

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, COR. SECY.
1520 AUDUBON ST., NEW ORLEANS
MRS. EMMA MADDOX FUNCK, REC. SECY.
1613 EUTAW PLACE, BALTIMORE, MD.
MRS. GEO. E. CUNNINGHAM, TREASURER
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

KATE M. GORDON, PRESIDENT
1800 PRYATANIA ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
LAURA CLAY, VICE-PRES. AT LARGE
LEXINGTON, KY.

HEADQUARTERS
332 BARONNE STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

MRS. NELLIE NUGENT SOMERVILLE
1ST AUDITOR, GREENVILLE, MISS.
MISS JENNIE LAUDERDALE, 2ND AUDITOR
DYERSBURG, TENN.
IDA PORTER-BOYER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NEW ORLEANS, LA.



TELEPHONE M 187

NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 25, 1915. 191

My dear Miss Clay:

Mrs. Boyer turned over to me your letter relative to the Mississippi Valley Conference. I am going to arrange to be there and think that we ought to have about an hour, if possible, given to a discussion of the aims and objects of the Southern Conference.

RECEIPTS.-In reference to receipts, we do have a system of acknowledging amounts of money sent in for membership or as subscriptions to the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN. Mrs. Bartlette had considerable trouble with her eyes after coming home, and that may explain some delay, but, ordinarily, receipts to the members or subscribers are regularly made. However, I will take up the point of receipts being sent to the persons who collect for subscriptions as well. I think a form postal would answer the purpose. The work of the Conference is growing so rapidly that it is hard to keep up in true business style with the demands.

I am going to Washington for the 11th. Mrs. Stoner is getting up quite a meeting for me.

I have a lot of interesting news to tell you regarding the Congressional Committee trying to freeze out any activity on the part of the Southern Conference in Washington. I have taken up the matter with Miss Shaw and will send you some correspondence to read, as soon as I get her reply, so that you will understand the situation. I did not think it necessary to take it up with the Board, many of whom do not understand the inside information and the attitude of the of the Congressional Committee to the Congressional Union.

Do you think it would be possible to arrange a meeting for me in Louisville after the Indianapolis convention? I will be on my way home and I would like to bring the Louisville people in touch with the Southern Conference. I think it particularly desirable when we know the attitude of Mrs. Leach, but, at the same time, we know how enthusiastic

[Jan. 25, 1915]

John Morgan's grand-daughter was and when I met her last fall she made me promise to come to Louisville. Would you mind taking up the question with her of having a meeting for me, or, will you please send me her name and address, so that I can get in communication with her.

I have been astonished not to hear anything from Alabama. I was under the impression that they wanted the Southern women to do some capaigning for them. I have heard of none of our prominent suffragists being invited, but I read in the Woman's Journal that the National's organizers-- Misses Engel and Thompson-- are both employed there.

With very kind regards to your sisters, believe me

Affectionately yours,

Mae M. Gordon

Am sending some enrollment-
Memberships + Donative
Cards.

Richmond, Ky.

Jan. 31st, 1915.

My dear Miss Gorden,

I am glad to hear that you are arranging to go to the Miss.V.Conference. Mrs.Upton has written that she has invited you and that she will write againto you.

About Louisville: I would be glad to take up the matter of your going there with the President of the Woman Suffrage League, Mrs. Samuel Henning, but I believe it would be mere expeditious and satis-factory for you to write to her yourself. I do not know her street number, but think your letter will reach her promptly by directing to Louisville. The League there is quite active now; and I think perhaps it would be better for you to offer a suffrage lecture rather than an exposition of the Southern Conference, and trust to bringing that in incidentally. Louisville has a strong Republican and Progressive party, though the state is normally Democratic. By-the bye, Mrs.Henning is not the grandaughter of John Mergan. He was a bachelor. Mrs.Henning is the daughter of Gen.Basil Duke, of Mergan's command, and her mother was John Mergan's sister. Mrs.Henning is now a widow.

302 New York Life Bldg, Chicago, Ill.

Did you meet in Nashville Jeanna E.Downes? She and I had quite a chat, and she told me she is the president of the Illinois Woman's Democratic League, consisting of 20,000 women and pres.of the Woman's Democratic Press. I think she may be at Indianapolis, and it will be of advantage for us to get acquainted with such women to help in the S.S.W.S.Conference.

I am expecting to go to Indianapolis, and shall be gald to see you and hear all your news. Love to all. Cordially yours,

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

319 CARONDELET STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

February 4, 1915

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Ky.

My dear Miss Clay:

I have just written Mrs. Henning, and told her that March 5 ^{or} and 6, would be dates that I could speak in Louisville, as I wend my way to the Mississippi Valley Conference.

I did not meet Mrs. Downes at Nashville. I will be glad to get in touch with her, for that phase, of lining up the Democratic women in other States, will be a part of our special work next year.

It is delightful to see how South Carolina is turning into suffrage enthusiasm. I cannot but feel that our Southern Conference is doing a tremendous work in this respect. We are commencing to get returns from our splendid press work.

Very cordially,

Kate M. Gordon

BS / KMG.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

319 CARONDELET STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

February 2, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

I need some advice. Miss Shaw, when I was leaving her in Nashville, told me she was coming to New Orleans this winter; in fact, it was a pretty broad hint for me to ask her to come, as I always have asked her to be my guest. Now, as you know, I have not one particle of respect for Miss Shaw, much less any affection left, and I have declared that I would never ask her to my home. When I returned and told Jean, she said that it was a mistake not to invite her to New Orleans, and Jean wrote, in the name of the Era Club, and extended her an invitation to be the Club's guest.

As you know, the Woman's Suffrage Party here in New Orleans has been a source of annoyance and detriment to the cause ever since its organization. In the beginning I think both Dennett and Shaw, not knowing the kind of people they were, encouraged the organization in the hope of discrediting our State organization which, through me, they felt was not altogether loyal. When, however, Shaw saw the personnel of the members-- and you had a fair sample of them in Nashville last year-- she would not accept any invitation of theirs unless all the suffragists would cooperate to make her visit a success, and then when she learned that we would not have anything to do with the Woman's Suffrage Party, the broken ankle conveniently saved her any embarrassment.

Now, according to Mrs. Boyer and Jean, they think I should invite her, as she has always heretofore been our home guest, so that these people could not get at her, as they would get at her at a hotel, for interviews. If she is at our house, she cannot very well be visited by the Meehan-Graham conglomeration. I have not yet been able to bring myself to the point of "eatin' crew", even though they have recommended it. How would you act in the matter? I candidly confess to you that her treatment of us as a board that last year we were all together, and her treatment of you, I resent with every drop of honest blood I have in my veins.

Now, am I justified in the best interest of the cause to set aside my feelings in the matter and invite her as my guest? Feeling as I do, is it quite the right thing to ask her?

Feb 2, 1915

I want you to give me your candid opinion in the matter. Would you, if she were going to Lexington as the guest of the Lexington Club, invite her into your home? I will regard everything you say as confidential.

I am enclosing the correspondence I referred to in my last letter and also a clipping which the Woman's Suffrage Party has gotten out against us.

Affectionately yours,

Hattie M. Gordon

I sent all the correspondence to Shaw. She has submitted it to the Board. When it is returned I'll send it to you. The clipping is quite in its meaning as no one that I know in the Southern Cause interfered with the Amendment agitation.

Convention with a
good balance on
the right-side of
the book. In fact
it has been a money
making venture for
the Exa Club.

Dr. Baum called
Sunday & says the
effort has been won-
derful throughout - the
State, & will help us
in every way to secure
municipal suffrage
Oh! for a pocket
book which

1800 Pyvania St.
April 14th 1915

My dear Miss Clay:

I enclose
cheque for \$12.00
which is the amount
paid by you on
your hotel bill and
which should have
been charged to
Exa Club.

You will be
glad to know we
come out of the

Exa Club

would enable me to give
every moment of time to it.

So we have any hesitation
in accepting the enclosed - all
the others had rooms to them-
selves or very much larger ones
As was the case with Miss
Shaw - & Mrs. Epton.

I have been so busy with all
the correspondence that this
would have been looked into
long ago.

Cordially

Yours
Wm. G. Brown

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

May 31, 1915.

Dear Southern Suffragists:

In view of the fact that a call has been sent out by the National Association to define National Amendment procedure, I feel constrained to send a note of warning to the women of the southern states upon the danger of committing their states to any pronounced endorsement of a National Amendment.

