

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 19th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

Your letter of Jan. 15th was most welcome. I wish indeed that you had the Citizen and Mrs. Boyer to help at this crisis; for I could not help as they could, even if I were able to follow your suggestion and come to New Orleans for the winter. Our legislature is in session, and all my time is required to get our work done there. I greatly need your help and advice; for the war and Pres. Wilson's attitude have thrown our forces all in confusion. The shortest way I can set my position before you is to enclose two newspaper clippings and a copy of a letter of mine to Mrs. Catt. The Louisville women have carried their opposition to a state referendum so far that it threatens to disrupt our Asso. if the instructions of the convention are carried out. I am unwilling to have that happen, as I do not believe we could win with a divided association, and it is better to have nothing done than to go to defeat through division. So please wade through the long articles, and see if the action of the Southern Conference can bring help. It seems to me that the suggestion you make to write to the Democratic committees and demand submission and ratification in the southern states by party action in loyalty to the St. Louis convention pledge might greatly help us. It would be incompatible with my letter to Mrs. Catt for me to subscribe to any attack on the Federal Amendment; but as the attitude of the Southern Citizen always was that even the southern women might be driven to that Amendment if the states did

(Over)

2.

not act will relieve you of any necessity to antagonize the Federal Amendment; but will give you the opportunity to point out that your prophecy has come true.

I suppose Kentucky is the only southern state where there is any prospect of the submission of a state referendum with hope of success. Arkansas is going to have a constitutional convention, and I believe the National is going to assist Mrs. Gotham with funds to carry on the campaign. In Ky. we distinctly said we did not expect assistance from the National, yet it does not want us to have a referendum. You have seen that at the Washington convention they went strongly for the policy of discouraging state referenda. I remember what you said about the "summum bonum!" But I maintain that they have no right to impose a policy contrary to the liberty allowed by the constitution. But whether I can keep our Ky. E.R.R. in line on that right seems now very doubtful; though if the legislature should submit the state amendment without asking our Asso. I believe we would all work for it.

Please study our situation, and give me your opinion.

I heard of your new business enterprise whilst I was in New York in their campaign; and I heartily congratulate you and your sisters on your success.

Please give my regards to them, and believe me

Very cordially yours,

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

January 21, 1918.

My dear Miss Clay:

After going carefully over the clippings and reading your letter to Mrs. Catt, I am prepared to say that not to allow a state to vote on its own ~~initiative~~ initiative to enfranchise its women is a form of kaiserism I hope you will not be party to. I confess the Presidents attitude came as a great surprise, but not so much as his justification of his act that he did not regard ~~the~~ woman suffrage as a principle but as a policy. Furthermore is he going to regard the party platform in Kaiser fashion also as "a scrap of paper". It may be he has the Senate fixed so that it will not be submitted, which could consistently be accomplished as both parties are committed to state action.

I have given serious thought to the Ky situation outlined, but I think you attach too serious importance to the effect of division. One suggestion comes to me as getting over the difficulty and it is for the Conference to act. Ordinarily ^{no. of the state} it would seem an outrageous assumption for a group of women to take action to ask the state to submit the question to its voters. But when the purpose of a Federal Amendment is to put over on a group of states the effect of Amendments never ratified except by fraud and oppression and which to-day are not enforced for the purpose for which they were written, then I think the end justifies our ~~purpose~~ action as one of self defense.

Therefore I suggest that the Southern Conference is justified in writing to both the Republican and Democratic members of the Ky. Legislature ^{to} and ask them in this nation's crisis to place America's attitude toward her women, in their right to vote beyond the pale of criticism. To ask them to do this in ~~full~~ loyalty to their parties pledges for woman suffrage by state enactment. Some timely reference that to do otherwise is to commit the "scrap of paper act" which the world ^{so justly} condemns Germany for, would ^{seem} be politic. We might ^{figure} take the stand that if after doing this and the southern states then the rest of the union would have a right to enforce upon states a standard of Americanism which would make it impossible for women to be kept disfranchised in any state. I believe we have a wonderful opportunity to serve our sex and at the same time escape the perils that a Federal Amendment will certainly precipitate.

I have been asked by the "The Lawyer and Banker" a very high order magazine to write an article on the woman suffrage situation. I may outline this duty of the states along the lines suggested for the Legislatures. The attitude of the National I regard as positively dishonorable. With a Constitution that distinctly provides for both

methods it has

arbitrarily without amending the Constitution violated this provision.

It is a form of lawlessness which I regret to see in women who are supposed to be desirous of introducing into our political system a higher political standard. I feel that I am not bound by any policy of an Association which proceeds to ignore and defy the ~~objections~~ constitution under which the Association was organized.

I do not agree with you that Ky is the only southern state where there is any hope of success. ^{from state representatives.} One reason I never fought the Federal Amendment was the opportunity it would give for a suffrage plank movement. I believe yet we can get every southern state in line if we go about it in the right way. The reason Mrs. Catt is afraid of submission is that she fears if the south does give woman suffrage there will be no earthly chance to put over a Federal Amendment on us and incidentally pin the standard for woman suffrage to the republican banner. Certainly if the south which she is always insulting on the score of suffrage gives the suffrage ^{to its house.} what right will there be for the North and the West ~~try~~ to reopen the negro question. Our suffrage will come to us handicapped enough without another amendment.

Vice

Now as I understand your position you are willing as President of the Southern Conference ^{to propose an appeal made} to the Democratic Committeemen and if you agree ^{to propose in letters called} up Legislatures ^{as} to preserve to us our suffrage as a state right. No attack on the Federal Amendment. If this meets your approval then I proceed at once to put it into effect after submitting it to our Officers. How long is the Ky Legislature in session. — *send me a list of them.*

I inclose a letter received from Mrs. Catt. As Hefflin is anathema to every suffragist I consider it is meant as an insult. I am going to ask her whether she intended to insult me. She is the most intolerant woman I have ever known. She is quite as unscrupulous as her bosom friend Miss Hay, and she knows I not only think her so but know her for some of the things she did and said. It may astonish you but I have supreme contempt for her political sagacity and my opinion of her was confirmed at ~~the~~ St. Louis when she appealed to me not to submit a States Rights Plank ~~or~~ as she knew I would imperil the Democratic Party. I am still wondering whether she was fool enough to believe that or whether she thought me fool enough to put it over on me.

Very cordially,

Wm. H. Gordon.

Answer immediately if you can.

JEAN M. GORDON, President
MRS. W. A. GORDON

FANNIE R. GORDON
KATE M. GORDON

JEAN M. GORDON & CO.

MANUFACTURERS' AGENTS

508 MAGAZINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LA. January 15. 1918

My dear Miss Clay:

This notehead tells its story. You have been on my mind and conscience for many months to write and tell you of events. Last May the man that my brother had carried all his life, and to whom his business was turned over in the form of a Company Ltd in which he got a controlling power-- literally gave us an ultimatum to go out of the business or he would impose conditions that were intolerable led to our accepting his ultimatum. I think in the light of the knowledge we have to-day we were badly advised. The inclosed booklet throws the light on the attitude of the Wholesale trade when Jean asked their opinions about going in for ourselves. We are out to get what we can of Willie's splendid business, and we have so far done splendidly-- all expenses paid and to-morrow could go out of business and virtually pay back our capital stock. How does that strike you for ingenues. One of the deep laid schemes of men to keep women in subjection has been the great fallacy foisted on the uninitiated as to the mysteries of business.

Now for the Southern Conference. Mr Wilson's aid to the Federal Amendment in the House was the surprise of my life. But I think it has back of it an entirely different purpose than ratification. I think the Woman's Party has gotten on his nerves, and while "making the world safe fro democracy", ^{that} women standing in sleet and snow and going to jail was too mush for his sense of consistency. I cannot believe that the Democratic Party will ever put over on the people of the south another amendment the equivalent of the 15th Amendment. Without the Democratic party it cannot be ratified. Whether it is his purpose to whip into line the solid south as a party expedient ^{the} giving of suffrage to women is what I want to believe. When he put over New York it will be plain sailing, in this democratic stronghold.

