

Orange, Va.,

June 1, 1919.

My dear Mrs. Crewshaw:

It was hard
to leave you yesterday even-
ing with such an unsat-
isfactory ending to a long,
hard week for you all.

To me every one of you
are the bravest persons in
the world, and to have
known you and been

In all your great sorrow
you have a son to be
proud of, who stands out
above any in strength and
beauty of character, and whose
will power to meet every blow
with such courage & marve-
lous. I have seen a good deal
of lunacy for over two years now
and I have never known
one so far removed from
anything small or one as
high minded as he.

And, dear Mrs. Crookham, you
have something wonderful to
be thankful for all your
life, that your boy so far as
we know has been restored
to all his faculties. And only
God and those who have seen
the light of day fade from
the all intelligent countenance
of a best beloved know what
that means. So I, who have
never ceased to remember, am
thankful God for what you

with you in such times of
stress during the past two
years has been a privilege I
shall never forget. I want you
to know that each one of you
in your wonderful self control,
your beautiful spirit of un-
selfishness, and your hopeful-
ness always that right would
triumph has taught me some
lessons that I shall carry with
me through life and which
will help me over many a
hard place.

have gained in spite of all
the pain and suffering, and
trying in my poor way to
bring a little comfort to your
burdened heart.

Please give my love to each
one in the family and re-
member me always as,
your devoted friend,

Katharine Jerdone.

June 2nd 1919) Rapidan
Va.

My dear Bob -
James met us
in Orange with the
Car & we reached
home very comfortably.
I am afraid
you all suffered
terribly in going to
Richmond it was
so very hot.

I have written Mr
Buttle by this mail

for an appointment?
I shall be ready to go
at a moment's notice.
I am now writing to
see you & send me
by return mail Mr
Kaleh's name (I am
sure I have not spelt
it right), what is the
name of Kabney's Fra-
ternity? it has entirely
escaped me. I was at
Mr B. President when
Kabney was at the Uⁿ-

iversity? Also what
exactly did he say to
members about Kabney's
mind? And now about
Mr Miller, he was a mem-
ber of same Fraternity
& what part did he
specially make? he
was just finishing as
witness when we arriv-
ed. There is no mention
of either witness in the
Progress Account. I
think these prints with Co²
pics of letters you are

ending & book of record
that will be all I shall
need - I pray I may
be able to get Mr. Bate
to do something - you
know - dearest & dear - how
dearly I love - habney 14 -
& how I pray to do some-
thing for him as well
as for Anne - You
have all been so kind
I can but feel that a
merciful Father will
help us - With a heart
full of love for each one
Your attached sister
Mary Lewis

P. S.

We wished for Rabney
see the flowers yet -
today - the whole place
is a mass of bloom.

189 N. Mill Street, Lexington, Kentucky.

July 3rd, 1919.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue,

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

In reply to your letter of June 20th, asking for further information on Form 1040, for 1917, IT:IA:PA:3
CBC-54400548

I make this additional report:

(a)
Block B. I had no merchandise bought for sale except live stock as follows: 20 young cattle, for which I paid in 1917 ----- \$1170.90
and in 1918 a deferred payment of -----, 600.00
and interest ----- 8.63
One sow ----- 28.50
One sow & six pigs (I think one pig died before 1918) ----- 45.50
in 1918
One buck lamb (All flock died or was killed by dogs except
a few of which I report in 1918) ----- 25.00

(b) Item \$138.35 for Wear and Tear:

	\$	cts
Richmond Carriage Works, for repairs-----	1	85
Lowry, Blacksmithing-----	12	15
W.O. Bowman, blacksmith -----	12	15
Lowry, shoeing horse -----		.15
Bowman-----	3	70
Richmond Carriage Works, repairs -----	4	05
Bowman, shoeing -----	2	50
Richmond Carriage Works, shaft on buggy -----		.75
Lowry, blacksmith-----	3	75
Taylor & Todd, material and work ceiling tenant's cottage, xxxxxx -----	80	00
" " " " Repairing roof and grate -----		6.50
Taylor & Todd, repairing roof of barn -----	15	80
Total	138	35

(c) Block D. Item \$97.50 for other expenses:

	\$	cts.
J.J. Fitzgerald, Plumbing -----	13	15
Lumber for repairs -----	1	00
Fitzgerald, plumbing -----	18	10
Filling cess pool -----	2	50
Tandy, bricklayer, repairing chimney-- -	10	00
Bitterman, tinner, repairing roofs-----	6	75
Stewart, plumbing-----	1	00
Papering, etc. -----	45	00
Total-----	97	50

2.

