

The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment

Headquarters: 130 North Upper Street

Lexington, Kentucky, Aug. 5<sup>th</sup> 1913

My dear Miss Laura:-

Your letter with check enclosed was received yesterday and thank you for same. Enclosed find receipt.  
Dunster and I were so glad to hear from you, and that you are pleased with our work. We are so anxious not to do one thing that would not meet with your most cordial support and approval. I have had Miss Eisenberrers address envelopes to all of the nominees, and we will get literature off to them to day. Yesterday I was talking to Judge Riley, Esquire Dodd and Judge Bullock. I had business with them so I had to leave while the sun shone. You would be very much encouraged if you could see and hear how many are for us, indeed to every one we talk and make it clear we have a convert. I sent literature to Winchester Saturday and had it distributed, and the report was that it was read with interest. I was at a picnic meeting of the Business Woman's Club last night and took literature and talked. It is a quiet campaign, but we are

hoping that it is very effective.

I am glad that your wheat is safe, and that your work is not so pressing.

William Hart was here Sunday, but I did not get to see William. We will celebrate when you return.

Mrs. Florence Bond was talking to me about our work the other day, and said, "Alice, pray, and if you do not get it now it will come out alright in the future." I told her that we are all praying and working, and that if not now the future would show.

Remember me to Mrs. Bennett. I see where Mary is in Richmond also Laura. Give them my love, and tell Laura I will always remember her and Mattie Tribble and at Mr. McCord's. I saw Mattie Tribble and her mother this morning. They were on their way home, had been over here for several days.

With love from Danette and myself  
Your friend cordially  
Alice Brimston Oldham

JOSEPH M. CAREY,  
CHEYENNE, WYOMING.

August 7th, 1919.

Laura Clay,  
130 North Upper St.,  
Lexington, Kentucky,

Dear Madam:

The circular letter signed by you and several others, without date, has been received. I also received in the same letter a copy of the Fifteenth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution and also a copy of the Susan B. Anthony Suffrage movement.

Your circular letter with all the annotations written about the ages of the printed copy of the amendment referred to, I have deciphered in the way following:

That you favor Woman Suffrage, provided it comes to women through the States.

Woman Suffrage has had a pretty hard row to hoe. I commenced almost a half century ago to help women to obtain suffrage. I was very fond of Susan B. Anthony. She made a hard fight for her sex. She was a good woman and her whole heart and soul were in the principal she advocated. I believe in what she was trying to do.

Now that Woman Suffrage is here and almost a fixed fact, why say anything against the means that were used in getting it, since those means were straight and honorable! I believe in the late Dr. Shaw's plan to accomplish the great work. I had no sympathy for those who assaulted the White House and made "guys" of themselves.

Most of the States south of the Dixon Line are opposed to the Fifteenth Amendment and think for that reason that they should be opposed to the Susan B. Anthony Movement. You are not willing in the South to give the black man and woman the rights that they are entitled to in this country. Now incidentally, your feelings with reference to the Fifteenth Amendment control the feelings you have with the Susan B. Anthony Movement. I am not in sympathy with you.

JMC:B

Very truly yours,

*Joseph M. Carey*

## The Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment

Headquarters: 130 North Upper Street

Lexington, Kentucky

August 9, 1919

My Dear Sir:-

As a member of the State Central Democratic Committee, the Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment requests that you give your earnest attention to the enclosed literature.

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.

Very truly yours,

189 N. Mill Street.

August 12th, 1919.

Hon. J. M. Carey,

Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Dear Sir:-

I have received your letter of Aug. 7th, in answer to a letter of the Citizens Committee for State Suffrage amendment, of which I am one of the signers

I am interested in your remarks about the letter; but your conclusions about why we speak of the 15th amendment do not correctly interpret our meaning.

We have no negro problem in Kentucky. The negroes compose only 15% or less of the population. When white women get the ballot, by State amendment or otherwise, the negro women will get it on the same terms, and their voting will not cause a ripple in our politics.

But we see that the <sup>effect of the</sup> second section of the Anthony Amendment is cumulative to the effect of the second section of the 15th amendment in conferring power on the Federal Congress to legislate on State elections. Together, they leave only the electoral rights of white men free from Congressional influence.

This new power in the Federal government was never contemplated by the framers of the Constitution of the United States; and as there is no new Constitutional check provided it overthrows the balance between the Federal government and that of the States, by abridging or in practice destroying, the State control of State elections which was the constitutional check provided by the original constitution. Thus Congress becomes the most autocratic governing body known among constitutional

# Kentucky Equal Rights Association

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White—Suffrage  
Blue—No Suffrage



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governments.

We do not need to speculate upon how this autocratic power will work. The Force Bill of the 15th amendment is history; and in the light of its history the effect of the Anthony amendment may be read clearly.

The 15th amendment applied principally to a small minority of the population resident chiefly in a few States whose Congressional representation was weakened by the results of the Civil War. When that circumscribed minority is augmented by all the women in all the States, the effects of Force Bills will be augmented proportionally. The outstanding results of the Force Bill of 1870 are that while it was passed ostensibly for the protection of negro men in their right to vote it became quickly an instrument of the dominant party for exploiting for party purposes the political and financial resources of the States subject to its provisions.

Because the 15th amendment applied chiefly to the negroes in the southern States it has been assumed that the second section of the Anthony amendment also will be circumscribed by the negro race problem, and therefore it will concern chiefly only the southern States. But there is nothing in the amendment itself, or in the character of the Force Bill of 1870 to support such an assumption. On the contrary, if the evidence of history is accepted, Congress with equal facility can and will turn this unchecked power against any section wherever two requirements are found. These two requirements are that the section shall have too small a representation in Congress to make resistance to autocratic measures, and that the section shall afford some prize of partisan or commercial advantage sufficient to set in motion the necessary

legislative machinery.