What I think we should do is to write to the Democratic Committee men of every southern state and also to all Democratic National Committee men to demand submission and ratification ⁱⁿ the states of a woman suffrage amendment. If the amendment is submitted our suffrage will in the south be indefinitely postponed for when we rouse the sleeping dogs of negro suffrage, then we will unleash upon woman suffrage an almost insurmountable opposition. The Anti's will certainly have things their way. Oh that the Citizen and Boyer to handle ^{it} was at my command. Now would it be possible for you to come and spend the winter with me here. I would like your counsel and together we might do for the cause we both believe in, our greatest service.

Cordially
Hate M. Gordon

brod you know Mr Boyer
deed in
Dorwin Dec. 22

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 30th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I returned today from Louisville where we held our Board meeting; and I sent you at once a night letter which practically tells all there is to tell. The meeting was very slimly attended, and we would not have had a quorum if we had not allowed two to vote by telephone on account of sickness. I find every one on the Board except the 1st vice-pres., Mrs. E. L. Hutchison and myself is infected with the National policy for the Federal Amendment. They voted for an Emergency Convention. There is no emergency, for Mrs. South says it would be easy to get the submission; and the fact is the emergency is merely that Mrs. Catt does not want us to have the state amendment because it would interfere with her plans for the S. B. A. Amendment. Of course, I voted "no" on that proposition. Then, to avoid publicity of our disagreements, they voted to take at least one vote by letter written to all the delegates who were elected to the first convention, asking to postpone action on the instructions of that convention till Febr. 15th, which will still leave time to put through the State Amendment, if the votes demand it. If there is still disagreement, there is to be another Board meeting to decide what further is to be done.

During the discussions, I managed to set forth these points: That both the state and national suffrage constitutions provide for state and national legislation, and that these provisions are in the nature of an agreement between two schools of thought, and each has equal rights which cannot be set aside by either party without the consent of the other. If either party does break them it frees the other party from the agreement.

(2) That since the political parties have endorsed suffrage as a

political issue other persons besides members of suffrage associations had an interest in the question, and if the suffrage association did not keep in the lead it could not expect those other persons to stand aside and let the issue drop, or be managed otherwise than they desired. After I had referred to these facts two or three times, and they apparently met with their assent, it occurred to one of them to ask if I would feel myself free to start a movement apart from the Association. I replied that that was a personal question, requiring me to give my personal opinion apart from my official capacity;- but I was willing to answer it. My answer was that I would not feel free to do so in my capacity as an officer of the Ky.E.R.A.; but that acting as an individual or as a member of some other association I certainly felt that I was entirely within my right of personal liberty to do so. And moreover I felt ^{and of the state asso. conniving at it} that the action of the National in denying as far as it could equal rights for state action with National action was autocratic and oppressive, and in the nature of breaking an agreement, and thereby setting the oppressed party free from obligation to observe the broken clause of the constitutions. These remarks were perfectly understood by them; and they saw at once that they must consider how this freedom of action on my part and those who thought with me would affect the object desired by Mrs.Catt. I do not know hwether it will change their plan, which was practically to abandon effort for a state amendment; bxt as some decision must be reached by Febr.15th I have determined to take no steps in the legislature till that time, though I shall be studying plans to lose no time after that date.

Therefore, letters to the members of the Ky.legislature are not desired just now from the S.S.Woman Suffrage Conference; though I hope you will be studying up a suitable ^{model} ~~one~~ if it should be needed. But I am of the same opinion as when I wrote before that lettere from the ~~the~~ Conference to the National and State Central Democratic Committees.

[Jan 30, 1918]

including that of Kentucky, is exactly in line with the object for which the Conference was organized, and would be a fine thing for the situation in Kentucky, and very likely in other states, where others may be oppressed by the National policy just as we are. Therefore, I hope your plans are already well started to send out such a letter. Of course, I would like to see a copy before I warranted the appending of my signature, for I think our chances are very good in Ky., and I want to be sure that I am as careful and politic as possible. An appeal for loyalty to their convention pledges, and to their country, which demands that they should not require great campaign hardships from women to acquire the freedom promised them, is, I believe, our cue, just as I wrote before. I feel such confidence in your ability to write an effective letter that I would not offer suggestions except that I feel I am in a critical position to, our state amendment, and do not want to fail in any care to do exactly the right thing.

Hoping to hear from you very soon, and with my regards to your sisters, I am

Very cordially yours,

I.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

Jan. 26th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am much gratified by receiving your letter of Jan. 21st, offering the assistance of the Southern Conference to Ky. in the present emergency.

I have thought deeply of the situation both in the nation and this state. I think the opponents of state action may have some justification in saying that the states have not enough organization and money to carry on state amendments successfully. That is the strong objection our Louisville women are making, though in our case without justification, I think. But it is true of many states both in the south and other sections. I do not see how this condition is ever to be altered; and therefore I do see how we need party action to win us the victory. The parties can make campaigns successful, if they make them party issues. I believe the National W.S.A. has made a serious tactical mistake in not calling upon the two dominant parties to make good their party pledges, and relieve the women of the hardships of state campaigns. Instead of that, they have demanded from the parties a change in the method of granting the franchise, in direct contradiction of their National platforms. May not this mistake be made the opportunity of the Southern Conference? Ought not the Southern Conference ^{to} make good its right to existence by now calling upon the Democratic party, especially in the one-party section, to make good their St. Louis pledge? I really think we should have done it in 1917 during the legislative season; but we can now ^{ke} may that plea effectively by calling attention to Pres. Wilson's declaration on Jan. 9th that ^{he} it thought it had a serious war aspect, and that action on woman suffrage should immediately be taken by the American nation.

[Jan 26, 1918]

Therefore, my suggestions for action by the S.S.W.S. Conference are;
 1 (1) To write an appeal to the National Democratic Committee and to
 Democratic
 the Central Committee of each Southern state, and make a strong and
 bold appeal to them to redeem the pledge made to the people at St. Louis
 to grant suffrage by the state route, and use Pres. Wilson's plea of
 war necessity. I believe it is better not to use any argument beyond
 this. If we attempt to argue further, we seem to assume that the
 party knew no reason itself why it endorsed the state action plan;
 and, moreover, an argument as short as it must be in such a document
 as we should write might appeal to some and set others against us.
 Particularly, I think we should not say anything about the Federal
 Amendment, because so many Democrats voted for it in the U.S. House.

(2) I see no reason why such an appeal should appear intrusive writ-
 ten to any state. The Conference exists for just such a purpose. I
 would be willing to sign such an appeal at once, even in view of the
 Kentucky situation. I think the appeal should be sent as promptly as
 possible to every state which has a legislature sitting this year.
 When I said I did not think any southern state but Ky. would pass a
 state amendment I meant none whose legislature sits this winter. There
 are only seven states which hold their bi-ennial legislature in the
 odd
 even years. Forty-one hold them in the ~~even~~ years.

Now as for Kentucky; Mrs. South writes that she expects to call a
 Board meeting next week. It will probably meet in Louisville. I am
 going to try then to get our own Association to call on the parties,
 only both of them, to do what I am now recommending. In that case, if
 I succeed, the S.S.W.S. Conference can not help any further than by
 writing the general appeal I have described. If I cannot get any
 suitable state action, I have not yet decided what I ought to do. I
 must be guided somewhat by circumstances, and I will send you a long
 telegram after that Board meeting. I have determined to do all that I

[Jan 26, 1918]

can do prudently to have a state referendum in Ky. I agree with you that it is a violation of contract for the Nation^{al} U.S.A. to try to stop us; and I will not concede this right to them. I do not wonder that you are angry over Mrs. Catt's letter to you; but I would not answer it in your place. You need all your "steam" for the situation and every letter you write will give her some information of your attitude which she can try to frustrate. I think just such an appeal as I have described is the best policy for Oklahoma, Arkansas, and any other state which may have the question up in 1918. Maybe the S.S.W.S. Conference might help them in this way. And by next year, when so many state legislatures meet, we should be prepared to make an early appeal.

