

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### PART II

### GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT

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#### 10. 'Shall I Not Accept?'

PAGE

- 125 *frost to flowers*: Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), 251; "Go to Bermuda" (advertisement), *The Travel Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 5 (February 1910), 254; *New York Times*, November 26, 1909, 13.
- 125 *annual report*: WW, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, December 13, 1906, *PWW*, 16:506.
- 125 *separate vacations*: WW to Robert Bridges, May 27, 1896, *PWW*, 9:507 and n1; WW to EAW, August 18, 19, 20, 21, 1896, *PWW*, 9:573–75; EAW to WW, August 3, 1897, *PWW*, 10:283 and n1; WW Diary, August 6, 7, 1897, *PWW*, 10:305–06; WW to EAW, June 16, 17, 18, 21, 1898, *PWW*, 10:558, 559, 562, 567; WW to EAW, September 9, 10, 11, 12, 1898, *PWW*, 579–82; WW to EAW, June 25, 1899, *PWW*, 11:132; "Record of a Tour through the British Isles, July 5–August 26, 1899," *PWW*, 11:146; WW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, August 21, 1902, *PWW*, 38:682; WW to EAW, May 5, 1903, *PWW*, 14:453; EAW to WW, May 1, 1904, *PWW*, 14:302; *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, January 21, 1905, 249, in *PWW*, 15:579; WW to EAW, January 14, 1907, *PWW*, 17:3; WW to EAW, June 26, 27, 29, 1908, *PWW*, 18:343–47 and n10.
- 125 *securing rest*: "President Wilson Sails for Bermuda Tomorrow," *Daily Princetonian*, January 11, 1907, in *PWW*, 16:559. Ellen was in the midst of a "marked depression" at this time, spanning 1906 to 1910. The causes were several. In April 1905, her brother Edward, his wife, and their infant son were all drowned in a ferry accident. WW to Robert Bridges, April 28, 1905, *PWW*, 16:86 and n1. The tragedy left Ellen "utterly crushed" and unable to perform normal daily tasks, according to her daughter Nell. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo and Margaret Y. Gaffey, *The Woodrow Wilsons* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), 87. Her brother Stockton, deeply disturbed by memories of their father's suicide in a mental hospital, suffered chronic mental breakdowns. EAW to Anna Harris, March 11, 1905, *PWW*, 16:28; Florence Stevens Hoyt to WW (enclosure), September 12, 1914, *PWW*, 31:28 and n2; Arthur S. Link, "Editor's Introduction," in Stockton Axson, *Brother Woodrow: A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), x; Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson's First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 31; Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 36–37. Wilson's diagnosis of hardening of the arteries and prescription of vacation and rest, EAW to Florence Stevens Hoyt, June 27, 1906, *PWW*, 16:429, "overwhelmed" Ellen because now "[b]oth Stock and Woodrow needed me to be strong all the time." Florence Stevens Hoyt to WW (enclosure), September 12, 1914, *PWW*, 31:28 and n2.
- 125 *machine controlled*: *PWW*, 16:560n1. "Sugar Jim" was not an affectionate nickname, alluding to his stalwart defense of the Sugar Trust when he was a U.S. senator. "Break in Jersey Hurts House Democrats," *Washington Times*, September 9, 1908, 3. Harvey had been managing editor of the *Newark Journal*, owned by Smith, in the late 1880s. Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's 60 Families* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1937), 116.
- 126 *turned down*: WW to Charles Clarke Black, January 11, 1907, *PWW*, 16:560; WW to George Harvey, January 7, 1907, *PWW*, 16:549. The offer was, in any event, not the sure thing Wilson believed it to be. According to the editor of the *Trenton Evening Times*, "the Harvey proposal was flatly rejected by the minority Democrats." James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 28.

- 126 *proposed Wilson*: “George Harvey at the Dinner to Woodrow Wilson,” February 3, 1906, in *Speeches at the Lotos Club*, John Elderkin, Chester S. Lord, and Charles W. Price, eds. (New York: Lotos Club, 1911), 309.
- 126 *publicity*: *New York Sun*, 6; *Chicago Tribune*, 4; *Washington Post*, 11; all February 4, 1906.
- 126 “empty honor”: George Harvey to WW, January 10, 1907, *PWW*, 16:554.
- 126 *should be thinking about*: George Harvey to WW, December 17, 1906, *PWW*, 16:532; WW to George Harvey, December 16, 1906, *PWW*, 16:531.
- 126 *maids ... historic houses*: Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 183.
- 126 *fifteen years*: *Ibid.*, 182.
- 126 *headquarters in Pittsfield*: The J. L. and T. D. Peck Manufacturing Co. was a major employer in Pittsfield even before the Civil War. Edward Boltwood, *History of Pittsfield Massachusetts, 1876–1916* (Pittsfield, MA: Eagle Printing & Binding Co., 1916), 122–23, 252–53; “Thomas Dowse Peck,” *New York Times*, April 29, 1927, 19.
- 126 “mental and spiritual distress”: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 5–9, at 6.
- 126 *snowbirds*: Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 145–54, 175–78, 180–212.
- 126 *she had read about him*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” December 20, 1924, 6.
- 126 *introduced himself ... invited him to dinner*: *Ibid.*, 6, 8. At the time of Wilson’s first visit to the island, the tennis lawn at Happy Valley was a notable local attraction. *The Bermuda Pocket Almanack, Guide and Directory* (Hamilton, Bermuda: The Royal Gazette, 1894), 165.
- 127 *a dinner party*: The wife of William T. James, the mayor of Hamilton, was a friend of Peck’s. MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 158; WW to EAW, January 30, 1907, *PWW*, 17:25, 26 and n2.
- 127 *he left her a note*: WW to MAHP, February 6, 1907, *PWW*, 17:29.
- 127 *He sent her gifts*: WW to MAHP, February 6, 20, March 27, 1907, *PWW*, 17:29, 48, 93; MAHP to WW, February 25, 1907, *PWW*, 17:50.
- 127 *five weeks*: Wilson departed from New York for Bermuda on January 18, 1908, and arrived back in Princeton February 27, 1908. EAW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, January 14, 1908, *PWW*, 40:570; “President Wilson’s Return,” *Daily Princetonian*, February 29, 1918, *PWW*, 17:619.
- 127 “coddled him”: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 164, 167; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” December 20, 1924, 9; A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 160–61.
- 127 *oblivious*: Kenneth S. Lynn, “The Hidden Agony of Woodrow Wilson,” *Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter 2004), 68.
- 127 “foolish things”: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 9, and vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 12–16, at 13; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 143.
- 127 *tea dances*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 144.
- 127 *he read her poems*: *Ibid.*, 172–73; Lynn, “The Hidden Agony of Woodrow Wilson,” 68.
- 127 *danced*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 144.
- 127 *smoked cigarettes*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 18.
- 127 *did not go to church ... “independent thing”*: *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 8–9. As to Mrs. Peck’s age, she stated in January 1925 that she was 62. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 39 (January 31, 1925), 20–23, at 21. Her *New York Times* obituary stated her age at death in December 1939 as 76. Together these would place her month and year of birth sometime in January 1863. She would therefore have been roughly six years younger than Wilson, or age 44, at the time of their first meeting in Bermuda. (In the same obituary, the *Times* incorrectly stated the year of her first Bermuda meeting with Wilson as 1905, and stated that Ellen Wilson was with him at the time, which was not the case.) “Mrs. Mary Hulbert, Author, Dies at 76,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1939, 23. In her 1912 divorce case, Mrs. Peck stated her age under oath, but spoke so softly that journalists at the reporters’ table could not hear her. “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6.
- 127 “did not believe possible”: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 13.

- 127 *personal question* ... “*God knows*”: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 169–172.
- 127 “*doormat wife*” ... “*dictatorial tone*”: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 23–26, at 25.
- 128 *speech in Hamilton*: Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 32; “Lecture,” Hamilton, *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, February 15, 1908, *PWW*, 17:616.
- 128 “*my beloved*”: WW to MAHP, c. February 1, 1908 (salutation on draft letter), *PWW*, 17:611.
- 128 *intimate letters*: According to Gene Watson of *Munsey’s Magazine*, who was sympathetic to Wilson, there were originally “400–500 letters” in total, all of which he claimed to have read. (Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 21, 1940, WWC.) Today only 227 remain. For seven months following Wilson’s return from this trip to Bermuda, there is no surviving correspondence. (Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson*, 25.) Weinstein suggests the missing letters “were destroyed by Wilson himself, or by a member of his family after his death.” (Weinstein, *ibid.*, 185 and n25.) Another possibility is raised by Hulbert in her memoir. She claimed to have been “robbed” of all the letters she shipped from Bermuda to New York during Wilson’s second White House term. That shipment, she wrote, was “mysteriously stopped” and “Secret Service men” instructed the consignees that “all documents and letters found among my household effects were to be forwarded to Washington! Naturally I had known I was robbed.” MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 265–66. Yet another explanation, offered by historian Frances W. Saunders, is that the consortium of Wilson friends who purchased the letters from Hulbert in 1928 did so in order to destroy those that were “incriminating.” Saunders, “Love and Guilt,” *American Heritage* (April/May 1979), n.p. See text at 246 and corresponding endnote “*For the time being.*”
- 128 “*emotional love*” ... “*cruel judgment*”: WW to EAW, July 20, 1908, *PWW*, 18:369. None of Ellen’s letters to her husband during his time in Bermuda have survived, and only two of Wilson’s to her, but one of those makes it clear she had issued a warning to him. “Of course I am seeing a great deal of Mrs. Peck,” he wrote. “But I am remembering your injunction.” WW to EAW, February 4, 1908, *PWW*, 17:611; Frances Wright Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson: First Lady between Two Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 188.
- 128 *introducing her*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 222; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 128.
- 128 *family friend*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 130.
- 128 *neither liked nor admired*: Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 202.
- 128 “*only unhappiness*”: Breckinridge Long Diary, January 11, 1924, *PWW*, 68:527.
- 128 “*interest in Mrs. Peck*”: Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 103. To maintain appearances, the First Lady initiated a family visit with Mary so as to “give countenance of her approval.” *Ibid.* A handful of further such visits followed in subsequent years. The ongoing Woodrow–Mary relationship “caused a crisis” in their marriage, Wilson biographer Link concluded. *Ibid.*, 268–69n17.
- 128 “*risk the appearance*”: WW to MAHP, November 2, 1908, *PWW*, 18:478; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 38.
- 128 *tempered by her worries*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 242; Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 219–20.
- 128 “*a hundred fold!*”: WW to MAHP, May 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:191.
- 129 *Peck’s apartment*: WW to MAHP, July 26, 1910, *PWW*, 21:26 and n1.
- 129 *bought her jewelry*: WW to MAHP, May 25, 1909, *PWW*, 19:214.
- 129 “*constant touch*”: WW to MAHP, September 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:382.
- 129 “*perfectly satisfying*”: WW to MAHP, February 21, 1910, *PWW*, 20:148 (emphasis in original).
- 129 “*lonely wherever I go*”: WW to MAHP, February 18, 1910, *PWW*, 20:138.
- 129 “*Why, why*”: MAHP to WW, February 18, 1910, *PWW*, 20:141 (emphasis in original).
- 129 “*Discord begot hate*”: White, *Wilson*, 160–61.
- 129 *precise location*: Andrew F. West, Memorandum to the Princeton University Board of Trustees, Committee on the Graduate School, May 13, 1907, *PWW*, 17:142. Wilson’s “combativeness,” biographer John Milton Cooper concluded, “bordered on obsession.” Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 95.
- 129 *turned down the presidency*: News Item, *Princeton Press*, October 20, 1909, *PWW*, 16:464; Andrew F. West to WW, October 30, 1906, *PWW*, 16:478.
- 129 *honorary doctorate*: “Oxford Honors Americans,” *New York Times*, October 10, 1902, 9.

- 129 *matching gift*: WW to Melancthon Williams Jacobus, *PWW*, 19:124n1.
- 129 *to choose sides*: The dispute over location reflected competing visions for the graduate school. West wanted space for a graduate campus modeled on Cambridge University, a distinct “residential college devoted solely to the higher liberal studies.” Andrew F. West, *The Graduate College of Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1913), 28. Wilson wanted the graduate school fitted into the space among the buildings of the existing campus. Cooper, *Wilson*, 104.
- 129 *solid majority*: The vote was 14–10 in favor of accepting the \$500,000 gift (Wilson voting no), and 17–4 in favor of revoking Wilson’s choice of location (Wilson not voting). Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, October 21, 1909, *PWW*, 19:435. The amount of the gift in current dollars was \$17.3 million.
- 129 *phoned Mary*: WW to MAHP, October 24, 1909, *PWW*, 19:442.
- 130 *called on “Sugar Jim” . . . stepping stone*: William Otto Inglis, “Helping to Make a President,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 58, no. 4 (October 7, 1916), 14, at 16, 37; *LL*, 3:45–46; Editorial Note: Colonel Harvey’s Plan for Wilson’s Entry Into Politics, *PWW*, 20:146.
- 130 *“greatest one-man politician”*: “James Smith, Jr., Fails in Business,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1915, 1.
- 130 *three Princeton sons*: Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 18.
- 130 *“certain ideals”*: WW to Herbert B. Brougham, February 1, 1910, *PWW*, 20:69.
- 130 *publicly shamed*: “Princeton,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1910, 8. The donor was William C. Procter, president of Procter & Gamble. “Col. W.C. Procter Dies in Cincinnati,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1934, 19.
- 130 *promptly withdrew*: “Procter Withdraws Gift to Princeton,” *New York Times*, February 7, 1910, 1.
- 130 *“wounded”*: WW to MAHP, February 8, 1910, *PWW*, 20:87.
- 130 *immediately left Princeton*: “Woodrow Wilson Sails,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1910, 3.
- 130 *just before he left*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126.
- 130 *from shipboard*: WW to MAHP, February 12, 1910, *PWW*, 20:122.
- 130 *after he landed*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, March 4, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126, 138, 148, 150, 178, 185, 210.
- 130 *he assured Ellen*: WW to EAW, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:125.
- 130 *“too desperately lonely”*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126 (WW emphasis).
- 130 *“if only I were there”*: MAHP to WW, February 15, 1910, *PWW*, 20:127 (MAHP emphasis).
- 130 *“delightful little visit”*: EAW to WW, February 24, 1910, *PWW*, 20:172.
- 130 *“hate and ugliness”*: WW to EAW, February 20, 1910, *PWW*, 20:144.
- 131 *“does appeal to me”*: EAW to WW, February 28, 1910, *PWW*, 20:188.
- 131 *nationwide publicity*: “Princeton in Tennessee,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 8, 1910, 8; “Princeton Trustees Uphold President,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 11, 1910, 1; “Wilson Upheld,” *Fredericksburg (VA) Daily Star*, February 11, 1910, 1; “The Midwinter Outlook,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 14, 1910, 4; “Woodrow Wilson,” *Shreveport Journal*, February 17, 1910, 4; “Col. Henry Watterson Writes on The Midwinter Outlook,” *Jackson (MS) Daily News*, February 19, 1910, 6; “Watterson on the Political Outlook,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 20, 1910, 1.
- 131 *coast-to-coast*: The following are examples of the scores of dailies that carried the AP article, all under the identical headline “Woodrow Wilson”: *The Independent* (Santa Barbara, CA), February 19, 1910, 4; *Evansville (IN) Press*, February 19, 1910, 4; *Bridger (MS) Times*, March 4, 1910, 4.
- 131 *“real motives”*: “Suspicion That Princeton University Is the Seat of a Big Political Game,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 1910, 1; “Outcome of the Controversy,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 7, 1910, 6. The syndicated columnist was E. J. Edwards, writing under his *nom de plume*, “Holland.” “Newspaper Veteran Dies; Dr. Elisha J. Edwards Was Author of ‘Holland’s Letter,’” *Editor & Publisher*, vol. 56, no. 49 (May 3, 1924), 30; Matthew Algeo, *The President Is a Sick Man* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011), 138–39.
- 131 *blaming Wilson*: For example, “Princeton President Blamed for Loss of \$500,000 Gift,” *Mount Vernon Argus* (White Plains, NY), February 08, 1910, 7.
- 131 *“an exhumation”*: Editorial, *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1910, 6.
- 131 *“supreme indifference”*: “Regents Are Considering Woodrow Wilson Again,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, February 15, 1910, 1.