	\$. cts.
Itemized list of contributions.	xxx 25x
Protestant Episcopal Church in Lexington-----	71.25
Good Shepard Church in Lexington-----	50.00
Margaret College in Versailles--	25.00
Associated Xharitiesin Lexington-----	25.00
Tuberculosis Sanitarium in Fayette County-----	300.00
American Red Cross Relief Fund-----	100.00
Christ Church, Richmond -----	25.00
Christ Church, Richmond-----	25.00

Very respectfully yours,

MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM SAMUEL M^C GUESNEY

ANNOUNCE THE MARRIAGE OF THEIR DAUGHTER

MARTHA BRACKEN

TO

MR. JAMES CLAIRE WYMAN

ON WEDNESDAY, THE FOURTH OF JUNE

ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND NINETEEN

4406 M^CPIERSON AVENUE

SAINT LOUIS

AT HOME

AFTER JULY FIRST

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA



Miss Laura Clay
187 W. Mill St.
Lexington, Ky.

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

President
MRS. JOHN GLOVER SOUTH,
State Headquarters, Frankfort

First Vice President
MRS. E. L. HUTCHINSON, Lexington

Second Vice President
MISS LAURA CLAY, Lexington.

Third Vice President ~~MISS LAURA CLAY~~
MRS. JAMES A. LEECH, Louisville

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH,
Louisville.

Recording Secretary
MRS. ROBINSON A. McDOWELL,
Louisville.

Treasurer
MRS. J. B. JUDAH, Louisville

Auditor
MRS. JOSEPH ALDERSON
Middlesboro

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

Chairman of Congressional Work
MRS. SAMUEL HENNING, Louisville



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

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

June 5th, 1919.

Mrs. M. McD. Breckinridge,

President of Kentucky Equal Rights Association,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Mrs. Breckinridge,

I am writing to say that I withdraw my membership from the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

By the passage through Congress of the Anthony suffrage amendment and the declared policy of the Executive Boards of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association and the Kentucky Equal Rights Association in favor of the ratification of the Anthony amendment, there is no longer any consistency for a firm believer in State rights, as I am, for remaining in these Associations, even though there has been no change in their constitutions to which I subscribed.

Of course, my withdrawal from the Kentucky Equal Rights Association nullifies my appointment to the Advisory Board and to my chairmanship of the Committee on Prizes.

I am very sincerely yours,

Old Capital.



St Paul. Minn
June - 6 - 1919.

My dear dear friend:

The paper received containing
the report of the convention.

I am rushed with work now.

Had a meeting this morning to
arrange for a big demonstration
here on Monday the 9th 7. P. M.

Minneapolis units with us in
St Paul on the grounds and steps
of the Capitol - 4 bands of music.

Community Singing - Autos decorated
in uniform - yellow the flag - and
Governor Burleigh & Mayor Hodgson
will receive us - The Governor has

ordered the building to be lighted
from the dome to the bottom of
the building - he also ordered that
all shades to the windows to be
drawn to the top. The Governor and
his wife are good suffragists.
I will send you a paper after
Monday - too much about myself -
being the oldest suffragist in
this state and so many years
working for suffrage - the club
women here are anxious to show
their appreciation in this affair
next Monday. I do not think that
Governor Burdick will call an
Extra Session to satisfy the movement.
I am glad to get presidential
suffrage and wait another year

for the full vote.
I am particularly interested in
Americanization - Have begun
with the foreigners. Our "Feminine
Women Instructors" have joined
the National Security League - Have
received valuable information.
Our State University has opened
classes for everybody who wishes to
inform themselves on the duties of
American Citizens. How are you
all! I am perfectly well - being
busy so strong thinking to mind and
body. Oh! so often I think of you and
your dear ones. I am now 84 and
rejoice that God has bestowed upon
me so many blessings. With love to your
sisters and yourself in the good living
beg. Believe me always your true
friend - Eugenia B. Farmer.

EUGENIA B. FARMER
OLD CAPITOL
ST. PAUL
MINNESOTA



Miss Laura Clay,

~~Richmond,~~

~~Kentucky.~~

Lexington

184 north mill st.

Ky

McGuire's University School
Richmond, Virginia

June 7, 1919.

My dear Mr Crenshaw:

I do indeed feel a keen and sincere interest in your trouble and a very tender sympathy for you and each one of your household, together with a profound admiration for the gallant and dauntless courage with which you have all borne yourselves throughout this time of trial.

The recent hung jury was a bitter disappointment. I had persuaded myself that we might look for a happier outcome.

I was at no expense except a railroad ticket.