The States which have a large quota in Congress can afford to relinquish a part of their State authority and dignity in order to attain a greater proportionate influence in Congress with its means of influencing State legislatures to favor their political or commercial interests. The legislatures of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts did not extend Presidential suffrage to the women of those States; but they did ratify the Anthony amendment by large majorities. It does not appear that they want woman suffrage; but they appear to be looking for some other compensation for the relinquishment of a valuable protective right of States.

Together those two States have 55 members of Congress; as it happens the exact number of the three Pacific States and the eight Mountain division States combined.

Senator Hiram Johnson is basing much of his opposition to the League of Nations upon the ground that it will enable the Japanese to press their claims for certain concessions in California which the administrations both of President Roosevelt and President Wilson were willing to grant by treaty rights, but which were successfully resisted by the State legislature, elected by the people in unabridged control of State elections. Yet it is easily seen that if by the ratification of the Anthony amendment the State control of State elections is broken down the Japanese will not need the help of the League of Nations to obtain all they want by treaties with the United States. By propaganda and diplomacy they can create a sentiment in Congress favorable to their wishes; and can induce the passage of a Force Bill which will effect what they want in any State whose people might otherwise throw the obstacle of State legislation in their way.



Our Committee was formed to give voice to that large majority of woman suffrage sentiment which has expressed itself on method in the suffrage planks of the two political parties in their platform of 1916. Our brave soldier boys have fought and died to destroy autoocracy in the world. We do not want the Anthony amendment with its suffrage for women <sup>first section of the</sup> in its first section in the States which do not possess it to become a wedge for Federal <sup>its second section providing</sup> legislation on State elections ~~in~~ all the States provided for in its second section.

We are going to ask for a State amendment without reference to the fact that the Anthony amendment has been submitted to the State legislatures by Congress. We shall do this for three reasons: (1) The amendment may never be ratified. (2) Or, we may gain suffrage sooner than it is ratified. (3) Even if it is ratified, it will not remove the word "male" from the election clause of our State constitution. Though it will be a dead letter, it cannot be removed except by State constitutional action. The word will remain there a silent witness that suffrage was not granted to women by the will of the people of Kentucky, but was forced upon them by the action of State Legislatures. Suffrage will be a poor boon to women if the hearts of the people are not with the gift. It is surely the wish of all of us that this stigma should be removed as soon as possible.

All that we ask is that the two great parties of our State shall fulfill the promises of the national platforms of 1916. Do not the people of Wyoming, the great pioneer State of woman suffrage, desire their parties to be faithful to their suffrage pledges of 1916?

I am very respectfully yours,

Member of Citizens Committee for State Suffrage Amendment.

Sent cards to  
Orlando, Florida



Miss Laura Clay  
187 North Mill  
Lexington  
Kentucky

189 N. Mill St.,  
Sept. 8th, 1919.

Judge J. B. Evans,

Selma, Ala.

Dear Sir:-

Your strong argument "The Legislators of Alabama have no right, etc" reached me just as I was starting to Louisville with a Committee to appear before the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic Platform Convention. ~~Resolutions Committee~~ to ask for a State Suffrage amendment recommendation.

I am enclosing some literature showing what the States Rights suffragists are urging against the ratification of the Anthony amendment.

We intend to continue our work till the question is settled in Kentucky. For that purpose we shall send out literature to the candidates for the General Assembly of 1920. Your powerful argument is one I have not seen used before; and I believe it would affect many who may not be reached by what our Committee has said. Therefore, if you have your leaflets for distribution I shall be very glad to see that they reach our candidates. Our legislature is composed of 138 members, and the candidates are double that number. I believe it is preferable to have this literature from another State, as it shows that other Democratic States are fighting the Anthony amendment; but if it is not convenient for you to supply these leaflets, will you permit us to reprint them?

I judge from your published letter to Sen. Keller that you are opposed to suffrage. Our Committee are ardent suffragists; and we are urging state action. Therefore, we can use your leaflet only as it does not bear any sign of anti-suffragist sentiment. In its present



189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Kentucky.

Sept. 12th, 1919.

Rt. Rev. Albion Knight,

Sewanee, Tenn.

Dear Sir:-

Probably by this time you have had your attention called to a petition from the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Lexington, addressed to the Board of Trustees of the University of the South, setting forth their desire that the University open its doors to women students on equal terms with men students as soon as the endowment of one million dollars is raised and an additional fund for necessary dormitories and other accommodations is obtained. We understand that about one hundred thousand dollars would be required for this purpose.

In making this petition the women of the Auxiliary are influenced by the belief that one million and one hundred thousand dollars, with the condition of the admission of women, would be more readily raised than one million dollars without that condition. After mentioning this view to Rev. G. Hendree Harrison, of Ashland Ky., he suggested that it might be useful if I wrote and presented it to you

As we understand , the University is hoping to make advances in usefulness in the future and to impress Episcopal ideals of education as well as religious and other social ideals.

As Episcopalians and women we are desirous that in the educational ideal set it shall be evident that the Church values the education of women equally with the education of men; and that the Church accepts the system of co-education firmly established in the public school systems of all the States. In our own State, not only the Common Schools educate boys and girls together up to the age of twenty years, but our State University, the completion of our educational system, has for many years accepted the principle, and admits both sexes with equal advantages; and most of the other institutions of higher learning do the same.