As long as the National Amendment remained academic, the endorsement by the South of this feature of the work was valuable from the standpoint of agitation. But since it has been made an issue and intensified by the attitude of the two National Associations, the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union, a new situation arises which calls for earnest consideration by we southern suffragists.

The first serious point for us to consider is that there will never be another amendment to the national constitution repeating the error of the 14th and 15th Amendments. These war amendments were only ratified by force legislation and are the blackest pages of our reconstruction history. Granting that submission to the states is achieved, the "solid South" has within its borders the requisite number of states to block ratification. Is it reasonable for southerners to suppose that the sentiment that has held intact the "solid South" for over forty years is, presto, to change for the sake of woman suffrage and ratify an amendment which will reopen the blackest and bloodiest pages of our history?

Therefore, in the light of history, I feel it is safe to predict that instead of the National Amendment route being the line of least resistance, as some of our uninformed suffragists seem to think, it is an impossible route, and policy, expediency and history dictate to our southern suffragists the advocacy of states' right suffrage.

However, the point I wish especially to stress at this time is the boomerang for the South in this National Amendment issue. Both organizations have exploited the power of 4,000,000 voting women. The "solidarity of women" argument, for the undoing of parties and individuals opposed to the National Amendment support, fools no one, but the enemies of woman suffrage in the South may well turn it to account for withholding the suffrage from our women even as a state right. If we support as logical that every state where woman

May 31, 1915 p. 2

suffrage exists must, by the very nature of this solidarity, support a National Amendment, then it is logical to argue, if the southern states become suffrage states, that by virtue of the solidarity of southern women we would support National Amendment legislation. The whole thing is specious and for us dangerous in the extreme. What better material with which to resurrect the "ghost of reconstruction" to inject it into our issue.

Again, the Congressional Union has for its policy, patterning after English politics, the "defeat of the party in power". This becomes a joke in our part of the country, where only one party exists, when applied to the destruction of a policy which is the primal cause for the existence of only one party. Likewise, the National Congressional Committee creates a black list, and puts upon the black list those men who oppose a National Amendment dealing with the suffrage, and recommends the defeat of these men as candidates for reelection to Congress. Can you conceive of a greater incongruity than suffragists in the South going out to campaign against men because they voted as their constituencies have instructed them and upon the very point which has entrenched the Democratic Party in power and will continue it in power as long as the race issue is a factor in southern politics?

We are upon the threshold of a new Constitutional Convention era in the South. Its possibilities are enormous, but I pray that no representative from a southern state to the Chicago conference will ~~commit her state~~ commit her state, without due deliberation and her state's consent, to any national amendment policy so at variance with the traditions of the South and in absolute opposition to the party policy from which you must get your enfranchisement.

In a recent letter received from Miss Shaw, in reply to a letter somewhat of the character which I have written you, she says: "Let things go along as they are going", as she finds that some of our women are not a unit. Unfortunately, this is true, but this lack of unity comes from southern suffragists who do not know their own political situation, and many of whom are new to the work and unfamiliar with the history of the movement. Just as we have a few southern suffragists who are guilty of repeating such specious argument, that there is no Negro problem in the South in connection with woman suffrage, because there are more white women in the South than the total black population, ignoring entirely the distribution of this population which makes self-government for some states a matter of self-preservation, which other states as a unit have stood for and will stand for for many years to come, if not for all eternity.

Therefore, when I hear of southern suffragists talking of turning for relief to a National Amendment, I conclude, first, that they are unfamiliar with the War Amendments' history; second, that they do not know the pulse of their own people. To these suffragists I recommend for consideration whether they would be willing to introduce into their own legislatures a resolution recommending to Congress that a National Amendment forbidding disfranchisement be

May 31, 1915 p. 3

submitted to the states. I doubt if you could get a southern democrat to introduce such a bill, and it would not even get consideration in committee, and the comment upon the intelligence of southern suffragists seeking such legislation would not be flattering, to say the least. Yet this action is the only logical complement from the State end to the National Amendment action in Congress, and should be the policy of both the national organizations.

It was on my recommendation that Mrs. Kelley moved some ten years ago that this recommendation be a policy of the National Association. But when I came to apply my own medicine in my own state, I realized the futility of such a recommendation in the South. A serious study of the Amendment situation led me to conclude, and I maintained the same conclusion when a National officer, that the value of the National Amendment policy lies in agitation and that there will never again be written in the Constitution of the United States an amendment repeating the crime of the 14th and 15th Amendments against the states.

I took issue with Mrs. Catt in 1898, on the Buffalo Convention platform, on the feasibility of the passage of a National Amendment, when the Convention endorsed the million-women-signed petition. From the agitation standpoint I endorsed it, but for practical results it was to no purpose. Mrs. Catt, in an article circulated to the states and sent out by the National Congressional Committee, now virtually concedes this point of view.

I regret the necessity for such a letter. But the National Amendment is an issue, and we of the South can no longer employ a "laissez-faire policy", desirable when the question was academic. The calling of the conference in Chicago, while valuable simply for conference, should take no definite action until the Convention acts. To do otherwise is to preempt the right of the Convention. So, likewise, I consider no southern state, through an individual and without definite instructions, has the right to endorse any policy which may seriously affect the suffrage situation in the South.

We have in the South a strategical suffrage position, which the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is designed to meet. Its policy is to hold the Democratic Party responsible for the adoption of woman suffrage in its platform and non-action on its part will warrant an attack upon our illegal constitutions. It is to prevent any ill-advised endorsement of the Federal Amendment at this critical juncture, by the southern suffragists as individuals, that I have called to your attention the seriousness of the situation as I see it.

I hope that none of you will misunderstand the motive of this communication, or attribute to it any bigoted southern point of view. I am a suffragist first, and I have approached the hopelessness of the National Amendment situation only after careful and deliberate study of the situation from every standpoint. Did I see one chance of a National Amendment I would line up with its advocates; but with the necessary three-fourths of the states to block ratification in the pro-southern group, our policy should certainly be, not to play into the enemies' hands.

Cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Duplicate

May 31, 1915.

Dear Southern Suffragists:

In view of the fact that a call has been sent out by the National Association to define National Amendment procedure, I feel constrained to sound a note of warning to the women of the southern states upon the danger of committing their states to any pronounced endorsement of a National Amendment.

As long as the National Amendment remained academic, the endorsement by the South of this feature of the work was valuable from the standpoint of agitation. But since it has been made an issue and intensified by the attitude of the two National Associations, the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union, a new situation arises which calls for earnest consideration by we southern suffragists.

The first serious point for us to consider is that there will never be another amendment to the national constitution repeating the error of the 14th and 15th Amendments. These war amendments were only ratified by force legislation and are the blackest pages of our reconstruction history. Granting that submission to the states is achieved, the "solid South" has within its borders the requisite number of states to block ratification. Is it reasonable for southerners to suppose that the sentiment that has held intact the "solid South" for over forty years is, presto, to change for the sake of woman suffrage and ratify an amendment which will reopen the blackest and bloodiest pages of our history?

Therefore, in the light of history, I feel it is safe to predict that instead of the National Amendment route being the line of least resistance, as some of our uninformed suffragists seem to think, it is an impossible route, and policy, expediency and history dictate to our southern suffragists the advocacy of states' right suffrage.

However, the point I wish especially to stress at this time is the boomerang for the South in this National Amendment issue. Both organizations have exploited the power of 4,000,000 voting women. The "solidarity of women" argument, for the undoing of parties and individuals opposed to the National Amendment support, fools no one, but the enemies of woman suffrage in the South may well turn it to account for with-holding the suffrage from our women even as a state right. If we support as logical that every state where woman

May 31, 1915 p. 2

suffrage exists must, by the very nature of this solidarity, support a National Amendment, then it is logical to argue, if the southern states become suffrage states, that by virtue of the solidarity of southern women we would support National Amendment legislation. The whole thing is specious and for us dangerous in the extreme. What better material with which to resurrect the "ghost of reconstruction" to inject it into our issue.