- 131 *“better than the Republicans”*: WW, Address to Democratic Dollar Dinner, March 29, 1910, *PWW*, 20:297; “Time Ripe for Political Change, Says Dr. Wilson,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, March 30, 1910, 1; “President Wilson Predicts Democratic Administration,” *Hawaiian Star*, April 18, 1910, 4.
- 131 *“scholarly vocation”*: “Woodrow Wilson on Colleges,” *Brooklyn Times*, April 18, 1910, 6.
- 131 *the “classes” and the “masses”*: “Seymour Given Big Ovation ... Wilson Is for True Democracy,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 17, 1910, 1.
- 132 *“an ingrate and a liar”*: Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 14, 1940, Woodrow Wilson Collection, MC168, Public Policy Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- 132 *“cruel hands”*: “Seymour Given Big Ovation,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 17, 1910, 1; WW, Address to Princeton Alumni Association of Western Pennsylvania, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 10 (April 20, 1910), 467–71, *PWW*, 20:373.
- 132 *“bloody revolution” ... “exclusiveness”*: “Disaster Forecast by Wilson,” *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, April 17, 1910, *PWW*, 20:366; “Dr. Wilson Scores Church and College,” *New York Times*, April 18, 1910, 9.
- 132 *startled audience*: “Says Pews Are Put Above Souls,” *Tyrone Daily Herald*, April 18, 1910, 1.
- 132 *issues du jour*: Biographer John Milton Cooper noted that three years earlier, Wilson had lectured businessmen in Cleveland that “if you want to win” in politics, you “must be an opportunist ... opportunism, that is politics.” WW, Address to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, November 16, 1907, *PWW*, 17:497; Cooper, *Wilson*, 106.
- 132 *“evil corporations”*: “Princeton’s Head Pleads for More Stringent Law for the Evil Corporations,” *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Times-Leader*, May 21, 1910, 15; “Wilson Urges Whack at Evil-Doing Corporations,” *Lincoln (NE) Journal Star*, May 21, 1910, 7; “Wilson Hits Corporations,” *Pasaic (NJ) Daily Herald*, May 21, 1910, 1.
- 132 *front page*: “Gift of \$10,000,000 Left to Princeton; Isaac C. Wyman of Salem, Mass., Bequeaths Bulk of Estate to Graduate School,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1910, 1. The headline estimate of the size of the gift was wrong. The eventual distributions to Princeton from the estate, completed in 1917, totaled approximately \$800,000. *PWW*, 20:464n3. William Procter almost immediately reinstated his previously revoked pledge, however, bringing the total for the two gifts to \$1.3 million, equivalent to over \$30 million today. William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, June 6, 1910, *PWW*, 20:506.
- 133 *unanimously*: During the same June 6 meeting at which they acknowledged the new gift, the board voted unanimously to accept Procter’s prior \$500,000 offer under its original stipulation to erect the graduate school buildings a mile from campus adjacent to the golf links. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, June 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:509; William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, June 6, 1910, *PWW*, 20:506. Facing the board’s unanimous sentiment, Wilson told them “I feel it to be my duty no longer to oppose.” WW, Remarks to the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:507.
- 133 *“accept defeat”*: WW to Thomas D. Jones, May 30, 1910, *PWW*, 20:483. Wilson’s presidency of the university “really ended at Commencement in June 1910,” wrote his early biographer Ray Stannard Baker. *LL*, 3:352.
- 133 *“most humiliating”*: WW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, October 21, 1907, *PWW*, 38:685.
- 133 *studied painting*: Jim Lampos and Michaelle Pearson, *Remarkable Women of Old Lyme* (Columbia, SC: The History Press, 2015), 36–39.
- 133 *“out of the world”*: WW to MAHP, June 19, July 11, 1909, *PWW*, 19: 261, 307.
- 133 *“plunge back”*: WW to MAHP, July 18, 1909, *PWW*, 19:311.
- 133 *Sunday night dinner*: WW to George Harvey, June 25, 1910, *PWW*, 20:541n1.
- 133 *for months*: Henry Watterson, “The Midwinter Outlook,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 14, 1910, 4.
- 133 *aide to Nathan Bedford Forrest*: “Watterson, Henry,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 133 *Fort Pillow*: Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, “The Fort Pillow Massacre,” S. Rep. No. 38–63, at 1–2 (1864) (“the atrocities committed at Fort Pillow” were the policy of, and directly ordered by, “Forrest and his command”); Bruce Tap, *The Fort Pillow Massacre: North, South, and the Status of African Americans in the Civil War Era* (New York: Rutledge, 2014), 51–65.
- 134 *“mere preliminary”*: WW to David Benton Jones, June 27, 1910, *PWW*, 20:543.
- 134 *“restoration of proper feeling”*: William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, January 30, 1910, *PWW*, 20:65.

- 134 *contacting his closest supporters*: In the weeks immediately following his meeting with Harvey, Smith, and Watter-son on June 26, Wilson corresponded with supporters including the following men about whether he should leave Princeton for the governor’s race (all *PWW*, 1910): WW to David B. Jones, July 1, 14, 20:552, 578, Thomas D. Jones, July 1, 20:552, Robert Garrett, July 9, 20:569, Winthrop M. Daniels, July 9, 20:569, Henry B. Thompson, July 14, 20:578, Walter Hines Page, July 16, 21:5, Archibald S. Alexander, July 20, 51:649, Adolphus Ragan, July 20, 21:14, Edward Field Goltra, July 21, 21:17, and Dan Fellows Platt, July 23, 21:23; to WW from David B. Jones, June 30, 20:550, 551, Cyrus H. McCormick, July 14, 18, 20:577, 21:10, Cleveland H. Dodge, June 30, July 1, 11, 20:551, 553, 573, Edward W. Sheldon, June 30, July 1, 11, 20:551, 554, 572, and Melancthon Williams Jacobus, July 16, 21:6.
- 134 *“hurry up to see you”*: WW to MAHP, July 26, 1910, *PWW*, 21:26. See also WW to MAHP, July 11, 1910, *PWW*, 20:575.
- 134 *dodging reporters*: George Harvey to WW, August 3, 1910, *PWW*, 21:35.
- 134 *“knew nothing”*: “Dr. Wilson Not Asked Yet,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1910, 1.
- 134 *“deem it [his] duty”*: WW, Press Statement, July 15, 1910, *PWW*, 20:581.
- 134 *yachting*: Cleveland H. Dodge to WW, July 12, 1910, *PWW*, 20:576; WW to MAHP, August 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:38.
- 134 *playing golf*: WW Interview, *Newark Evening News*, July 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:567; George Harvey to WW, August 6, 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:40, 53; WW to Harvey, August 8, 1910, *PWW*, 21:40; WW to MAHP, August 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:50.
- 134 *Princeton alumni*: *PWW*, 21:81n1.
- 134 *“very hungry”*: WW to MAHP, August 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:38.
- 134 *Peck did write*: MAHP to WW, August 10, 1910, *PWW*, 21:48.
- 134 *“the happier I shall be”*: WW to MAHP, August 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:50.
- 134 *“hour to hour”*: WW to MAHP, August 31, 1910, *PWW*, 21:64.
- 135 *Nugent*: “Ex-Senator Smith Runs Exciting Convention,” (*New Brunswick, NJ*) *Daily Home News*, September 16, 1910, 10; “Jersey Democrats Out for a Victory,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1910, 19.
- 135 *had yet to meet*: In fact, Wilson had never in his life attended a political convention. White, *Wilson*, 205, 212.
- 135 *“duck” the issues*: George Harvey to WW, September 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:85.
- 135 *“discussing important issues”*: (*Trenton*) *True American*, July 21, 1910, *PWW*, 21:14.
- 135 *playing golf ... “stood in their seats”*: “Wilson Named Governor in New Jersey,” *New York Times*, September 16, 1910, 3.
- 135 *“A Universally Hailed Nomination”*: *Newark Evening Star*, September 16, 1910, 18; “The Right Democrat Might Win in Jersey,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1910, 6.
- 135 *“Derided and Hissed” ... “without waiting”*: “For Woodrow Wilson,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 16, 1910, 1. In the runup to the convention, Wilson declined to answer this question put to him by the *Trenton Evening Times*: “Do you favor the direct primary for Governor and Congressman, as well as for the county and city offices?” James Kerney to WW, July 30, 1910, *PWW*, 21:31; WW to James Kerney, August 2, 1910, *PWW*, 21:34.
- 135 *resignation as president*: “Personal,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 19, 1910, 8.
- 136 *especially George Harvey*: Wilson and Harvey worked out the campaign details throughout July, August, and September in phone calls and personal meetings as well as through the following correspondence (all *PWW*, 1910). George Harvey to WW: July 7, 20:563, July 8, 20:564, July 21, 21:17, August 6, 21:40, August 9, 21:46, August 12, 21:52, August 23, 21:61, September 6, 21:85, September 9, 21:87, September 12, 21:89, September 13, 21:90; WW to George Harvey: July 7, 20:561, July 14, 20:576, July 16, 21:5; July 26, 21:24; August 8, 21:40, 41, September 10, 21:88.
- 136 *cautious plan ... easily workable*: “Few Speeches for Wilson,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1910, 2. While New Jersey was the fourth smallest state in terms of land area in 1910, in 1959, Hawaii claimed this position. New Jersey then became the fifth smallest.
- 136 *as little as possible*: On October 24, with two weeks left in the campaign, Wilson issued written answers to a list of questions propounded by a prominent New Jersey progressive Republican, George L. Record. “Wilson’s Reply to Mr. Record,” *Pasaic Daily News*, October 25, 1910, 1.

- 136 *promotional pieces*: For example, “Wilson’s Views,” *New York Evening Post*, September 24, 1910, 1; “Woodrow Wilson, Prophet and Defender of the Old Faiths,” *ibid.*; “Wilson—A Tilden, But A Tilden Up to Date,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1910, 7.
- 136 “*a half hour*”: WW to MAHP, September 25, 1910, *PWW*, 21:163.
- 136 *Vivian M. Lewis*: William Starr Myers, ed., *The Story of New Jersey* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1945), 4:435.
- 136 *embraced progressive proposals*: “Lewis Nominated by Jersey Republicans,” *New York Tribune*, September 21, 1910, 4; “Fort Defends His Administration at Lewis Meeting,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, October 29, 1910, 4; “Citizens Cheer Vivian M. Lewis at Monster Republican Meeting,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 1.
- 136 *Lewis himself*: “Citizens Cheer Vivian M. Lewis at Monster Republican Meeting,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 1.
- 136 *Payne-Aldrich Tariff*: An Act to Provide Revenue, Equalize Duties and Encourage the Industries of the United States, and for Other Purposes, Pub. L. 61–5, 36 Stat. 11, 61st Congress, 1st Session (August 5, 1909).
- 136 *against the protective tariff*: Minutes of the American Whig Society, May 24, November 12, 1878, *PWW*, 1:377, 434.
- 136 *agricultural tariffs*: WW, Testimony Before the Tariff Commission, September 23, 1882, *PWW*, 2:140.
- 136 *criticized protective tariffs*: WW, “State Rights,” chap. 13 in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 7, A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903); WW, Address to National Democratic Club (press release), c. April 13, 1908, *PWW*, 18:263; “Silent on Bryan at Jefferson Feast,” *New York Times*, April 14, 1908, 2; WW, Address to Toledo Chamber of Commerce, November 27, 1908, *PWW*, 18:647; “Democratic Opportunity,” *Jackson Daily News*, December 24, 1909, 5; “The Democratic Opportunity,” *National Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 9 (January 1910), 249, 253.
- 137 “*tariff of abominations*”: WW to MAHP, August 8, 1909, *PWW*, 19:330. Wilson’s allusion was to the Tariff of 1828, derided in the South as the Tariff of Abominations for its harmful effects on the region’s agricultural economy, then heavily dependent on two-way trade with Britain. Five years later it infamously gave rise to the Nullification Crisis in which South Carolinian John C. Calhoun, who was Vice President at the time, supported his state’s assertion of the power to nullify federal laws it deemed unconstitutional by preventing their enforcement. William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816–1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 1–3.
- 137 “*ugly face*”: WW, “The Tariff Make-Believe,” *North American Review*, vol. 190, no. 647 (October 1909), 535–56, at 547.
- 137 *waning days*: For example, “A Chance for the Democrats,” *Newark Evening News*, October 30, 1909, *PWW*, 19:461; WW, Address to Democratic Dollar Dinner, March 29, 1910, *PWW*, 20:297; WW, Address to the New Jersey Bankers’ Association, May 6, 1910, 20:414.
- 137 “*red-hot*”: It was Harvey who had urged Wilson to write the attack on the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in the *North American Review*. George Harvey to WW, May 10, 1909, *PWW*, 19:191.
- 137 “*I have always been opposed*”: “Woodrow Wilson Scores the Tariff,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1910, 7.
- 137 *promised to lower rates*: Stanley D. Solvick, “William Howard Taft and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 50, no. 3 (December 1963), 424–442.
- 137 *the final vote*: 44 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 61st Cong., 1st Sess. (July 31, 1910), 4755 (House roll call on conference report for H.R. 1438); *ibid.* (August 5, 1910), 4949 (Senate roll call on conference report for H.R. 1438); “Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill Signed by the President,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 6, 1909, 1.
- 137 *retaliatory tariff*: Geoffrey Robert Little, “Print Paper Ought to Be as Free as the Air and Water: American Newspapers, Canadian Newsprint, and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1903–1913,” *American Periodicals*, vol. 32, no. 1 (May 2022), 53–69, at 63.
- 137 *thousands of editors*: A notable exception to the publishing industry’s opposition to tariffs on newsprint was William Randolph Hearst, an investor in U.S.-based International Paper—the largest producer of paper in the world—which benefitted from higher newsprint prices and protection from competition. *Ibid.*, 64.
- 137 *54 percent*: Deborah Kalb, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 7th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2016), 1715.