With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely your friend,

John P. McGuire

[June 12, 1919]

The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment

Headquarters: 130 North Upper Street

Lexington, Kentucky

OPEN LETTER TO THE PUBLIC:

Realizing that the passage by Congress of the Anthony so-called suffrage amendment and its ratification by the requisite 36 State legislatures without any opportunity for the voice of the people to be heard on the question is a serious invasion of the principles of State self-government as laid down by the framers of the United States Constitution, we, as citizens of these United States, point to the fact that the majority of suffragists never have asked for woman suffrage by National amendment. Wherever a State referendum has been submitted those who voted for it exceeded in number the pre-campaign members of the State association; and in the aggregate far outnumber those enrolled in the national, or State associations which by their propaganda and lobbies have secured the submission of the Anthony amendment. The majority of suffragists never have expressed themselves through these associations; but they have expressed themselves through the regular method of national party platforms, all of which in 1916 declared for woman suffrage; and among them the Republican and Democratic declared in set terms for State action in contradistinction to Federal action on the questions.

As citizens whose views on woman suffrage are expressed in the Republican and Democratic national platforms, we have formed a Committee for the purpose of urging a State suffrage amendment; and we solemnly call upon those great parties to fulfill those pledges.

We ask particular attention to the dangers of that power conferred on Congress to legislate in State elections, provided in the Second section of the Susan B. Anthony Federal Amendment, which, in conjunction with the similar section of the 15th Amendment, subjects the electoral rights of the majority of the population of every State to the control of Congress. Only the right of white men to vote will be free from Congressional influence. Such a power in the Federal Government was never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution of the United States.

But if State Control of State elections is abridged, or destroyed in practice, by a new power incorporated in the Federal Constitution with no corresponding constitutional check provided, Congress will become possessed of an autocratic power, dangerous to our free institutions, and one which can be turned with equal facility against any section of our country when a political or commercial interest is strong enough to dominate Congress.

As for the question of Woman Suffrage the attainment of that in the States which do not already possess it is safely and sanely provided for in the Republican and Democratic National Platforms of 1916.

Sandra Clay. (Signed) *Alice Armatte Oldham*
Walter Gibson Tiche *Elyaketh Burgess McQuaid*

Headquarters: 130 N. Upper St. Members of Citizens Committee.



St. Paul, Minn.
June 12-1919.

Dear Mrs. Clay:

Enclosed is a report of the great demonstration in our State Capitol last Monday evening, "Suffrage Victory." Over 2000 ladies from Minneapolis and St. Paul - it being raining, the speaking was in the building. Every space in the center of the Capitol was filled. It was arranged. You will notice the report of the five speakers - One of the galleries was set apart for these people, including Mrs. Farmer as the oldest suffragist + friend of Susan B. Anthony. We see met in

the Governors reception room, and at a signal given by the trumpeter. Every light in the building turned on with the great dome light and led by the State Band to our location. It was a beautiful sight.

Marie Sanford, and Mrs. Clesen and myself received large bouquets.

The outside of the Capitol was decorated with white & yellow bunting.

The Governor & Dr. Burton gave grand addresses, as did also Senator Sageng - our old tried friend.

The question is being asked "what will you suffragists do after you have full suffrage?" We, of the Women's Patriotic Instructors have been preparing for some time past to instruct the foreign born people.

We have joined the National Security League of New York - The literature we have received from them is very instructive. "Patriotism through Education, and the 6 Fundamental Principles of the Constitution" are among the series sent to me.

I enjoy the reading

The Explanation of the Constitution is valuable, at this time especially.

"The whole world is in an uproar" is what Washington said in the closing days of his life.

I thank you for the papers you sent to me - Oh! how often I wish that I could see you.

I keep well, thank God, for work keeps me physically & mentally

fitted for what am able to do.
The Human Party is strong here
and in Minneapolis. I do not
like them. I have 2 nephews who
are still in France. one a Doctor
Our Rector, Mr. Ferguson, is still
in Coblenz. I hope he will soon
return. I hope the war will end
at once. How are you and all
your family? Write me when you
can. I hope to have the full vote in
in 1920, in addition to the Resident
vote. My prayer daily is for peace
justice and righteousness.

God bless you dear friend. Love to
your sisters and a grand hug for you
Ever sincerely and lovingly your 84
year friend -
Eugenia D. Turner,

EUGENIA B. FARMER
OLD CAPITOL
ST. PAUL
MINNESOTA



Miss Laura Clay,

~~Richmond,~~

~~Kentucky.~~

Leopington
189 North Mill St.

Ky

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

President
MRS. JOHN GLOVER SOUTH,
 State Headquarters, Frankfort

First Vice President
MRS. E. L. HUTCHINSON, Lexington

Second Vice President
MISS LAURA CLAY, Lexington.

Third Vice President
MRS. JAMES A. LEECH, Louisville

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH,
 Louisville.

Recording Secretary
MRS. ROBINSON A. McDOWELL,
 Louisville.

