

EQUAL SUFFRAGE EDITION

"BALLOTS FOR BOTH"

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NO. 1

TILLMAN FINDS HISTORY FURNISHES TWO REASONS

Scientific and Social Principles Against Giving Political Rights to Women—Senator Strongly Opposed to Movement.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 7, 1916.
Mrs. W. T. Beaty,
Union, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Beaty:

I have your card of the 5th inst., asking for an expression of my views as to woman suffrage. I am perfectly willing to say what I think on the subject, and, seeing that I am opposed to the movement, I am curious to know whether the Union League will still wish to publish my letter. Women are by nature more partisan than men, and generally refuse to look at any question from a viewpoint other than the one they have chosen. How does the old couplet run? About—but not quite, I believe—this way:

"When a woman will, she will—depend on it—
And when she won't, she won't—and there's an end o' it."

But let me give my reasons for being opposed to woman suffrage. They are, briefly, two in number, one scientific, the other social. In the first place, if woman were fitted for political duties, she would have been voting as long as men have. Darwin's law of "the survival of the fittest" applies with full force, and if we grant that in the beginning woman was not essentially different from man, still, the "Law of the disuse of parts" has had ample time to develop a difference. The proposition reduces itself to this: The fact that woman did not politically develop, pari passu, with men proves that she was not primarily suited for political duties; and if we refuse to accept this conclusion, then the fact that she has not been permitted to exercise suffrage during the thousands of years of her history, has unfitted her. The logic is brutal, perhaps, but it is unanswerable—truth is a pitiless thing.

Again, The future good of society depends on the relation of the sexes. Science comes in here once more. "The laws of natural selection" has erected barriers between men and women, assigning to each their duties. Woe be unto the people who shall dare to tear down what nature law has set up! Men must reverence women; women must respect men. That is the law and the prophets. But when their functions are united, when the barriers between them are removed, respect and reverence will disappear. Did you know that in some sections of the United States there is one divorce to every eight marriages? And can you not see that divorce is a by-product of the process which would identify the functions of men and women? I, myself, have seen an article where the fact that we have no divorce law in South Carolina is cited as a reason for equal suffrage there!

It would serve no good purpose for me to say any more; for, after all, I am against suffrage and you are for it, and neither of us will influence the other.

With best wishes, I am,
Yours very sincerely,
B. R. Tillman.

In Reply to Senator Tillman's Letter.
My dear Senator Tillman:

You were written to by a representative of the Equal Suffrage League of Union, because the members of that league have great respect and admiration for you, and for your past work. In the uplifting influences now at work in South Carolina you have been and you are now a potent factor and many are the women in South Carolina who would deem it a privilege to vote to "Let you die in harness."

Frankly, Senator, we fail to see where Charles Darwin's law of "The survival of the fittest" has any application to this question. It is doubtless true that back in the monkey stage where the struggle for existence in fighting against natural elements, and where combat was waged with muscle, tooth and claw that only the fittest could survive, but where the combat is one of brain against brain, then if Darwin's law did apply, I dare say women would compare very favorably with men. It is a scientific fact that it is not the size of the brain which determines the quality, but the degree of cultivation.

The next reason you state why you are against equal suffrage is "the law of natural selection." This, too, is a

side step of yours, and nowhere touches the point at issue. For millions of years the male has selected his mate and the female of the species has selected hers.

Your reference to the divorce question—this, too, is flimsy, 'tis only hearsay, and comes from unreliable press agents. But to the point:

Realizing that it was right, also that it was inevitable, practically every party has written in its platform the equal suffrage plank.

The Republicans believe in making it apply to all of the States; in other words, apply nationally. The Progressives have adopted, the Socialists have likewise adopted but the Democratic party in deference to the South has left it to the individual States, placing such restrictions and barriers as the nature of the situation demands. For instance, it is left to South Carolina to say whether or not we would have to get registration certificates the same as our husbands, brothers and fathers do. If this nation then is to be a Democratic nation, should we not add our vote in South Carolina to counteract the vote of some Republican State?

We note with interest that two or three months ago the question of the reapportionment of the representatives was before the congress. Republicans were inquiring why our vote was so small compared to the number of congressmen we had! Can it be that we are to be deprived of a certain amount of representation on account of the fact that one-half of our citizenship are disfranchised by man-made constitutions, man-made laws and man-made customs when we whose very existence would be threatened by an outrageous Republican grafting tariff, an Aldrichism system of finance, and a Roosevelt despotism as president? Nay verily. The president of the United States, who, I understand, is one of your staunch friends and you one of his chief admirers is now president on account of the women who voted for him.