- 137 *57 percent*: Despite the Democrats' failure to win control of the Senate, their gains in the Assembly ensured election of a Democratic U.S. senator. That was because New Jersey chose its senators by joint ballot, with the Assembly and Senate voting together as one body. Following the 1910 election, Democrats held a 21-vote majority on the joint ballot. "Republicans Hold the State Senate," *Camden Post-Telegram*, November 10, 1910, 9.
- 137 *Democrats added*: Michael J. Dubin, *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 10; Office of the Historian, *Party Divisions of the House of Representatives, 1789 to Present* (Washington: U.S. House of Representatives, 2023); Senate Historical Office, *Party Division, 61st Congress* (Washington: U.S. Senate Historical Office, 2023).
- 138 *"some in this city"*: "Holland's Letter," *Wall Street Journal*, November 12, 1910, 1.
- 138 *good friend*: *LL*, 3:121n3. Wilson's sponsor "Sugar Jim" Smith was notorious for his sugar tariff protectionism as a U.S. senator (and for his graft in profiting from investment in the Sugar Trust at the same time). "Senator Smith's Investment," *New York Times*, August 7, 1894, 4.
- 138 *backed the winner*: "James E. Martine Elected Senator," *Passaic Daily News*, January 25, 1911, 1.
- 138 *"You did exactly right"*: John Sharp Williams to WW, December 14, 1910, *PWW*, 22:197. Neither Wilson nor Williams minded that the winner of the primary, James E. Martine, was an anti-suffragist. Delight W. Dodyk, "Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in New Jersey" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1997), 316.
- 138 *southern Democratic newspapers*: "Woodrow Wilson and James E. Martine," *Birmingham Post-Herald*, December 10, 1910, 4; "Democratic Troubles in New Jersey," *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, December 12, 1910, 8; "Woodrow Wilson Is a Leader," *Birmingham News*, December 14, 1910, 4; "Looking to 1912 for a President," *Charlotte Evening Chronicle*, December 15, 1910, 8; "First Discordant Sound," *Jackson (MS) Clarion Ledger*, December 15, 1910, 5; "Wilson Breaks with Machine," *Staunton Spectator*, December 16, 1910, 2; "Woodrow Wilson Ready for Fight," *Jackson (MS) Daily News*, December 18, 1910, 1; "Presidential Timber," *Guymon (OK) Democrat*, December 22, 1910, 1; "Wilson and Practical Politics," *Miami Record-Herald*, December 23, 1910, 4; "Which Will Be First on Ticket?," *Staunton Daily Leader*, December 23, 1910, 1; "Three Leaders of Presidential Size," *Greenville (SC) Daily News*, December 30, 1910, 2; "Not Outside His Duty," *Miami Herald*, January 4, 1911, 2; "A Leader Against A Boss," *(Oklahoma City) Evening Free Press*, January 5, 1911, 8; Editorial, *Orangeburg (SC) Times and Democrat*, January 5, 1910, 2.
- 138 *strains of "Dixie"*: Taft, too, was hailed at the event for appointing a Confederate veteran to the Supreme Court. "Jubilee Cheers for Taft," *New York Tribune*, December 15, 1910, 6.
- 138 *"certainly entitled"*: Woodrow Wilson and the South, *Atlanta Journal*, November 13, 1910, sec. H, 6.
- 138 *"most talked of man" ... "time for one's friends"*: WW to MAHP, January 3, 1911, *PWW*, 22:292.
- 138 *"balm" ... "how delightful"*: WW to MAHP, January 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:329.
- 138 *her "beauty" ... "miss you dreadfully"*: WW to MAHP, January 15, 1911, *PWW*, 22:333.
- 139 *"desperately lonely"*: WW to MAHP, December 7, 1910, *PWW*, 22: 141.
- 139 *"Do you know"*: MAHP to WW, January 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:331.
- 139 *"Every private comfort"*: WW to MAHP, January 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:329.

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- 140 *authored articles*: For example, "Knight Errant of the New Democracy," *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 55, no. 2824, (February 4, 1911), 4; George Harvey, "The Political Predestination of Woodrow Wilson," *North American Review*, vol. 193, no. 664 (March 1911), 321-30; "The Problem, the Solution and the Man," *North American Review*, vol. 193, no. 665 (April 1911), 481-493; George Harvey, "Governor Woodrow Wilson," *The Independent*, vol. 71, no. 3283 (November 2, 1911), 949-954; William G. McAdoo to George Harvey, December 9, 1911, in Willis Fletcher Johnson, *George Harvey: A Passionate Patriot* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), 177. These articles were in addition to Harvey's favorable mentions of Wilson throughout nearly every issue of his publications.



- 140 *Dixon sent*: “Thomas Dixon Was Married Here in 1886 ... Says That Governor-Elect Woodrow Wilson Will Be Next President,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 23, 1910, 6.
- 141 “*rooting for you*”: Thomas Dixon to WW, November 25, 1910, *PWW*, 22:96.
- 141 “*superior to The Clansman*”: Advertisement, *The Troy (AL) Messenger*, November 16, 1910, 7. Wilson would not have objected to Dixon’s theme. He had long opposed “intermixture of African and Aryan blood” (WW to ELA, December 11, 1884, *PWW* 3:532), and continued to do so because it “would degrade the white nations.” Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in *PWW*, 18:386.
- 141 *attention-getting attack*: “How the Governor Defied the Bosses in New Jersey and Brought Himself Into National Prominence as a Democratic Presidential Possibility,” *New York Times*, December 24, 1911, 34; “A Senatorship Issue of National Concern,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 26, 1910, 10.
- 141 *reputation as a surrogate*: “Kinkead ‘Home Night’ to Be a Mammoth One,” *Hudson County (NJ) Observer*, November 7, 1910, 6.
- 141 *star billing*: Advertisements, *ibid.*, November 5, 1910, 2 (advertisement for event at Pavonia Hall, Jersey City), 4 (advertisement for event at St. Patrick’s Theater, Jersey City).
- 141 “*You, the people*”: “Great Gathering of Neighbors in Kinkead’s Honor,” *ibid.*, November 8, 1910, 5.
- 141 *campaign manager*: Robert Carl Scott, “William McCombs and the 1912 Democratic Presidential Nomination of Woodrow Wilson,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 246–259, at 246–47.
- 141 *press agent*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–72; George Kibbe Turner, “Manufacturing Public Opinion: The New Art of Making Presidents by Press Bureau,” *McClure’s Magazine*, vol. 39, No. 4 (August 1912), 316; “F. P. Stockbridge, Author, Editor, Is Dead at 70,” *Boston Globe*, December 8, 1940, 46; “F.P. Stockbridge, Editor, Dead at 70,” *New York Times*, December 8, 1940, 71; “F. P. Stockbridge, Editor, Author, Dies at 70,” *Editor & Publisher*, vol. 73, no. 50 (December 14, 1940), 35.
- 141 *not a candidate*: WW to MAHP, March 26, 1911, *PWW*, 22:517; Robert Carl Scott, “William McCombs and the 1912 Democratic Presidential Nomination of Woodrow Wilson,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 246–259, at 249–50.
- 141 “*non-political*”: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 562.
- 142 *Bryn Mawr alumnae*: “Bryn Mawr Heckles Wilson On the Presidential Office At Brilliant Entertainment,” *Denver Daily News*, May 8, 1911, *PWW*, 23:21.
- 142 “*unsexed*”: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 567. Stockbridge did not publish this account until after Wilson’s death.
- 142 *more liberal*: After he left the Wilson campaign at the end of 1911, Stockbridge wrote positively about women’s suffrage. Frank Parker Stockbridge, “A University That Runs A State,” *The World’s Work*, vol. 25, no. 6 (April 1913), 699. During Wilson’s second term, he worked with W. E. B. DuBois on a plan for a three-volume history of the Black soldier in the World War. W. E. B. Du Bois to F.P. Stockbridge, December 2, 1918, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, series 1A, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Libraries.
- 142 “*reporters of both sexes*” ... “*dodging the issue*”: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 566–67.
- 142 *never felt comfortable*: Terri Bimes and Stephen Skowronek, “Woodrow Wilson’s Critique of Popular Leadership: Reassessing the Modern-Traditional Divide in Presidential History,” *Polity*, vol. 29, no. 1 (Autumn 1996), 27–63.
- 142 *Fifteen years earlier*: Susan Englander, “We Want the Ballot for Different Reasons,” in *California Women and Politics from the Gold Rush to the Great Depression*, Robert W. Cherny and Mary Ann Irwin, eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 209–36; Donald G. Cooper, “The California Suffrage Campaign of 1869: Its Origin, Strategies, Defeat,” *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 4 (1989), 311–25, at 322.
- 143 *campaign headquarters*: *HWS*, 4:487.
- 143 *leadership was backing*: Walter N. Parrish and L.B. Mallory, *Final Calendar of Legislative Business*, California Legislature, 39th Sess. (1911), 300.

- 143 *“The mother’s influence”*: California State Senator John Bunyan Sanford, “Argument Against Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 8,” June 26, 1911, California Voters’ Information Manual, 1911 Special Election, Secretary of State Elections Papers, California State Archives.
- 143 *“Woman Suffrage is a disease”*: Senator J. B. Sanford, “Woman Suffrage Means Disruption of the Home,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 1911, pt. 5, 19.
- 143 *“do not repeat”*: WW, “An Address to the Jefferson Club in Los Angeles,” May 12, 1911, *PWW*, 23:33–34.
- 143 *long been a staple*: From the first, slavery’s defenders argued that the preamble to the Declaration must not be taken literally. Early examples are Maryland Sen. William Pinkney’s contention that “the self-evident truths announced in the Declaration of Independence are not truths at all, if taken literally,” *35 Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess. (February 15, 1820), 405; Delaware Rep. Louis McLane’s assertion that “the Declaration of Independence had no reference to those persons who were at that time held in slavery,” *ibid.* (February 7, 1820), 1154; and Virginia Sen. John Randolph’s insistence that the idea “all men were born free and equal” is “a most pernicious falsehood,” *2 Register of Debates*, 19th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 2, 1826), 126.
- 144 *“gross dishonesty”*: “Freedom for Women,” Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq., at the National Woman’s Rights Convention, Worcester, MA, October 16, 1851 (New York: American Equal Rights Association, 1851), 2–3.
- 144 *“show to the world”*: 48 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, Appendix, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess. (April 24, 1912), 176–193, at 188–89 (extension of remarks of Rep. Taylor).
- 144 *“clear in my mind”*: WW to George Harvey, June 6, 1911, *PWW*, 23:134.
- 144 *rely on Dudley Field Malone*: For example, William F. McCombs to WW, September 13, 1911, *PWW*, 23:324 and n2; McCombs to WW, September 23, 1911, *PWW*, 23:355 (Malone surrogate speech in Boston).
- 144 *shared the platform*: “Trenton True American,” June 29, 1911, *PWW*, 23:177 (joint appearance); WW, “Campaign Address in Jersey City,” *Jersey Journal*, September 22, 1911, *PWW*, 23:342 (joint appearance); “Wilson Holds Nation’s Ills Due to Taft,” *Newark Evening News*, October 12, 1911 (joint appearance); “Wilson Says Taft Disturbs Business,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1911, 18 (joint appearance); “Governor Wilson Cheered by Over 6,000 in Wirlwind [sic] Tour of Monmouth County,” *Long Branch (NJ) Daily Record*, October 12, 1911, 1 (joint appearance); “Governor Lashes the Plunderers of County,” *Atlantic City Review*, November 2, 1911, *PWW*, 23:522 (joint appearance).
- 144 *“gives encouragement”*: “Wilson Says Taft Disturbs Business,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1911, 18; “New Jersey’s Reputation Is Now at Stake,” *Newark Evening News*, October 21, 1911, 5.
- 144 *control of both houses*: “Republicans Capture Control,” November 9, 1911, *Camden Daily Courier*, 1; “Jersey Returns to Republican Fold,” *Monmouth Inquirer*, November 9, 1911, 6; “Wilson Puts Blame of Defeat on Smith,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1911, 3.
- 145 *repudiated*: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 184.
- 145 *“socialistic, populist”*: WW to Adrian Hoffman Joline, April 29, 1907, *PWW*, 17:124; “To Knock Mr. Bryan into a Cocked Hat,” *New York Sun*, January 8, 1912, 1.
- 145 *introductory dinner*: WW to MAH, March 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:500; Stockton Axson, “Brother Woodrow”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 269n19. In Ellen’s view, “that dinner put Mr. Wilson in the White House.” James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 163.
- 145 *key advisers . . . peace offering*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 354–55; Ray Stannard Baker, “Memorandum of an interview with Dudley Field Malone, November 1, 1927,” manuscript in Baker Papers, quoted in *ibid.*, 355.
- 145 *bonded in 1909*: Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 3–9.
- 145 *trip to North Carolina*: WW to Josephus Daniels, June 13, 1911, *PWW*, 23:140.
- 145 *“he believed it”*: Baker interview with Malone, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 355.
- 145 *“best modern example”*: “Bryan Considers Wilson Did Right,” *Omaha World-Herald*, January 31, 1912, 10.
- 146 *“For President”*: The first such issue was *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 55, no. 2864 (November 11, 1911), 4, which also featured Wilson on the cover.

- 146 *particularly in the West*: Wilson’s remarks are quoted in Harvey’s notes written immediately after the meeting. Johnson, *George Harvey*, 180, 186; *LL*, 3:249.
- 146 *“economically disastrous”*: WW, Baccalaureate Address, Princeton University, June 13, 1909, *PWW*, 19:242, 245; “Woodrow Wilson Hits Labor Unions; They Give the Least Possible for Wages, He Tells Princeton Graduates,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1909, 5.
- 146 *dismissing progressive reforms*: Ten weeks later, the *Washington Post* would publish a page-one opinion piece by William Randolph Hearst challenging the sincerity of Wilson’s conversion to progressivism because he “formerly ridiculed and reviled the initiative, referendum, the recall and direct nominations.” The op-ed was reprinted in newspapers across the country. “No Democrat, This,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 1912, 1.
- 146 *“from all sides”*: “National Leaders Attack Wilson from Every Side,” *Newark Evening Star*, January 8, 1912, 8.
- 146 *Times pointed out*: “Gov. Wilson’s Inaugural,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1911, 8.
- 146 *could only be solved*: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 186; *LL*, 3:249.
- 146 *retired as managing editor . . . recruited him*: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 49–78.
- 147 *“real, practical owner”*: Gustavus Myers, “How Capitalist Parties Are Financed,” *International Socialist Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (August 1912), 144.
- 147 *under the influence*: Harvey’s biographer called this surmise, repeated as fact in in *LL*, 3:246–47, “a very foolish misstatement.” Morgan, he wrote, had “little or nothing to do with” either Harvey’s magazine acquisitions or their operation. Johnson, *George Harvey*, 68–69.
- 147 *little confirmation*: Writing more than two decades after the fact in his hagiography of Wilson, Josephus Daniels offered the same conclusory statements: Harper & Brothers was “controlled by Morgan” and was “Pierpont Morgan’s agent.” Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace*, 22. But the *New York Times*, reflecting on these events in 1938, wrote that “there has been no evidence to indicate that it was true” that Harvey shared the views of Morgan and “the money interests.” “Colonel House Dies Here at Age of 79,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1938, 1. Ellen Wilson’s cousin Robert Ewing (no relation to the influential Louisiana Democratic newspaper publisher of the same name), who published an apologia for the *Harper’s Weekly* episode at her request, stressed that J.P. Morgan’s services were furnished “years ago” and that the editorial policy of the magazine was “utterly untrammelled” by it. “Editors’ Break With Wilson Is Explained,” *Nashville Banner*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 147 *letter of apology*: WW to George Harvey, December 21, 1911, *WWP*, series 14: supplement, 1880–1946; 30, George B. M. Harvey, 1906 to 1912, #50, image 60.
- 147 *Harvey thanked Wilson*: George Harvey to WW, January 4, 1912, *ibid.*, #52, image 64.
- 147 *“disappearance of the name”*: “Tale of Wilson–Harvey Rift,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1912, 2.
- 147 *“no breach”*: “‘No Breach,’ Gov. Wilson on Harvey,” *Jersey Journal*, January 5, 1912, 1.
- 147 *confirmed . . . “no foundation”*: “The Wilson–Harvey Letters,” *New York Times*, January 31, 1912, 10; “Wilson Dropped! Harvey Tells Why,” *Newark Evening Star*, January 17, 1912, 6; Johnson, *George Harvey*, 195–96.
- 148 *After consulting*: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 188; William Frank McCombs, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, Fairview Publishing Co., 1921), 57.
- 148 *another letter to Harvey*: WW to George Harvey, January 11, 1912, *PWW*, 24:31.
- 148 *“have to print a word”*: George Harvey to WW, January 16, 1912, *PWW*, 24:45.
- 148 *proof page*: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 192–93; “To Our Readers,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 56, no. 2874 (January 20, 1912), 4.
- 148 *correct the record*: “Watterson Calls Wilson an Ingrate,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1912, 1; “Watterson Prays Party May Be Protected from Leaders Like Wilson,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 30, 1912, 2 (reprinting in full Watterson’s statement, “To the Democrats of the United States”).
- 148 *“threatened to wreck it”*: Link, *Road to the White House*, 359.
- 148 *previously editorialized*: Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., “James Calvin Hemphill: Southern Critic of Woodrow Wilson, 1911–1912,” *The Georgia Review*, vol. 13, no. 4 (Winter 1959), 378–392, at 380.
- 148 *“personal infidelity”*: J. C. Hemphill to W. H. Taft, January 5, 1912, William Howard Taft Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 367n75; J. C. Hemphill to W.H. Taft, January 1, 1912, *ibid.*, n78.