Treasurer
MRS. J. B. JUDAH, Louisville

Auditor
MRS. JOSEPH ALDERSON
 Middlesboro

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

Chairman of Congressional Work
MRS. SAMUEL HENNING, Louisville



White-Suffrage
 Blue-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

Middlesboro, Ky -

14th June 1919 -

Miss Laura Clay

Lexington Ky -

Dear Miss Laura -

I received copy of Lexington
 Herald today, stating that you had
 withdrawn your membership from C. E. P. A.

I'm so sorry - You've always seemed
 the biggest part of the C. E. P. A. to me
 & I can't imagine the work going on
 very well without you - Couldn't
 you reconsider? My love to you and
 every good wish -

Sincerely
 Joseph Alderson

189 W. Mill St.

June 16th, 1919.

Senator Hiram W. Johnson,

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

May I ask your attention to the enclosed Open Letter which a group of Kentucky suffragists is sending out?

We want woman suffrage without giving up any rights of the state.

After the declaration of all the political parties in favor of woman suffrage in their national platforms in 1916 we think that woman suffrage is assured in a few years after educative state campaigns by the voice of the people without any loss of rights to the states. . But if the Anthony amendment is ratified suffrage will be forced upon some of the states where both the men and the women are unprepared and unwilling for it; and under the enforcing provision of the amendment the way will be opened to afflict the country with the disorder and discontent which followed the Force Bill of 1870 under the Fifteenth Amendment.

Without anticipating the re-opening of the issues under the Fifteenth amendment we recognize that the Pacific and other Western states have a race problem of their own in the persistent demands of the Japanese for concessions in this country which the people of those states have not been willing to give them; but which Japanese propaganda and diplomacy in other sections might find a way to achieve through Congress under the enforcing provisions of the Anthony amendment. For if history repeats itself, one effect of the enforcing provision will be that state legislatures will be more or less responsive to the influence or legislation of the dominant power in Congress rather than to

the wishes of the people of their states; and the loss of the portion of control of state elections which the Anthony amendment will take away might become the determining factor in the success of the Japanese demands.

The ratification of the Anthony amendment will not be possible without the aid of the Western states where women already have the ballot; and where the people have nothing to gain by it except the thankless office of forcing suffrage ^{upon} a few states which are not yet prepared for it, but who could be prepared shortly through the orderly process of state amendments.

Already women have a vote for 302 of the 531 presidential electors; and most of the legislatures which have not done so still have an opportunity to extend this right to women before the election of 1920.

Altogether, we feel that the sacrifice of the state rights of men as well as of women, particularly in the states where women have suffrage, is out of all proportion to the possible benefit, - serving merely to force suffrage upon states which are not yet wholly prepared for it by education; and laying a large inexperienced electorate open to the designing propaganda of unscrupulous agitators.

Hoping that these considerations and others which may occur to you will induce you to use your great influence to deter hasty and probably unwise action upon the Anthony amendment, I am

Very respectfully yours,

THE LEXINGTON

Black Receives Query Anent Woman Suffrage

FRANKFORT, Ky., June 20.—Governor James D. Black today received a communication from the governor of Minnesota asking if he favored the question of calling an extra session of the General Assembly for the submission of the woman's suffrage amendment. As the Legislature of Kentucky meets in January, Governor Black is not in favor of convening the body in extraordinary session for this purpose.

THE LEXINGTON

CONFERENCE IN

TOWN H

ATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1919

First

June 21st, 1919.

To his Excellency, Governor James D. Black,

Frankfort, Kentucky.

Dear Sir:-

Permit me to thank you for declining to call an extra session of the Kentucky General Assembly to pass upon the S. S. Anthony suffrage amendment, in answer to the query of the Governor of Minnesota.

The effect of the immediate ratification of the Anthony amendment would be to thrust the ballot upon twelve millions to fifteen millions of women, uneducated for political responsibilities, and through their lack of political experience, extremely open to the propaganda of the unscrupulous agitators who are now swarming in this country.

What is needed is deliberation, and not haste, in changing the fundamental law of our country in a way which will transfer another power from the States to the Federal government, thereby diminishing the authority and dignity of the several States, and augmenting that of the Federal government.

The plea that women ought to be empowered to vote in the next Presidential election is pressed because it seems plausible; but it has little real force in it. For women now have a vote for 326 of the 531 presidential electors, and most of the State legislatures which have not yet done so still have the opportunity to extend this right to women before the Presidential election of 1920.

The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment is laboring to see that Kentucky women shall not be unprepared for suffrage, which is sure to come in a few years, even without a Federal amendment. We are working for the submission of a State suffrage amendment by the next General Assembly, whereby the people of Kentucky may be allowed a voice upon this momentous question and be given an opportunity of doing this justice to women without any loss of the dignity and importance of the State government.

Knowing how thoroughly you are in favor of suffrage for women, and your loyalty to the pledges of your party's national platform, of which I enclose a copy of its suffrage pledge, I appeal earnestly to you to give your support to the submission of a State suffrage amendment by the next General Assembly.