As to the matter of raising funds, in these days of women's entry into all professions and of the fact that instruction in the Common Schools is very largely in the hands of women, the people are impressed with the importance of the thorough education of women, and that their interest in education should be stimulated by having the best opportunities offered to them. With so

many demands upon the Church and the public in general, it will surely need a sympathetic view of the usefulness of the University of the South to induce the people to furnish the million dollars now asked for. Just a campaign for the University on the same old plan is not apt to excite much enthusiasm when the whole world is looking for advances on old systems and adaptations to new needs. A new element of interest will, in the opinion of many of us, add the necessary enthusiasm to insure the raising of the eleven hundred thousand dollars. Parents are quite as solicitous about the education of their daughters as of their sons; and the people who are willing to make sacrifices for the sake of supplying educational facilities are well aware that at present educational opportunities of women do not equal those of men, and need to be increased.

I am writing this personal letter because I believe it would be a great incentive to the efforts of the women to help to raise the endowment fund if the Board of Trustees could see their way to acceding to the petition of the Woman's Auxiliary. And better still, if the Board at once would offer to open the University to women on the completion of a fund of one hundred

4.

thousand dollars given for the stated purpose of providing the necessary accommodations. As it would require some time for the buildings to be erected it would be useful for the promise to be made as soon as possible, thereby affording the strongest stimulus available to raising the main fund of one million dollars.

Hoping that the petition from the Woman's Auxiliary may receive favorable consideration; and that furthermore the women of the Church may be encouraged immediately in assisting to raise the endowment by the incentive of helping other women, I am

Very respectfully yours,



After five days, return to  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
State Capitol Building,  
Frankfort, Ky.



Miss Laura Clay,  
Richmond, Ky.

*To Mrs Jas Barnett*

Selma, Ala, Sept 13th 1919

Miss Laura Clay,

Lexington, Ky.,

Dear Madam:

My absence from town must be my excuse for not replying sooner to your very interesting letter of the 8th inst.

I <sup>h</sup>thank you for your kind mention of my brief against the Anthony Amendment. It was hurriedly written while I was attending a session of the legislature at Montgomery, and I realize that the point made is rather crudely presented. It is ridiculous to presume that the framers of the Federal Constitution intended by that instrument to confer on legislatures the power to destroy or amend the constitution of a State, and the proposal of amendments such as the 15th and the 19th to legislatures, indirectly it is true, does that very thing. The answer of the legislature to the Congress

should be: "The people of my State made its constitution; we have no power, directly or indirectly, to violate or alter any of its provisions; the Anthony amendment, if ratified by this legislature and thirty-five others, will operate to annul a most important part of the constitution of our State; if the Congress deems that amendment necessary it should, under the power conferred by Article V., propose that amendment to a convention of the people of this State, who alone have the right to amend or alter its constitution, and not to this legislature each member of which would have to violate his oath of office to vote in the affirmative; we must, therefore, respectfully reject the proposal"

In my opinion this is the only position a conscientious legislator can take, regardless of his views on the suffrage question, and although he may have the honest belief that the Anthony Amendment is both necessary and desirable.

Many able lawyers, some of them legislators, have stated to me that, in their opinion, this argument is unanswerable, but none of them seem to have the courage to push it. I have never taken an active part in politics, and have very little influence in that direction.

I am sending you all the multigraph copies I have left, and if you can get some good lawyer to take it up I would be glad for you to reprint it, or, better still, to use the idea in another paper as I

Sept 18, 1919

Know it can be amplified and presented in a more forceful way; or, you might use the frame-work of my article and make such changes or additions as may suggest themselves to you or others.

The argument you are making to the Western States is absolutely sound, and applies with even greater force to the Southern States, especially the blackbelt districts. While the 15th Amendment has been nullified to the extent that we have practically eliminated the negro from politics, its very existence as part of the organic law is a constant menace, and has forced the South to solidify into one party, or, in other words, regardless of men or measures, its people have been compelled by public opinion and for self preservation to be "yellow dog" Democrats, i. e. to vote the ticket however disreputable the candidate may be. It is a mistaken notion that the constitutions of the Southern States protect them from the negro vote, except indirectly. The negro is kept from voting by the absolute power conferred on the Registrars of voters, whose judgment of the qualification of an applicant for registration is final, unless and until Congress intervenes by "appropriate legislation". The Supreme Court of the U. S. in Giles vs The State of Alabama held that the remedy of the person who is illegally refused registration is "political and not judicial" meaning thereby that it is for Congress and not the Courts to enforce the right. The more conservative of the Northern Congressmen, realizing that the 15th Amendment was a horrible mistake, have consistently lent their aid to Southern members in defeating legislation under Sec 2. of that amendment. Of course Congress has the power at any time by "appropriate legislation" to put teeth in the 15th amendment. If the Anthony Amendment is ratified who can doubt that it will be enforced to the letter?, and how can Congress enforce the one without at the time enforcing the other. In that event a wide belt of Counties extending from the Atlantic coast through the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana will be mongrelized, for the negroes are overwhelmingly in the majority and could easily take possession of County affairs, and even elect members of Congress. In this County, Dallas, they are 6 to 1, and in some counties of Miss, they are from 20 to 30 to 1. Mrs Catt's highly financed organization would see to it that both amendments are enforced, and how would the Congress go about enforcing them? The simplest way,

Sept. 13, 1919

and doubtless the most effective would be adopted, and that would be to appoint U. S. registrars wherever needed. If the party in power at Washington saw the chance to carry one or more Congressional Districts by means of the negro vote the Registrars would be instructed to enroll enough negroes to carry them regardless of their qualifications under ~~the~~ State laws, and the only appeal from Caesar's mandate would have to be made to Caesar. Or, they might take the other tack, not register the ~~the~~ negroes, and cut down our representation in Congress under the 14th Amendment, but I believe the former plan would be adopted, particularly as Mrs Catt's organization has announced and re-iterated that it was ~~the~~ their purpose to see to it that negro women should vote on the same terms as white women, and if the colored lady votes the colored gentleman can hardly be denied the same privilege.