- 149 *exactly matched*: “Why Watterson Deserted Wilson—Shocked by Governor’s Cold Avowal He Thought Col. Harvey’s Support Was Injurious,” *Detroit Free Press*, January 18, 1912, 1.
- 149 *“besieged all afternoon” ... “owned by J.P. Morgan”*: “Watterson Nice Old Gentleman’—Wilson,” *New York Times*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 149 *two thousand attendees*: “Gov. Wilson Calls for Majority Rule,” *Detroit Free Press*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 149 *same words*: “Feared for Harvey’s Job,” *New York Sun*, January 19, 1912, 2.
- 149 *bore fruit*: *New York World*, January 19, 1912, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 371–72.
- 150 *tough questions*: “The Wilson–Harvey Letters,” *New York Times*, January 31, 1912, 10.
- 150 *seven separate stories*: “Colonel Harvey Was Hurt”; “Wilson Says He Is Sorry”; “Some Striking Paragraphs”; “No Tainted Money for Him”; “Bryan Wilson’s Friend”; “Wilson Manager Talks”; “Out of Wilson Committee,” all *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1912, 1.
- 150 *suffrage campaign*: “Suffrage Meeting a Good One,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1912, 1.
- 150 *“his ablest advocate”*: EAW to Robert Ewing, January 12, 1912, *PWW*, 24:40 (emphasis in original).
- 150 *“days of enlightenment” ... “exercise their prerogative”*: George Harvey, *Women, Etc.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1908), 94–98.
- 150 *book he wrote*: Harvey, *Women, Etc.*, 98.
- 150 *women should not vote*: “An Interview with Dr. Woodrow Wilson,” (*Hamilton, Bermuda*) *Royal Gazette*, March 3, 1908, in *PWW*, 18:3.
- 150 *“My chief argument”*: WW to Frederic Yates, September 5, 1908, *PWW*, 18:417.
- 151 *calls for women’s voting rights*: Hugh H. Lusk, “The Woman’s Vote. Some Side-Lights from New Zealand’s Experience,” *North American Review*, vol. 192, no. 656 (July 1910), 107–116; Max Eastman, “Is Woman Suffrage Important?,” *North American Review*, vol. 193, no. 662 (January 1911), 60–71; Bertha Damaris Knobe, “The March of 3,000 Women—The Great Parade by Which the Women of New York Emphasized Their Demand for Voters’ Powers,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 55, no. 2839 (May 20, 1911), 8; Gwendolen Overton, “Woman Suffrage,” *North American Review*, vol. 194, no. 669 (August 1911), 271–281.
- 151 *four major bills*: Edmund D. Potter, “Path to Power: Wilson as President of Princeton and Governor of New Jersey,” in Ross A. Kennedy, ed., *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 68.
- 151 *five more states*: Washington did so in 1910, California in 1911, and Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas in 1912. “Women Win Notable Victory,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, November 10, 1910, 6; “Women Who Fought for Suffrage Express Elation Over Victory,” *San Francisco Examiner*, October 13, 1911, 2; “4 Out of 5 States Go for Suffrage,” *Daily East Oregonian*, November 7, 1912, 5.
- 151 *“strongly against it”*: WW to Witter Bynner, June 20, 1911, *PWW*, 22:160.
- 151 *seeking his support*: Clara Schlee Laddey (President, New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association) and Mary Loring Colvin (Corresponding Secretary) to WW, January 2, 1911, *PWW*, 289–90.
- 151 *Throughout his tenure*: “Woman’s Party Orator Makes Final Appeal,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1916, 17.
- 151 *one of the hottest musicals*: Gerald Martin Bordman and Richard Norton, *American Musical Theater: A Chronicle*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 299–30.
- 152 *“Shoulder to shoulder”*: “Weak Little Woman, or, The Militant Suffrage Song” (1909), lyrics by George Ade; music by Gustave Luders.
- 152 *rulers are women*: Nancy Tystad Koupal, “The Wonderful Wizard of the West: L. Frank Baum in South Dakota, 1888–91,” *Great Plains Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Fall 1989), 203–215.
- 152 *had long editorialized*: Katharine M. Rogers, *L. Frank Baum, Creator of Oz: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2002), 28–33. Feminist though he was, at an early point in his career Baum’s views on Native Americans were decidedly racist—by contemporary standards as well as our own. Ten years before the first publication of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, two of his editorials in the *Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer* called for the “annihilation of the few remaining Indians” as the best way to secure the frontier. Tragically, the first of these editorials was published just two weeks before the slaughter of more than 250 men, women, and children by the U.S. 7th Cavalry at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Though nothing like his editorial endorsement of genocide, Baum’s fantasy fiction contains stereotypical representations of Black, Irish, and Chinese people. Hunter Liguore, “Sympathy or Racism?: L. Frank Baum on Native Americans,” *Great Plains Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 2 (Spring

- 2017), 77–82; Richard Tuerk, *Oz in Perspective: Magic and Myth in the L. Frank Baum Books* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 68–75.
- 152 *influenced by his wife ... advice from his mother-in-law*: Sally Roesch Wagner, “The Wonderful Mother of Oz,” *The Baum Bugle*, vol. 47, no. 3 (Winter 2003), 7–13; Rogers, *Baum, Creator of Oz*, 50–54; Michael O. Riley, *Oz and Beyond: The Fantasy World of L. Frank Baum* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 29.
- 152 *most successful stage musical*: Riley, *Oz and Beyond*, 98.
- 152 *golden age of the postcard*: Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards: A Study and Catalog* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2015), 2–4, 185–87, 217, and passim.
- 152 *advice column*: “When Women Vote,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 7, 1909, 24; “For Suffragists and Others,” *San Francisco Examiner*, April 23, 1909, 22; “Arms and the Women,” *San Francisco Examiner*, November 1, 1909, 18; “Woman Asks Her Half,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1909, 20; “Dorothy Dix Talks,” *Washington Times*, April 14, 1910, 1; “Editorial Pen Points,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1910, 16 (all articles by Dorothy Dix). Though based in New York, Dix (pen name of Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer) was born, raised, and for years pursued her journalism career in the South. She occasionally wrote her columns in the voice (and cartoon dialect) of “Mirandy,” an “old Negro mammy.” See, for example, “Mirandy on Ogling,” *Buffalo Enquirer*, April 15, 1910, 5.
- 153 *Cleveland insisted*: “The relative positions to be assumed by man and woman,” he added, “were assigned long ago by a higher intelligence than ours.” Grover Cleveland, “Would Woman’s Suffrage Be Unwise?,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, vol. 22, no. 11 (October 1905), 7–8. Ironically, thirteen years earlier in the presidential election of 1892, Cleveland was the first president since Jefferson to be elected in a contest in which women voted. Wyoming, where women had voted since 1869, had recently been admitted to statehood. Unfortunately for Cleveland, the women of Wyoming voted for his Republican opponent, Benjamin Harrison.
- 153 *senior thesis*: Roosevelt’s thesis argued a perfect State would “at once” grant women equal access to the ballot, equal rights of inheritance, and an unfettered right to education, including the right to go to law school. All of these were denied women at the time. Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 75; Doris Groshen Daniels, “Theodore Roosevelt and Gender Roles,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 3 (Summer 1996), 648–65, at 656.
- 153 *high school graduation*: Jonathon Lurie, *William Howard Taft: The Travails of a Progressive Conservative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.
- 153 *As a teenager*: HWS, 5:270. His father, who had been Secretary of War and then Attorney General in President Grant’s cabinet, was a champion of the cause of votes for women, and the younger Taft was proud to be following in his father’s footsteps.
- 153 *Years later*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3:1403–04.
- 153 *his first year*: HWS, 5:259.
- 153 *On April 14 ... “actually oppose me”*: “Suffragettes Hiss Taft, Their Guest,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1910, 1; “Taft Is Hissed by Suffragists,” *Washington Post*, April 15, 1910, 1.
- 154 *as he predicted*: HWS, 5:269–74.

## 12. ‘Walking on Air’

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- 155 *“speeding automobiles”*: Sergei Eisenstein, “Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today,” in Jay Leyda, ed., *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory* (New York: Harcourt, Inc., 1977), 198.
- 156 *publicly proclaiming*: “Nellie Bly and Thomas C. Platt,” *New York World*, December 9, 1894, 1; “Nellie Bly and Young Astor,” *New York World*, May 13, 1894, 1.
- 156 *“presidents of colleges”*: U.S. Supreme Court Justice David J. Brewer, “Woman Suffrage: Its Present Position and Its Future,” *The Ladies’ World*, December 1909, excerpted in 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess., Appendix (January 12, 1915), 102 (extension of remarks of Rep. Mondell).

- 156 *for thirty years*: “Journal,” April 29, 1882, folder 812, Champ and Bennett Champ Clark Papers (C0666), State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center—Columbia. In this early journal entry, Clark references “an article I had written in favor of Woman Suffrage.”
- 156 *flushed him out*: Harmon would vote “no” on Ohio’s state suffrage amendment in September 1912. “Harmon Discusses Amendments; Will Vote ‘No’ on Many Sections,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 3, 1912, 14.
- 156 *unconditionally opposed*: Elisabeth Joan Doyle, “The Congressional Career of Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama” (master’s thesis, Indiana University, 1948), 150; Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 147–48, 150.
- 157 *Phoebe Hearst*: Alexandra M. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst: A Life of Power and Politics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 387. Hearst *mère* had also made the single largest cash donation to California’s unsuccessful 1896 suffrage ballot measure. *Ibid.*, 373. She would later join forces with Alice Paul, becoming a member of the Congressional Union’s Advisory Council in 1915 and Vice Chairman of the National Woman’s Party upon its formation in 1916. “The Advisory Council,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 5 (January 30, 1915), 2; “Closing Sessions of the Woman’s Party Convention,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5.
- 157 *unsuccessful campaigns*: As a freshman congressman from Manhattan, Hearst ran for president in 1904. In the first year of his second term as a House member he ran for mayor of New York. The following year, still in his second House term, he ran for governor. Three years after leaving the House, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor a second time. His final defeat came in his campaign for New York lieutenant governor in 1910. David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 178–83, 195–213, 223–26. His relationship with Clark dated to his time in Congress. *Ibid.*, 187; Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst*, 387.
- 157 *political opportunist*: James D. Startt, *Woodrow Wilson and the Press: Prelude to the Presidency* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 157.
- 157 *“a perfect jackrabbit”*: “Governor Wilson Is A Federalist, Not a Democrat,” *Atlanta Journal*, March 17, 1912, 6; “Wilson Not Making Friends with Publishers,” *Leavenworth Post*, March 19, 2; “No Democrat, This,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 1912, 1.
- 157 *anti-immigrant prejudices*: Nasaw, *The Chief*, 242–43, 551.
- 157 *Wilson’s own words*: Startt, *Wilson and the Press*, 160.
- 157 *“a positive danger”*: *Ibid.*, 158.
- 157 *ten-page feature*: *Ibid.*, 159.
- 157 *“widen his understanding”*: *Ibid.*, 160.
- 158 *“baser elements”*: “Hearst Declared Democratic Issue,” *San Francisco Call*, April 27, 1912, 11.
- 158 *“shifless classes”*: *PWW*, 24:405–06.
- 158 *“do not blend”*: R. E. Hennings, “James D. Phelan and the Woodrow Wilson Anti-Oriental Statement of May 3, 1912,” *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 4 (December 1963), 297.
- 158 *nationally influential*: Hayward “Woody” Farrar, “Black Press,” in Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:231–41, at 236; Startt, *Wilson and the Press*, 89.
- 158 *“turn of the finger”*: “Wilson and the Negro,” editorial, *New York Age*, July 11, 1912, 4.
- 159 *“closes its doors”*: *Ibid.*
- 159 *“darky” stories*: News Report of a Campaign Speech in Phillipsburg, New Jersey, October 22, 1910, *PWW*, 21:390–91.
- 159 *“no use for the Negro”*: “Wilson and the Negro,” editorial, *New York Age*, July 11, 1912, 4.
- 159 *Villard conceded*: Oswald Garrison Villard, “The President and the Segregation at Washington,” *North American Review*, vol. 198, no. 697 (December 1913), 800–07, at 801.
- 159 *Socialist Party*: Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 33.
- 159 *“discharged without honor”*: John D. Weaver, *The Brownsville Raid* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970). Unlike a dishonorable discharge, a “discharge without honor” required no military trial. In 1972, President Richard Nixon granted honorable discharges and a pension of \$25,000 to each of the dishonored troops. “Army’s Honorable Discharge Comes—67 Years Late,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1973, 3; Garna L. Christian, “The

- Brownsville, Texas, Disturbance of 1906 and the Politics of Justice,” *Trotter Review*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Autumn 2008/Winter 2009), 23–28, at 27.
- 160 *too passive*: A year before the 1912 campaign, Roosevelt—perhaps playing to his immediate audience—wrote a suffrage opponent that “I am rather in favor of the suffrage, but very tepidly.” Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 595.
- 160 “*Women’s Roosevelt Leagues*”: “Women Thanked for Roosevelt’s Victory,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 16, 1912, 11; “Roosevelt Wins Republican Primary in the State,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1912, 1; “Roosevelt Sweeps the City and Captures the State,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1912, 1; “Taft Out of It in California,” *New York Times*, September 5, 1912, 3; “No Taft Vote,” *Fresno Evening Herald*, October 7, 1912, 4; “Figures by Districts on Tuesday’s Primaries,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1912, 2.
- 160 *nine of the thirteen: Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 48, 104; Geoffrey Cowan, *Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 1; Lewis L. Gould, “1912 Republican Convention: Return of the Rough Rider,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, August 2008 (online).
- 160 *108 votes shy*: Donald R. Deskins, Jr., Hanes Walton, Jr., and Sherman C. Puckett, *Presidential Elections, 1789–2008—County, State, and National Mapping of Election Data* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 296. Other press accounts gave Roosevelt 411 committed votes to Taft’s 201. Lewis L. Gould, *Four Hats in the Ring: The 1912 Election and the Birth of Modern American Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 66. The number of delegates needed for nomination was 540. “Taft 566–Roosevelt 466: Present Line-Up of Instructed and Pledged Delegates With All the Contests Decided,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1912, 1.
- 160 *front-page headline*: “Roosevelt A Suffragist,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1912, 1; Corrine M. McConaughy, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 239n32. The Bull Moose platform endorsed “equal suffrage to men and women alike” and quoted the Anthony Amendment to condemn denying anyone the ballot “on account of sex.” But it did not state a preference for the state or federal method. According to Roosevelt’s authorized biography, he supported the Anthony Amendment in 1911. Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 612n10.
- 160 *first ballot*: “Taft Renominated by the Republican Convention,” *New York Times*, June 23, 1912, 1.
- 160 *Taft forces began scrambling*: “Illinois Suffragists Distrust Roosevelt; Women Declare They Will Stand by Taft Who Has Long Been Their Friend,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, June 23, 1912, 12; “California Women Favor Roosevelt,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 23, 1912, 3.
- 160 *no role*: This is remarkable given that women had the vote in nine U.S. states at the time. See generally “The Rise of Political Women in the Election of 1912,” chap. 3 in Jo Freeman, *We Will Be Heard: Women’s Struggles for Political Power in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).
- 161 *Tammany initially supported*: Arthur Paulson, *Realignment and Party Revival* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), 49.
- 161 *would have nominated*: Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), vol. 2, 405.
- 161 *de facto veto*: In a measure of poetic justice, Clark’s son, Joel Bennett Clark, a U.S. senator from Missouri, would preside over the successful vote to repeal the two-thirds rule at the Democratic National Convention in 1936. Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938–1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 45.
- 161 *forty-six roll call ballots*: Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics*, vol. 2, 392. A measure of Clark’s dominance in the primaries was Illinois, where Wilson campaigned heavily and Clark did not even appear. The Democratic vote went for Clark over Wilson by a margin of almost 3 to 1. A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 229.
- 161 *two women*: Annie Hamilton Pitzer, *nee* Bennett, Clark’s sister-in-law, was appointed as a member of the Colorado delegation. *Polk County (OR) Observer*, June 28, 1912, 6. The other female delegate was May Arkwright Hutton, a mine owner reputed to be “the richest woman in the West.” Freeman, *We Will Be Heard*, 64.
- 162 *flanking the platform ... appeared intimidated*: “Tale of Convention As Told in Flashes: Mrs. Taft Is Guest of Democrats to See Who Will Run Against Her Husband,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1912, 6; “Mrs. Taft at Baltimore Convention to See Husband’s Opponent Nominated,” *Washington Post*, June 28, 1912, 4;