I am sending the information about Ky. parties you desire; but I do not advise any letters to our legislators until you hear from me after the Board meeting. It was expected the the US. Senate would vote on the Federal Amendment today; but I have seen nothing further on it. If that passes soon, I think it will be harder to get our E.R.A. to ask for a state referendum; but I hope the parties will not wait for it to ask at all.

Give my regards to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially yours,

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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1538 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

February 1, 1918

My dear Miss Clay:

Your telegram received and it is not very clear so will wait your letter with interest. I understand to take no action with Ky Legislature until Feb. 15th at least.

Had a letter from Mrs Boyer this morning and I am going to quote from it. Whenever Boyer thinks the National or any of its high lights are particularly foolish she disassociates herself and speaks of it as "your National Association" or "you nationals" so she asks: "What is the Senate going to do"? You and Pattie and Nellie make me tired. For the past two years you have babbled about the Federal Amendment being yearned for in the sunny south and then you dont deliver a single vote toward it!!!

Looks as tho' your political guesser was out of plumb. You see it's this way in dear old Massachusetts. We've got to have a Federal Amendment because Mass. will never give suffrage by referendum. Too many foreigners, And so we depend on "you of the south" to ratify and force an amendment on Mass. "

Then she goes on to say "Honest to goodness that is the argument here! sometimes I think I've lost my wits". Then she tells me what possibly you may know, but if you do not it is well for you to know, ~~xxxxxx~~ regard it as confidential. Mrs. Catt has sent a confidential letter to "State Presidents" in which she does not seem very sanguine over the Senate vote. They are "shy" seven votes. She did not send Jean one, altho my idea of an Ass'n is that if an organization is kept in (because ~~it~~ it does not dare to put you out) all official communications should be sent without fear or favor. In connection with this fear of the Senate I rather think the Paulites are equally fearful. Mrs. Thompson one of their embassaries passed through N.O. last week and she sent me a message and asked me to let her know what I was going to do in the Legislature. The person who brought the message and her regrets (we are very friendly) at not seeing me, was not very ~~xxxx~~ clever and I wormed out of her that they too were fearful of the Senate. Boyer then goes on to ~~ask~~ "Am wondering if your National will decide to place a little more emphasis on State Campaigns at its next Convention"?

The partisan fight which is coming out in the Chamberlain fight is throwing some light on Wilson's influence being cast for the Federal Amendment. He is playing politics. There is going to be a battle royal between vested interests and labor in the next campaign and Wilson is going to throw his fortunes with labor. Chamberlain is pulling the chestnuts ^{the a few} for the Rrpublicans. If Wilson can

and he has

can get the suffrage leaders, admitting that his personal influence was cast in favor of the women because they wanted an amendment, even tho he qualified his preference for the state method gives him an enviable record in favor of suffrage. The women themselves were so sanguine of the Senate that the House was the stumbling block ^{we} cannot blame ~~him~~ if the women miscalculated their strength. Now then if the Southern Democrats play the cards for the States to do their duty and the solid south become woman suffrage territory it will pin the suffrage standard to the credit of the democratic party. Its politics pure and simple. Catt is being advised by Hay and she is one of the intensest republicans I ever knew, and that is why she has swerved so inconsistently to an absolutely National policy.

One of the interesting things I have been observing is the seeming apathy of our Press. Evidently instructions have been received.

I inclose a letter I sent to the five Governors. I wrote a little note to each and expressed a desire for any help they could give. In the note I took the ground that until states at least had the opportunity submitted for the men of the state to express an opinion it seemed premature to submit much less ratify an amendment. I then went on to say that if after having had the opportunity the men of the south were willing to keep their women the political inferiors of negroes then I was free to confess I was ready to appeal to republicans and northern democrats to ratify an amendment.

I am very hopeful of our position. If I were you I certainly would maintain the right of the state to pass on the question. I feel sure the Democratic Party is not going to lose this golden opportunity to make this a democratic victory. Now because I stress the Democratic Party please do not believe I am enthusiastically democrat. My inclination on many ~~points~~ ^{of} their policies appeal to me more than centralized ideal and high tariff of the Reps. But it is Hobson's choice ^{with me} and in order to get our ballot we have to try and make it a party expedient. That's our long suit.

I have been going over the party affiliations of your legislature and find a large majority Democratic but not the required two thirds. The long suit will be making it a party measure. Are many of your Republicans independent and ^{strong enough} ~~suffragist~~ believers to join in submission which will accrue to Democratic advantage. That's the Scylla & Charybdis we have to ~~steer~~ ^{steat} thro. Oh if you and Boyer and I could only be together in this crisis.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon.

I am not going to waste any steam on Mrs. Catt. Have you heard anything about Nellie Somerville. She seems to have completely dropped out of things. I wonder if her mind could be affected, for really her attitude and somethings she said and did in regard to the Southern Conference could be explained in no other way.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Febr. 8th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I wrote you yesterday telling of the new situation in Ky., and am writing again in answer to yours of the 5th, enclosing Mr. Gamble's open letter. I read it with deep interest; but I say at once it will do no good to circulate it in Ky. We have no negro problem. We have less than 15% of negro population; we never had but one county of the 120 which ever had a negro majority, which it lost some years ago; and in the recent negro exodus, that county lost 2000 negroes, and other counties with a large negro population also lost heavily. So that even a problem of congestion no longer exists in Ky. If you ever hear that argument employed by Ky. politicians be assured it is used only for excuse, and does not impose upon any one who has the least knowledge of the real state of affairs.

I sent you my letter to Mrs. Catt; and until after this session of our state legislature I feel bound not to attack the Federal Amendment in any public way. So I do not wish this letter sent out to any of the state legislatures with my signature, though I see no reason why you might not send it as you did the Governors' letter, of your own initiative. Certainly, every one has a right to circulate any literature she chooses. But in Ky. any appeal to the negro question is going to lessen the weight of objections to the Amendment rather than increase it; because, like the Western States, Ky. is more or less tired of being hampered by the wishes of the colored belt to the neglect of their own or the Democratic party's interests. It is up to the colored belt to make some move to conform to the general interests of the Democratic party; or expect to find itself in a hopeless minority. On that account, I think your recommendation to Mr. Gamble to get some concerted action of the Southern States to grant woman suffrage by state amendments is politic and strong; and the only policy, to my mind, that is going to meet the present exigency.

On the other hand, I am surprised that Mr. Gamble does not even touch upon the fact which seems to me so important, - that the success of the Federal Amendment will be a grand Republican victory; - and if woman suffrage proves a so potent a factor in politics as negro suffrage, such a result will mean the defeat nationally of the Democratic party for a generation. Have you read and digested Roosevelt's open letter to the Republican Senators published in the Woman's Citizen of Febr. 1st? He is already claiming the submission by Congress as a great Republican asset; as it obviously is, in spite of Mrs. Catt's politic disclaimer that it is due to any one party. On account of what seems to me so plain, every day is strengthening my suspicion that Pres. Wilson's declaration and the votes of Democrats in the U.S. House is part of a policy which is not yet clearly revealed to my circumscribed political vision. I cannot believe, and shall not until I see it done, that the Democratic party, having the game in its own hands, is going to give it away to the Republicans in this obvious way. But as Mr. Gamble points out quite forcibly, just such things have been done by blindness, self-interest for the time being, or by a general apathy caused by more pressing issues, such as the war.

Write to me as often as you can; and I am going to let you hear promptly of anything new which may come up here.

My regards to your sisters, and believe me

Very cordially yours,

JEAN M. GORDON, President
MRS. W. A. GORDON

Phone Main 5001

FANNIE R. GORDON
KATE M. GORDON

JEAN M. GORDON & CO.
MANUFACTURERS' AGENTS

508 MAGAZINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LA. February 5, 1918

My dear Miss Clay:

I am sending with this letter the open letter of the Attorney General to Ransdell. I rather think with the political trust that exists in this state that he would not have made the attack unless he did so with the consent of the powers that be. I take it as the opening gun of the attack on a federal amendment and I believe it is going to be what I always prophesied would be the line of action that the Democratic Solid South is going to make it a democratic victory.