Mr. Hughes ranted the country telling where Mr. Wilson's administration was a failure, but the women of California and other States of minor errors (if he made any) voted for the man who himself voted against the principles of taxation without representation.

But again, Senator, we do not believe in a government of trusteeship or guardianship. I am by the law and constitution you helped to make permitted to hold my property in my own right, name and manner. However, when it comes to the question of taxing my property to defray government expenses, I am denied the very first right of ownership—in that I have no choice—a husband who has no idea of finance, a brother who is worthless and is a spendthrift, or a neighbor who is miserly, exercises a form of false trusteeship, guardianship or despotism and votes for that which is aimed at my undoing? Is it right; is it fair?

The relationship of wife, mother, father and husband, brothers or sisters break down in some instances—it does in the matter of a forced guardianship. That we have the ability to do anything is beyond question: Shall I mention the queens, the scientist, the artist, musician, educator, the Joans who have fought battles? You know them all. In the eyes of the world they are not disfranchised, but are living, potent factors today, if their bodies be dead their souls go marching on—the world today is a better world by virtue of their having lived in it—the fortitude and heroism of the women at Plymouth and Jamestown is a glorious heritage of ours; but as the scene has changed and new conditions have arisen we, too, ask to share our part in the perilous time of today, we ask that we share in the affairs of a government founded by the people, and for the people and that we do our part by keeping it from perishing from the earth.

You who believe in democracy, "a vote for the people, by the people," are your wives not people? Why not accord them the sharers of your joys and sorrows and the mother of your children, the same privileges that you enjoy yourselves?

Sooner or later the men of South Carolina will have to face the fact that the women are in earnest, and will keep on working until their cause is triumphant.

Because your husband is not a suffragist is no reason why you should not be. Do you agree on everything else?

COL. ROOSEVELT ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

The following is an extract from Theodore Roosevelt's article, "The Parasite Woman," in the May Metropolitan:

"The one way to honor this indispensable woman, the wife and mother, is to insist that she be treated as the full equal of her husband. The birth pangs make all men the debtors of all women; and the man is a wretched creature who does not live up to this obligation. Marriage should be a real partnership; a partnership of the soul, the spirit and the mind, no less than of the body. An immediately practical feature of this partnership should be the full acknowledgment that the woman who keeps the home has exactly the same right to a say in the disposal of the money as the man who earns the money. Earning the money is not one whit more indispensable than keeping the home. Indeed, I am inclined to put it in the second place. The husband who does not give his wife, as a matter of right, her share in the disposal of the common funds is false to his duty. It is not a question of favor at all. Aside from the money to be spent on common account, for the household and the children, the wife has just the same right as the husband to her pin money, her spending money. It is not his money that he gives to her as a gift. It is hers as a matter of right. He may earn it; but he earns it because she keeps the house; and she has just as much right to it as he has. This is not a hostile right; it is a right which it is every woman's duty to ask and which it should be every man's pride and pleasure to give without asking. He is a poor creature if he grudges it; and she in her turn is a poor creature if she does not insist upon her rights, just exactly as she is worse than a poor creature if she does not do her duty.

"It is the men who insist upon women doing their full duty, who insist that the primary duty of the woman is in the home, who also have a right to insist that she is just as much entitled to the suffrage as is the man. We believe in equality of right, not in identity of functions. The woman must bear and rear the children, as her first duty to the State; and the man's first duty is to take care of her and the children. In neither case is it the exclusive duty. In neither case does it exclude the performance of other duties. The right to vote no more implies that a woman will neglect her home than that a man will neglect his business. Indeed, as regards one of the greatest and most useful of all professions, that of surgery and medicine, it is probably true that the average doctor's wife has more time for the performance of political duties than the average doctor himself."

OUR SUFFRAGE SONG.

Sing a song of suffrage
'Tis time you faced the facts;
Women should have the vote
If they must pay the tax.
For the time is surely coming,
'Twill be here 'fore very long;
We know it by the yellow signs
And hence our suffrage song.

Sing a song of Union,
A town that's up to date,
And come and join the movement
Before it is too late.
Enlist in Union's Suffrage League,
It's full of vim and "pep."
We want our town to fall in line,
And never lose the step.

The United States Army authorities have advertised for "twelve girls for the United States Army to help in recruiting."

This action was probably suggested by the extraordinary success attained by Mrs. Pankhurst as a recruiting agent in England at the outbreak of the war.

Nowadays it seems as if men needed women's help in all departments of their work, except in that of representing women at the ballot box.