Again, the Congressional Union has for its policy, patterning after English politics, the "defeat of the party in power". This becomes a joke in our part of the country, where only one party exists, when applied to the destruction of a policy which is the primal cause for the existence of only one party. Likewise, the National Congressional Committee creates a black list, and puts upon the black list those men who oppose a National Amendment dealing with the suffrage, and recommends the defeat of these men as candidates for re-election to Congress. Can you conceive of a greater incongruity than suffragists in the South going out to campaign against men because they voted as their constituencies have instructed them and upon the very point which has entrenched the Democratic Party in power and will continue it in power as long as the race issue is a factor in southern politics?

We are upon the threshold of a new Constitutional Convention era in the South. Its possibilities are enormous, but I pray that no representative from a southern state to the Chicago conference will ~~commit her state~~ commit her state, without due deliberation and her state's consent, to any national amendment policy so at variance with the traditions of the South and in absolute opposition to the party policy from which you must get your enfranchisement.

In a recent letter received from Miss Shaw, in reply to a letter somewhat of the character which I have written you, she says: "Let things go along as they are going", as she finds that some of our women are not a unit. Unfortunately, this is true, but this lack of unity comes from southern suffragists who do not know their own political situation, and many of whom are new to the work and unfamiliar with the history of the movement. Just as we have a few southern suffragists who are guilty of repeating such specious argument, that there is no Negro problem in the South in connection with woman suffrage, because there are more white women in the South than the total black population, ignoring entirely the distribution of this population which makes self-government for some states a matter of self-preservation, which other states as a unit have stood for and will stand for for many years to come, if not for all eternity.

Therefore, when I hear of southern suffragists talking of turning for relief to a National Amendment, I conclude, first, that they are unfamiliar with the War Amendments' history; second, that they do not know the pulse of their own people. To these suffragists I recommend for consideration whether they would be willing to introduce into their own legislatures a resolution recommending to Congress that a National Amendment forbidding disfranchisement be

May 31, 1915 p.3

submitted to the states. I doubt if you could get a southern democrat to introduce such a bill, and it would not even get consideration in committee, and the comment upon the intelligence of southern suffragists seeking such legislation would not be flattering, to say the least. Yet this action is the only logical complement from the State end to the National Amendment action in Congress, and should be the policy of both the national organizations.

It was on my recommendation that Mrs. Kelley moved some ten years ago that this recommendation be a policy of the National Association. But when I came to apply my own medicine in my own state, I realized the futility of such a recommendation in the South. A serious study of the Amendment situation led me to conclude, and I maintained the same conclusion when a National officer, that the value of the National Amendment policy lies in agitation and that there will never again be written in the Constitution of the United States an amendment repeating the crime of the 14th and 15th Amendments against the states.

I took issue with Mrs. Catt in 1898, on the Buffalo Convention platform, on the feasibility of the passage of a National Amendment, when the Convention endorsed the million-women-signed petition. From the agitation standpoint I endorsed it, but for practical results it was to no purpose. Mrs. Catt, in an article circulated to the states and sent out by the National Congressional Committee, now virtually concedes this point of view.

I regret the necessity for such a letter. But the National Amendment is an issue, and we of the South can no longer employ a "laissez-faire policy", desirable when the question was academic. The calling of the conference in Chicago, while valuable simply for conference, should take no definite action until the Convention acts. To do otherwise is to preempt the right of the Convention. So, likewise, I consider no southern state, through an individual and without definite instructions, has the right to endorse any policy which may seriously affect the suffrage situation in the South.

We have in the South a strategical suffrage position, which the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is designed to meet. Its policy is to hold the Democratic Party responsible for the adoption of woman suffrage in its platform and non-action on its part will warrant an attack upon our illegal constitutions. It is to prevent any ill-advised endorsement of the Federal Amendment at this critical juncture, by the southern suffragists as individuals, that I have called to your attention the seriousness of the situation as I see it.

I hope that none of you will misunderstand the motive of this communication, or attribute to it any bigoted southern point of view. I am a suffragist first, and I have approached the hopelessness of the National Amendment situation only after careful and deliberate study of the situation from every standpoint. Did I see one chance of a National Amendment I would line up with its advocates; but with the necessary three-fourths of the states to block ratification in the pro-southern group, our policy should certainly be, not to play into the enemies' hands.

Cordially yours,
Kate M. Gordon

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.



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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

319 CARONDELET STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

May 10, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

Do you think it would be good politics to warn the southern women upon the danger of their taking a positive position on this National Amendment business? I do not think a conference at this time should be called; it strikes me as pre-empting the rights of the Convention, and it is only a veil to hide their intention to get ahead of the Congressional Union, and many of the women who will attend that conference are women who do not know the first thing about the suffrage situation. I note among the persons named Mrs. Henderson of North Carolina. Mrs. Henderson is a very nice little woman, but young and inexperienced and does not know the difference between a National Amendment, a Shafroth Resolution, or even what our Southern Conference stands for. I can see the play of the politicians against us with Mark Hanna's daughter in the saddle riding us to destruction. But, of course, if I dared to say this, the attack would be dreadful.

I am going to Texas Wednesday night and will try to talk some sense into the Texas women.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon

Ans. May 15. Advocated urging Federal Suffrage.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

319 CARONDELET STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

May 11, 1915.

To the Officers of the
Southern Conference:

Dear Friends:

I am writing to inform you of what I fear is going to be a rather serious situation in our southern suffrage field. The formation by the Congressional Union of a National Association, which stands purely for pushing the National Amendment, has led to considerable protest on the part of the National Association against the action of the Congressional Union's claim to the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. A conference of the Executive Council has been called for June 6, in Chicago, to define a policy for the next Congress. I, personally, feel that it is called to head off, if possible, some of the activities of the Congressional Union. But be that as it may, what concerns the southern states is what is worrying me.

In the National Association in the past a states' rights policy was allowed. The National Amendment agitation was a formality; but the situation now is acute and ~~gradually~~ claims are being made upon the efficacy of 4,000,000 women voters. It is taken for granted that these 4,000,000 will, to a woman, vote in favor of woman suffrage without any regard to party affiliation or instruction. The claim of this great power is about as intelligent as the claim made that because there are more white women than the total Negro population in the South there is no Negro problem. No conception whatever seems to be had that the "solid South" is designed to protect the states where these Negroes are congested.

Now the danger that confronts me is this: that the enemies of woman suffrage may well argue the danger of extending to the women of the South even the state right suffrage if a solidarity of women is to control the situation on the claim that the women of the South would vote for a National Amendment if enfranchised.

Now, personally, I hate to line up in any kind of conflict with either of the National Associations. I want the National agitation, but I consider it hopeless agitation as far as the practical extension of the suffrage is concerned.

May 11, 1915

#2

Do you think it would be regarded in bad form to write our southern states and tell them the hopefulness of our situation lies in concentrating on the next Democratic party, but if the states commit themselves to a National suffrage plan, which will be exploited by this Congressional Committee in order to offset the Congressional Union, the double attitude of their position will make it impossible of understanding to the next Democratic Convention. I would appreciate an expression from each of you at your very earliest convenience.

I hope that you have read the article in the May number of the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN entitled "The Awakening of the South", and the article by Judge Clark dealing with white supremacy. It seems to me that our plan therein outlined is full of hope.

Cordially yours,

Walter H. Gordon.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1620 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

KATE M. GORDON, President,
1300 Prytanla St., New Orleans, La.

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

336 Camp St.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

June 29, 1915.

Miss Laura Clay,
Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:

The enclosed letter from Mrs. McCormick to Mrs. Valentine will show you the activity designed to spike the usefulness of the Southern Conference in the South. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mrs. Valentine, asking her permission to go before the Board with the letter. It strikes me that the National Association might do something else than to tear down existing work. They have become nothing else but an association to attack the Congressional Union, and certainly senile debility and impotence are their only characteristics.

I note in the Headquarter Letter, which by the way looks to me like an "Im Memorium of the Grand Army of the Republic", that they slap at you in showing that your bill belongs to the Federal Society of Washington, D.C. Why don't you work through that committee in Washington instead of this National committee? You would lead somewhere if you would throw the strength of your influence around the poor little group in Washington, and I do not believe the National Association has enough judgment in it to-day to take you anywhere.

Give me some advice upon what to do, and whether you would make public this attempt on Mrs. McCormick's part, if after submission to the Board, she persists in trying to organize a duplicate movement in the South. I think it is about as dastardly a piece of work as I ever knew a suffragist to attempt against another.