- “Convention at Work Interests Mrs. Taft,” *New York Sun*, June 28, 1912, 3; “Money Trust Row at Night Session,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 28, 1912, 2; “Mrs. Taft at Convention,” *Buffalo Express*, June 28, 1912, 3; Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *Nellie Taft: The Unconventional First Lady of the Ragtime Era* (New York: William Morrow, 2005), 346–47.
- 162 “greatest women”: “Mrs. Taft’s List of Greatest Women,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1911, 6.
- 162 *defeat was inevitable*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–572, at 571; JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 120; LL, 3:350.
- 162 *switched his vote*: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 571; LL, 3:355–56.
- 163 *poll*: *Newark Evening News*, May 17, 1911, cited in PWW, 23:113n2. The fact that Wilson was opposed by William Randolph Hearst, the scourge of Tammany’s political bosses, also counted in his favor with the critically important New York delegation. “Wilson Men Always Certain of Victory,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1912, 3.
- 163 *secret promise*: LL, 3:362.
- 163 “distinctly opposed”: Thomas R. Marshall, *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President and Hoosier Philosopher* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925), 234–35.
- 163 *Congratulations poured in . . . “moral courage”*: LL, 3:364–71; “Comment: The Issue Joined,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 56, no. 2899 (July 13, 1912), 4.
- 163 “an invasion”: WW to MAHP, July 6, 1912, PWW, 24:541.
- 163 *National Independent Political League*: “Colored Citizens Pleased,” *Boston Globe*, November 6, 1912, 13; Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis, “Extraordinary Isolation? Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement,” *Studies in American Political Development*, vol. 31, no. 2 (October 2017), 193–217, at 194.
- 164 “unassylumed maniac”: John David Smith, “Dixon and His African American Critics,” in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, Michelle K. Gillespie and Randall Hall, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 50.
- 164 “detrimental to public morals”: “Negroes War on Dixon—Ask Clergymen to Condemn ‘The Clansman’—Mass Meeting to Be Called,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1905, 5.
- 164 *Black preachers quoted*: “More Hot Shot for T. Dixon,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1905, 3.
- 164 *onstage fireworks*: Fitzhugh Brundage, “American Proteus,” in Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, 34.
- 164 *abruptly cancelled*: Fitzgerald, grandfather to John F. Kennedy, leaned on the theater owner, who yielded to “the protests of the Boston negroes” and “the request of Mayor Fitzgerald.” “To Stop the ‘Clansman,’” *Boston Globe* (morning ed.), July 21, 1910, 11; Lehr, *Birth of a Nation*, 85; Mark Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890–1920* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 175.
- 164 “not in sympathy”: William Monroe Trotter to WW, July 18, 1912, PWW, 24:558.
- 164 “walking on air”: “Insult Charge Denied,” *Washington Post*, November 16, 1914, 2. Trotter was joined in the July 16, 1912 meeting by J. Milton Waldron, the white president of the Washington, DC branch of the NAACP. Stephen R. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston, William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 167.
- 165 “not a national question” . . . “it would be best”: WW to Governor Eugene Noble Foss, August 17, 1912, PWW, 25:42 (emphasis added).
- 165 *process could only begin*: New Jersey Constitution of 1844, article IX: Amendments. Nor did Wilson shy away from recommending controversial amendments to the U.S. Constitution in his role as governor. His recommendation that the New Jersey legislature ratify the federal income tax amendment passed by Congress in 1909 met with defeat in New Jersey’s Republican-controlled Senate. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 135.
- 166 *Taft’s frustrating straddle*: Taft continued to argue both sides of the question long after the election. See, for example, William H. Taft, “Votes for Women,” *Saturday Evening Post*, vol. 188, no. 11 (September 11, 1915), 3. In this lawyerly piece the former president seemingly makes the case for women voting, but then urges (*a la* Wilson) that later would be better than now.
- 166 *proudly embraced him*: “Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage,” campaign circulars published by Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (1910, 1911, 1912),



- Massachusetts Historical Society; Hearing on Woman Suffrage, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 2 (March 13, 1912), 99 (includes text of January 1912 circular).
- 166 “*to make fools laugh*”: 48 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (June 10, 1912), 354–56 (remarks of Rep. Mondell, quoting his letter to U.S. Rep. Elmer Morse, January 27, 1912).
- 166 “*point of death*”: “Suffragists Again Rouse All England,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1912, 34.
- 167 *six states*: In the 1912 election, the 37 electoral votes of the six suffrage states were as follows: Wyoming 3; Utah 4; Idaho 4; Colorado 6; Washington 7; California 13. Alana S. Jeydel, *Political Women: The Women’s Movement, Political Institutions, the Battle for Women’s Suffrage and the ERA* (New York: Routledge, 2004), Appendix B, 214–15.
- 167 *literally tons*: Martha B. Caldwell, “The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3 (August 1943), 312.
- 167 *Maud Wood Park*: That same year, Park was a delegate to Theodore Roosevelt’s Bull Moose national convention. Maud Wood Park biography, Papers of Maud Wood Park, collection overview, Woman’s Rights Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 167 *speeches around the state*: Caldwell, “The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912,” 312.
- 167 “*cannot escape*”: “Suffrage via Biograph,” *New York Tribune*, June 1, 1912, 3.

### 13. The Suffrage Inaugural

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- 168 *August 5*: “New Party Opens Convention Today as Colonel Comes,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 1912, 1.
- 168 “*I feel like a bull moose!*”: “Convention Echoes,” *Atchison Daily Globe*, June 24, 1912, 4. According to press accounts, Roosevelt offered multiple variations of the statement. For example: “Several times since he has been here [at the Chicago Republican convention] he has described himself as ‘bully as a bull moose.’” “Bully as a Bull Moose,” (*UK*) *South Wales Echo*, June 24, 1912, 2.
- 168 *front of the pack*: “Jane Addams Speaks,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 8, 1912, 2; “Coast to Coast Nominees Chosen by Progressives,” *ibid.*, 1; Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 4–5.
- 168 “*men and women*” ... “*we favor woman suffrage!*” “Roosevelt Sole Convention Star,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, 1; “Theodore Roosevelt’s Confession of Faith Before the Progressive Party Convention, Chicago, Illinois,” pamphlet (New York: Progressive Party, 1912), Harvard College Library, Theodore Roosevelt Collection (emphasis added); “Roosevelt Asks Suffragists Aid,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1913, 7.
- 168 *forty-minute demonstration*: Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 391.
- 169 “*greatest applause*”: “Roosevelt Sole Convention Star,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, 1–2.
- 169 *half-page photograph*: “Many Women in the Picture at the Roosevelt Convention,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, 2.
- 169 *telegram*: Theodore Roosevelt to Jane Addams, August 5, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 169 *reprinted as a leaflet*: Theodore Roosevelt to Oscar K. Davis, August 12, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 169 *advocate for equal rights*: Geoffrey Cowan, *Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 275.
- 169 “*best white men*”: Theodore Roosevelt to Julian Harris, August 1, 1912, in Arthur S. Link, ed., “Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party’s ‘Lily White’ Policy in 1912,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (November 1944), 480–490, at 487; “Roosevelt Insists He’s Negro’s Friend,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1912, 3.
- 169 “*better whites*”: For several examples, see *HAP*, 5:44–50, 72, 82, and *passim*.
- 169 “*much disturbed*”: “Trouble Breaks Out for Platform Makers,” *New York Tribune*, August 6, 1912, 4.
- 169 *reluctant support*: “Negroes Indorse Roosevelt Stand,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1912, 1.

- 169 *refused to budge*: “No Third Party Seats for Southern Negroes,” *New York Tribune*, August 6, 1912, 4. In addition to the several Black delegates from the South, the Credentials Committee “refused to seat delegates representing Asian Americans from Hawaii.” Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, 394.
- 169 *“rights of the negroes”*: “Trouble Breaks Out for Platform Makers,” *New York Tribune*, August 6, 1912, 4.
- 169 *had none*: Jane Addams, “The Progressive Party and the Negro,” *The Crisis*, vol. 5, no. 1 (November 1912), 30. The first Black delegate to a Democratic National Convention was credentialed in 1936. There was one Black alternate delegate in 1924; there were ten in 1932. Hanes Walton, Jr. and C. Vernon Gray, “Black Politics at the National Republican and Democratic Conventions,” 1868–1972, *Phylon*, vol. 36, no. 3 (3rd Quarter, 1975), 269–278, at 269.
- 170 *doomed to failure*: “Roosevelt and Lincoln,” *The Crisis*, vol. 4, no. 5 (September 1912), 230 (quoting the *Philadelphia Inquirer*).
- 170 *“evasive answer”*: James D. Startt, *Woodrow Wilson and the Press: Prelude to the Presidency* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 192.
- 170 *three-hour conference*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 503.
- 170 *“would prefer defeat”*: Oswald G. Villard to Susan W. Fitzgerald, August 14, 1912, *PWW*, 25:29.
- 170 *“to bear children”*: WW, Address Delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, in John Wells Davidson, ed., *A Crossroads of Freedom: The 1912 Speeches of Woodrow Wilson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 284, 295.
- 170 *“weakness of women”*: WW, Address in Denver Auditorium, Denver, Colorado, October 7, 1912, in Davidson, *Crossroads of Freedom*, 373.
- 170 *final swing . . . “monopoly of the suffrage”*: *People v. Malone*, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325, 326–27 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913); *People v. Malone*, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); Linda J. Lumsden, *Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 46.
- 171 *“modest, quiet, and courteous”*: “Spreading Gag Rule,” *The Coming Nation: A Journal of Things Doing and To Be Done*, no. 115, New Series (November 23, 1912), 4.
- 171 *Maud Malone*: Lumsden, *Rampant Women*, 74.
- 171 *incisive rejoinder*: *People v. Malone*, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325, 326 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913)(emphasis added); Alexis J. Anderson, “The Formative Period of First Amendment Theory, 1870–1915,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1980), 56–75, at 73n85 (quoting the Wilson–Malone exchange as reported by the New York Court of Special Sessions); *People v. Malone*, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, *PWW*, 25:438; “Cheering Crowd Storms Wilson,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1912, 1; John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 174; Mary Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 46–47; Jo Freeman, *We Will Be Heard: Women’s Struggles for Political Power in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 70–71.
- 171 *“I positively decline”*: WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music, *PWW*, 25:438.
- 171 *officers grabbed Malone*: “Cheering Crowd Storms Wilson,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1912, 1.
- 171 *“detective seized her”*: Davidson, *Crossroads of Freedom*, 468.
- 171 *well-dressed woman*: “Spreading Gag Rule,” *The Coming Nation*, no. 115, New Series (November 23, 1912), 4.
- 171 *convicted*: *People v. Malone*, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913); *People v. Malone*, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); “Maud Malone Loses,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1913, 11.
- 171 *“sorry”*: WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music, *PWW*, 25:438; Davidson, *Crossroads of Freedom*, 472.
- 172 *“finer day”*: “Editorial Comments,” *Paterson (NJ) Morning Call*, November 6, 1912, 4.
- 172 *Wilson strolled*: *LL*, 3:407–08. Wilson affectionately referred to Malone as his *fidus Achates*—meaning “trusted friend.” WW to MAH, July 28, 1912, *PWW*, 24:572.
- 172 *“first to congratulate”*: *PWW*, 3:408–09.
- 172 *delegate lead*: Roosevelt entered the convention with a delegate lead of 411–201. But Taft’s superior party organization precluded Roosevelt’s gaining more in Chicago. Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, 388.
- 172 *write-in candidate*: “May Write on Ballot Taft Electors’ Names,” *Los Angeles Express*, November 4, 1912, 9.
- 172 *narrowly lost*: *Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 140.

- 172 *similar results*: Ibid.
- 172 “*Divide and rule*”: John Stuart Blackie, *The Wisdom of Goethe* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883), 48.
- 173 *thirty-four years*: In the 46th Congress, elected in 1878, Democrats controlled the House 150–128 and the Senate 43–33.
- 173 *seventy-six years*: Gerhard Peters, “Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1824–2004,” American Presidency Project (UC Santa Barbara, online); A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 251.
- 173 *more popular votes*: David R. Tarr and Jon Preimesberger, eds., *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 6th ed., vol. 1 (Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2010), 773–74, 775–77.
- 173 “*What use would he be*”: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–72, at 565.
- 173 “*most powerful*”: Charles E. Neu, *Colonel House: A Biography of Woodrow Wilson’s Silent Partner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), ix.
- 173 *smuggling weapons*: Ibid., 1–2.
- 173 “*my second personality*”: EMH Diary, August 16, 1913, *PWW*, 28:178.
- 173 *personally interviewed*: Neu, *Colonel House*, 77–86.
- 173 *his personal recommendations*: House’s initial recommendations included Albert Burleson, Postmaster General; William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; and Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. In addition, House’s friend Thomas Watt Gregory would become Attorney General in August, 1914. Ibid.; Charles E. Neu, “In Search of Colonel Edward M. House: The Texas Years,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 93, no. 1 (July 1989), 43 and n17.
- 174 “*closest friends*”: Adrian Anderson, “President Wilson’s Politician: Albert Sidney Burleson of Texas,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 3 (January 1974), 339–354, at 340.
- 174 *floor leader*: Ibid., 342; “Wilson Speakers to Ignore Colonel,” *New York Times*, August 11, 1912, 4; “Chooses the Captains for Wilson’s Fight,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1912, 1.
- 174 *excluded Black students*: Texas A&M would not be integrated until 1963, when the first female and Black students were admitted. Henry C. Dethloff, *Texas A&M University: A Pictorial History, 1876–1996*, 2nd ed. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 163. Black students were not admitted as undergraduates at the University of Texas, where Houston had also been president, until 1956. David Dettmer, ed., *The Texas Book Two: More Profiles, History, and Reminiscences of the University* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2012), 112.
- 174 “*confirmed misogynist*”: James E. Bond, *I Dissent: The Legacy of Chief Justice James Clark McReynolds* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1992), 48, 126 and passim; Ilona M. Bray, ed., *The Judge Who Hated Red Nail Polish, and Other Crazy But True Stories* (Berkeley: Nolo Press, 2010), 65.
- 174 “*racist*” and “*anti-Semite*”: “The list of adjectives that could be used to describe McReynolds includes racist, anti-Semite, misogynist, imperious, lazy, miserly and curmudgeon.” Todd C. Peppers, “Cancelling Justice? The Case of James Clark McReynolds,” *Richmond Public Interest Law Review*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2021), 59–77, at 65. After McReynolds was appointed by Wilson as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice Taft described him as “fuller of prejudice than any man I have ever known.” Bernard Schwartz, *A History of the Supreme Court* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 214.
- 174 *did not need Colonel House*: McAdoo benefitted from the additional recommendation of Wilson’s youngest daughter, Eleanor. Now twenty-three, she had enjoyed the forty-nine-year old McAdoo’s flirtations during the campaign. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, ed., *The Priceless Gift* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 276.
- 174 *He had served*: Lee Allan Craig, *Josephus Daniels: His Life & Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 215–18.
- 174 “*glad to learn*”: William Jennings Bryan to WW, December 25, 1912, *PWW*, 25:622.
- 174 “*My Dear Dixon*”: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, *PWW*, 25:578–79.
- 175 *despite—or because of*: Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 217; Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302.