It is my opinion that if the Anthony Amendment is ratified both it and the 15th Amendment will be strictly enforced, and centralization of power at Washington will be an accomplished fact. A State without full and complete control of its suffrage ceases to be a State and automatically becomes a province.

You are correct in presuming that I am opposed to woman suffrage. Men and women can honestly differ in opinion on the wisdom or unwisdom of women participating in politics; but I can't comprehend how men or women who love their Country can support such a measure as the Anthony Amendment, because I believe that when our dual system of government is gone, and the Federal Government, the Creature of the States, has, like a Frankenstein, destroyed its Creators, the beginning of the end of the American Republic is at hand. It will be either Bolshevism and Soviets, or the Man on Horseback, and of the two I prefer the last.

The fact that for the last fifty years the South has been "solid", ( a condition necessary for the preservation of its civilization) is, in a large measure, responsible for the present unfortunate state of affairs. The South is responsible for Woodrow Wilson, -the greatest calamity that has ever befallen America. With all the unbounded ambition of Napoleon<sup>o</sup> for World conquest, his genius for political intrigue equals that of Napoleon for military strategy, and like Napoleon, he is absolutely without scruples and without honor in dealing with anything calculated to hamper or to further his consuming ambition to be "the foremost man of

Sept 13, 1919

all the World". He is playing a great game of World Politics, and the South and the extreme West with their racial problems are but pawns on his chess-board which he will sacrifice without compunction when he deems it expedient in his mad desire to make himself the first President of "The United States of The World." This opinion of Mr Wilson is very prevalent throughout the South; there is a very strong undercurrent of indignation against him among the people who feel that they have been betrayed in their own house, and only self seeking politicians, in and out of the legislature are paying heed to his miserable plea of "party expediency" . If a man dares to speak out publicly against him, the speaker is admonished that his Democracy will be questioned, and not to be a "good Democrat" hurts a man socially and every other way. Isnt it pitiful/,- and yet it is only too true and this in spite of the fact that Mr Wilson has absolutely destroyed the National Democratic Party by renouncing the principles that were its only reason for existence, and transformed the Organization into a curious mixture of Socialism and Autocracy with but one object and aim,- power, and still more power. If they succeed, (and I, who have voted the Democratic at every election since I was sixteen years old, pray on bended knee that Wilson and all his sympathizers may go down in defeat) God only knows what will happen to the Country. If domestic ruin and social and political equality with the near decendants of African savages is to be our portion, the dose would seem less bitter if administered by the hands of our avowed political enemies instead of traitors whom we put in power.

I beg your pardon for writing at such length , but my feeling against that man Wilson is so intense that I cant help letting a little of it out when I get the chance. If I can help you in any way in your fight on the Susan, please command me.

I am, Madam, with much respect,

J. B. Evans

Sept 13, 1919

It will be said, however, that Congress, following at least the letter of Article V., has chosen to ignore the people and has submitted the Anthony Amendment to legislatures, and that if thirty-six legislatures vote to ratify, it becomes valid as part of the Federal Constitution. It will be said, that inasmuch as Congress has the right to submit amendments to legislatures, the submission of the Anthony Amendment is legal. That may be true, but will it be legal for a legislature to vote to ratify an amendment that violates the Constitution of his State? No legislature is under any moral or legal obligation to vote either to ratify or to reject any amendment, and when such an amendment as the one under discussion is so submitted, how can a member of the legislature of Alabama, who has any regard for his obligations to the people who put him in office, sworn to support that constitution of his State, and which that people made, vote to strike down a most fundamental provision of that Constitution,- control of suffrage,- and seek to shield himself behind the fact that the Congress of the United States in plain violation of propriety and the rules of political decency, has invited him to violate his oath of office, and claim that his action is legal? This is plain talk but it is as true as Holy Writ, and is borne out by the unsavory and disgraceful history of the 15th Amendment and its twin iniquity, the proposed Anthony Amendment.

The Constitution of Alabama restricts the suffrage to males; a minority of the people are of the opinion that it should be conferred on women, but the question as to whether such an extension of the suffrage would be wise or unwise, is not before this legislature, and can never be presented to any legislature for final determination. That question the PEOPLE and only the PEOPLE, have the right to decide. THE LEGISLATORS OF ALABAMA, took a solemn oath to support the Constitution of their State; a Congress, dominated by political partisans, and for political purposes, has asked them to violate that oath; the authorities in charge of the Government at Washington, with impertinent interference with State affairs, and with the confessed, shameless motive of "Political Expediency", are urging them to do so; will they yield to such importunities from a mistaken idea of party fealty, from fear of punishment or the hope of reward, or will they keep the faith, and stand, as all of "the great and good ones gone" would stand, if they were with us today? The Congress has no moral right to invite the legislature of Alabama to mutilate or alter the Constitution of its State, or to accomplish that end by concert of action with thirty five or more other legislatures, and the legislature has no right, either moral or legal, to accept that invitation.

What is here written of Alabama applies with equal force to every State the Constitution of which restricts the Suffrage to Males.

J. B. EVANS

Selma, Alabama

August 27, 1919.

Sept. 17th, 1919.

Judge J.B. Effans,

Selma, Ala.

Dear Sir:-

I have received the copies of your brief against the Anthony Amendment, <sup>we</sup> and thank you for them. ~~Under~~ <sup>in its present form</sup> your permission to use your argument either ~~as it is at present~~ or as frame-work for other articles.