Very cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon

KMG / BS.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA. June 1, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

I have been so busy that I have not replied to your letter, but I do not wish you to get to Chicago without my opinion upon the danger of the Southern Conference endorsing any Federal legislation movement at this time. We want absolutely to keep our skirts clear of any entanglements until after the Democratic Party passes on our case next year; then I will be as radical as can be with safety. I would think it perfectly legitimate to endorse an attempt to see whether the Federal suffrage with necessary Congressional legislation could be applied to women, but I would do that as an individual at present and not as a Southern Conference woman-- fine distinction, but good politics. If any southern women are present at the Chicago Conference, do warn them against endorsing any National Amendment policies.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon,

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.,

June 3, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

I inclose a copy of my letter to Mrs. Clark, in *attention* which I ask her to bring to the ~~head~~ of the board my letter upon the suffrage situation. I also want to ask you to introduce this resolution, which I think is calculated to help *push* the suffrage in the four manufacturing states in the East where the campaigns are pending. It certainly cannot do any harm and will enable Illinois to become a great suffrage booster for the Cause. If we can only make the commercial interests realize that suffragists will help the states where women vote, I think we can advance the Cause by Seven League Boot strides.

I would have liked very much to have gone to Chicago, but I do not really feel that I could afford such a trip. I hope nothing will be done to interfere with the right of the Convention in deciding policies. It seems to me a dangerous precedent, (this Conference) if it takes any decided action, or usurps the Convention right.

I wish you to report for me that Louisiana is on the eve of a Constitutional Convention. It will be held September 14, if held at all. It may, by great good luck give us the suffrage and allow Louisiana to carry off first honors.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon

Do you think it wiser to get the consent of the 4 manufacturing campaigns states, before the launch of this will be if you do - For fear your letter from Richmond may not have been forwarded & inclose another copy.



189 N. Mill St.,

June 12, 1915.

Dear Miss Gordon:

I was too busy while in Chicago to write to you at all. I found that the principal work of the Conference was to decide that steps to take to protect our Association against the subversive ways of the Congressional Union. We think we took effective steps to that end, which will duly appear in the Headquarters News-Letter. If there was any danger of anti-states' rights action, it was safely warded off. I introduced your "Made in a Suffrage State" resolution, and it met with considerable approval, as a fine idea; but it alarmed the timid campaign states and, therefore, was laid on the table. I did not press it because you warned me not to do so if the campaign states feared it. Mrs. Nellie M. Somerville, of Greenville, Miss., had been appointed by the Board as Second Vice President in the place of Mrs. Desha Breckinridge.

Very considerable attention was paid to the Federal Suffrage Bill; and I hope now that the Congressional Committee will give a good deal of attention to it.

I am very tired after quite a strenuous two weeks work and so I cannot write many interesting details which I would like to tell you. Give my regards to your sister and Mrs. Boyer, and believe me,

Cordially yours,

Laura Clay

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:
336 Camp St.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

June 23, 1915.

Dear Members of the Official Board,
National American Woman Suffrage Association:

The action of the Supreme Court of the United States in pronouncing the grandfather clause of the Southern States illegal, is of deep significance to suffragists all over the country. South Carolina for twenty years, and Louisiana for seventeen years, and the other states for a shorter period, have utilized this subterfuge of a grandfather clause, and the Supreme Court never gave an adverse decision, and an opinion on the Alabama test has been, for many years, in abeyance by the Supreme Court. It therefore, should lead our suffragists to consider why this decision has been finally made on the Maryland and Oklahoma cases, and that a Louisiana man did not even bring a dissenting opinion.

I claim for the Southern Conference, ^{with} its open and avowed declaration that, "if the Democratic Party did not go on record in favor of votes for women", we would attack the illegal Constitutions of the South, as the real reason for the sudden decision.

I therefore, am writing at this time to ask the National Association to be very guarded how they influence the southern work. If, twenty years ago, the National Association had been awake to the possibilities of the situation, it is probable that woman suffrage would have been incorporated in some of the Southern Constitutions. I state this fact from my experience in Louisiana, and the story of Mississippi. But I want to impress at this time that the greatest caution should be employed in the press material going out from the National headquarters. The South will not stand for REPUBLICAN COERCION, and I therefore, believe that every bit of partisan newspaper comment should come from the Southern headquarters and bear the Southern impress. I believe that the National Association should make an announcement to the effect that in this southern territory they are absolutely going to leave the policy to Southern suffragists. If we adopt this plan then we will spike the guns of some of the anti-suffrage organizations that are bobbing up their heads. It is

June 23, 1915

very significant to me, that for the first time in the history of Louisiana anything like an effort in behalf of anti-suffrage was started by a woman from Boston, down in the sugar territory, that went Progressive last year. I am delighted that the fool chose this field, for I will link this anti-suffragist's activity with republicanism, if it proves advantageous, but what I want to keep clear of, above all, is any suffrage activity which can be worked against us as a republican boomerang.

I therefore, at this critical juncture in our suffrage history suggest to the National Board the passage of some resolution in which they declare, they recommend for southern states that the line of least resistance will be found in the State right activity, and that you even go so far as to publicly disclaim responsibility for any newspaper activity, which may allow the enemies of woman suffrage to attribute to republican activity the enormous awakening of woman suffrage in the South. The possibilities for the South in the next year are enormous and while I credit to each individual worker the best intention in the world, I must say that any great National activity at this critical time will play into the hands of the enemy.

I therefore pray that the National Association will co-operate with the Southern Conference by influencing its Southern members to be guided by our advice. This striking out of the grandfather clause makes it possible for Louisiana to lead the South in November.

If we do not succeed, it then justifies an organized effort to make equally unconstitutional the literacy clause and understanding clause amendment.

Cordially and fraternally,

Kate M. Gordon,
President.

Copy of letter sent to Members of
National American Woman Suffrage
Board

Lexington, Ky., June 19, 1915.

My dear Miss Gordon:

The Federation of Clubs having endorsed action for securing platforms in the political parties in favor of submitting a constitutional amendment in Kentucky, Mrs. Murray Hubbard, chairman of their platform committee, succeeded in getting a resolution in the Republican platform in the largest Republican Convention that has ever been held in the state; and yesterday the Fayette E. R. A., got a similar resolution from the Fire Underwriters Association of the state. Aren't those two grand bits of news for one league? I have been kept so busy that I am not even yet ready to write you a letter about the Conference in Chicago, but I am returning Miss Shaw's letter in case you may need it.

I know you are tremendously busy, if you are to have a constitutional convention in Louisiana. Would it not be grand if Louisians could lead off this year? I would not even be jealous for Kentucky.

Please give my regards to your sisters and to Mrs. Boyer. I intend to write soon again.

Very cordially your friend,

Enc.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.



NEW ORLEANS, LA., June 15, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

I was glad to receive your letter yesterday and to learn that no decided anti-State rights' action was taken. I wrote the letter I did because I had been hearing that Miss Shaw on her tour in the South recommended to the women their working especially for a National Amendment. You know, as well as I do, that under the spur of her eloquence, women lose their common sense and do not weigh conditions as they should. I have so little confidence in Miss Shaw's political sagacity that I feared the effect of this influence taking some definite shape which could have spiked the guns of our suffrage work in this southern territory for many years to come. I enclose a letter from her in regard to the "solidarity" argument, and you can see that although Mrs. Medill McCormick preaches solidarity, Miss Shaw does not think much of it. The very argument made on the Shafroth business is that it is a means to secure a National Amendment; so that it is as dangerous for southerners to play with as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which we are forbidden to label in that wise.

As far as I could gather from the newspaper reports, the Conference was just called to attack the Congressional Union. As far as I have been able to observe, I think Mrs. Funk is far more dangerous than Alice Paul. When you are rested, give me some of the details of the convention.

I am glad the commercial resolutions received some endorsement, for I believe we can push that to advantage.

Louisiana is now a campaign State, so for the next month until the primaries close for candidates, we will be very, very busy. There is a fighting chance that we may get woman suffrage incorporated into the Constitution, and that Louisiana will have the distinction of leading the South for woman suffrage.

Cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon

Richmond, Ky.

July 3rd, 1915.

My dear Miss Gorden,

Your letter of June 29th reached me yesterday, and I am answering by the next mail, though as we have but one mail a day I have had nearly twenty-four hours to reflect on what I write.