- 175 *Dixon's leading character*: Thomas Dixon, *The Sins of the Father* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1912), 201.
- 175 *"straight to my heart"*: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, *PWW*, 25:578–79. It appears from the publication date that Wilson got an advance copy. Dixon, *The Southerner: A Romance of the Real Lincoln* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1913). Historian David W. Blight summarized *The Southerner* as “a turgid, 550-page reinvention of Lincoln” as a man whose “greatness lay in his racism, in whiteness”—a man willing to use the Civil War for the “removal of black people from America.” David W. Blight, “Hating and Loving the ‘Real’ Abe Lincolns: Lincoln and the American South,” in *The Global Lincoln*, Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 280. Dixon’s racial supremacism was received warmly by a number of prestigious publications, including the *New York Times*. “The picture drawn by Mr. Dixon is so clear, vivid, and truthful that, for the sake of it, the book is well worth reading,” enthused the *Times Review of Books*. “Lincoln as Hero: Mr. Dixon’s Ambitious Attempt in ‘The Southerner,’” *New York Times*, July 13, 1913, 17. The *Times*’s owner and publisher, Tennessean Adolph S. Ochs, was like Dixon taken with the prospect of a fellow southern Democrat entering onto the nation’s highest office. According to the *Times*’s editors, Ochs “had a whole-hearted admiration for Woodrow Wilson,” and he made certain the newspaper threw its full support behind Wilson’s candidacy. “Adolph S. Ochs,” obituary, *New York Times*, April 9, 1935, 20; “Wilson First, Taft Second,” editorial, *New York Times*, November 5, 1912, 12; Gay Talese, *The Kingdom and the Power: Behind the Scenes at the New York Times* (New York: Random House, 2013), 83.
- 175 *Dixon's encomiums ... gushed back*: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, *PWW*, 25:578–79. Daniels would in turn lionize Wilson upon his death, in a biography that borders on hero worship. Josephus Daniels, *The Life of Woodrow Wilson* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1924).
- 175 *less than a quarter*: In 1913 the population of the United States was 97.2 million. The population of the states of the former Confederacy was 22.2 million, as follows (in millions): Florida 0.7; Georgia 2.6; North Carolina 2.2; South Carolina 1.5; Virginia 2.0; Alabama 2.1; Mississippi 1.8; Tennessee 2.2; Arkansas 1.6; Louisiana 1.6; Texas 3.9. Source: U.S. Census Bureau.
- 175 *only two came*: The two were Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, from Nebraska, and Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, from California.
- 175 *"more attention"*: “Wilson Is Urged to Snub Tammany,” *New York Times*, April 11, 1913, 2.
- 176 *down to two*: “Wilson Asked About Pay,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1913, 3; “No Appointments Offered,” *New York Times*, January 17, 1913, 5.
- 176 *houseguest*: “Wilson Plans to Run a Business Campaign,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1912, 1; “Look For A Wilson Blow at Murphy,” *New York Times*, Sept 23, 1912, 1.
- 176 *constant presence*: “Clark Men Stand Firm,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1912, 2.
- 176 *important role*: “Wilson Won’t Resign at Once,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1912, 1.
- 176 *singled out Malone*: “Wilson Men Always Certain of Victory,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1912, 3.
- 176 *"long as he wished"*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 471–72; Joseph L. Grabill, “Cleveland Dodge, Woodrow Wilson, and the Near East,” *Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 48, no. 4 (Winter 1970), 249–64, at 251; Berg, *Wilson*, 234; “A Damnable Slander of Tucson,” *Tucson Citizen*, December 12, 1911, 4 (listing Cleveland Dodge as president of Phelps Dodge). Dodge had been Wilson’s classmate at Princeton and his supporter on the Princeton board. Dodge’s aunt, Josephine Jewell Dodge, was the founder and current president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS). Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 29–31; Phyllis B. Dodge, *Tales of the Phelps-Dodge Family: A Chronicle of Five Generations* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1987)(endpapers).
- 176 *"close to Prof. Wilson"*: “Wilson Not a Teetotaler,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1913.
- 176 *a long walk*: “The President-Elect Responds to Victory,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1912, 6; “Wilson Has 15,000 Cheering Messages,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1912, 5.
- 176 *Malone's future position*: “Cabinet Queries Upset Wilson’s Calm,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1913, 1.
- 177 *"the prize plum"*: “George W. Aldridge Dies at Golf Game,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1922, 1.
- 177 *if Mitchel won*: “Malone for Collector,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1913, 18; “Fight Just Begun, Mitchel Says,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1913, 3; “Fusion Carries In Mitchel, Republicans Win Assembly, Sweep

- State,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1913, 1; “Malone Is Slated for Mitchel’s Post,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1913, 3; “Mitchel to Go Away to Study His Slate,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1913, 2.
- 177 *In the meantime*: “Tammany Braves Turning On Murphy,” *New York Times*, March 13, 1913, 9; “La Follette to Act as Wilson Adviser,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1913, 2; “Malone to Be Bryan Aid,” *New York Times*, April 10, 1913, 1; “Wilson Is Urged To Snub Tammany,” *New York Times*, April 11, 1913, 2; “Malone and Moore Named,” *New York Times*, April 13, 1913, 2; “Mitchel Nominated for Port Collector,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1913, 1.
- 177 *backed Shaw*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 137.
- 178 *stumped for Roosevelt*: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 250. Roosevelt kept up his campaigning for women’s suffrage after his defeat. Two months after Wilson’s inauguration, he addressed thousands at a rally at New York’s Metropolitan Opera House, where according to newspaper reporting the enthusiastic cheers in response “made the echoes ring.” “Roosevelt Centre of Suffrage Host,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1913, 1.
- 178 *headed by Elizabeth Kent*: Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 19. Rep. William Kent was first elected to Congress as a Progressive Republican, his party affiliation at this time. In subsequent Congresses he was an Independent. “Kent, William,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 178 *only member*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 78.
- 178 *eager to move on*: Ibid., 19, 78.
- 178 *begged Shaw*: Shaw at first rejected them, but later agreed. Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman’s Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 21, 35; Mary Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52.
- 178 *The two had met*: SWP, 7–9; Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 5–15; JFF, 356, 366; Sidney R. Bland, “‘Never Quite as Committed as We’d Like’: The Suffrage Militancy of Lucy Burns,” *Journal of Long Island History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1981), 4–23.
- 179 *pattern their strategy*: Pankhurst was notorious for her roving mobs that smashed windows, blew up mailboxes, set fire to the Theater Royal, and shattered porcelains at the British Museum. Robin W. Winks, *World Civilization: A Brief History* (San Diego: Collegiate Press, 1993), 356. True to her Quaker heritage, Paul insisted on nonviolent methods. Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 27.
- 179 *annual budget*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 78.
- 179 *same desk*: Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 60.
- 179 *“totally unsuitable”*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 80.
- 179 *enlisting the support*: Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 56.
- 179 *Ebenezer Hill*: For an example of Rep. Hill’s advocacy for women’s suffrage, see Ebenezer J. Hill, “Government by Consent of the Governed,” Address to the Connecticut Branch of the Congressional Union for Equal Suffrage, June 8, 1915, Hill Family Manuscript Collection, box 1, folder 4, Norwalk Public Library.
- 179 *his department’s funding*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 80.
- 179 *New Year’s Eve meeting*: Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 56–57.
- 180 *“there is no reason”*: Ibid., 57.
- 180 *“ragamuffin pageant”*: “Coxey’s Arrival,” *Kate Field’s Washington*, vol. 9, no. 19 (May 9, 1894), 292; Jon Grinspan, “How a Ragtag Band of Reformers Organized the First Protest March on Washington, D.C.,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 1, 2014 (online).
- 180 *quarter-million*: Lynda G. Dodd, “Parades, Pickets, and Prison: Alice Paul and the Virtues of Unruly Constitutional Citizenship,” *Journal of Law and Politics*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Fall 2008), 339, 354; Jean H. Baker, *Sisters: The Lives of America’s Suffragists* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), 185.
- 180 *special reviewing stand*: “300 Women Hurt in Parade Crush ... Mrs. Taft Held Up,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1913, 1; Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 76.

- 180 *Fifteen minutes*: Ibid., 73.
- 181 *transplanted Virginian*: Biography of Walter L. McCorkle in *The University Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 1894), 276–77; Oren F. Morten, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999), 290.
- 181 *racial stereotypes*: For examples, see Augustus Thomas, *Alabama: A Drama in Four Acts* (New York: R.H. Russell, 1900). See also the discussion of Augustus Thomas in Rhonda S. Pettit, *A Gendered Collision: Sentimentalism and Modernism in Dorothy Parker's Poetry and Fiction* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), 66.
- 181 *“duty of the men”*: *Yearbook of the New York Southern Society 1913–1914* (New York: Robert Stillson Co., 1913), 36–37.
- 181 *“our own way of life”*: Ibid., 44–45.
- 181 *shouts and screams ... “howling mob”*: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia, United States Senate, 63rd Congress, March 6–17, 1913, pt. 1, 496.
- 181 *police complicity*: “Police Idly Watched Abuse of Women,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1913, 1.
- 182 *six o'clock tea*: Berg, *Wilson*, 273.
- 182 *equal billing*: “Woman’s Beauty, Grace, and Art Bewilder the Capital,” *Washington Post*, March 4, 1913, 1; “100 Are in Hospital ... No Arrests, Despite Disorder,” *ibid.* The *New York Times*, though opposed to women’s suffrage, reported that many anti-suffrage men believed the preceding day’s events were an “insult to American womanhood and a disgrace to the Capitol City of the Nation.” “Parade Protest Arouses Senate,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1913, 8.
- 182 *“As you ride today”*: “Returning Suffragists Bitter in Comments on Monday’s Parade,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1913, 8; Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 92–93.
- 182 *“efficiently officered”*: “Telegraphed to Wilson,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 6, 1913, 1; Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), 197 (emphasis added).

#### 14. ‘Women Should Not Be Kept Waiting Any Longer’

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- 183 *face-to-face ... attorney general*: “Suffragists See Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 183 *almost daily*: “Suffragists Crowd Senate Room Eager to Tell of Insults,” *Washington Times*, March 6, 1913, 1; “Suffragist Parade Investigation Begun,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, March 6, 1913, 1; “Probers Seeking ‘Man Higher Up,’” *Washington Evening Star*, March 8, 1913, 1; “Stimson Testifies He Had Cavalry Ready for Sylvester’s Call,” *Washington Times*, March 8, 1913, 1; “To Probe Insults,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 6, 1913, 1; “Suffs Sit in Stuffy Hearing,” *Tulsa World*, March 9, 1913, 1; “Chief Blames Men,” *Washington Post*, March 9, 1913, 1; “Not Foe of Parade,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 13, 1913, 4.
- 184 *“like a class”*: SWP, 33.
- 184 *“an autocrat”*: Willis Fletcher Johnson, *George Harvey: A Passionate Patriot* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 177–78.
- 184 *shamrock*: “Wilson Wears a Shamrock,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 184 *“entirely new” to him*: SWP, 33.
- 184 *Paul spoke first ... equality of suffrage*: “Suffragists See Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2; “Suffragists Ask Wilson’s Support,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 17, 1913, 2.
- 184 *“careful consideration”*: JFF, 23.
- 184 *ten minutes*: “Suffragists See Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 184 *its president*: Thomas served as president of the organization from 1908–1917. Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 249–50.
- 185 *“could not be considered”*: “Women Will Persist,” *Washington Post*, March 29, 1913, 14; SWP, 34.
- 185 *Cora Smith*: Anne Foster, *Suffragettes in Yellowstone: Dr. Cora Smith Eaton* (Washington: National Park Service, 2015).
- 185 *too busy*: SWP, 34; “President Receives Suffrage Advocates,” *Washington Herald*, April 1, 1913, 11.
- 185 *At the opening ... petitions urged*: SWP, 35.

- 185 “*ignored the question*”: Ibid.
- 185 *introduced in the House*: 50 Cong. Rec. pt.1, 63rd Cong., Spec. Sess. (March 4, 1913), 91; “Mondell, Frank,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 186 *bespectacled lawyer*: “Chamberlain, George,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998); William G. Robbins, “George Chamberlain (1854–1928),” *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Oregon Historical Society, ohs.org.
- 186 *His introduction*: 50 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 63rd Cong., Spec. Sess. (March 4, 1913), 57 (introduction of S.J. Res. 1).
- 186 *the speech itself*: WW, Address on Tariff Reform to a Joint Session of Congress, April 8, 1913, *PWW*, 27:269.
- 186 *official policy*: Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 20.
- 187 *largest employer*: Abhay Aneja and Guo Xu, “The Costs of Employment Segregation: Evidence from the Federal Government Under Woodrow Wilson,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 27798 (August 2021), 72.
- 187 *across the hall*: Noel Grove, *Inside the White House* (Washington: National Geographic, 2013), 81; William Ryan, *The White House: An Architectural History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980); “Temporary Executive Office Building,” The White House Museum, www.whitehousemuseum.org.
- 187 “*all Departments*”: E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for April 11, 1913, 32.
- 187 “*a great thing*”: Ibid., 33.
- 187 “*adjusted*”: Ibid.
- 187 *described the meeting*: Ibid., 32–33.
- 187 “*subjection of the Negro*”: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 13.
- 187 “*very unpleasant*”: Cronon, *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 32.
- 187 *vice-chairman*: David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924), 72.
- 187 “*confirm a negro*”: Cronon, *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 33.
- 188 “*feelings and sentiments*”: William Gibbs McAdoo to F. I. Cobb, November 26, 1914, *PWW*, 31:361n2.
- 188 *throughout Washington*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 19.
- 188 *makeshift screens*: May Childs Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments at Washington,” September 30, 1913, box I, reel 6, NAACP Records, Library of Congress; Douglas B. Craig, *Progressives at War: William G. McAdoo and Newton D. Baker, 1863–1941* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 121.
- 188 *publicity director*: Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 244–64, at 252n7.
- 188 “*for the white employees*”: Ibid., 251n1.
- 188 “*like wildfire*”: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 19.
- 188 *unsafe and dirty*: Ibid., 20; Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments.”
- 188 *2021 study*: Aneja and Xu, “Costs of Employment Segregation,” 27, 73 (emphasis in original).
- 188 *getting fired*: Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments”; Patler, *Jim Crow*, 22, 45n11.
- 188 *after her visit*: M.P. Sosna, “The South in the Saddle: Racial Politics During the Wilson Years,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Autumn 1970), 30–49, at 33; *The Crisis*, vol. 9, no. 3 (January 1915), 119–27, at 120. Ellen Wilson also objected to white women working alongside Black men. “President Wilson’s Rebuke to a Boston Negro,” *Birmingham News*, November 13, 1914, 6 (“Mrs. Wilson ... observed with her own eyes some of the hardships of white women in having to work beside Negro men. Naturally, with her refined breeding and Southern rearing, she perceived the dangers of that situation”).
- 188 *in their seventies*: *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg* (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1913), 60.
- 189 “*occasion of the rebellion*”: Ibid., 156.
- 189 “*Gladstone or John Bright*”: Ibid., 161.
- 189 “*the experiences*”: WW to EAW, February 24, 1885, *PWW*, 4:286.