Come into the army, Maud,
For we need your help there, too,
Come into the army, Maud,
As a woman ought to do,
For I talk to the men and they're simply bored,
But they might enlist for you.

—Alice Duer Miller, in N. Y. Tribune.
It is all right for the other fellow's sister and sweetheart to vote—but not mine.
Ned Arthur.

SOME UNION CITIZENS WHO EN-DORSE WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Can any rational being tell me why women are fit to be trusted with the rearing and training of our minds and souls and not fit to share in governing themselves?
T. H. Munro.

I heartily approve of woman's suffrage and believe they are as fully competent to judge their privileges as men, and in this State they are far more advanced in education. They will not abuse their rights. They will purify politics, and place it on a higher standard.
J. Cohen.

The three women I know best are my mother, my wife and my sister. I would trust them to vote on any question and feel sure they would vote as intelligently as the best of men.
E. F. Kelly.

I welcome the day when women will vote.
L. C. Wharton.

There's nothing too good for the women—so "I should worry."
C. B. Counts.

I have always believed that taxation without representation is unconstitutional. This principle is the one on which America gained her independence, therefore as a good American citizen I believe in the principle upon which our government was founded. I heartily endorse woman's suffrage.
L. J. Browning.

I am in favor of woman's suffrage, heart and soul.
Dr. S. S. Linder.

If a woman is good enough to help direct our religious affairs she is good enough to help direct our politics.
J. G. Going.

I am in favor of woman suffrage within certain limitations.
R. C. Williams.

I am unqualifiedly in favor of woman suffrage.
J. W. Gregory,
Deputy Clerk.

I am in favor of woman suffrage.
Julian E. Hughes.

I could not conscientiously demand more liberty or right for my father than my mother and always gave the same weight to the advice and admonition of both; so I do not know of any good reason why other men's mothers should not have the same rights as their fathers.
Macheth Young.

I believe women should have all they ask for.
J. D. Arthur.

Same thing.
Stuart Smith.

I believe in suffrage being granted to women on questions of taxation for public improvements.
Bert Kennedy.

I favor letting the ladies of Union vote on all matters concerning our city and State's welfare.
W. W. Colton,
Secretary Union Democratic Club.

I believe women ought to have a share in the government. I am willing to turn over my part to them.
R. P. Morgan.

DECIDEDLY ANTI.

A. C. Mann,
Will Walker,
J. Frost Walker, Jr.,
J. W. Mixson,
J. H. Bartles,
Dr. D. H. Martin,
Sam Layton,
Nat Morgan,
A. W. Pittman,
J. M. Greer.

SHARP QUIPS.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," and not one State that has tried woman suffrage is dissatisfied with the result.

The suffrage question will never be settled until it is settled by giving votes to women.

The suffrage school held in Columbia in February was a decided success and if it does not mean a "speed-up" of suffrage in South Carolina then all yellow signs fail.

No question is every settled until it is settled right.

When women vote they will take the initiative in having children taught the principals of citizenship, and will also use their efforts to secure legislation for the opening of school houses and other public buildings to their real owners, the people, for lectures, recreation, etc.

SENATOR E. D. SMITH SIDESTEPS ON QUESTION

TO BE OPEN TO CONVICTION.

Mrs. T. C. Duncan.

Because equal suffrage has been a much-ridiculed and misunderstood question, one which we in the South have considered as remote, it has had very little serious consideration by the large majority of men and women. We have viewed it from a distance, and as a reform best suited to the needs of the Western States. Now, the time has come when we are brought face to face with this far-reaching and momentous question.

There is no subject that can be properly judged and intelligently discussed without a knowledge of both sides. To the men and the women who accept the popular opinion, were equal suffrage given to the women, that the homes would be robbed of the mothers and that modest women would be transformed into masculine creatures, we ask you to turn to the women of England, Canada, Scotland, Ireland, Tucatan, Australia and the Scandinavian countries, besides our own equal suffrage States. There you will find them as devoted wives and mothers, with as modest looks and manners as the women in non-voting countries and States.

The National American Woman Suffrage League Association at its annual convention, Washington, D. C., in December, 1915, passed the following resolution by unanimous vote:

"That we believe the home the foundation of the State; we believe in the sanctity of the marriage relation; and furthermore, we believe that woman's ballot will strengthen the power of the home and sustain the dignity and sacredness of marriage. We denounce as gross slander the charges made by opponents of equal suffrage that its advocates as a class, entertain opinions to the contrary."

Is it not worth while that we study the subject of equal suffrage, and become acquainted with that which so vitally concerns the women of the United States?

WIDE-AWAKE WOMEN WORKING FOR VOTES.