I feel deeply concerned about Mrs. McCormick's proposed action, and I understand how offended you must feel. Therefore, there is all the more reason why you should proceed with care. I advise first that you should take no cognizance of the letter, since it was not written to you. If Mrs. McDill McCormick intends to respect your wishes she surely knows them well enough never to have suggested such a plan, so very similar to yours, to say the least. I think it undesirable to enter into a controversy with the National Board, for I think, though you have the right on your side, you would probably be worsted in the controversy. In the first place, they have a monthly organ, which they could send to as many persons as they chose. Then, Miss Shaw is going around the country all the time, and she could take ten minutes off every time to speak against the S.S.W.S.A. just as she did against the Cen. Union in Nevada. On the other hand, if you do not enter into controversy, in my judgment you are master of the situation. It is very evident that Mrs. McCormick would be peaching on your preserves. The fact that the S.S.W.S.Cen. reaches nearly a thousand papers whilst the N.A.S.S.A. reaches very few; and the truly remarkable suffrage movement in the South, for which the National has done nothing adequate to produce it, is evidence enough to show to every one that the Southern Cen. has been efficient in the field it undertakes to cover. Also, though it has been jealously watched by the National, it has never done anything disloyal to the National or its work.

In the next place, it is not evident that Mrs. McCormick can succeed

[July 3, 1915]

in causing even a ripple, if she tries? I presume Mrs. Valentine's answer to her was satisfactory to you. Mrs. McCormick can do nothing if she does not receive considerable co-operation from the South, and that I do not think she can get. You have the start of her there, just as she would have in a controversy. I do not think she could get active assistance from the other members of the National Board. The two Southern members would certainly see the injudiciousness of it, even if they were overborne enough not to oppose it. The other members have troubles of their own, with four big campaign states in the East, with an empty treasury and the disaffection caused by the Gen. Union.

If you should win suffrage in Louisiana, though that is so good it is almost too much to hope for, you and the methods of the Southern Gen. would win overwhelming prestige. Even if Louisiana does not win, the splendid fight which I knew you will put up, will also confer much prestige. With this you can go before the next S. S. W. S. Conference and the National Convention with a backing which will be practicably irresistible.

Therefore my advice is:

Do not enter into controversy with the National Board:

Announce the convention of the Southern Conference just as soon as you can; give it publicity in the Woman's Journal, also, with another statement of your intention to get endorsement from the National Democratic Party.

Mention that you are thinking of just such a train as Mrs. McCormick suggests, and incidentally mention when you first speak of it, so that it may be known that you originated the idea.

I am so disgusted with faction and strife that I am very bold in advising you to keep out of it. I am going immediately to write you a longer letter, but I am sending this by the quickest mail. Whatever you do, however, be assured of my sympathetic support to the best of my ability.

Very cordially yours,

Near Richmond, Ky.

July 3rd, 1915.

My dear Miss Gerden,

I have sent off one letter to you this morning; but I am writing again, though not entirely on the same line.

I wrote you that I intended to send you some impressions of the Chicago Conference; but when I saw such a full account in the Woman's Journal and later in the Headquarters News Letter I thought it not necessary to write very soon. But since your last letter I have changed my mind.

I am enclosing a number of clippings from Chicago papers which give some points the reports you have seen do not. I was careful not to speak at the Chicago Conference any time as the representative of the Southern Con. In fact, I was devoting my attention principally to getting a Peace resolution and in pushing the Federal Suffrage measure. I distributed a number of the "Made in a Suffrage State" resolutions you sent me; and I found a good deal of interest in it. The clippings state only the objections of Mrs. Funk and Miss Shaw, but others from the campaign states were tremulous about the effect on their campaigns and therefore I did not push it. I hope it will bear fruit later.

Note what I said about States Rights not being peculiarly a Southern doctrine.

After what I heard of the recent doings of the Congressional Union I am of the opinion that some of the workers, at least, are really doing harm to the suffrage cause. It seems hardly credible, but it appeared proved, that some of them actually think a U.S. Constitutional Amendment a short cut to suffrage! They seem not to have taken into consideration the impossibility of ratification by three fourths of the states without suffrage work in the states! I believe the National has real cause to complain of the Con. Union, but whether it was wise to call a Conference to discuss it still seems open to doubt, in my mind, though I understand that Mrs. Catt, in whose judgment I have confidence, thought something must be done. Some of the delegates think the air was clarified beneficially; others think the National has shown weakness in not being able to reconcile factions. It is certain that the National cannot control all the suffrage activities in the country; and that I think is a reason why you need not be very much disturbed by Mrs. Medill McCormick's letter to Mrs. Valentine. She is not able to maintain an ascendancy over the Illinois suffragists; the Conference made further apparent that the National treasury is in a weak state, and that even it is doubtful whether the Publishing Association which started in Washington with apparently such bright prospects can maintain itself. You remember that Mrs. Dennett made great boasts of how much money the literature department was making after headquarters were removed to New York. Now it seems that same literature is not able to maintain itself.

I wish particularly to write about the Federal Suffrage bill.

I think you are mistaken in supposing the News Letter meant a slap at me in saying that belonged to the Washington Assoc. In fact, for the first time, I get a great deal of attention for the bill. The delegates have finally learned that a U.S. Amendment is a very long way round and will not help at all in getting the first 36 states. Also, it is beginning to dawn upon them that after 36 states get suffrage by the state route, it would scarcely be worth while to push a U.S. Con. Amend. for the sake of the twelve left, who could get it the same way the 36 did if they really want it. This conviction left them open to see hopefulness in the Federal Suffrage bill. Mrs. Funk re-iterated her belief that the bill was practicable. She told me in

private that she found the way pre-empted by Mrs. Colby and the other Federal Suffrage workers, and that she could not work effectively with them and had not yet perfected plans to work without them. In a letter she tells me she has asked the opinion of several lawyers, men and women, and she hopes to publish their statements so that all can read them and discuss them. Now the Newsletter promises to make the bill the principal subject of the next news letter. Therefore, I shall wait patiently till that comes out.

Miss Florence Allen, a bright young lawyer from Cleveland, Ohio, carried ~~away~~ a motion unanimously that the Gen. Committee should devote more attention to the bill.

Now that the suffragists are at last awake to the importance of that bill I want again to urge your attention to it as a matter of policy of the Southern Conference. I note what you say about my working with the Washington Federal Committee; but I do not consider it has strength enough toward any thing effective, because I believe work in Congress must have some political back of it to effect anything. The N.A.W.S.A. has such influence, and so has the Southern Conference.

I do not yet foresee what effect on the Southern States the recent Supreme Court decisions is going to have. But I do foresee that the attitude of the Democratic Party on woman suffrage is bound to work to its disadvantage in the next presidential election.

I want to say with all the emphasis I can that I believe the Republican or the Progressive party, if either should come into power the next election, will be pretty sure to grant what the suffragists ask, in hopes of making history repeat itself. Either party would give this bill to us. If it does, the Democratic party will undoubtedly lose influence thereby, if human nature remains what it has shown itself in the past. Do you remember that dear Mr. Blackwell used to point out that the Democratic party was the first to do away with property qualifications for voting, and that in consequence that party had been the party of the poor man ever since? You know too well to need to be reminded how the Republican party enlarged its power by enlarging the electorate.

Now I believe that unless the Democratic party does something to strengthen itself all the dissatisfaction proceeding from the war will cause its defeat in 1916. I do not know that giving us this bill would strengthen itself sufficiently to overcome this tendency; but it certainly would prevent the woman vote becoming helplessly anti-Democratic.

It is certainly most unfortunate for the Democrats that the Federal bill was not pushed last winter after the defeat of the Amendment. There may be time to retrieve that misfortune in the incoming Congress. But if you think the National is not equal to "taking us anywhere" on that line, who is going to do it?

It seems to me the Southern Conference is a lukewarm friend to the Democratic party ~~that~~ is not doing something for the party whilst it is asking so much from it.

Moreover, whilst the N.A.W.S.A. and the Gen. Union are keeping themselves in the foreground by Congressional work I believe the S. Conference is losing hold on the popular mind by having no Congressional policy. We are telling the Southern States with some ability that if they do not live up to their States' Rights doctrine on our question they will involve themselves in serious consequences; and just now they seem to be proving that. But state action at its quickest is bound to be very slow; and if relief from the quantity the Democratic administration cannot be obtained by a smarter method it will seem to practical politicians that they will just have to stand the consequences.

3.

[July 3, 1915]

Why should the Southern Conference, which recognizes the validity of the States Rights argument, stand idly by, whilst the enemies of the Democratic Party reap a rich harvest from a policy which is absolutely in accordance with States' Rights?