- 189 *begged him*: In July 1912, William Monroe Trotter and J. Milton Waldron met with Wilson to urge a statement that “you respect the constitution in its entirety including the amendments.” In a letter following up on the meeting, Trotter assured the president that if he would publicly “say you accept the Amendments as the settlement of the issues arising out of the Civil War, thousands will flock to your standard.” Trotter to WW, July 19, 1912, *PWW*, 24:558.
- 189 *“forgotten”*: WW, Address at the Gettysburg Battlefield, July 4, 1913, *PWW*, 28:23; Evan Preston, “‘All May Visit the Big Camp’: Race and the Lessons of the Civil War at the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion,” *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 2, no. 1, art. 5.
- 189 *page one headline*: “Gettysburg Cold to Wilson’s Speech,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1913, 1.
- 189 *“like lepers”*: Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 33.
- 189 *American Bar Association*: “Wickersham for Lewis,” *New York Sun*, July 25, 1912, 4.
- 189 *Taft’s “Black Cabinet”*: Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 31 and n3.
- 189 *reversed this policy*: Kathleen Long Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson’s Appointment Policy and the Negro,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 24, no. 4 (November 1958), 457–71, at 467–68.
- 190 *exactly what happened*: Among the Black federal officers Wilson dismissed, in addition to Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis, were the following: Assistant U.S. District Attorney James F. Cobb; Register of the Treasury James C. Napier; Assistant Register Cyrus Adams; Receiver of Public Money Nathan Alexander; Internal Revenue Collectors Charles W. Anderson, General Robert Smalls, Joseph F. Lee, Charles R. Cotrell, and Jerome B. Peterson; Auditor of the Navy Ralph W. Tyler; and Minister to Haiti Henry Furness. George W. Harris, “Colored Citizens and the Present Campaign,” *Champion Magazine*, September, 1916, 19–20; Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 34.
- 190 *provide a photograph*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 167–68.
- 190 *“no authority”*: *Ibid.*, 43.
- 190 *Protests*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 248–51.
- 190 *“I do approve”*: WW to Howard Allen Bridgman, September 8, 1913, *PWW*, 28:265.
- 190 *20,000 people*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” 252n5.
- 190 *book and stage play*: Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302; Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 217.
- 190 *suffrage association*: *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xxviii.
- 190 *marched*: Wells-Barnett marched with the Illinois delegation, but only after ignoring NAWSA’s ruling that—in deference to southern white women who threatened to boycott the parade—she was to march instead in the “colored” ranks behind. “Illinois Women Feature Parade,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1913, 3; “Marches in Parade Despite Protests,” *Chicago Defender*, March 8, 1913, 1; “300 Women Hurt in Parade Crush,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1913, 1; “Suffrage Paraders,” *The Crisis*, vol. 5, no. 6 (April 1913), 296.
- 190 *“for white ladies”*: *Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad Co. v. Wells*, 85 Tennessee 613 (1887), at 615.
- 190 *reversed her victory*: *Ibid.*
- 191 *because Wilson was a Democrat*: Further evidence that an appeal to Wilson’s partisanship was part of the group’s message is that Wilson was reminded of Trotter’s appeals to Black voters on his behalf in the recent election; that Trotter arranged for their group to be introduced to the president by a Democratic congressman from Trotter’s home state of Massachusetts; and that Trotter brought with him letters of support from a handful of elected Democrats from Massachusetts.
- 191 *she was a Republican*: McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled*, 308.
- 191 *“acceptable to everybody”*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 139; Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 249; William Monroe Trotter’s Address to the President; Wilson’s Reply and a Dialogue, November 6, 1913, *PWW*, 28:491, 496.
- 191 *“preposterous”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 248.
- 191 *“No one”*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 141–42 and n66.
- 191 *the same day*: “President for Malone,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1913, 1.



- 191 *personal representative ... old-line Democrats*: “Malone Nominated as Port Collector,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1913, 6. On at least one occasion, Malone’s criticisms of Tammany Hall went beyond what Wilson considered politic, and he disavowed them. *PWW*, 50:528, 534n2.
- 191 *not his father’s*: Malone was born two years after the tragic death of Dudley Field, son of William M. “Boss” Tweed’s famous lawyer David Dudley Field. Only 49 at his death, Dudley Field was referred to as “young Dudley” to distinguish him from his father. Malone’s parents named their son in honor of the young man and his father, who for years defended Tammany’s “Boss” Tweed in his criminal trials. “Wm. M. Tweed’s Trial,” *New York Sun*, January 3, 1873, 3; “The Tweed Case,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1873, 2; “Tweed’s Plea for Liberty,” *New York Sun*, December 23, 1874, 3. “Young Dudley” had been a partner in his father’s firm and co-defense counsel in the Tweed cases. Henry Martyn Field, *The Life of David Dudley Field* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898), 282–85; “The Courts. Technicalities of the Tweed Case,” *New York Tribune*, December 23, 1874, 7.
- 192 *New Jersey women*: “Wilson Sees Suffragists,” *New York Times*, November 18, 1913, 10; Donald L. Haggerty, ed., *National Woman’s Party Papers: The Suffrage Years, 1913–1920—A Guide to the Microfilm Edition*, “Brief History of the National Woman’s Party,” 9.
- 192 *“stay a month”*: “Suffrage Deputation Interviews President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 22, 1913), 13; 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 17, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (July 31, 1914), 856 (remarks of Rep. Frank Mondell, including text of article from *The Suffragist*).
- 192 *heartened*: “Wilson Heartens Jersey Women,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 44, no. 47 (November 22, 1913), 369.
- 192 *“non-committal”*: “Suffrage Deputation Interviews President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 22, 1913), 13.
- 192 *adopted resolutions*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage,” unpublished 1913 NAWSA manuscript, NAWSA Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; *HWS*, 5:374.
- 192 *all testified*: *HWS*, 5:383–97.
- 193 *tried to beg off*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 193 *embarrass him*: *Ibid*.
- 193 *he was powerless*: “Wilson Not Free to Advise Suffrage,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1913, 9; “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 193 *quickly diagnosed*: “Takes President on Own Ground,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 44, no. 51 (December 20, 1913), 402.
- 193 *her assessment*: *HWS*, 5:373–74.
- 193 *not-so-subtle headline*: “Wilson Not Free to Advise Suffrage,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1913, 9.
- 193 *Wilson’s own writings*: “Wilson Versus Wilson,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 44, no. 51 (December 20, 1913), 404.
- 194 *“sixty years”*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 194 *a tie*: *HWS*, 5:397. The vote, on January 24, 1914, was as follows. Ayes: Lenroot (R-WI), Foster (D-IL), Campbell (R-KS) and Kelly (R-PA). Nays: Hardwick (D-GA), Pou (D-NC), Cantrill (D-KY) and Garrett (D-TN).
- 194 *anti-suffrage resolution*: *HWS*, 5:397; Andrew Glass, “‘Cotton Tom’ Heflin addresses the Senate, April 26, 1932,” *Politico*, April 26, 2017 (online); Rose Marie Eckert, *How the Vote Was Won: The Story of Woman Suffrage* (Minneapolis: Mill City Press, 2013), 82–83.
- 194 *Caucus intervened*: David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 80. The Senate’s Democratic Caucus was formally established by rule a decade earlier, in 1903. From that point, a distinction was made between the terms “caucus” and “conference”: senators were in caucus when they discussed whether to bind the party’s vote on a given issue; they were in conference when considering election of officers or general legislative business. U.S. Senate, *Minutes of the U.S. Senate Democratic Conference, 1903–1964*.
- 194 *repeated his evasion ... “not for it”*: *JFF*, 29.
- 195 *undecided*: “Women Use Sharp Terms to Wilson,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1914, 5.
- 195 *killed*: “Suffrage Loses in Senate Vote,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1914, 1. The Senate roll call was 21 Republican ayes, 12 nays; 14 Democratic ayes, 22 nays.

## 15. ‘A Conviction All My Life’

PAGE

- 196 *one thousand*: HWS, 5:379.
- 196 *rupture with Shaw*: HWS, 5:397.
- 197 *“vigorous campaign”*: “Suffragists on Warpath; Plan Fight on Democrats if Congress Doesn’t Take Up Amendment,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1914, 3.
- 197 *two years*: NACW Convention Minutes, 1912, reel 1, and NACW Conventions, Press Coverage, 1912, reel 5, Records of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, 1895–1992, UPA microfilm edition (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994); “National Association of Colored Women,” *The Advocate* (Charleston, WV), August 8, 1912, 4; Richette L. Heywood, “Still Lifting and Climbing: The National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, Inc. Celebrates Its 100th Anniversary,” *Ebony*, vol. 51, no. 12 (October 1996), 100.
- 197 *meeting in Chicago*: “Suffrage Wins Two Victories,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1914, 3; Alixandra B. Yanis, Learning to ‘Play the Game as Men Do’: How the General Federation of Women’s Clubs Brought Political Science to Women,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, vol. 52, no. 4 (Cambridge University Press, October 2019), 659–62.
- 197 *“immense impetus”*: “Washington Suffragists Pleased at Biennial Action,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1914, 3.
- 197 *Paul arranged*: Rose Marie Eckert, *How the Vote Was Won: The Story of Woman Suffrage* (Minneapolis: Mill City Press, 2013), 84.
- 197 *On June 30 ... “slowly filed out”*: “Wilson Won’t Let Women Heckle Him,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1914, 4; “Women Besiege President Wilson; He Won’t Assist Their Plans,” *El Paso Herald*, evening ed., June 30, 1914, 1; 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 17, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (July 31, 1914), 860–61 (extension of remarks of Rep. Mondell); WW, Remarks to a Woman Suffrage Delegation, *PWW*, 30:226.
- 198 *Wilson’s floor leader*: “Break To Wilson Seems At Hand As Convention Adjourns Till To-Day; He Leads On The 42nd Ballot,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1912, 1. Wilson was indebted to Palmer for his willingness to abandon his House Democratic colleague, Speaker of the House Champ Clark, who was Wilson’s leading competitor for the nomination.
- 198 *Shafroth was first elected*: “Shafroth, John Franklin,” *BD*; “Colorado for Wilson by 20,000, Says Shafroth,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 4, 1912, 2; “Convention Nominates Gov. Wilson,” *The Comet* (Johnson City, TN), July 4, 1912, 1; “Wilson and Marshall Head Democratic Ticket,” *Clay County Patriot*, July 4, 1912, 1. Shafroth had been a serious dark horse candidate for the presidential nomination when the Baltimore convention deadlocked. “Shafroth Good Bet, Says Arch,” *Daily Sentinel* (Grand Junction, CO), July 1, 1912, 3; “Big Steve of Denver Unscathed by Chicago,” *New York Sun*, July 1, 1912, 5.
- 199 *surprise*: Hearing on Woman Suffrage before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 63rd Cong., 2nd Session, March 3, 1914 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 5–9 (statement of Antoinette Funk, NAWSA Congressional Committee).
- 199 *Shafroth introduced*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 20, 1914), 5162 (Sen. Shafroth introduction of S.J. Res. 128); 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (April 6, 1914), 6313 (Rep. Palmer introduction of H.J. Res. 245).
- 199 *protecting Jim Crow*: B. H. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 301.
- 199 *“race question”*: HWS, 5:413.
- 200 *never reported*: Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer, Politician* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 86.
- 200 *reversed*: HWS, 5:452–53.
- 200 *his Senate race*: Coben, *Palmer, Politician*, 86.
- 200 *New Orleans convention*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 118.
- 200 *decade that followed ... endorse*: *Ibid.*, 125–32. Catt recruited Gordon, engineering her election as corresponding secretary in 1901 and her appointment to the national board at the same time. In 1909, Gordon resigned as corresponding secretary to protest Catt's 1909 “Great Petition” urging Congress to approve the federal

- amendment. Even so, she was elected the next year as a vice president of NAWSA. Elna C. Green, “The Rest of the Story: Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–89, at 175, 176n13.
- 200 “*staunchest allies*”: Anna Howard Shaw, *The Story of a Pioneer* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1915), 309.
- 200 *Four-inch tall headlines*: “England Declares War on Germany,” *New York Times*, 1; “England at War with Germany,” *Chicago Tribune*, 1; “Great Britain Declares War,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1; all August 5, 1914.
- 201 *Shafroth announced*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 13, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (August 5, 1914), 13293.
- 201 *U.S. securities holdings*: David Glassner, ed., *Business Cycles and Depressions* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 135–37.
- 201 *halted trading*: While generations of Wilson and McAdoo biographers have claimed that it was McAdoo who “shut down Wall Street,” based on the former Treasury secretary’s own assertion to that effect many years later, the “evidence for this is extremely thin,” and indeed contradicted by the records of the NYSE itself. Mary A. O’Sullivan, *Dividends of Development: Securities Markets in the History of U.S. Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 313–14 and n9.
- 201 *verge of collapse*: Leland Crabbe, “The International Gold Standard and U.S. Monetary Policy from World War I to the New Deal,” *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, vol. 75, no. 6 (June 1989), 424.
- 201 *warning against panic*: WW, Statement to the Press, August 3, 1914, *PWW*, 50:535.
- 201 *American neutrality*: “President Wilson Proclaims Neutrality,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1914, 7.
- 201 *Americans stranded*: “Americans, Marooned by War, Lack Food and Clothing,” *New York Evening World*, August 7, 1914, 3; Walter Hines Page to WW, August 9, 1914, *PWW*, 30:366.
- 201 *lay suffering*: *LL*, 4:475; “Eleanor Wilson Weds W. G. M’Adoo,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1914, 1.
- 201 *Wilson was certain*: WW to MAH, August 2, 1914, *PWW*, 30:327.
- 201 “*come directly*”: WW to Stockton Axson, August 5, 1914, *PWW*, 30:345.
- 201 *holding her hand*: *LL*, 4:479. Ellen Wilson’s deathbed wish was for passage of the so-called “slum clearance” bill she had championed. Congress soon passed it in her honor and Wilson signed it into law on September 25, 1914. While contemporary press coverage and a century of biographers have credited both Wilson and the First Lady for this supposedly humanitarian law, in actuality it called for wholesale condemnation of “the homes of the servant class” while making no provision for relocating the predominantly Black residents of Washington’s poorest areas. New Hampshire Democrat Eugene Reed denounced the “rank injustice” of legally confiscating the homes of “poor people who have invested their money in alley property” while the bill’s supporters admitted it “makes no provision for payment to the owners.” 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 15, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 14, 1914), 15106, 15110 (statements of Rep. Borland on H.R. 13219); *ibid.*, 15110 (statements of Rep. Reed); *ibid.*, 15197, 15305 (House and Senate passage of H.R. 13219); “Mrs. Wilson’s Bill Signed,” September 26, 1914, 10.
- 201 *lowered its flags*: “Whole Country in Mourning for President’s Wife,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, August 7, 1914, 1, 8.
- 201 “*all the people*”: “Mrs. Wilson No Anti,” *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, vol. 45, no. 34 (August 22, 1914), 242. NAWSA acknowledged that “Mrs. Wilson never ranged herself definitively in favor of woman suffrage,” but insisted that she was “not an anti.”
- 201 “*exhausted*”: WW to MAH, August 23, 1914, *PWW*, 30:437.
- 201 “*nothing left*”: EMH Diary, August 30, 1914, *PWW*, 30:461.
- 201 “*no heart*”: *Ibid.*, November 6, 1914, *PWW*, 31:274.
- 201 “*kill him*”: *Ibid.*, November 14, 1914, *PWW*, 31:317.
- 201 *detailed Dudley Field Malone*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 459.
- 202 *worsening economy*: The economic expansion ushered in during the period of American neutrality in the war did not begin until December 1914. Hugh Rockoff, “Until It’s Over, Over There: The U.S. Economy in World War I,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 10580 (June 2004), 4, 38.
- 202 *every state*: *HWS*, 5:474–75.
- 202 “*an enemy*”: Florence Brewer Boeckel, “New Women in Politics,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (November 1916), 432, 435–37.
- 202 *directly attributed*: Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman’s Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 67–68.