It is our purpose to use it first in its present form; and afterwards to use the argument in other ~~ways~~ <sup>ways</sup> as the occasion may occur.

I observe what you say as to the danger to the South, especially the black belt. I am aware of that situation; but <sup>of the Anthony amendment I think we have</sup> I am directing my efforts to presenting the danger to the West, because the danger to the South is already apprehended, and advocates of the Anthony amendment claim that as the South has successfully dealt with the vote of the negro man it can deal with <sup>it</sup> the negro woman in the same manner. This point has been very sedulously stressed, <sup>and</sup> ~~because~~ it prevents attention being given to the fact that the new power of Congress, to legislate upon State elections, can be turned with equal facility against any section of the country, whenever an inducement sufficient is furnished to the dominant party

*in Congress* to exercise its power.

I believe the South is leaving itself unguarded by ~~laying too great~~ claiming too great attention to its own domestic problems, with an intensity of feeling which excludes from <sup>its</sup> their minds the demands of other sections. ~~For~~ <sup>to whom happens</sup> On this very question of woman suffrage, the West is as thoroughly committed to it as the South is to white supremacy. You mention that ~~they speak against Wilson~~ not to be "a good Democrat" in the South hurts a man socially and every other way! This is exactly the case in the West for one opposed to woman suffrage. In fact, it ~~exposes~~ <sup>makes</sup> a man a target for political <sup>+ propaganda</sup> ~~propaganda~~ attack such as is not known even in the South; because woman suffrage is still on the defensive in many of the

Sept 10 1877

Democrats apparently States. Yet the Southern ~~states~~ are as utterly indifferent to the predicament in which ~~they~~ place their Western fellow Democrats by ~~an~~ ~~un~~ ~~shak~~ ~~able~~ ~~ob~~ ~~dur~~ ~~acy~~ on the woman suffrage question. Though a southern woman myself, I am forced to the conclusion that it is the South now which is principally responsible for the hold the Anthony amendment has gained upon the people. Whether or not there are still some persons in the South who believe that woman suffrage may be finally defeated in ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~states~~,

~~every~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ at large it is accepted as a foregone conclusion that woman ~~suffrage~~ must become as universal in this country as manhood suffrage. Therefore, Democrats in the north and west see nothing in the Southern democratic stand except a selfish and State-bound point of view, which refuses to regard the national welfare of the party. ~~Because~~ ~~indi~~ ~~vidual~~ ~~s~~ ~~xx~~ ~~pol~~ ~~iti~~ ~~ti~~ ~~ci~~ ~~ans~~ ~~xx~~ ~~are~~ ~~xx~~ ~~re~~ ~~xx~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~xx~~ ~~support~~ ~~of~~ men who have no ambi- tions beyond state politics are confident that they will be supported in their state- bound views, no matter what becomes of national affairs.

It is ~~perfectly~~ evident that the South can never regain or retain any great ~~part~~ <sup>influence</sup> in National affairs unless it can find allies in some other section. The West is its natural and logical ally, as has been proved in late years. ~~Yet~~ every ~~public~~ <sup>Democrat</sup> ~~man~~ in the West hold his position in jeopardy if he ventures to ~~withstand~~ ~~the~~ adhere to the Democratic principle of States Rights on the woman question, ~~because~~ <sup>while</sup> the Southern Democrats by their obduracy are convincing the people that they will not make any concessions whatever to the opinions of the rest of the country on ~~this~~ <sup>a</sup> question.

<sup>o</sup> The Democrats have been so long out of National power that they have learned to content themselves with the control of State matters alone, and have allowed their political vision to be limited to State issues and state rewards. <sup>o</sup> But perhaps they are still under the influence of the defeat of the Civil War. Not so with the West. They did not share the sufferings of that war; and they are by no means content to let the great issues of the nation go ~~by~~ while they play ~~only~~ ~~the~~ ~~part~~



*the code only* 3. *Sept 17, 1919*

forever of a minority party. They are becoming resentful of the indifference of the Southern Democrats who are immovable on any point of policy which requires from them the least sacrifice of their sectional views.

In the opinion of the world, man suffrage <sup>only</sup> is lost; but States Rights may still be saved, if the South is willing to make any sacrifice to do so. It is evident that the South alone cannot resist the tide ~~in~~ favor of the Anthony amendment. ~~✗~~ If the Western states cannot be brought into cooperation with the Southern states in resisting it, <sup>hold fast for the sake of self-preservation</sup> it will be only a matter of time, in all appearance, until the Anthony amendment is ratified, <sup>if the precedent of the passage of the Fifteenth amendmtn is upheld.</sup> That ~~was that~~ any state ~~xxxix~~ once ratifying ~~could~~ not afterwards rescind that action; but ~~that~~ any legislature refusing to ratify, a later legislature <sup>can</sup> do so. ~~✗~~ Even the two southern states of Texas and Arkansas have proved recusant to the doctrine of States Rights and have ratified, though both those states have recently refused to grant suffrage by State amendment. Both these actions are evidences accepted by the <sup>Democrats</sup> ~~country~~ <sup>Majorities</sup> of the country at large that the party must throw off the doctrine of States Rights if ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> intends to cherish any hopes of National predominance.