At four o'clock he is coming to call on Jean and me. I am going to propose that we try and get a certain number of states not necessarily southern to form an agreement to give woman suffrage to their women with the understanding that as far as such things can be binding there will be no further federal amendments dealing with the suffrage.

9 o'clock

Gamble spent four hours here. He is a very charming man to meet and truly worried over the seriousness of the situation. He says he took the medium of Ransdell's (as he terms it treachery) to inject politics into it for the sole and only reason that the men of the south are asleep to what is on. I think Wilson's action has been a fearful surprise. He says the fall of the solid south as a political expedient on the part of the democratic party is perfectly feasible and practical. He approved of my Governor's letter and indorsed the National Dem and State Dem plan of appeal. I myself believe that when it comes to the show down R

ansdell

will be missing. The fellow seems overwhelmed that southern women are lined up to condone the 14th and 15th Amendments. He does not know how little the rank and file of women know about the suffrage ____ would not like to put Miss Shaw through a questionnaire on state or National questions. ____ do you recall that letter of instructions she was going to send out to the States that I received when I was visiting you. All wrong and you said that came of her English heritage.

The cases referred to in reference to Judge Marr is the Cruikshank decision.

The politicians are trying to bluff out on the Grandfather Clause decision, not affecting the franchises granted under this provision, but I am and have been of his opinion and when two years ago we were campaigning in prospect of the Constitutional Convention being held I had made up my mind in the event of our being euchred out to challenge the whole result if we did not go thro. But the Call was defeated.

I am going to send this to the Southern Legislators from the Southern Conference. Do you approve? Of course with a letter that if the southern states do their duty to women the whole thing can be dismissed and the southern states resent this opening of an old sore. Let me hear from you on this point.

Cordially,
Kate M Gordon.

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
Febr. 7th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I did not answer promptly your letter Febr. 1st because a new situation has developed in Ky.

On talking with her husband, Mrs. South was advised that the Board meeting of Jan. 31st had not a quorum. Also, she desired some legal advice as to how far the Board was legally bound to obey the instructions of the Convention. In the meanwhile, what I had proposed came to pass; - a suffrage amendment bill was brought into the state senate by Sen. Richardson, without consultation with the women or, as far as she could learn, with any other members. She resolved to call another Board meeting, and I went to that on Tuesday morning. They voted to oppose any bill until Mrs. Catt withdrew her opposition. Mrs. Hutchison and I voted to uphold the instructions of the convention, and in a full Board meeting we probably would have had one more vote. But the majority would have been against us even then so that is the way it stands. I made it perfectly clear that I felt I could obey the convention even against the majority of the Board; and I think they all take my stand good-naturedly, as they well may, as they are going to do as they please. But while I hold myself free to co-operate with Mr. Richardson I do not see my way clear to doing so; for I doubt if we can win with a divided Association; and we are informed that the Temperance people do not wish us to bring in an amendment, as they fear it will injure the chances of the state wide prohibition amendment, which has just been successfully submitted.

Therefore, I have decided not to ask the Southern Woman Suffrage Conference to write letters to the Ky. legislature. I believe any action which would really help can be done without that; and it might produce needless friction.

I remain of the opinion that the S.S.W.S. Conference should write to the National and State Central Democratic Committees just on the line I have outlined before. It exists for the purpose of expressing the southern woman's view-point, and I think we should express it now. I do not think we should attack the Federal Amendment but confine ourselves to the patriotic aspect, the National pledge, and the effect which faithfulness to that pledge will have on the future woman vote, as the Democratic Party has historic evidence of in the negro vote.

Mrs. South believes that Sen. Richardson is acting on the part of the Democratic administration in this state, which is anti-prohibition, though it had to yield to public sentiment. It may be his bill will pass, though Mrs. South will try to have it killed in committee. In that case, we will have an opportunity to try out my theory that by appealing to the voters to be true to their party pledges we may win the campaign without such great efforts and expense to the women. I will keep you advised if anything of importance comes up.

I am glad that you wrote to the Governors; and I hope you will soon get out your letter to the Committees.

Our legislature requires a three-fifths vote of all elected members to submit a state amendment, - that is, 60 in the House and 23 in the Senate. There are 13 Republican senators, and 40 Republican members of the House.

Give my regards to your sisters, and believe me
Very cordially yours,

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
March 18th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am indeed pleased to hear from you again, and to receive your enclosed article. I think it is most admirable in argument and presentation. I have used your permission to criticize only to make it more conciliatory to the negro vote, which may be a factor in some of the states. Also, to avoid any more antagonism than is necessary to the 14th and 15th Amendments.

Our Legislature adjourns on Wednesday; so unless we have a called session it seems likely Kentucky will have no part in finally settling the question, unless the Federal Amendment fails. Every day that the Senate puts off voting on it increases my doubt whether it ever will pass. If it does pass this Congress other states in 1919 will either ratify or reject it, and Ky. will not be called on to vote at all. I am deeply disappointed that we were not allowed to have a state submission, for well-informed suffragists believe we could have succeeded in 1919.

Mrs. Catt has called the Executive Council, consisting of the state presidents and ex-members to meet about the middle of April; and I hear, though not directly, that New Orleans is chosen as the city of meeting. The object of the Ex. Council is to lay out plans for the ratification of the Amendment, if it has passed the Senate; or in case it does not do so in this Congress, to lay plans to defeat enough men to see that it passes both Houses next Congress. It was decided at the Washington Convention that the states in which these campaigns should be carried on should be chosen by combined action of the National Board and the respective state Boards. I shall have nothing to do with campaigns to defeat men who stand by their National platforms; it is contrary to my ideas of political ethics. I believe rather in insisting upon the binding force of platforms. Sen. James, of Ky., is one who refuses to vote for the Amendment, and he stands for re-election this fall.

If the Amendment fails of passage in this Congress I hope the States Rights Suffragists may be able to make some sort of resistance to the Federal Amendment. Every day that I think of it seems to increase my antipathy to it. I believe in States Rights; and in these war times, when so much extraordinary power is being given to the Administration, it may well turn out that undiminished state rights may be the anchor for the stability of our government.

I shall not give up hope that another way than the Federal Amendment may be found until it is taken from me by the accomplishment of that amendment, both in Congress and by the ratification of 36 state legislatures.

I am sorry to hear of Miss Jean's illness. Give my regards to her, and to Miss Fanny, and with much love to all of you, I am
Very cordially yours,

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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

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

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

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

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

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

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

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

MRS. HELEN GARDINER,
Washington, D. C.

AUDITORS

MRS. JAS. M. McCORMACK,
107 Brown Arcade, Baltimore, Md.

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

HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

March 26, 1918.

My dear Miss Clay,

Your interesting letter received, and accept with pleasure the recommendations suggested for the article. I can understand thoroughly your disappointment at not having the question submitted in Kentucky, and of course I doubt the expediency of Mrs. Catt's political policy which is ~~back~~ of the whole thing. I have been rather doubtful of the submission of the Federal amendment though realizing the possibility of it; but in conversation with a prominent banker the other day, I was told by him that from inside information it had been accepted as a necessary policy to protect the Democratic Party in the on-coming Congressional elections. I have been waiting to see what the outcome would be. I do not want to fire our ammunition too soon, but I took the stand the other day by offering a resolution in the Era Club to organize the women who were not suffragists to realize the situation confronting them. I want to give you credit for suggesting the idea in one of your letters, and which struck me as a very good point to make.

Now it is my intention to work the Southern Conference purely in the Democratic Party as ^{one of} political strategy, but if I can organize a sufficiently strong, might I express it a non-combatant party to make the appeal to both Democratic and Republican national committeemen and legislators to grant the women of the country their suffrage without arousing the antagonism and injustices that a Federal amendment ~~would~~ ^{would} arouse, ~~but~~ following the suggestion offered in my speech.