I am, with great respect,

Very truly yours,



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF
COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE

WASHINGTON

June 20, 1919

ADDRESS REPLY TO
COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE
AND REFER TO

IT:IA:PA:3
CBC-54400548

Miss Laura Clay,
R. R. # 4,
Richmond, Ky.

Madam:

Further examination of your income tax return, Form 1040, for 1917, indicates that further information is necessary in order to complete the audit of your return.

You are requested to furnish information regarding items in Block B and Block D of your return, by stating:

- (a) How much, if any, of the merchandise bought for sale was on hand at the end of the year.
- (b) Of what amounts the item \$138.35 taken for Repairs, Wear and Tear and Property Losses consisted.
- (c) Of what the item \$97.50 taken in Block D for "Other Expenses" consisted.

You are also requested to give an itemized list of contributions.

In reply please refer to the initials and the serial number in the upper left-hand corner of this letter.

Respectfully,

J. H. CALLAN,
Assistant to the Commissioner,

By

H. B. Swafford
For Chief of Section

189 N. Mill, June 21st, 1919.

My dear Mrs. Roberts,

Ever since I withdrew from the Ky. Equal Rights Association, which I did on June 5th, I have desired to write to you to tell you personally why I did so.

I have always been strongly attached to the State Rights doctrine, and so, when the Anthony amendment was submitted by Congress, as the majority of the Board of the Ky. E. R. A. had decided not to work for a State amendment but to concentrate solely upon the ratification of the Anthony amendment, I saw that if I stayed in the Asso., I would be really supporting that anti-state Rights amendment. As I could not do that consistently, I withdrew.

Several other members did likewise, for the same reason; and we have formed a Committee to work for a State Amendment. We hope to defeat the ratification of the Anthony amendment; but in any case, that cannot be ratified by the requisite 36 legislatures in regular session until 1921; and if a state amendment is carried, we would have the vote in the fall of 1921. Even if the Anthony amendment is ratified, it would not remove the word "male" from the election clause of the state constitution. It would remain there, a dead letter indeed, but a silent witness to the fact that women were not enfranchised by the people of Kentucky, but by the legislatures of other states, until it was removed by a state amendment. This would be a stigma which I am sure we would all wish to have removed as soon as possible; so in any case we need a State Amendment.

I am enclosing some literature ^{which} ~~will~~ will define our position more fully. We are inviting those who believe in state rights and woman suffrage to join us by signing the Committee card.

I would be glad to have our Open Letter published in Marion, if the paper there would give it space. Woman suffrage is a very live subject, and many papers have been willing to give it space on that account.

I shall hope to have your sympathy in this move for woman suffrage without sacrificing any right of the states now in their possession.

I do not consider that the most extensive or permanent effect of the Anthony amendment is suffrage at all. For we have fifteen states with full suffrage, to which it would not add one iota; 14 others with presidential suffrage, and all except seven with either municipal, school or bond suffrage, so that only to those seven is it a full suffrage amendment,

whereas its enforcing clause gives Congress some power to legislate in every state on state elections; and this power will remain after every state might have given suffrage by state amendments.

Hoping that you will sympathize with me in my position, I am
Very sincerely yours,

Kentucky Equal Rights Association

President
MRS. JOHN GLOVER SOUTH,
State Headquarters, Frankfort

First Vice President
MRS. E. L. HUTCHINSON, Lexington

Second Vice President
MISS LAURA CLAY, Lexington.

Third Vice President
MRS. JAMES A. LEECH, Louisville

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH,
Louisville.

Recording Secretary
MRS. ROBINSON A. McDOWELL,
Louisville.

Treasurer
MRS. J. B. JUDAH, Louisville

Auditor
MRS. JOSEPH ALDERSON
Middlesboro

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

Chairman of Congressional Work
MRS. SAMUEL HENNING, Louisville



White—Suffrage
Blue—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

189 N. Mill St.
June 21st, 1919.

My dear Mrs. Alderson,

I received your letter of the 14th, and I thank you for your kind expressions in it.

Yes, I have been compelled to leave the Ky. E. R. A. I have always been strongly attached to the State Rights doctrine, and when the policy of the National and the state Boards were declared to be for ratification of the Anthony amendment I saw that remaining in the association, after the submission by Congress, would be to lend aid to an invasion of state rights under cover of woman suffrage. For it is evident that the most extensive and permanent effect of the Anthony amendment is not suffrage, but the establishment of Federal legislation over state elections. For there are fifteen states which have full suffrage and could not gain an iota more from the amendment, fourteen others which have ~~state~~ presidential suffrage, and all the others except seven have municipal, bond or school suffrage, so that only in those seven can it be called a full suffrage amendment, whereas in all the states the amendment will give Congress by its enforcing clause, certain power to legislate upon state elections.