I know that you are overwhelmed with state work just now, and will be for months to come. However, I wish you would take this matter into serious consideration. You will see in a month's time what the National Committee is going to report upon it. Since the National has in conventional conference openly declared for the Federal Bill as well as the Constitutional Amend., and as in the Conference perfectly loyal adherents of the National have declared their objections to the Shaferth Amendment, why cannot the Southern Conference openly declare its preference for one part of the National ' policy over the other? with perfect loyalty to the National?

You have not hesitated to hold up the fear of a National Amendment to hasten State action. Why should you not also point out that there is a measure perfectly consistent with the present stand of the Administration which will entirely remove any strong motive from any part of the country to have the Amendment carried? But that if it is not done, either by the Democrats or by their more politically astute opponents, an amendment is likely to be pushed?

I am going to study the recent decisions of the Supreme Court; and it may be that in a month or two I will write again of this matter; but in the meantime I hope you will give it consideration. I wish you had a constitutional lawyer friend who would give you an opinion. I have no such friend.

Forgive this long letter, and believe me
Very cordially yours,

P.S. Please return at your leisure the clippings, as I want them for my scrap-book. I am not going to ask you to answer this long letter till after the next issue of the News Letter.

E.C.

C O P Y.

356 Camp Street
July 13, 1915.

Mrs. Medill McCormick,
500 Diversy Driveway,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mrs. McCormick:

I have been informed that you have taken steps to secure southern women to take the initiative in a movement which has for its object going before the National Democratic Convention to secure a plank in favor of "Votes for Women." I have been informed that you admit that fourteen of the southern states are controlled by the Democratic Party and that you further admit that no northern women will have influence in this southern territory.

Ordinarily I would have concluded upon receiving such information, that you were unaware of the objects and purposes of the Southern States Women Suffrage Conference, but for the fact that you acted in the inception of the movement to be allowed to co-operate in organization and propaganda in a movement which you agreed hold the strategic suffrage position in the United States.

I therefore conclude that your action is deliberate in ignoring the Southern Conference and its priority of right and that you now propose to go into the southern states and duplicate the Southern Conference. You will note I have employed in defining my inference of your purpose, the same language employed by you in the June Headquarters letter defining the action of the Congressional Union, but which action on the part of the Union is regarded as reprehensible.

I write to you to secure definite information whether in launching this duplicate effort, you are acting with the knowledge and consent of the National Board or whether this is the act of an individual who ignores responsibility as a National Officer and launches an effort identical in character with an act which when committed by the Congressional Union is condemned by the National Association as treachery.

I earnestly request an immediate reply, and if possible an explanation of your intention against a credited suffrage movement that has National endorsement. I assure you I will leave no stone unturned to nip in the bud your effort, the only effect of which can be to create discord and disaster and which reflects discredit on any Officer of the National Association lending influence thereto.

Very truly,

Kate M. Gordon.

Gordon ✓

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.



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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

August 3, 1915.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am returning by today's mail the clippings you so kindly sent me from the Chicago conference.

Do you know that I have never had a reply from Mrs. Alton Clark, or Miss Shaw, to any one of the questions asked in regard to that conference? It is evident that as far as the officers are concerned, not one of them feels any responsibility whatsoever to the individual members of the Association.

After consultation with some of our most interested suffragists on the subject of Mrs. Medill McCormick and her steps to take the initiative to secure southern women to duplicate our effort, I wrote her and asked whether this action of hers was upon her own initiative, or whether she had the consent of the board. Some three weeks have elapsed and she has not answered. In the meanwhile, the National Publishing Company sends out, as a sample of the National's new literature, Helen Gardner's "Which Way". Evidently, with no grasp of what is meant, they send out this literature of ours without "even by your leave." This looks to me as though they are determined to try to come into our field of work, so I am now going to write a letter to the board and present our case and ask whether they want publicity given to what Mrs. Medill has done. I won't have to do anything if I just give the facts of the case to the Congressional Union. They will just whoop the matter and then all I will have to do is to write to my friend, Mr. Calloway, of the Macon Telegraph, and sic'im on to Mark Hanna's daughter wanting to run things in the South. Such a lamentable lack of knowledge as Miss Shaw and the National show towards the situation in the South is indeed astonishing.

I am really very, very hopeful of Louisiana carrying if the Constitutional Convention becomes a reality. However, even if it is voted down, the financial and suffrage situation makes a convention in the near future imperative. Would it not be glorious if we could go to the next National Convention with a great big white state in the "Solid South"! Won't you and Mrs. Bennett put your constitutional knowledge at work and examine the "understanding clause" of Mississippi as a subterfuge (not to allow the negroes to vote and yet let white men vote.) I have not a doubt but what the "understanding clause" will be substituted for the "grandfather clause", and I want to be ready with all the necessary arguments against it, unless it is extended to women, and I want the opinion of our women naturally pro-suffrage to think out

aug. 3, 1915

any loop-hole which may be of advantage to us. I am writing to Catherine Waugh McCulloch for her opinion.

Affectionately,

Walter M. Gordon

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

417 Camp St.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

September 16, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

I am enclosing a clipping so that you may know what Borah has to say. I am very discouraged over the national amendment activity and the fact that unquestionably the liquor people are going to use it for the undoing of the suffrage in the South. Their position is impregnable and it is what I have been trying to get our suffragists in the south to offset. If we could have a "solid south", a solid suffrage south on record as standing for states rights suffrage we could disarm their attack, but realize the position of Alabama when they actually turn and support the National Association in a demand for a national amendment. The activity of the National Association against the Congressional Union is not in the spirit of advancing the suffrage cause, but in the spirit to embarrass the Congressional Union. I think the strongest evidence of cupidity of intention against us is the June 15th Headquarters letter of the National American Woman Suffrage Ass'n. In other words its object is to fool the South, while its real purpose is to achieve as the "summum bonum" of all suffragists, a national amendment. Borah expresses it so well that I enclose his point of view, an extract from some of the Congressional Union's dope.

I really feel that the time has come when we will have to have a parting of the ways. I really feel that it is particeps criminis for the real suffrage cause to stand idly by and allow either the C.U. or the National Association to delay the suffrage movement, and play into the hands of our organized opposition. The only bright ray in the suffrage situation to me in the South is the Louisiana situation. While our Convention is postponed it only is a matter of a short time and gives us a chance to do even better work than we were doing in our whirl-wind campaign.

I have never raised a hand to get an opinion from the southerners in Congress, who as suffragists supported the National amendment. Do you think it would be ill-advised for me to write to men like Sheppard, who supported the Mondell resolution and ask them for their point of view? Jean was entertained by Senator Ransdell when in Lake Providence a few weeks ago. He was one of the southern senators that they made much of because he supported the resolution. He told Jennie, not for publication, that both Sheppard and himself voted to show that they were southern men who believed absolutely in suffrage, but that he was opposed to suffrage in any other form than states rights. Now as a matter of fact I believe he never would have voted for this submission, but that he at the request of Catholic influence, submitted a national amendment ~~for~~ regulate divorce, and with a national amendment for divorce he could not consistently wage his states rights convictions.

Sept 16, 1915

This is the position that Hobson occupies for the national liquor amendment. They all feel that it will never be an issue, and here we southerners are standing back and allowing these national suffragists to wield a stick that cannot bring results and yet cripple us in securing our state work.

I have had no reply from the National Board although it is a month since I submitted my question whether they supported Mrs. Medill McCormick in trying to duplicate the work of the southern organization. Miss Shaw's inane reply, injecting another issue altogether, is taking fruit in the activity that the Congressional Committee is now advertising, that they will proceed to get planks in both the national platforms. They do not know that down in my heart I am rather pleased at this. They are hoping to spike my guns, but I will make it turn to my account in the form they qualify, a national plank by the democratic party. Miss Shaw used her eloquence, and that extended southern trip to talk to these unthinking, unknowing southern suffragists upon the national amendment being the line of least resistance, but she will get that back with a boomerang before many months are over.