Unless there are many special sessions of legislatures called for ratification, it will not be possible to ratify the Anthony amendment till the winter of 1921. <sup>Thus</sup> There will be a breathing spell in which it may be possible to defeat the ratification. ~~But I believe it will be not possible only on the condition that the States grant suffrage to women~~ <sup>to defeat some sort of national action</sup> ~~will remain in imminent danger unless~~ <sup>it is possible</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~country~~ <sup>country</sup> may be willing to wait for the orderly and States Rights method, once the excitement of the next presidential election is over. I believe the majority of States may be brought to take ~~this view~~ <sup>the States course</sup>. But the burden of action

Sept 19, 1919

*will*  
 will undoubtedly fall upon the Solid South States, as pointed out by  
 Gov. Pleasant. *this is a time forecast* If you accept this description of the situation, you will  
~~the final result will depend upon~~  
 have a chance of proving whether the patriotism of the South is equal  
 to sacrificing its opposition to woman suffrage by state action or  
 whether it will prefer to sacrifice our dual government ~~by~~ ~~bypass~~  
 by making the acceptance of the Anthony amendment  
 ing  
~~and then~~ save States Rights; or whether it will stand stolidly a-  
 gainst the interests of the Democratic party at large, and *force the*  
~~Western States~~ *by what I think to be our* dual government,  
 in self-defense, ~~sacrifice~~ *by throwing overboard* the doctrine of States  
 rights. *and practice*

Thanking you again for your able brief, and your permission to use  
 it, I am

Very respectfully yours,

189 N. Mill St.

Sept. 17th, 1919.

Judge J. B. Evans,

Selma, Ala.

Dear Sir:-

I have received the copies of your brief against the Anthony amendment, and we thank you for them and for your permission to use your argument in its present form or as frame work for other articles. It is our purpose to use it first in its present form; and afterwards to use the argument in other ways as the occasion may arise.

I observe what you say as to the danger to the South of the Anthony amendment, especially in the black belt. I am aware of that situation; but I think our efforts should be directed to presenting the danger to the West, because the danger to the South is already apprehended, and advocates of the amendment claim that as the South has dealt successfully with the vote of the negro man it can deal with that of the negro woman in the same manner. This point has been very sedulously stressed, as it prevents attention being given to the fact that the new power of Congress to legislate upon State elections can be turned with equal facility against any section of the country whenever an inducement sufficient is furnished to the dominant party in Congress to exercise its power.

I believe the South is leaving itself unguarded by claiming too great attention to its own domestic problems, with an intensity of feeling which excludes from its mind the demands of other sections. It is evident that the South can never regain or retain any great influence in national affairs unless it can find allies in some other section.

The West is its logical ally, as has been proved in late years. But every Democrat in the West holds his political fate in jeopardy if he ventures to adhere to the Democratic principle of States Rights on the woman question as long as the Southern Democrats by their obduracy are convincing the people that they will not make any concessions whatever to the opinions of the rest of the country on a question to whose support the West is as thoroughly committed as the South is to white supremacy. You mention that not to be a "good Democrat in the South hurts a man socially and every other way". That is exactly the case in the West for one opposed to woman suffrage. In fact, it makes a man a target for political and propagandist attack such as is not known even in the South; because woman suffrage is still on the defensive in many of the states. Yet the Southern Democrats apparently are utterly indifferent to the predicament in which they place their Western fellow Democrats by their immovable obduracy on the woman suffrage question. Though a Southern woman myself, I am forced to the conclusion that it is the South now which is principally responsible for the hold the Anthony amendment has gained upon the people. Whether or not there are still some persons in the South who believe that woman suffrage may be finally defeated at least in some of the States, in the country at large it is accepted as a definite conclusion that it must become as universal in this country as manhood suffrage. Therefore, Democrats in the north and west see nothing in the southern Democratic stand except a selfish and State-bound point of view, which refuses to regard the national welfare of the party.

The Democrats have been so long out of national power that Southern Democrats seem to have learned to content themselves with the control of State matters alone, and have allowed their political vision to be lim-

ited to State issues and State rewards. Their public men who have no ambitions beyond State politics are confident that they will be supported by their constituencies in their State-bound views, no matter what becomes of national affairs. Perhaps they are still under the influence of the defeat of the Civil War. Not so with the West. It did not share the sufferings of that war; and it is by no means content to let the great issues of the nation go by while it plays forever the role of a minority party only. The Western Democrats are becoming resentful of the indifference of the Southern Democrats who are immovable on any point of policy which requires from them the least sacrifice of their sectional preferences.

In the opinion of the world, man suffrage only is a lost issue; but States Rights still may be saved, if the South is willing to make any sacrifice to do so. It is evident that the South alone cannot resist the tide in favor of the Anthony amendment. Even the two Southern States of Texas and Arkansas have proved reculant to the doctrine of States Rights and have ratified, though both states recently refused to grant suffrage by State amendment. Both these actions are evidence accepted by Democrats elsewhere that the party must throw over the doctrine of States Rights if it cherishes any hopes of National predominance.

If the Western States for the sake of self-preservation cannot be brought into co-operation with the hold-fast Southern states in resisting it to all appearance it will be only a matter of time until the Anthony amendment is ratified; because if the precedent of the passage of the 15th amendment is upheld, any State legislature once ratifying cannot afterwards rescind that action, but if any legislature refuses to ratify a later legislature can do so.

Unless there are many special sessions of legislatures called to ratify, it will not be possible to ratify the Anthony amendment till the winter of 1921. Thus there will be a breathing spell before its complete ratification. But I believe we will be in imminent danger unless the States grant suffrage by State amendments in rapid succession, as in the plan suggested by Gov. Pleasant, of Louisiana. If this is done, the country may be willing to wait for the orderly and States Rights method, once the excitement of the next presidential election is over. I believe the majority of the States may be brought to take the State course. But the burden of action undoubtedly will fall upon the "Solid South" States, as pointed out by Gov. Pleasant.

If this is a true forecast of the situation the final result may depend upon whether the patriotism of the South is equal to sacrificing its opposition to woman suffrage by State action, thus saving States Rights; or whether it will stand stolidly against the interests of the Democratic party at large, thus inducing the party by what it thinks is in self-defense, to sacrifice our dual government by throwing overboard the doctrine and practice of States Rights.