You see by the heading of this paper that those who have withdrawn from the Ky. E. R. A. have formed a Committee to push a state suffrage amendment. We hope that the Anthony amendment will never be ratified by the necessary 36 legislatures; but that the states will grant women suffrage by state amendments, and that finally all will see plainly that the Anthony amendment is a useless invasion and sacrifice of state rights. At any rate, unless special sessions of legislatures are called, the amendment cannot be ratified until 1921, as a sufficient number of legislatures are not in session in 1920 to do so. It may not be ratified then; and in that case, if a state amendment is carried, women in Ky. may vote in the fall of 1921. Even if after a time the amendment is ratified, it will not take the word "male" out of the election clause of our state constitution; and until a state amendment does so, though it would be a dead letter, yet it would stand there as an evidence that the men of Ky. never gave Ky. women suffrage, but that it was forced upon them by the legislatures of other states. I am sure we all feel that this would be a stigma upon us which we all want to remove as quick~~y~~as possible under any circumstances.

I am enclosing some literature which explains our position more fully. Those who wish to help in a state rights move for woman suffrage are invited to do so by signing the Committee card. A number have done so already, and we hope for more as our purpose is better understood. We want woman suffrage without giving up any right of the state which it now possesses.

Thanking you for your letter, and hoping that you sympathize with us in our State Rights move, I am
Very sincerely yours,

P.S. I would be glad if our Open letter were published in the Middlesboro papers.

45-24 Seventeenth Avenue N. E.

Seattle Washington

Dear Miss Laura ^{arrived} June 21, 1919

The home papers have just told me of your decision in regard to the Amendment and the Kentucky organization and I am writing just to say what a comfort it is "in the manifold changes and chances of this mortal life" in 1919, what a soul's rest it is to find you bravely and clear headedly

standing for a principle
and unwilling to do so
that good may come.

I thought when the
President asked the passage
of the Amendment as a
war measure, perhaps
the States might rightly
cede even a fundamental
right, as we were yielding
many admitted rights in
the common emergency.
Since then, I have "halled
between two opinions".

desire all one side of the
scale, conviction the other.
So your clear statement is
like a breath of tonic air.

But, O dear Miss Laura,
don't you prayfully
wish there were statesman-
ship enough in the South
to "beat em to it," in the
only way it can be done -
the right way, of amending
the State Constitutions.

Affectionately and admiringly
Yours,
Henderson Dainoffful Horner.

. 189 N. Mill St., Lexington.
June 21st, 1919.

My dear Mrs. Norman,

Your letter received yesterday is most gratifying, not only for the kind approval you express for my motives in withdrawing from the Ky. E. R. A., but because it assures me that all over our country there burns the fire of loyalty to that glorious principle of the fathers of the Republic- the right of the sovereign states in all matters not conferred upon the Federal government.

I withdrew upon the conviction that I must not stay in an organization which had departed from its original plan and had become an instrument for the injury of the States Rights principle, to which I have been strongly attached ever since I have thought of any governmental principles. Almost immediately upon my withdrawal, I found others were in such sympathy right here in Lexington, that we felt that we could do a good patriotic service by organizing a Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment, with the intention in view of defeating the Anthony amendment by the way which I believe you truly state when you say it is the only way- that of obtaining state amendments before the ratification can be effected.

I will state right here that the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, of which Miss Kate M. Gordon, 1800 Drytania Street, New Orleans, is president, is working for a systematic campaign along this same line. I am the vice-president at large of that Conference; but when I found friends here who believed as we did, it seemed wiser that we should form an unpretending Committee on the basis of States Rights and do our share by fighting in Kentucky alone. For Kentucky is considered a pivotal state both by the Democrats and the Republicans. Hence the headlines of this letter. But of course, I shall do all I can to help the more extensive effort which is headed by Miss Gordon.

Now I want to say something of the Pacific and other Western states, where women already have the vote.

Without their aid the Anthony amendment cannot be ratified. I see you appreciate the importance of resistance in the Southern states. Perhaps I may surprise you when I say the action of these Western states is even more critical. It is usually conceded that a very large number of the Southern States will not ratify, having had bitter experience of the 15th amendment, of which the Anthony amendment is an exact copy, with the change of the word "sex" for "race, color, or previous condition of servitude". Therefore, if we could gain even a very few of the Western states to refrain from ratifying for a few years, so that the unenfranchised states could have time to enfranchise women by state amendments, the terrible invasion of State rights by the Anthony amendment might yet be averted.