Mrs. Valentine was communicated with to sound the allegiance of the southern states. I think Mrs. Valentine was very fearful of trouble, and expressed herself as almost dreading the holding of the Convention in Richmond. She also wrote saying something about hoping Mrs. Belmont would not be prominent as she had so identified herself with the C.U., and in the minds of the public was supposed to be interested in negro suffrage. I wrote Mrs. Valentine and told her that I did not wish her to feel that because an invitation had been extended and accepted she had to be bound by the invitation. That if she had any doubts of the wisdom of holding the Conference in Richmond to let me know at once, that so far as Mrs. Belmont was concerned I certainly intended to extend her an invitation as we would not have had a Southern Conference but for her generosity. A generosity that never presumed to dictate. That if she felt her presence would injure the cause in Virginia, that now was the time to say so and we were good enough friends to understand one another, and to call off the Conference at once. I was glad to get an immediate reply from her saying, that not at all, she wanted the Conference, that she believed it would do good, and she could absolutely see my point of view. Now I want to go to work and make that Conference a record maker, but Kate Gordon, President of the Southern Conference, is going to take an unquestionable stand and express without any varnish her opinion of the political sagacity of women living in a one party territory, who antagonize every tradition of the party through which they must get their enfranchisement.

Read Mrs. McCulloch's letter and return it without fail. Have you thought out anything that might be of service? Unquestionably the Understanding clause will be the substitute in Louisiana for the grandfather clause. Will you briefly express to me what is the difference ^{on} the point of view you take on the federal legislation and that taken by Mrs. Bennett.

Sept 16, 1915

(3)

of Lexington

This is a long letter but I just had to get off some steam. I had a beautiful letter from Mrs. Harrison, expressing her sympathy with my suffrage viewpoint. I am going to write to Borah and ask for a donation to the cause.

Love for yourself and sisters.

Affectionately,

Helen M. Gordon

KMG / BS.

I think that closing paragraph by Borah the most significant statement that has been made in this agitation for a H^{et} Amend. It certainly is a case of our friends shouldering on the cause a burden we cannot carry. Think of the political sagacity of the C. C. which sends it out only matched by the H^{et} letter of the H^{et} defining the intent & purposes of the Wharppott Amend.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.



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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

417 Camp St.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA..

October 26, 1915.

Dear Officer of the Southern Conference:

I enclose a copy of the call to the Southern Conference. If you have no objections to signing it, will you immediately send me a postal to this effect as it must appear in the next issue of the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN. Any changes or modifications which may occur to you will be given every consideration.

In great haste,

Very cordially,

Kate M. Gordon

KMG / BS.

Richmond, Ky.
Oct. 28th, 1915.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Your circular letter of the 20th is at hand. I think it is a fine letter; but as far as checking the Southern States from following the lead of the N.A.W.S.A. for a Federal Amendment I think it will be a failure.

In my opinion, you are setting yourself an impossible task in trying to keep the Southern States from following Mrs. McCormick's Congressional policy unless you offer a better Congressional policy. Congress is too imposing an arena for work for you to be able to persuade the women to remain out of it, however they may be devoted to the States' Rights doctrine; just as you yourself were willing that the N.A.W.S.A. should use Congressional publicity for years working for this very Amendment as long as you thought there was no chance of its creating much impression. The same feeling, or others, will make every Southern state, or at least some suffragists in them, follow the National now, unless the Southern Conference puts forward a better Congressional measure.

I have given up any present hopes of Mrs. Medill McCormick's Committee working for the Federal Bill. The last Headquarters News Letter did not even mention it.

That Federal Bill is a strictly States Rights measure; and there could be no opposition to it on that ground even in Democratic States. It has been endorsed by the N.A.W.S.A. Association both in the convention at Nashville and at the Mid-year Conference at Chicago. To champion the bill, instead of the Amendment, will not impinge in the least degree upon loyalty to the N.A.W.S.A.

What I think would be wise to do, and what I hope you will yet think politic to do, will be for the Southern Conference decisively to support that Bill, and adopt it as the policy chosen by the Conference of the two measures offered by the National for its members to work for.

I would like the Southern Conference to appoint a working Committee, with you as its chairman, to stay in Washington and push the Federal Bill at this coming session of Congress. I think the Democratic Party ought to have a chance to win for itself the credit of helping the suffrage cause, and win the adherence of the women voters who will soon win success by the aid of one party or the other.

I enclose a list of the Chairmen in our counties. As we have about 15000 card registered names I do not suppose you would want them all, -so I send these only.

Mrs. Bennett and I expect to be in Richmond at the Conference, and so I hope to see you before very long.

I re-enclose Mrs. McDougald's letter.

Love to my suffrage friends,
Very cordially yours,

[Oct 20, 1915]

The object of the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is to avail ourselves of this opportunity. A solid south can make its demand felt. It is very evident, however, that our state associations, not having access to public opinion as expressed in our southern papers, are unfamiliar with the effort that is being made by the enemies of woman suffrage to spike our guns with this National Amendment agitation. The negro organ, "The Crisis", dedicated to negro uplift, is exploiting it with the Grandfather Clause as "vitalizing the 15th Amendment". I would not be in the least surprised if the Liquor enemies were using this prejudiced channel for our undoing. We southern suffragists who have assumed the responsibility of leading the movement in our respective states have no right to imperil the movement in the south, at least without careful study and deliberation of the situation, historically and politically.

We gather from newspaper interviews that many of our women are laboring seriously under a misapprehension of what the Federal Amendment can accomplish. Likewise the Shafroth Amendment is being exploited as a state right measure. Our Conference proposes to devote several hours to a complete discussion of the entire situation and I think every southern organization, state and local, should have its official representatives present. Will your State Association, if not already a member of the Conference, join us? State membership \$5.00 with 5 representatives; locals, \$2.00 with 2 representatives.

FINANCIAL: One requires no convincing to realize that the need of the suffrage work in the south is financial. I, therefore, am planning to present at the Convention several schemes for raising money. I believe that a newspaper with all material furnished by the Southern Conference, and projected along systematic lines for securing advertisements and subscribers can be made, with a minimum of effort, to net to every state several thousand dollars, and contribute sufficiently to secure the funds to have representatives from every southern state at the next Democratic Convention, which will probably be held from present indications in Dallas, Texas.

I would appreciate very much a list of your local leagues, and where possible a list of the individual members, in order that I may send copies of the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN for their consideration.

LEGISLATORS: Will each state organization take under consideration the advisability of subscribing to the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN for their Legislators? This will convey the fact that there is a southern organization publishing a magazine advocating the states rights suffrage, and will be a tremendous influence in off-setting the evil effects that are being cultivated by our enemies that southern suffragists are standing for a National Amendment. We could probably afford to send these Legislators copies for 40¢ a subscription. As the southern legislatures average about 150 members, this would mean a matter of \$60.00 per year, or \$5.00 per month. The magazine is being appreciated wherever it is read, and I believe no sum of money could be so well expended as in this form of literature to the men who will settle the question for us.

Earnestly hoping for an early reply to this letter, I am

Very cordially,

Kate M. Gordon.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:
417 Camp St.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA. November 6, 1915.

Miss Laura Clay,
Richmond, Kentucky.

My dear Miss Clay:

I have given much thought to your idea of a Congressional policy being adopted, but I think it would be very unwise, until after the Democratic Convention meets and declares itself, for us to adopt any definite Federal policy. I think the Southern Conference is awakening a tremendous sentiment among the democratic politicians of the South, and by keeping free for a few months longer of any Federal entanglements, I believe we can make our threat on the subterfuges far more effective.

I am very anxious to preserve every semblance of cordiality with both national organizations. As suffragists sympathizing with their point of view, but from expediency as ~~suffragists~~ differ radically, I do not know whether I will be able to maintain cordial relations with the National for I am conscious of the intriguing insidious way they are trying to undermine us, and I am sorry to say Nellie Somerville is their agent.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from John Sharp Williams. I am not aware of his ever going on record in favor of woman suffrage before. If we can line him on the side of states rights suffrage, his influence, not only in Mississippi, but in the nation will be enormous. See how beautifully he expresses his idea of "negro suffrage as the Iliad of all our woes".

I want you to make an address at our Sunday session of the Convention. I am trying, in deference to Richmond's conservatism, to make the character of the Sunday meeting, one of Social Service, and I think it will be eminently fitting for you to show the ballot in the hands of women as an essential to social uplift.

Mrs. Belmont has invited me to the reception in Washington, which she is giving to the Woman Voters, and I am going. I hope she is going to invite you, and then we could have a little caucus before the Convention. If I could arrange a meeting in Raleigh for you and me, say about the 9th of December, leaving Washington the 8th, and then going to Richmond, would you be willing to go?