Thanking you again for your brief and your permission to use it, I am

Very respectfully yours,

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Aug. 11th, 1919.

J.M. Carey,

Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of Aug. 7th is at hand, in answer to a circular letter of the Citizens Committee for State Suffrage amendment in Kentucky, of which I am one of the signers.

You ask, Why say anything against the means used for woman suffrage? and you seem to come to the conclusion that our opposition to the Anthony Federal amendment comes from opposition to the 15th amendment and to the equal rights of negroes. On the contrary, I say to those who ask my views about that, I would be equally opposed to the Anthony amendment if there were not a negro voter in the country. We quote the 15th amendment because the Anthony amendment is a repetition of it with the exchange of the word "sex" for "race, color or previous condition of servitude"; and as we have history in evidence of what the second section of the 15th amendment means we use it to show what ~~is~~ may be expected of the operation of the second section of the Anthony amendment. History proves that the ~~15th~~ Force Bill under the 15th amendment was enacted and put into effect for the aggrandizement of the dominant party in Congress; that it either never was designed for the good of the population of the States where it operated, or that it signally failed in that purpose. Even a partisan cannot, after fifty years, claim that the Southern states where the amendment ~~was~~ Force bill operated, that the negroes, much less the white people, were benefitted by the exploitation of those states for partisan purposes. Kentucky was not one of those states, and I can refer to history without any personal feelings being aroused. The outstanding lesson of the history of the Force Bill, as I see it, is that the second section of the 15th

State Motto: Standing, Having Done All Stand

National Motto: For God and Home and Native Land

President:  
MRS. FRANCES E. BEAUCHAMP,  
Lexington.

Vice President:  
MRS. MALTA B. BAILEY,  
Paintsville.

Corresponding Secretary:  
MRS. JULIET L. POWERS,  
Wilmore.

Recording Secretary:  
MRS. LUDIE DAY PICKETT,  
Grayson.

Treasurer:  
MRS. NORAH B. TAYLOR,  
348 Aylesford Place, Lexington.

...Kentucky...

## Woman's Christian Temperance Union

Time of Prayer—Noontide  
Methods—Preventive, Educational, Evangelistic, Social and Legal

Badge—A Knot of White Ribbon  
Watchwords—Agitate, Educate, Organize

Franchise Department Motto:

WOMAN'S BALLOT FOR THE KING'S BUSINESS.

Superintendent of Franchise Department: MISS LAURA CLAY.

189 NORTH MILL STREET, LEXINGTON.



Sept 1919

Rt. Rev. Albion Knight,

Sewanee, Tenn.

Dear Sir:-

had your attention called

Probably by this time you have ~~received a petition from~~

to a petition from the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Lexington, addressed to the Board of Trustees of the University of the South, setting forth their desire that the University open its doors to women

students on equal terms with men students, as soon as <sup>the endowment of</sup> ~~one million dollars~~ <sup>is raised and an additional fund for</sup> necessary dormitories and other accommodations shall be <sup>is obtained</sup> ~~provided~~. We understand that about one hundred thousand dollars would be <sup>required</sup> ~~necessary~~ for this purpose; and that this sum should be in addition to the one million <sup>dollar</sup> ~~endowment fund for which~~ <sup>securing which a campaign is now on</sup> hand.

In making this petition the women of the Auxiliary are influenced by the belief that ~~eleven hundred thousand dollars~~ <sup>one million, one hundred thousand dollars</sup>, with the condition of the admission of women, would be ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> readily raised than one million dollars without that condition. <sup>after mentioning this view to Rev. C. Hendree Harrison, of Ashland Ky. he suggested that it might be useful</sup>

if I wrote and presented it to you, which is the explanation and <sup>occasion</sup> ~~apology~~ <sup>As the subject was presented at Lexington, Sept. 9th and 10th, the</sup> ~~University is hoping to make advances in the future, and to be representative of Episcopal ideals of education and well as of other social and religious ideals.~~ <sup>in usefulness</sup> ~~of this letter~~ <sup>personal</sup> ~~and to be representative~~ <sup>religious</sup> ~~of~~

AS Episcopalians and women, we are <sup>in</sup> ~~desirous~~ <sup>set it</sup> that the ~~Episcopal~~ <sup>values the education</sup> ~~idea~~ of the University educational ideal should be evident that the education of women is ~~equally~~ <sup>is</sup> accepted by the Church as ~~equally~~ <sup>equally</sup> important with the education of men; and that the Church accepts ~~these~~ <sup>the</sup> system of co-education firmly established in the public school systems of all the States

In our own State, not only the Common Schools educate boys and girls together up <sup>to</sup> the age of twenty years, but our State university, the completion of our educational system, has for many years accepted the same principle, and admits both sexes with equal advantages; and most of the

Sept. 1919

other institutions of higher learning have adopted the ~~same~~ system also. ~~In fact, I believe in all the states co-education of the sexes is conceded to be the result of the best and most practical thought on educational systems.~~

As a ~~practical~~ matter of raising funds

In these days of women's entry into all professions, and in the ~~accomplished~~ fact that ~~women~~ have the instruction of the Common Schools is very largely in the hands of women, the people generally are impressed with the importance of the thorough education of women, and that their interests in education should be stimulated by having the best opportunities offered to them. ~~In these times~~ <sup>when so</sup> many demands upon the Church and the public in general, it will surely need a sympathetic view of the needs and the usefulness of the University of the South to induce the people to furnish the one million dollars now asked for. Just a campaign for the University on the same old plan, with no other plea than that the University needs the money is not apt to excite ~~an~~ <sup>much</sup> enthusiasm when the whole world is looking for advances on old systems, and adaptation to new needs. A new element of interest and usefulness will, in the opinion of many of us, add the necessary enthusiasm to insure the raising of the eleven hundred thousand dollars. Parents are quite as solicitous about the education of their daughters as of their sons; and ~~the people~~ the people who are willing to make sacrifices for the sake of supplying educational advantages are well aware that at present the educational opportunities of women do not equal those of men, and need to be increased.