Therefore, I want you to consider these facts:

The Pacific and other Western States have a race problem of their own in the persistent demands of the Japanese for concessions in this country which the people of those states have not been willing to concede to them, and which they have so far successfully resisted from influence from Eastern sections of the country by the steadfast action of their own legislatures and the power given them to resist Federal influence by the states rights principle. But now the Japanese are strongly re-enforced in their demands for international race equality by their impor-

part in the world war, and their position in the Peace Conference, and afterwards in the League of Nations. Their power in the United States of propaganda and diplomacy is going to be magnified in a manner we can scarcely overestimate. If an opening is made for them by a fundamental change in our Federal government, such as the Anthony amendment provides for, it seems quite possible that they may achieve by Federal action all they have been defeated in by the exercise of state rights in the Western states. For if history repeats itself, we have learned that one of the outstanding effects of the enforcing provision of the 15th amendment, of which that of the Anthony amendment is a repetition, was to make the state legislatures responsive more or less to the interests of the dominant party in Congress rather than to the interests of the states to which they belonged. If Japanese diplomacy should undertake the task it seems to me not impossible for them to win a strong party for themselves in Congress, favorable to all their demands, and with nothing but state opposition to overcome. Under these circumstances, we may look for a repetition of the Force Bills of Reconstruction period, pressure brought to bear upon state elections, and finally the ~~the~~ yielding of state legislatures to the dominant party in Congress and their assent to treaties which would give the Japanese all they might demand.

The Western States have nothing to gain by ratifying the Anthony amendment. I suppose the motive for doing so which is appealed to is for a temporary political advantage of winning the vote of some of the enfranchised women for the party of their choice. We hope by the resistance of many states to prove that that is an advantage which is by no means assured. Ratification may prove a boomerang. Then, of course, there is the mistaken philanthropy of doing good to people against their will and in spite of their protests. Usually, there is a class of women who are caught by that form of false philanthropy; but if the facts were properly presented, voters who feel it is their first duty to vote for the protection of their own states might be brought to see that they are making a sacrifice which they can ill afford in pursuance of visionary schemes for enlarging liberty by depriving people of the right of self-government.

One or other of these false ideas must be the reason for the ratification of the Anthony amendment by the Western states. I am entering into this long statement because I feel that if a counter movement was started, such as we have started in Kentucky, some of the Western states might refuse to ratify. In that case, all that we desire might be won by state amendments in rapid succession, until we had so many states enfranchised that the true nature of the Anthony amendment would become apparent to every one, and it would finally fail.

For I think it is a abusive name to call the Anthony amendment a suffrage amendment. Judged by its most extensive and permanent effect, it ought to be called an amendment to establish Federal legislation over State elections. You will notice that there are now fifteen states which have full suffrage, and can gain no iota of further suffrage by it. Then there are 14 others which have presidential suffrage, and all the others, except seven, have some form of municipal, school, or bond suffrage, so that only seven are left in which the amendment could really confer all suffrage. On the other hand, because Congressional Force laws must apply to all states equally, every state is liable to lose some portion of the control of its state elections, which they now possess in full, except those which have been taken away by the 15th amendment, but which are very

largely a dead letter from non-enforcement. But the Anthony amendment is as much more dangerous than the 15th amendment as women are a larger, more influential and more widely distributed part of the population than negroes. Negroes were never more than one tenth of the population, largely resident in a few states, and without much power to enforce the 15th amendment when the Republican party withdrew their support. But women are half the population, equally distributed in every state, strong in intelligence and social influence; and if Japanese interests should be served by it, there would be a strong power always to keep active any Force bills Congress may be wrought upon to enact.

Now even a small movement in the Western states might serve to bring these facts before the public in such a manner as might prevent ratification in some of those states. What do you think of trying yourself what can be done? You could at least get some articles in the newspapers; and the self-interests of the people might take up the question.

I do not mean by this letter to state all the facts which might be useful for you to know to start such a movement. You could learn much by reading any history of the Reconstruction period under the 15th amendment; and reference to some of the decisions of the United States courts on the legal question arising would be very instructive.

You need not be afraid that a very small committee could not do good work. We are few yet in announced numbers in Ky., but I believe we are going to effect an excellent purpose. Good work on the principle of States Rights will not be lost, even though it might be years before the seed sown bore fruit. The country may try Federal control, and afterwards grow weary of it, if the principle of State rights is kept alive by those who believe in it. Think of this; and do what you can, just as we in Ky. are doing what we can.

I am enclosing some literature which may be useful.

Thanking you again for your encouraging sympathy, and hoping to hear from you again, I am

Very cordially your friend,

[1919]

Mr. Chairman & Gentlemen:

It is needless to add to or take from what has been said, so will take your time for only a very brief statement.

It is a matter of both pride and sentiment—from which none of us are free—that we do not wish to have conferred on us by outsiders that which is the inalienable right of the men of your State to give—that is Equal Rights.