(Mrs. J. W. Mixson.)

The Union County Equal Suffrage League is a body of serious minded, earnest women, banded together to work not only for themselves, but for the men, women and children of South Carolina, for we believe that all classes of citizens will be benefited when the right-thinking women of the State have the ballot, for with this weapon they can help the men fight abuses and bring about many much-needed reforms.

We believe that an enormous force for good is lost when half the people in the State are unable to express themselves, through the ballot, on questions of vast importance to the commonwealth. Women, from the beginning of the world, have been the care-takers of the human race.

When they have the vote, one question that will interest them, over and above all political issues, is the welfare of the human race.

They can accomplish more for certain causes for which they are now working but find themselves handicapped by being denied the right to vote on these important matters:

1. Child labor.
2. Compulsory education.
3. School improvement.
4. Sanitary improvements.
5. Civic improvements.
6. Charities and correction.
7. Care and protection of orphans.
8. Public health.
9. Social betterment.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS RIGHT.

No woman has a right to become so absorbed in her household that she has become blind to the problems outside her home.

It is a duty she owes to her family to take an active interest in these phases of public life which affect the foundations of her home.

Therefore, equal suffrage is right; it is just. When man and woman will equally share the duties and responsibilities on the "righteousness of government then economic conditions, moral problems, industrial relations and civic improvement will be intelligently solved.

As wife, mother and homemaker I believe that woman needs the ballot to preserve the principles and proper conduct of the home.
Mrs. Jacob Cohen.

Does Not Think the Time Ripe For Giving Prominence to Issues of Equal Suffrage—Sees "Nigger in Wood Pile."

Washington, D. C., Dec. 7, 1916.
Mrs. W. T. Beaty,
Union, S. C.

My dear Mrs. Beaty:
Your card of the 5th received. You ask me to state my position on equal suffrage and to give my reasons for same.

The people of the South, in my opinion, are not in a position to discuss the merits or demerits of equal suffrage, looking to its actual enactment into law and enforcement. The presence of an alien race and the unfortunate legislation as expressed in the 14th and 15th amendments, debar us from that freedom of thought and purpose in reference to this matter that we might enjoy were we a homogeneous people, or a people of one race. It goes without saying that the 14th and 15th amendments of the constitution of the United States were they not a part of our constitutional law would never be. They certainly would not be enacted into law in their present form, so far as the South is concerned, and I do not believe that a majority of the States of America, if indeed, any, would vote for their enactment now. We are a part of our organic law. We, of the South, have sought and succeeded in avoiding the dire consequences that would inevitably follow the full and free operation of the intent of these amendments. I shall not now discuss the effect upon the male voters amongst the whites resulting from the means used in avoiding the great evil that would have followed had this alien race been allowed to participate freely in our elections.

The granting of equal suffrage to women would not only extend the privilege to them, but would impose grave responsibilities and duties that the exercise of the franchise requires. Therefore, the white women of our section would necessarily be forced to grapple with the same racial proposition in the same manner that the males have to meet it, with infinitely more at stake in the effect of such conflict upon them, than the effect of such conflict upon the males. Thus, it is, that this racial question, in my opinion, precludes a serious discussion of the merits or demerits of the case in its relation as to whether or not it is good or evil for women to participate in our political affairs on an equal footing with men.

Sincerely yours,
E. D. Smith.

Mr. Smith says: "The people of South Carolina are not in a position to discuss the merits or demerits of equal suffrage." Now this subject is one which is under national discussion at the present time, and I suppose there is none other, unless it be the European war, which so fills the minds of the world at large than "Ballots for Both." It is world-wide in its extent and irresistible in its progress. Yet we are told not to discuss it even though votes for women are making swift strides right on to our very doors, and will finally reach us, just as surely, if not so swiftly, as the boll weevil.

This being the case, then Mr. Smith expects the people of the Southern States to be exceedingly lacking in public spirit. For what interests all other peoples of the earth, surely must carry some weight to the people of the Southern States also. I say people because we are people, though we are not counted as such in the constitution.

Let it be known that white women had been asking for the ballot for about 20 years, when it was given to the colored man. During the War Between the States, in their characteristic public-spiritedness and patriotism, the women put all other interests aside, gave up working for themselves, and directed all their energy toward the welfare of their country. Freedom was won for the slaves. Then for political reasons, the republican party became over-zealous in their desire to right the wrongs that the Southern men had been inflicting upon the poor oppressed darky, so they presented him with the ballot. The women protested, saying that they should be given the privilege of voting first. They were told that they "must wait, as this is the negro's hour." Was that

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