I am finding an effective argument meeting the unprincipled one of the women and the men favoring a Federal amendment, "that the South had been handling the situation very well in the past, and would continue to do so," by stating "that any man and woman can conscientiously devise methods and means to defeat the 14th and 15th amendments, because they are frauds and forgeries, placed upon the constitution of the United States at the point of the bayonet, through the disfranchisement of the white man and the enfranchisement of the negro slave just out of bondage; that we are not morally obliged to support such a fraud; but on the other hand, if a woman suffrage amendment, carrying with it the disadvantages of ~~the~~ ^{the} Federal amendment, also the provision for its enforcement is adopted by 36 States, then we should honor our national constitution, and consent to white

3/26/18

Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference

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HEADQUARTERS:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

men in certain sections of the South living under the govern-
ment of an inferior and child race. I am going to make this my
theme.

I had not heard about the prospect of Mrs. Catt's coming to the
city in April. If she comes down here to talk a Federal amend-
ment, I hope she will get everything she deserves.. If she does,
I will give publicity to the fact that in an open convention
of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1912
she said in the event of the South interfering with the rati-
fication of a Federal amendment, that the North before had
trained its guns on the South and would do it again.

I want to extend to you from myself and my sisters a very cor-
dial invitation that if you come to New Orleans for this con-
vention that you be our guest. I extend this invitation whether
you come to the convention or not, or whenever you can come,
for I do yearn for your counsel and your help at this time.
With the situation in Europe as it is to-day, I must say that
I have not much heart for suffrage or any other kind of work.
I confess that if the Kaiser wins then everybit of faith I
have will fail. When I know what those emissaries of the
devil have done to women and children, if success attends them,
then I do not want to believe in a higher power guiding our
destinies.

Affectionately

Kate M. Gordon

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
March 30th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I thank you and your sisters very much for your kind invitation to visit you; and while I am not coming to the meeting of the Executive Council of the N.A.W.S.A. I hope sometime to avail myself of it, both as a great pleasure in itself, and because I would like indeed to take counsel with all of you in the great crisis of the suffrage movement.

I am not going to take any part in the program of the National for forwarding the S.B.A. Amendment, either by way of working to increase sentiment for it; or for campaigns against Congressmen who abide by their National platforms in voting against it. I have mentioned my position quietly when the subject is brought up, because, as one of the Board of the Ky. E.R.A., I think it proper to state my position in advance, in case Ky. should be one of the states selected to work in. While I am prepared to submit with as good a grace as I can muster, in case it should prove that "dominating political opinion" supports it, I shall do nothing to help create that opinion; and it is contrary to my idea of political ethics to oppose a man ~~politically~~ politically because he adheres to the platform of the party he represents.

I note what you say about the political policy of the Democratic party to protect itself in the coming Congressional elections. I have never doubted that that is the reason it seems to have abandoned its ground; for when I spent the winter in Washington lobbying for the U.S. Elections Bill I observed with some surprise that the Congressional Union had the Western congressmen considerably frightened; and the Democratic party of the south cannot afford to injure its hold upon the co-operation of the western men. That is the point I have been trying to make in my letters to you, to charge you that in all your arguments you must consider the Western point of view quite as solicitously as the Southern.

But in spite of appearances now, I doubt if the Democrats will really give way to the Federal Amendment, though I believe they recognize the necessity of yielding on the question of suffrage. Annie Martin in a public speech lately said that five sixths of the Republican Senators, and one third of the Democratic Senators were pledged to vote for the submission of the Amendment ~~xxxx~~ You already know the proportion of the Representatives who voted for it. When it comes to be ratified by the legislatures I do not doubt that the proportion of Democratic states and Republican states will be as strongly contrasted as the parties in the Congress. That is, there is no possible way to disguise the fact that the Federal Amendment will be a great Republican victory. All the lessons you quote from history are fully appreciated by both parties, and such a result must be for the great advantage of the Republican part, not to speak of the fact that a ratification of the Amendment will be a justification of the 15th, which will greatly add to the force of the negro vote, now so entirely Republican. Seeing these things as I do, I cannot believe until it is an accomplished fact, that the Democratic party will hand over to the Republicans such an enormous prestige, when they hold the cards in their own hands. Of course, their only final remedy is in granting suffrage by some sort of States Rights method. The one you are presenting is one; the U.S. Elections bill is another; the grant ~~x~~ state by state is another. I may say, primary suffrage is another, in one-party states. ~~How~~ many more may be devised by astute

(Over)

2.

politicians I do not know; but these are enough to show that it would be rankly suicidal for the Democratic party to throw up the game now they have all the cards in their own hands. Therefore, it seems to me that we suffragists who ~~xxxx~~ do not want the S.B.A. Amendment should play for time, hoping that wisest counsels will prevail in the masses of the suffrage women, as they begin to comprehend the immense difficulties in the way of passing it; and in addition, I may say, the real political dangers which might threaten our beloved country if in this time of world-revolution we should extend the electorate to an overwhelming multitude of untrained voters, many of whom are obviously unfit for responsibility, and some of them, at least, would not be guided in its use by patriotic motives. The prudence of England on this point is one we should regard; and yet they are in less danger from such effects than we are; because no aliens or recently naturalized citizens would have been included, even if their bill had enfranchised all the women who are of the class of the enfranchised men.

I think we should constantly point out that the suffragists should work along the lines of least resistance; and that we should be taking advantage of the party platforms of the dominant parties in declaring for suffrage by the state route to push state amendments, instead of refusing this political help, and running counter to the expressed opposition of these two parties to that method. Personally, I think there the N.A.W.S.A made an enormous tactical error in ~~xxxx~~ setting themselves against state amendments at this time, altogether apart from my opposition to the Federal Amendment.

You know that the National is helping the campaign in Oklahoma, - which votes this fall. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Also, Arkansas will have a constitutional convention, and I think the National is helping there. If the Democratic party would make state suffrage a party policy and really help, and take the burden of campaigning off the shoulders of women, which they could do without any extra effort or expense for themselves, they could spike the guns of the Republicans in their support of the Federal Amendment. Will they have the wisdom and vision to do this? I believe it is the part of states rights women to bring these points before them; for they are now panic stricken by what seems and seems only to be the practically unanimous demand of the women. We know that the National has for years systematically suppressed the opposition to the Federal Amendment, and by force of superior organization and command of money made it appear that all woman suffragists wanted the Amendment.

I hold that the binding force on me of my letter to Mrs. Catt, a copy of which I sent to you, has expired, because the Federal Amendment did not pass and was not submitted to the Ky. Legislature before its adjournment. And while I am going to be punctilious in not arousing any fraction which I can avoid, I intend to use my discretion unfettered to present the views which I am expressing to you in this letter and in previous ones. I hope this course meets with your approval; for you know I think your family contains some of the few women who have much political grasp of the woman suffrage question. And I rejoice to think that you will still be in your prime when the cause is finally won, and can reap personally some of its fruits.

With my warm regards to your sisters, and to yourself,
I am

Very cordially yours,

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.
March 28th, 1918.

My dear Mrs. Boyer,

I thank you so much for your letters of the 15th and the 20th, with their interesting enclosed clippings. I had seen nothing of Mr. Flood's bill; and I am glad to hear of it. I considered your suggestion to take up the matter with Mrs. Catt, but I decided that it would do no good. Her indifference to Sen. Owen's offer to press the U.S. Elections bill, made, as you remember, at St. Louis, astonished me; and left me convinced that there is nothing to be expected of the National W.S.A. on any such bill; at least, until hope is extinguished of any result from the "drive" for the S.B.A. Amendment. As Mrs. Catt knows how deep my interest is in the U.S. Elections Bill, and that I am not interested in the Amendment except under compulsion, I do not think any effort of mine to direct attention to Mr. Flood's bill would do any good. I think there might be some good effect if interest were shown in it from some other quarter; and if you can inaugurate such a move I believe you would be doing a service to suffrage.