Why should we, citizens of Kentucky, ask the states at large to take a hand in a strictly family affair; and, in so doing, cause a demarcation that would naturally follow a Federal Amendment, and thus build for future discords?

If we depend on anything on earth it is our faith in our men of these United States to stand by their pledges, and in that faith we ask you to re-affirm your platform pledge of 1916 for Equal Rights by the State route, and to furthermore pledge your support and influence both in the Legislature, and at the polls, for same.

To you we throw the torch, and ask you To Carry On.

1918
199 N. Hill Street, Lexington, Ky.

Sen. J. B. Tholan,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

May I ask your attention to the enclosed Open Letter which a group of Kentucky suffragists is sending out?

We want woman suffrage without giving up any rights of the states. After the declaration of all the political parties in favor of woman suffrage in their national platforms of 1916 we think that woman suffrage is secured in a few years after educative state campaigns by the vote of the people and without any loss of rights to states. But if the Anthony amendment is ratified suffrage will be forced upon some states where both the men and the women are unprepared and unwilling for it; and under the enforcing clause of the Anthony amendment the country will be made liable to be afflicted with the disorder and discontent which followed the Force Bill of 1870 under the Fifteenth amendment.

Without anticipating the re-opening of the issues under the Fifteenth amendment we recognize that the Pacific and other western states have a race problem of their own in the persistent demands of the Japanese for concessions which the people of those states have not been willing to give them; but which Japanese propaganda and diplomacy in other sections might find a way to achieve through Congress under the enforcing provisions of the Anthony amendment. For if history repeats itself, one effect of the enforcing provision will be that state legislatures will be responsive more or less to the influence or legislation of the dominant party in Congress rather than altogeth-

2.

er to the wishes of the people of their states; and the loss of the portion of control of state elections which the Anthony amendment will take away might become the determining factor in the success of the Japanese demands.

The ratification of the Anthony amendment will not be possible without the aid of the eastern states where women already have the ballot; and where the people have nothing to gain by it except the thankless office of forcing suffrage upon a few states which are not yet prepared for it.

Already women have a share in 302 of the 531 electoral votes for president; and most of the legislatures which have not yet done so still have an opportunity to extend this right to women before the election of 1920.

Altogether, we feel that the sacrifice of the state rights of men as well as of women, particularly in the states where women have suffrage, is out of all proportion to the possible benefit; serving merely to force suffrage upon states which are not yet wholly prepared for it by education; and laying a large inexperienced electorate open to the designing propaganda of unscrupulous or selfish agitators.

Hoping that these considerations and others which will occur to you may induce you to use your great influence to deter hasty and probably unwise action upon the Anthony amendment,

I am

Very respectfully yours

JOINT CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

FOR

RATIFICATION OF STATE AMENDMENT

FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

TO THE VOTERS OF ORLEANS PARISH:

On the part of the women of Orleans Parish who believe in democracy, we earnestly ask your vote in favor of the Woman's Suffrage Amendment.

Men of the United States have been asked to die "to make the world safe for democracy." Yet democracy—the right of the individual to self-government—which men are fighting to establish abroad, has not been granted in its entirety at home. President Wilson has revealed the falsity of our position when he states "If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy * * * * * our professions will not suffice." In other words we must PRACTICE WHAT WE PREACH. Women are taxed and women are governed, the identical title upon which any man votes. To deny this American principle of CONSENT IN GOVERNMENT is to deny the very corner-stone upon which American democracy is built. The democracy which we are demanding that Germany must accept as the price of peace!

In the name, then, of National Honor we women of your state ask at your hands that with Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, Montana, Illinois, New York, Arkansas and Texas, Louisiana be made a true democratic unit of a democratic nation. By so doing you will record your faith in that other great protective principle of our government, the STATE'S RIGHT TO DEFINE ITS ELECTORATE WITHOUT FEDERAL INTERFERENCE. Thus, while conferring self-government upon us as individuals, you may conserve self-government for the state.

We appeal for your vote on another score. The women of your state are the political inferiors of negro men in their United States citizenship. We ask that your hands remove this stigma of inferiority and not have redress come at the hands of men from other states through a Federal Amendment.

The eyes of the nation are watching Louisiana for a test of loyalty to the Democratic Party in the struggle now waging for national political supremacy through Woman's Suffrage. Will the democratic stronghold of Louisiana fail?

Our commercial and political future will be largely influenced by your vote on this question. In the name then of the Women of Orleans Parish, we ask each individual voter for his support of the Amendment—

First: As a debt due to national honor.

Second: To preserve suffrage a state right.

Third: Loyalty to the Democratic Party.

Fourth: To remove the white womanhood of your state from longer remaining the political inferiors of negro men in their United States citizenship.



ORLEANS PARISH COMMITTEE