~~Would it be possible for the trustees of the University of the South~~

<sup>to</sup> ~~am writing~~ <sup>now</sup> this personal letter in addition to the formal petition from the Woman's Auxiliary in convention assembled. <sup>for and</sup> I believe it would be a great incentive to the efforts of the women of Kentucky if the Board of Trustees could see their way to acceding to the ~~is~~ petition, and promising that upon the completion of the fund <sup>by</sup> the doors of the University would be opened to women on equal terms with men. And better still, if the <sup>Board</sup> ~~unive~~

*John W. ...*  
*Board*

Sept. 1912

*at once*

*to*

~~University would offer to open the University to women on the completion of~~  
~~a fund of one hundred dollars given for the purpose of providing the neces-~~  
~~sary accommodations. We understand that it would take some time to build~~  
~~buildings to be erected; and therefore the promise should be effective as e-~~  
~~soon as possible. It would, in the judgment of many of us, be the strongest~~  
~~stimulus possible to raising the million dollars now asked for.~~

Hoping that the petition ~~from~~ the Woman's Auxiliary may receive favor-  
 able consideration; and that furthermore the women of the Church may be  
 encouraged ~~to hope that their efforts in assisting to raise the endowment~~  
~~will be of direct value to other women, I am~~

Very respectfully yours,

*Leaura Blair*

no ~~faith in any earthly power~~ greater faith in any earthly power  
 the ~~trustworthiness~~ than in the trustworthiness of Kentucky men,  
 promises  
 Convention will send out ~~pledges~~ promises people of what the Democrat  
 ic party promises for the future; and the people will hold as the surest  
~~basis~~ pledge for thier performance the strict fulfillment of what they  
 it has promised before.

In faith that the women of Kentucky may rely on its pledges of  
 1916, we respectfully submit to you a resopution for incorporation in  
 your plarform ~~re-affirmation~~ of the suffrage plank of the National  
 Convention of 1916, and a promis~~ing~~ that your party ~~organization~~ will  
 exert its efforts to submit a State Suffrage amendment to the voters by  
 when submitted  
 the next General Assembly; and ~~that~~ it will use its organization to carry  
 the amendme t to succ ss at the polls.

8 West 3<sup>rd</sup> St. Mansfield, Ky.

Oct. 22 - 1919.

My dear Miss Laura:

It seemed clearly my duty Saturday afternoon to remain at the meeting of the Co-operation Council at the University until the meeting adjourned; but I deeply regret that I could not hear the debate. You had only a minute or two after I reached the Club and I could not of course hear what had been said in the main speeches and got only the fragments in rebuttal.

If your speech has been written out or reduced to type will you

Kindly send me a copy? of  
course I was too deeply engaged  
with - trying to collect my own  
thoughts when you spoke before  
the Democratic Platform Com.  
<sup>to hear you as I might</sup>  
wishes, and so I have not in  
my mind your full argument  
against ratification.

I wish I could have a  
full talk with you. For  
so many years I depended  
on you to do my thinking for  
me on the suffrage question  
that I can now scarcely realize  
that I am openly differing  
from you. I don't wonder

if I really have your  
argument in full or whether  
I have just enough of it  
not to understand.

So I shall be very grateful if  
you have your argument  
written out if you will send me  
a copy or if you have fairly  
full notes of the Saturday  
speech if you will send me  
a copy of the notes. I want  
once more to test out my  
own thoughts with those  
of the leading anti-ratificationist  
I will - warm esteem and high  
 regard sincerely, Alice Lloyd. (over)

Did the Leader, Camer's Journal  
or any other paper have the pictures  
on either side - I did not see  
any report of the pictures in the  
Orridge.

I shall be grateful for an  
immediate reply.

Sent copy to Owens Inst  
Oct. 25, 1919

MAYSVILLE, N.Y.  
OCT 22  
3-PM  
1919



Miss Laura Clog,  
181 North Mill St,  
Richmond Ky  
By Day -



LEXINGTON  
OCT 23  
11 AM  
1919  
KY



J. T. KACKLEY &  
MAYSVILLE, KY

**This is to Certify**



That Miss Laura Clay  
Of R.R. # 4 Richmond Ky Kentucky

by the authority invested in us by Dr. John R. Mott, Director General United War Work Campaign, and M. C. Williams, Campaign Director Central Army Department, is hereby officially appointed and authorized to represent the

**UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN  
IN KENTUCKY**

as a Thirty-minute Speaker  
for the duration of the United War Work Campaign in 1918.

Only such financial obligations can be made under this appointment as are definitely authorized by the State Campaign Director.

SEVEN PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

- Y. M. C. A.
- Y. W. C. A.
- National Catholic War Council
- Jewish Welfare Board
- American Library Association
- War Camp Community Service
- Salvation Army

Attest: C. C. Frobaugh  
State Campaign Director

Edward W. Jones  
Chairman State Campaign Committee

Dated OCT 23 1918

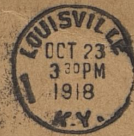
**Official Business**

UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN

STATE HEADQUARTERS:

643 SOUTH FOURTH STREET

LOUISVILLE, KY.



Miss Laura Clay,

Richmond,

Ky.

P. R. # 4