I saw something of Miss Blackwell's liberal gift in the Woman Citizen. The Woman Citizen is so entirely given up to long argumentative articles about the S.B.A. Amendment and sarcastic remarks about those who are not favorable to it that nowadays I find difficulty in wading through it; and some things in it which might be of interest might easily escape my reading.

For instance; what is going on in Oklahoma? I did read that the National is going to help there; but I have seen nothing more. I wish very much the National had seen its way to sending you there to take charge, for I think none of our workers is so fitted for that particular task. Every day makes me regret more the loss of you at the head of the New Southern Citizen. The southern interest in suffrage which your efforts aroused through that paper seems to have been credited to other influences by the National; and has been mistaken for favorable sentiment towards the Federal Amendment. I have been so astonished at Pres. Wilson's attitude and its passage through the U.S. House that I do not choose to be a prophet as to its further success; but I shall not believe in it till I see it actually pass the gauntlet of legislative ratification. In the meantime, Ky. suffragists have been thwarted in the decision of the Ky. convention to push a state amendment. The vote was carried overwhelmingly in our convention; but the National opposed it, and had influence with a majority of our State board sufficient to make them decide not to do it in the face of the National opposition. Those who were firm in their support of the state amendment yet felt that we probably could not win with a divided board, though we felt great hopes if we could work unitedly. In that dilemma we felt it best not to push the matter to a division, but await further developments with a united front, though the opinions were divided. Naturally, the consequence of disregarding the vote of the state convention has been to slow down all effort; and I think a great tactical mistake has been made by the National by its interference. As far as ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ I can see, our state is wholly unprepared to ratify the S.B.A. Amend/ even if it should be brought before our legislature of 1920. If it is going to succeed at all, however, I suppose the 41 state legislatures which sit in 1919 will ratify it, and Ky. will really have nothing to do with it.

Write to me again, and tell me what you think of the situation in Oklahoma. Anything you write is of interest to me. I knew

(Over)

you were in Mass. though Miss Gordon, and also through the press. I congratulate Mass. on having you; but I deeply regret that the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference could not have you at the helm in these strenuous days of conflicting opinions and policies.

Always cordially yours,

I had been hoping of Mr. Kibben's suggestion to take up the matter with Mrs. Cady but I decided that it would do no good. Her indifference to the cause was too great. I have written her several times, as you remember, at St. Louis, explaining my position and left her convinced that I have nothing to expect of the National W.S.A. on any such bill. At least, until she has explained to me the real reasons for the S.S.A. Amendment. As the Cady knows how deep my interest is in the W.S.A. Amendment, and that I am not interested in the Amendment except under compulsion, I do not think any effort to give to direct attention to Mr. Kibben's bill would do any good. I think there might be some good effect if interest were shown in it from some other quarter; and if you can inaugurate such a move, I believe you would be doing a service to the cause.

I saw something of Miss Kibben's financial gift in the "Common Cause". The former pattern is so entirely given up to long arguments and articles about the S.S.A. Amendment and especially feminine suffrage that it is not possible to find out what she really thinks about it. I am not sure that it is worth the while to read it, but I will try to do so. I am not sure that it is worth the while to read it, but I will try to do so.

For instance, what is going on in Oklahoma? I did read that the National is going to hold there; but I have been reading more and more that the National had been the way to sending you back to the charge for I think some of our workers are so tired that they are not able to do any more. The Southern interest in the bill of the National is very small. The paper seems to have been credited to other influences by the National; and has been mistaken for favorable sentiment towards the Federal Amendment. I have been so disappointed at the National's attitude and its position through the W.S.A. cause that I do not choose to be a drop in the bucket; but I shall not believe in it. I see it actually passed the general of legislative jurisdiction in the meantime. My criticisms have been thrust in the best of the Convention to push a state amendment. The vote was carried overwhelmingly in our convention; but the National opposed it and had influence with a majority of our state board sufficient to make them decide not to hold in the face of the National opposition. Those who were torn in their support of the state amendment yet felt that we probably could not win with a divided board, though we felt great hopes if we could work unitedly. In that dilemma we felt it was not to open the matter to a division, but to wait further developments. A united front, though the opinions were divided. Naturally, the consequences of disregarding the vote of the state convention has been to show down all efforts; and I think a great tactical mistake has been made by the National in the interim. As far as I can see, our state is wholly prepared to ratify the S.S.A. Amendment, even if it should be brought before our legislature of 1902. It is going to succeed at all, however. I suppose the state legislature will ratify it in 1902, and it will really have nothing to do with it.

Write to me again, and tell me what you think of the situation in Kansas. Anything you write is of interest to me. I know

(over)

JEAN M. GORDON, President
MRS. W. A. GORDON

FANNIE R. GORDON
KATE M. GORDON

JEAN M. GORDON & CO.
MANUFACTURERS' AGENTS

508 MAGAZINE STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LA March 14, 1918.

My dear Miss Clay,

It has been impossible for me to write sooner. Jennie was quite ill and much of the time that I had hoped to be able to give to suffrage thought was made impossible. I am enclosing the article I prepared for the Lawyer and Banker but I am afraid it was too late to serve in the publication that they asked for. I am now considering publishing it in some of the generally-read magazines, and would ask you to express an opinion upon it.

This morning's paper, with the message of the President to Texas I consider very significant, wherein he recommends the adoption of primary woman suffrage. I believe, however, that we can make the Democratic Party see the wisdom of granting woman suffrage, that is, if the National does not insist upon the Southern women pressing for a Federal amendment. I hope to be able in a day or two to frame what I want to say to the National Committeemen and the State Central Committees. It is now over two months since the House ~~passed~~ passed the amendment. I rather think before the President recommended it he was sure of the situation in the Senate. A new vision has come to me in regard to the Federal amendment support by some of the people who have become enthusiastic woman suffragists via Federal amendment. If an article that appeared in one of the papers correctly reports Vardaman, he is willing for a Federal amendment. Champ Clark that formerly stood for pure and unadulterated States' Rights' Suffrage, when he was made to declare himself, also stands now for a Federal amendment. These men who ought to be on the States' Rights' side of the question belong to the willful group, and I believe their purpose is to embarrass the President. I am finding men, politicians particularly, that were rabid against woman suffrage a year or so ago, now want suffrage via the Federal amendment, because they can't wait for slow State submission, and in every instance they are German sympathizers. I am watching this phase of the situation very closely.

I wish you would comment freely on my article.

Affectionately,

Kate M. Gordon

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

April 3rd, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am taking the first opportunity to send my leaflet on the U.S. Elections Law. I have some other material for a fuller exposition of it; but I prefer to send you the article by Francis Minor which originally ^{gave} the idea to the Federal Suffrage Association. The Arena has gone out of publication; and I have never been able to buy a copy of that number; so when I was in Washington I copied it in handwriting, and I have typed it for you from that copy. Therefore, there may be some mistakes in it. I wish you could find the original in your public library. As I read it over, the argument seems to me to be incontrovertible. It would be a wonderful thing if you could get Congress to act upon it.

I have been so long copying this that I must hurry to send it off; and at another time I will write again, and give you some references on other points, if you think you need them. Any way, I will write soon ~~again~~ again, and I hope also you will write to me.

Regards to your sisters.

Very cordially yours,

KATE M. GORDON,
1st Vice-President

FLORENCE LOEBER,
2d Vice-President

JEANNE AIMEE RICHARDSON,
3d Vice-President

EMMA T. ORY (Mrs. Benjamin)
Corresponding Secretary,
1620 Seventh Street

Era Club

"Who for truth no sword uplifteth
He for error strikes a blow."