I was glad to accept your suggestions in the Call and immediately incorporated them. If the National does not push your federal suffrage plan, why do you not get the Congressional Union to adopt it. They have nearly all the women worth while ~~at any rate~~. I think I might delicately suggest it to Mrs. Belmont, but of course, I do not want to do anything without your approval in the matter.

Cordially yours,

Kate M. Gordon

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS:

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS:

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., November 16, 1915.

My dear Miss Clay:

I think an address upon "Constructive Peace" admirable for our social service program, and can allot you twenty-five to thirty minutes.

I am very sorry that you cannot join me in Raleigh, for I fear Nellie Somerville is going around doing some destructive work in the interest of the National.

I am sorry that just prior to receiving your letter a request came from Miss Reilly to know the Halinan story and I sent her all the clippings. I cannot imagine that anyone would make such an unwarranted attack upon dear old Mr. Blackwell, whom he called a "perfect nuisance". There appeared in great headlines over the name of Halinan, publicity agent of the N.A.W.S.A., an article in the Washington Herald, in which occurred this criticism of Mr. Blackwell, calling him a "perfect nuisance" in trying to force his isms and oddities upon people, and winds up by calling prohibitionists "cranks". It certainly was an ill-advised article to appear in print, but when it appears over his name, as publicity agent, it is inexcusable. I wrote a letter to the paper and asked for its publication, as did Mrs. Boyer, and I then wrote a protest to the Board. I have received no reply to the protest, signed by both Mrs. Boyer and myself, but as that seems to be the style of the National Board, I suppose there is no redress.

I was glad to hear that Mrs. Smith, your niece, was elected president of the Kentucky Equal Suffrage Association. I like to see a Clay retained at the head of Kentucky's suffrage work.

What do you think of the Shafroth Amendment going by the Board? Think of disrupting the society and then for it not to have enough on its own merits to be kept as a working force for the Association.

In haste,

Cordially yours,

K. M. G.

SOUTHERN STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE

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

MRS. JOHN B. PARKER, Cor. Sec'y,
1520 Audubon St., New Orleans, La.

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

IDA PORTER-BOYER, Executive Sec'y,
319 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT,
New York City.

MISS MARY JOHNSTON,
Warm Springs, Va.

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS.

MRS. C. E. ELLICOTT,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

MRS. D. P. MONTAGUE,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

HEADQUARTERS:
417 Camp ST
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEW ORLEANS, LA. December 30, 1915.

Miss Laura Clay,
Hamilton Hotel,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Miss Clay:

A telegram from me has been sent to authorize you not to allow any red tape about reporting back to the executive committee to interfere in any way with pushing the work on the United States Elections Bill.

As chairman of the Committee of the Southern Conference, if you deem it advisable, I think a permanent committee should be formed, and if necessary, that the Kate Gordon Chapter in Washington be authorized to appoint a committee to act as a lobby. Of course we have Mrs. Stoner on it, but my advice to you is to have Mrs. Abraham as chairman, because while Mrs. Stoner is admirable for all kinds of detail work, making appointments, etc., etc., she absolutely has no suffrage knowledge, and indeed, strictly *entre-nous* her judgment is very bad at times. I mean in the way of answering back and antagonizing as I have seen on several occasions.

I doubt very much whether the National Association is going to push this bill. I think they are all very pre-republican, and federal amendment does give the republicans a great advantage.

in Congress I have in mind to write a personal letter to all the democrats, embodying in a very dignified way the advantages of this bill, and accentuating its support by the Southern Conference. I feel that I can do this without the consent of my officers, inasmuch as the resolution was so heartily endorsed. In writing to the friend, who wanted information for some democratic sources, I wrote and made the point that you made about Taft's policy of delay, and I believe that by bringing this kind of pressure from several sides we can rouse the democrats to see the advantage of the situation. I will institute a regular set of letters to be written from the several states, making a democratic appeal. This, of course, will have to follow the appearance of your bill in the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN

Do you not think the enclosed copy of the letter from the Managing Director of the Southern Commercial Congress significant, particularly as my address, which appears in the next issue of the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN, was such awful hot suffrage?

I am going to write to him to know exactly to what extent they intend to make it a part of their active program.

Now about copies of the Elections Bill. I can have a certain number struck off from copy in the NEW SOUTHERN CITIZEN, and have it bear the title of the Southern Conference, if you think this is the best form under which to send it out to the democratic congressmen, but if you would prefer to have it go out as you have prepared it, then I want about four hundred copies immediately. I rather lean, however, to it bearing the title of the Conference, because they all know now that we are pro states rights.

As my telegram indicated, I think Vardaman and Abercrombie would make a fineteam. I say Vardaman because his endorsement of the bill would show that there was no "nigger-in-the-wood-pile" to use an expressive vulgarism. Before I positively decided, to ask him, however, I would take counsel with men, true and tried like Owens and Shafroth, as to the wisdom of it. My idea would be after bill is introduced with a good margin of time given, in order that we could rouse the states to bring action upon their representatives, that we should ask for a hearing just as the Nationals have asked for hearings on the national amendment, and to have a goodly number of representatives from the states collect and speak in behalf of the bill. To tell you the truth I wish it could be made to appear like a southern measure for the psychology of the situation.

We are busy writing to all of the newspapers in West Virginia, the total is about 200, and we are going to ask whether they will use our material if sent to them, but we do not want to waste stamps and time if they are not willing to use it.

Will you ask Mrs. Stoner to send me a copy of this year's Congressional Directory. There have been a great many changes, and I know she is able to get them.

With best wishes for the New Year to you and Mrs. Harper,
I am,

Very cordially,

Walter M. Gordon

KMG / BS.

I advised going away on Fletcher because he kept me from speaking before the House of Governors when Gov. Manning & Owens had arranged to give me time - & I have heard from several sources that he is a bitter anti-

Dec 11-13, 1915 ✓

Call to the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference will hold its Annual Convention in the city of Richmond, Virginia, December 11-13, in the Jefferson Hotel.

For the first time in the history of the suffrage movement, since its inception in the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, there exists a state woman suffrage organization in every southern state; the last links of this suffrage chain having been forged by re-organization during the current year in Arkansas, North and South Carolina.

In twelve of the United States the voices of women asking that the political liberty so liberally extended to aliens, ex-slaves and Indians, be extended to them have been heeded, and in consequence even though no further increase occurs in the number of the suffrage states that form the true map of the republic, the opinions of four-million women will influence the electoral vote which decides who shall be the next President of the United States.

The south has been charged as slow in coming into its own on the great moral issue of woman suffrage. Particularly is this the case when it is realized what pioneer of pioneers were the Grimke sisters of South Carolina, and that Kentucky holds the palm for the first extension of any form of woman suffrage in the United States, when in 1838 she granted to widowed mothers with children of school age the right to vote in school elections.

In this connection, it is well to remember that the south has come through one of the greatest economic reconstructions that the world has ever witnessed while confronted with the necessity for a political readjustment which called for courage, sacrifice and patriotism of the highest order. It is well, therefore, for our southern women in awakening public sentiment to the degradation of their disfranchisement to take cognizance of the historical aspect of the case.

To the southern suffragists chafing under the irritation and disappointment of their state legislatures refusing their first appeals for submission, and turning in resentment to a National Amendment for relief, we point to the women of Iowa who have achieved a Constitutional submission, after forty years of effort; to the women of Massachusetts who are reaping the harvest of the seed sown seventy-five years ago by Lucy Stone for equality of opportunities; to the ceaseless uninterrupted efforts of years which characterize the history of Constitutional submission in the states we regard as liberal on our question.

To the suffragists of other sections chafing under their long deferred rights of citizenship and now turning to a National Amendment to compel relief, we point to the folly of ignoring historical traditions by riding roughshod over the principles and prejudices of the states that hold the balance of power.

Never probably in the history of the suffrage movement has there been a greater need for wisdom, counsel and forbearance on the part of friends of the Cause. In this spirit the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference extends an invitation to all state rights suffragists to join in a demand upon the Democratic Party, in control in the South, to live up to the party principle of state right suffrage, and by its indorsement and support remove the stigma of disfranchisement from the women of the South.

Kate M. Gordon
Laura Clay
Alice Ellington
Hattie Rowland Parker
Mary S. Bartlett,
Ida Porter-Boyer.