mar 31, 1917]

-4-
in the future. We will
all look forward to having
you visit us again some-
time and glean more of
your puffedge wisdom.

With most sincere good
wishes from us all.

I am, cordially yours,

Sara M. Algeo.

394 Angell St.,
Providence, R. I.

KENTUCKY EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

COMMITTEE ON PRIZES

731 Second Street

Louisville, Ky.

The Kentucky Equal Rights Association in order to stimulate an intelligent interest in the subject of Woman Suffrage among the coming generation of citizens, proposes a contest open to all pupils in the private and public schools of the State and offers \$100.00 in prizes for:

The four best essays in favor of the enfranchisement of women.

First Prize	\$50 in gold
Second Prize	\$25 in gold
Third Prize	\$15 in gold
Fourth Prize	\$10 in gold

RULES AND CONDITIONS.

1. Compositions must contain not less than 1000 nor more than 1500 words.
2. Content will count sixty per cent and will be judged according to accuracy, logical argument, and originality. Form will count forty per cent and will be graded according to correct spelling and correct and clear English.
3. Information may be secured from parents, teachers, suffrage organizations, etc. A certain amount of literature will be furnished free to contestants upon application to the chairman.
4. If any compositions of merit are submitted by students in a grade lower than the seventh a special prize of ten dollars will be awarded the best.
5. All manuscripts must be in the hands of the committee no later than March 15, 1917. The name, address, and school grade of the writer and the address of the school must appear on the back of the last page of the manuscript.

Signed,

MISS CAROLYN VERHOEFF, Chairman.
MRS. OSCAR BLOCH,
MRS. CHARLES WOLFE,
MRS. HERBERT MENGEL.