MARY SMITH BARTLETT (Mrs. H. B.)
President
155 Audubon Boulevard

EVELYN W. ORDWAY,
Honorary President

KINNIE CABLE OESCHNER (Mrs. John F.)
Recording Secretary

LOUISE COLLENS,
Treasurer
1309 Berlin Street

HELEN PITKIN SCHERTZ (Mrs. Christian)
1st Auditor

FLORENCE COHN,
2d Auditor

New Orleans, La.
May 30, 1918

SOME FRUITS OF THE ERA CLUB'S POLICY OF INITIATION AND AGITATION

SEWERAGE DRAINAGE
PURE WATER

AN ENFORCEABLE CHILD
LABOR LAW

WOMAN FACTORY INSPECTOR

A JUVENILE COURT

TRAVELERS' AID

PUBLIC BATHS

OUTDOOR ART, FORERUNNER
OF THE PLAYGROUNDS
ASSOCIATIONS

ANTI-SPITTING ORDINANCE

HAT PIN ORDINANCE

LEGALIZING THE SIGNATURE
OF A WOMAN

PUBLICATION OF THE ASSES-
MENT ROLLS OF THE CITY
OF NEW ORLEANS

ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO THE
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE TULANE
UNIVERSITY ON EQUAL
TERMS WITH MEN

FIRST LEGISLATION IN STATE
AGAINST WHITE SLAVERY

INITIATED THE SOUTHERN
STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE
CONFERENCE

EQUALIZED DIVISION OF TULANE
SCHOLARSHIPS BETWEEN
BOY AND GIRL
STUDENTS

ORIGINATED IN 1912 THE IDEA
OF PRIMARY WOMAN
SUFFRAGE

FIRST APPLIED "VICTORY" TO
20% FLOUR SUBSTITUTES
AND ADOPTED BY THE
UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT

My dear friends:

I am writing in triplicate to my three friends, Miss Clay, Mrs Boyer and Caroline Terror Reilley, for it seems impossible to get breathing time much less time for individual correspondence and as the suffrage news I want each of you to know from Louisiana is one and the same I write as I say in triplicate. Get ready to take off your hats to me for Louisiana will submit the suffrage bill and the administration is behind it I believe now if I got down on my knees to them and implored them not to give us suffrage they would administer it with the big stick.

When Will Glasgow was down here in the interest of some sugar legislation for the sugar trust, in speaking of the work of Don Caffery for the planters, he said he has put the "fear of God" into the trust. That's what Gamble and I have put into the politicians. The Governor came out in his message for state right suffrage to be submitted and ratified. I was in conference with him for over two hours priming him before he came out with his message. Very few knew I had had a conference and I want nothing said. The inclosed is the argument that is being handed around for the necessity for the states to act in the interest of the Democratic Party.

I conversation with the Governor I suggested the wisdom of submitting a memorial to the legislature recommending the "southern states" to give their states the suffrage and achieve the purpose of the federal amendment in this democratic stronghold and which would make the Federal Amendment unnecessary, but He recommended me to frame one and when I suggested that it would seem inconsistent for Louisiana to make such a suggestion if she did not submit the question itself he intimated that we I did not need to anticipate trouble on that score. While writing the solid south memoria I thought of the congressional one and submit both for your consideration. If we do not get it put over for of course I will be guided by the Governor's wishes what do you think of the Southern Conference taking this action to hold both republican's and democrats responsible to carry out the recommendation of their campaign platforms. Needless to say I am writing all this in the strictest confidence.

The Federal Amendment group of suffragists are ostensibly working for the state amendment but this is only because Mrs Holmes has not a vestige of ground to stand on in her advocacy of a federal amendment. We have been warned by a prominent newspaper man not to led into a controversy of any kind. There is talk of the suffrage being pitted against the race bill, but Jean and I agreed to hold hands off on the race bill if it was necessary. Mrs Holmes lobbied for the races last session, and as liquor, prostitution corrupt politics and the gambling and racing outfit all travel in the same boat you can judge of the character of the women we have to deal with.

Boyer can appreciate the triumph of the situation knowing the political autocracy that exists in Louisiana, but none of you can enjoy what I feel in seeing this bunch of low down politicians take the suffrage medicine with good grace. If there was any political sense in the National Association I'd urge it to go in on my memorial for while I think the National amendment may be submitted to control the political situation in 1920 I doubt seriously whether there will be ratification, for if the democrats lose out on it in 1920 they will stand on a state sovereignty principle and the republicans are going to be very chary in galvanizing into life the 15th Amendment, and its force provisions. Now is the time for the suffragists to get in their suffrage work before partisan and sectional suffrage feeling is aroused.

Have you seen the negro memorial to Congress on the "Rights of Man"

I have had some interesting correspondence with the recording secretary of the National. She wrote to Jean taking her to task for an open letter they were informed we had written Sen. Ransdell. I denied the charge but said Mr. Gamble had written one every word of which I indorsed. But if they thought that was harmful to suffrage, it was nothing in comparison to the exquisite opportunity afforded by Mrs Catt's attack on the National Party's Democracy whose picketts had objected to being jailed with negroes, and which the splendid organization of the Catholic Church was exploiting for all it was worth. Mrs. Catt wrote for an explanation saying she had been most careful not to say anything to offend the south but like all the allegations of the Anti's they left no dishonorable means unexploited. I got a copy and sent it on and asked that thro some of ~~kk~~ her Federal Amendment supporters she deny the statement if it were untrue that if she would authorize me to say it was untrue I would deny it when I would meet it in argument. I have not heard further from her and I suppose she cannot deny it. There are some other gems from Miss Shaw and Susan B Anthony is quoted from the Suffrage History about worshipping at the feet of the ex-slaves. It makes your blood curdle to read the stuff. I rather think the National wants to get us to resign but are afraid of the effect for the last letter says the constitution must be interpreted as supporting both state and national legislation not either.

Mrs Boyer asked about Sen. Guion. He is a very elegant gentleman of the old school. The Governor told me when I asked him about his stand on the Federal Amendment that he thought was opposed to all kinds of woman suffrage. I am hoping that the turn about face in the political attitude to suffrage in Louisiana forecasts a like condition in every state where the democratic party is in control. There is no doubt that the exodus of negroes from the south ostensibly for industrial purposes is a colonization of the republican party in states that require padding. Do write me what you think of the memorials and

Affectionately
Katie M. Gordon

KATE M. GORDON,
1st Vice-President

FLORENCE LOEBER,
2d Vice-President

JEANNE AIMEE RICHARDSON,
3d Vice-President

EMMA T. ORY (Mrs. Benjamin)
Corresponding Secretary,
1620 Sevènth Street

Era Club

*"Who for truth no sword uplifteth
He for error strikes a blow."*

MARY SMITH BARTLETT (Mrs. H. B.)
President
155 Audubon Boulevard

EVELYN W. ORDWAY,
Honorary President

KINNIE CABLE OESCHNER (Mrs. John F.)
Recording Secretary

LOUISE COLLENS,
Treasurer
1309 Berlin Street

HELEN PITKIN SCHERTZ (Mrs. Christian)
1st Auditor

FLORENCE COHN,
2d Auditor

New Orleans, La.

SOME FRUITS OF THE ERA CLUB'S POLICY OF INITIATION AND AGITATION

SEWERAGE DRAINAGE
PURE WATER

AN ENFORCEABLE CHILD
LABOR LAW

WOMAN FACTORY INSPECTOR

A JUVENILE COURT

TRAVELERS' AID

PUBLIC BATHS

OUTDOOR ART, FORERUNNER
OF THE PLAYGROUNDS
ASSOCIATIONS

ANTI-SPITTING ORDINANCE

HAT PIN ORDINANCE

LEGALIZING THE SIGNATURE
OF A WOMAN

PUBLICATION OF THE ASSES-
MENT ROLLS OF THE CITY
OF NEW ORLEANS

ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO THE
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE TULANE
UNIVERSITY ON EQUAL
TERMS WITH MEN

FIRST LEGISLATION IN STATE
AGAINST WHITE SLAVERY

INITIATED THE SOUTHERN
STATES WOMAN SUFFRAGE
CONFERENCE

EQUALIZED DIVISION OF TULANE
SCHOLARSHIPS BETWEEN
BOY AND GIRL
STUDENTS

ORIGINATED IN 1912 THE IDEA
OF PRIMARY WOMAN
SUFFRAGE

FIRST APPLIED 'VICTORY' TO
20% FLOUR SUBSTITUTES
AND ADOPTED BY THE
UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT

Concurrent Resolutions.

Whereas, in order to vindicate the principles upon which the government of the United States was founded, suffrage must be extended to the women of the nation, and,

Whereas the sovereignty of the State was the fundamental principle upon which the Federal government was ratified, and as maintenance of self-government for the State is destroyed if any external power controls the right to define the electorate,

Be it resolved that the Senate of Louisiana, the House of Representatives concurring, memorialize Congress to immediately recommend to the States to enfranchise their women in conformity with the 1916 National Platforms of both the Democratic and Republican Parties which indorsed woman suffrage by State enactment.

Be it further resolved that this action is urged in the interests of National and political honor, justice and unity, and that the Secretary of State be instructed to communicate this resolution to the Louisiana representatives for submission to Congress.

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New Orleans, La.

Concurrent Resolution.

Whereas the United States is at war to vindicate the principles of democracy on which our government was founded, and

Whereas this war has visualized the inconsistency of demanding the supreme sacrifice to establish democracy abroad while the women of our nation are one-third free and two-thirds subject; and

Whereas there is pending in Congress a national amendment to correct this inconsistency,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of Louisiana, a Democratic body believing in preserving intact the principle of self-government for the State, upon which principle the government was founded, do recognize the justice of the woman's demand for enfranchisement, and submit to that Democratic stronghold, the Solid South, a memorial to immediately take steps to enfranchise their women by State amendments or by State Constitutional Conventions.

Be it resolved that such action would achieve the purposes of a woman suffrage Federal amendment, and in this act of justice to women blot out the last vestige of sectionalism. It would protect the Democratic Party in those States where women now vote, and to whom the Party owes gratitude for returning it to power; it would fulfill the plank of the 1916 platform which recommends woman suffrage by State enactment. National honor, justice to women, the preservation of State sovereignty, as well as party expediency, point clearly to Louisiana's duty to commend to the Democratic Solid South the necessity for such action.

Be it resolved that a copy of this memorial be sent to the Governors of the States constituting the Solid South as an appeal to this Democratic protective alliance to act and make unnecessary the submission of a Federal amendment.

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Whereas, in order to vindicate the principles upon which the government of the U.S. was founded, suffrage must be extended to the women of the nation; and

Whereas, the sovereignty of the State is the fundamental principle upon which the Federal Government was ratified, and maintenance of self government for the State is destroyed if any external power controls the right to define the electorate; and

Whereas, the United States at war in defense of the principles of democracy, has visualized the inconsistency of denying the supreme sacrifice to establish democracy abroad while the women of our nation are in one-third of the State free and in two-thirds subject; therefore be it

Be it Resolved by the Congress of the United States, to recommend to the States that in conformity with the planks of the 1916 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties, which indorsed woman suffrage by state enactment the States be recommended to immediately submit woman suffrage amendments to their state constitutions; and
Be it Resolved, that this action is urged not alone in the interest of national and political honor, national justice, and national unity, but as an acknowledgement of long deferred justice to the women of America who are perpetuating to-day in their sacrifices and loyalty to the nation the record of honor passed on from the pioneer women of America through successive generations to the women of to-day; and
Be it Further Resolved, that Congress recommend to the political organizations of both the Democratic and Republican parties in the respective states, to aid the adoption of these amendments to the end that women already overburdened with war work, anxiety and financial sacrifices may not be made to assume the extra burden of a campaign and plead for a right no self respecting American woman should be denied.

508 Magazine St. New Orleans, La.
June 6, 1918.

My dear Miss Clay

I have lent my clipping of the Rights of Man memorial, but will try and get another. However, if you ~~do not~~ have access to the files of the Survey, you will find it in one of the May issues.

The state of feeling is one of demand for it says the appeal is not made as vassals but from men who have earned their right to citizenship from Bunker Hill to Carrizal.

The political pot is boiling hard here, and I believe I am not uncharitable in saying that if it is possible not to have the bill submitted, it will be the work of the National Amendment ones in the Senate who certainly are putting men on their ear. Mrs. Holmes is representing that faction. On the advice of our men in the House, we were asked to have very quiet hearing and not to give the Antis a chance because the Nationals have had a man down here trying to do his worst. Mrs. Holmes made a big blow-out brought down some criticism, but the worst shock to the staid country members was when Mrs. Philip Werlein drew out her cigarette in the dining room of the Istrouma Hotel and proceeded to blow the smoke through her nose.

I am enclosing some of the Anti literature. When you have gone over it, send it back to me. Mrs. Catt has never replied, authorizing me to deny the statement that was used by the Catholic Church to condemn suffragists generally, Catt, Shaw, and Miss Anthony in particular.

As soon as our bill is submitted, I will present the memorial, ~~but~~ if not successful, will put it into Congress as the work of the Southern Conference. The President sent a telegram yesterday. It was sent at the request of our La. State Suffrage Association, so he is not guilty of coming into the field uninvited.

in my last-
I believe I failed to enclose the point of view that has done a lot to create sentiment, but I now will correct the omission. Boyer will get any letter sent her by simply addressing Woman Suffrage Headquarters, Detroit, Mich.

I think your article on the suffrage by States is so admirable, that I shall try to get it published in our local papers.

Very cordially,
Thos H. Goddard

*An opening the Anti-Literature find it is not
what I wanted - will try find get - the
Catt - Shaw - Anthony symposium.*

June 20, 1918 Form 1204

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LEXINGTON KY JUNE 20TH

MISS LAURA CLAY,

CARE MRS S C BENNETT, RICHMOND KY-

SUFFRAGE SUBMITTED BY LEGISLATURE TOMORROW BOTH MY MEMORIALS
 WILL BE PRESENTED AND I HOPE ADOPTED HOPE THIS SUBMISSION
 SIGNIFIES THE BEGINNING OF THE END IN THE SOUTH AND DEFEAT
 OF FEDERAL AMENDMENT .

KATE M GORDON --- 403PM

189 N. Mill St., Lexington, Ky.

June 4th, 1918.

My dear Miss Gordon,

I am delighted to hear from you and to hear such splendid news from Louisiana! It conforms me in the view I have had that the Democratic party is really going to bid for women's vote by carrying out the promises of their St. Louis platform.

I do not get the Southern news, as our library does not take any of the large city papers of the south, so several things you mention have not come to me observation. I would like very much to see the negroes' Rights of Man. Where could I get it? I want it for some purposes of information on their state of feeling, and it may be useful to me in that way.

I think your two Resolutions are excellent, and I can see nothing but good from their wide distribution.

If you do not get it "put over" in your Legislature, at present I think it would be a good idea for the S.S.W.S. Conference to take the action itself to Congress; but I think you can advise later on that point.

I also have some news. It seems that the U.S. Senate now is held back from passing the S.B. Anthony Amendment act by two votes, and both the Ky. senators are holding out firmly against it. In the hopes of bringing popular pressure upon them (It is not coming voluntarily) Mrs. Catt offered to Mrs. South to come to Ky. herself for a series of addresses at mass meetings. The first of these was given in Lexington, under the efforts of Mrs. Breckinridge, as a committee from the Fayette E.R.A. There was a large audience, and the resolution asking the senators to vote for the amendment was carried, with only one audible negative vote. That was the one I cast. I felt that if the question of submission had come to the point where only two

more votes were needed to carry it, that I must not let it go by any negligence of mine. I had also written the little enclosed article that morning, so that it appeared in the same paper which reported her speech. I am going to send the paper later, but I am enclosing my article; and I intend to write others, and in general keep up my open opposition hereafter. I am trusting to the good common sense of our people to save us from a repetition of the Fifteenth Amendment. That is the reason I want to know what the negroes say on the Rights of Man.

Please give my kind regards to your sisters. I am sending this letter to your home address, as I think your letter heads may not be intended for letters like this.

I wish I knew Mrs. Boyer's present address. I know she intended to go to Michigan, but have heard nothing later.

Write again soon.

Very cordially yours,