- 202 “*certain of election*”: “Bitter Contests in Many States,” *Brooklyn Daily Standard Union*, November 1, 1914, 4.
- 202 “*thoroughly frightened*”: Charles A. Beard, “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, vol. 7, no. 91 (July 29, 1916), 329.
- 202 *field representatives*: “Results of the Election Campaign,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 2, no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 5.
- 203 “*I don’t want politics*”: Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 257.
- 203 “*absolute fair dealing*”: WW to Alexander Walters, October 21, 1912, *PWW*, 25:448.
- 203 “*traitors*”: “Mr. Trotter and Mr. Wilson,” *The Crisis*, vol. 9, no. 3 (January 1915), 119–27, at 120.
- 203 “*made plain enough*”: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” 256.
- 203 “*My own individual life*” ... “*could laugh aloud*”: WW to MAH, November 8, 1914, *PWW*, 31:280.
- 203 *her 1912 divorce*: Peck’s petition for divorce was granted on July 10, 1912. At her request, the judge approved her name change to Mary Hulbert—reverting to the last name of her deceased first husband. “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6. The judgment was entered by default—only she and her son testified; her husband did not appear—but she was granted no alimony. “Mrs. Peck Knows of No Other Woman in Case,” *Berkshire County Eagle* (Pittsfield, MA), July 10, 1912, 3; “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6.
- 203 “*best interests of both races*”: “President Resents Negro’s Criticism,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1914, 1.
- 203 “*fifty years*”: “Mr. Trotter and Mr. Wilson,” *The Crisis*, 120.
- 203 “*to be continued*”: “President Resents Negro’s Criticism,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1914, 1.
- 204 *objected on racial grounds*: Eric S. Yellin, *Racism in the Nation’s Service* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 108–110. The objecting senators were James K. Vardaman (D-MS), “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman (D-SC), and Hoke Smith (D-GA).
- 204 “*spoken to each*”: William G. McAdoo to WW, July 18, 1913, Office of the Appointment Clerk, Secretary of the Treasury, published in *The Arapaho Bee*, October 10, 1913, 1.
- 204 *only days*: Wilson announced the nomination on July 24 and withdrew it on August 2. “Fight Negro for Register,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1913, 4; “Drops Negro as Candidate,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1913, 35.
- 204 “*You say*” ... “*no suggestion of mine*”: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 250.
- 204 *all my life*: “Drops Negro as Candidate,” *New York Times*. Despite publicly opposing a Black appointee, Democratic senators privately promised not to block the nomination. Senator Robert L. Owen (D-OK) explained that, if “the administration had concluded” it would leave “a Negro in the office,” this “would be agreeable” to him. But he also wished the administration to know he “did not approve of the policy.” Robert L. Owen to William H. Murray, September 16, 1913, Office of the Appointment Clerk, Secretary of the Treasury, published in *The Arapaho Bee*, October 10, 1913, 1.
- 204 “*Negro men over white women*”: WW to Thomas Dixon, July 29, 1913, *PWW*, 28:94.
- 204 *Dixon had complained*: Thomas Dixon to WW, July 27, 1913, *PWW*, 28:88–89.
- 204 “*plan of concentration*”: WW to Thomas Dixon, July 29, 1913, *PWW*, 28:94.
- 204 *never again be welcome*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 260.
- 204 *turn his support*: *Ibid.*, 263n6.
- 204 “*damn fool enough*”: *Ibid.*, 263n5.
- 205 *to the states*: Johanna Neuman, *Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites Who Fought for Women’s Right to Vote* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 119. The State Historical Society of Missouri has observed that “Although Clark championed the causes of his constituents and the Democratic party, he failed to sponsor any significant legislation during his time in office.” “Historic Missourians: Champ Clark,” State Historical Society of Missouri, shsmo.org. For Clark’s earliest views on women’s suffrage, see text at 156 and corresponding endnote “*for thirty years*.”
- 205 *suffrage opponent*: “Plans of the Rules Committee,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 2, no. 50 (December 12, 1914), 2. In 1919, Henry would found a men’s organization in Texas pledged “to combat woman suffrage in Texas and to take from women the right they now have.” Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 118.
- 205 *do just that*: *HWS*, 5:449.

- 205 *convened a hearing*: HWS, 5:469.
- 205 *friendly group ... "all my life"*: "President Refuses to Aid Suffragists," *New York Times*, January 7, 1915, 12; "Suffragists to Call on Wilson Wednesday," *Titusville (PA) Herald*, January 4, 1915, 3.
- 206 *party position ... "individual states"*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1420 (remarks of Rep. Underwood).
- 206 *"Disorder, chaos, crime"*: Ibid., 1448 (remarks of Rep. Bartlett).
- 206 *stubbornly repeated*: In the same week that the House Rules Committee reported out Rep. Mondell's Anthony Amendment, Wilson met with the president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, Anne Martin, who lobbied him to support it. He declined, insisting that women should pursue the franchise in each separate state, not in Washington through a constitutional amendment. "That is the way," Wilson instructed, "it should be done—by States." Martin's protestations that amending so many different constitutions presented "immense difficulty" did not move him. "President Talks to Anne Martin," *The Woman's Journal*, vol. 45, no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 1.
- 206 *leadoff Republican*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1408 (remarks of Rep. Campbell).
- 207 *"shot into the Constitution"*: Ibid., 1430 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 207 *party lines ... nays included*: Democrats voted 171–86 against; Republicans voted 74–30 in favor. (Other parties provided the balance of the nays.) 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1); Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 125; "Suffrage Meets Defeat in House," *Washington Post*, January 13, 1915, 1; Eileen McDonagh, "Issues and Constituencies in the Progressive Era: House Roll Call Voting on the Nineteenth Amendment, 1913–1919," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 51, no. 1 (February 1989), 126; David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 95.
- 207 *"consistently maintained"*: "Believe Wilson Will Come Out," *The Woman's Journal*, vol. 46, no. 4 (January 23, 1915), 25; "Expect to Win Wilson: Women Think He Will Support Suffrage in New Jersey," *Washington Post*, January 15, 1915, 4.
- 207 *In private*: Nancy Saunders Toy Diary, January 15, 1915, *PWW*, 32:21–22; Virginius Dabney, "The Human Side of Woodrow Wilson," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Fall 1956), 508–523, at 513; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Crawford Howell Toy: The Man, The Scholar, the Teacher* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2019), 247. In an entire chapter devoted to Nancy Saunders Toy, biographer Parsons evaluates speculation that Toy may have been putting her own thoughts into Wilson's words in this diary entry. See Victoria Bissell Brown, "Did Wilson's Gender Politics Matter?," in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 141. For reasons including Toy's "progressive stance on most social issues," her friendship with Wilson's suffragist daughter Margaret, and her own career in higher education, Parsons concludes "it is unlikely that she was projecting her own view onto Wilson." Parsons, *Crawford Howell Toy*, 248.
- 208 *"solidly and conclusively"*: "The Attitude of the President—and the Suffragists," *The Woman's Protest* (New York: National Organization Against Woman Suffrage, January 1915), 6.

## 16. 'Not One Step Nearer'

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- 209 *met with Dixon*: Thomas Dixon to JPT, January 27, 1915, *PWW*, 32:142 and n1.
- 209 *publicity campaign ... McKinley*: "Staging the Clansman," *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1915, 53; *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1915, 1 (two-column, page one advertisement); "California's Early Battle with 'Birtherism': D.W. Griffith, the NAACP, the Ku Klux Klan and the Courts," *California Supreme Court Historical Society Review* (Fall/Winter 2001), 4n2.
- 209 *"bitter and unjust"*: "Censors Edit 'The Clansman,'" *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1915, Part 7, 12.
- 209 *temporarily halted*: "Ban Clansman, City Tells Film Censors," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, February 3, 1915, 8; "Film Is Attacked," *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, February 4, 1915, 5; "Ban Clansman, Council Orders Police

- Chief,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, February 8, 1915, 2; “Fear Play Might Cause Racial Prejudices; Los Angeles City Council Order Production of ‘The Clansman’ Stopped,” *Pomona Progress*, February 8, 1915, 1 (UPI wire story); “Trouble Over ‘The Clansman,’” *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1915, pt. 2, 6; “Fight Against ‘The Clansman’ Lost by City,” *California Eagle*, February 13, 1915, 1.
- 209 *protests and litigation*: Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation: A History of “The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 129–31.
- 210 *opened in Los Angeles*: The film debuted at the 2,700 seat Clune’s Auditorium across from Central Park (renamed Pershing Square three years later, after victory in the World War).
- 210 *“greatest picture”*: “Trouble Over the Clansman,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1916, pt. 2, 6.
- 210 *red flag*: Grace Kingsley, “Staging ‘The Clansman,’” *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1915, Part 3a, 10.
- 210 *grandiose title*: Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 168; White House program for screening, in John Cuniberti, *“The Birth of a Nation”: A Formal Shot-by-Shot Analysis Together with Microfiche* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1979); *New York Times*, February 28, 1915, sec. 7, 6 (advertisement). Griffith copyrighted the film as *The Birth of a Nation; or The Clansman* on February 13. Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2004), 117–141, at 138n32.
- 210 *joined the president*: “President to See Movies,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1915, 1; “White House Will Have ‘Movie’ Show,” *Washington Times*, February 18, 1915, 1; “‘Movie’ for President Shown in White House,” (*Salisbury, NC*) *Evening Post*, February 22, 1915, 1; “President Views Pictures,” *Erie Sentinel*, February 20 1915, 1.
- 210 *emblazoned: The Birth of a Nation*, directed by D.W. Griffith (Los Angeles, CA: David W. Griffith Corp., 1915), intertitles.
- 211 *Newspapers across the country*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 315 n1; “President Witnesses Moving Pictures in the White House,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 19, 1915, 5; “Face Cards View Film,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1915, pt. 3, 4.
- 211 *“President’s interest”*: “President to See Movies,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1915, 1.
- 211 *Wilson reached out*: Though he would later take political cover from criticism of the movie’s racism and his evident endorsement of it, Wilson made no contemporaneous protest, nor did he attempt to warn the members of the Supreme Court, the Congress, the diplomatic corps, and those of his cabinet who had missed the first night, and for whom Dixon arranged a showing the following evening under the auspices of the National Press Club. Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2004), 117–141, at 122; “Movies at Press Club; Pictures Based on Thomas Dixon’s ‘Clansman’ Shown to Large Gathering,” *Washington Post*, February 20, 1915, 5; “‘Birth of Nation’ Has Premiere Here,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1915, 8. Arthur Link, to whose scholarship all Wilson biographers are indebted, nods Homerically when he editorializes that Wilson, along with members of the Supreme Court and both houses of Congress, “fell into Dixon’s trap.” Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 253. Wilson could not have been surprised by the film’s subject matter. He knew far more about Dixon than most people in America, and the public had heard a decade of warnings about *The Clansman*. At the National Press Club screening, attended by Chief Justice White (a former Klansman) and other justices, 38 senators, and some 50 House members, the audience “cheered and applauded throughout the three hours.” “Birth of a Nation Has Premiere Here,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1915, 8. Wilson’s letter to Griffith two weeks after the White House screening gives every indication he enjoyed the film. WW to David W. Griffith, March 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:325; Gary Gerstle, “Race and Nation in the Thought and Politics of Woodrow Wilson,” in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 93–123, at 111 and n69.
- 211 *like Wilson*: James Hart, ed., *The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D.W. Griffith* (Louisville: Touchstone Publishing Co., 1972), 24–26; Richard Schickel, *D.W. Griffith: An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 15, 19–22, 24, 29.
- 211 *“so impressed”*: Michael Rogin, “The Sword Became A Flashing Vision,” in *Michael Paul Rogin: Derangement and Liberalism*, Alyson Cole and George Shulman, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 99–133, at 102; WW to David

- W. Griffith, March 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:325. While there is no evidence Griffith accepted this offer of cinematic help from Wilson, there is circumstantial evidence that Wilson later sought and got help from Griffith. Griffith provided his personal endorsement in advertisements for the 1916 feature film “Motion Picture Portrait Studies of President Wilson and His Cabinet—The U.S. Government in Action,” a barely disguised piece of reelection propaganda. Jeff Menne and Christian B. Long, eds., *Film and the American Presidency* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 91n2. Another favor may have come when Wilson was seeking work for Mary Hulbert. With no prior acting experience, she landed a minor part in Griffith’s 1918 movie *The Great Love*. Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 257–58.
- 211 “*at any time*”: Wilson’s cordiality at the White House reception left Dixon and his entourage “wildly enthusiastic.” Thomas Dixon to WW, February 20, 1915, *PWW*, 32:267. Including the pre-screening reception, the president devoted more than four hours to his guests. It is no wonder he hurriedly left the East Room “without saying a word” once the three-hour film ended. *Ibid.*, n1. At the time he was dealing with multiple crises: Germany’s threat to sink merchant vessels around the British Isles, and a four-way dispute involving the U.S., Japan, China, and Britain. “German Reply Friendly in Tone, But Its Substance Causes Concern,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1915, 1; “The German Reply,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1915, 8; “Wilson to Send a Note to Japan,” *New York Times*, February 20, 1919, 1.
- 211 *implicit endorsement*: John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 272; Rogin, “The Sword Became a Flashing Vision,” 100; Edward Douglass White to JPT, *PWW*, April 5, 1915, 32:486.
- 211 “*a man we all revere*”: “Interview with D.W. Griffith,” *New York American*, February 21, 1915, sec. M, 9; Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 117–141, at 122, 139 and n57. An embellished version of this quotation, later attributed to Wilson, is thought to be apocryphal. Mark E. Benbow, “Birth of a Quotation: Woodrow Wilson and ‘Like Writing History with Lightning,’” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 9, no. 4 (October 2010), 522–23, 527–28.
- 211 *worldwide audience*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 125; “Cast of Epic Film Has Reunion,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1930, A3. According to University of California literary scholar James Hart, Vladimir Lenin—who also viewed the film and immediately grasped the medium’s power as propaganda—remarked that *The Birth of a Nation* was “an express train among pushcarts.” Hart, *The Man Who Invented Hollywood*, 109. After the White House screening, Dixon told Tumulty that motion pictures could move public opinion and “the will could be overwhelmed,” which was his true reason for making the film: so that “every man in the audience” might be turned “into a good Democrat.” *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 407; Thomas Dixon to JPT, May 1, 1915, *PWW*, 32:142n1. Dixon later made the same comment to Wilson, assuring the president the movie “is transforming the entire population of the North and West into sympathetic Southern voters. There will never be an issue of your segregation policy.” Thomas Dixon to WW, September 5, 1915, WWP, quoted in Link, *The New Freedom*, 253n39.
- 211 *Wilson’s first attempt*: At the end of March, when a Wilson friend pressed him to publicly disown the film, he resisted, instructing Tumulty to say only “I have expressed no opinion about it.” WW to Warren Forman Johnson, March 29, 1915, *PWW*, 32:454; Margaret Blaine Damrosch to JPT, March 27, 1915, *PWW*, 32:455.
- 211 *10,000 people*: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 116.
- 211 *Trotter succeeded*: “Birth of Nation Causes Near Riot,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 1915, 1; “Trotter Attacks the Play,” *ibid.*, 3; “Say Box Office Discriminated,” *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1915, 8; “Hit by Officer, Trotter Says,” *Boston Globe*, May 3, 1915, 5; “Heard Trotter Make Threats,” *Boston Globe*, April 30, 1915, 5; “Trotter on the Stand,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 3, 1915, 2; “Puller Freed, Trotter Fined,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 5, 1915, pt. 2, 12; “Trotter Fined \$20, Appeals,” *Boston Globe*, May 5, 1915, 1.
- 212 *attacked Wilson personally*: Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900–1942* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 60; “Protests at Faneuil Hall,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 19, 1915, 5; “Name of Wilson Hissed,” *Boston Globe*, April 19, 1915, 3; “Protest by Mr. Jordan,” *ibid.*
- 212 *Democratic governor ... growing chorus*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 140–41, 148. Moorfield Storey was president of the American Bar Association from 1896 to 1896, and president of the Massachusetts Bar Association from

- 1913 to 1914. At the time of the Boston protests against *The Birth of a Nation* he was president of the NAACP. Ibid., 141.
- 212 *2,000 Bostonians*: “State House Affairs—Negroes Hear Opponents—Throng Listens to ‘Birth of Nation’ Supporters,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 26, 1915, 2; “Colored People to Storm State House,” *Boston Globe* (morning edition), April 19, 1915, 1; “Gov. Walsh and O’Meara Will Appeal to Courts on ‘Nation’ Film,” *Boston Globe* (evening edition), April 19, 1915, 12; “Trotter Addresses the Crowd,” *ibid.*
- 212 *sensed a crisis ... same chief justice*: Edward D. White to JPT, April 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:486; Rogin, “The Sword Became a Flashing Vision,” 102–03; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 149; Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 171–72; Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 411.
- 212 *president “approved”*: Rep. Thomas Chandler Thacher to JPT, April 17, 1915 (with enclosures), WWP, Series 4, Executive Office File, 1913–21, Case File 2247, images 420–22. According to two witnesses present at the hearing, a lawyer for Griffith and Dixon testified the film “had received the endorsement and approval of the president.” Franklin T. Hammon and J. Mott Hollowell to Annie Fisher, April 15, 1915 (enclosed with Thacher to JPT). Griffith himself testified at the hearing, leaving “the impression that the president favored it,” according to another witness who attended the hearing. Griffith “went on to say that he would not read what Woodrow Wilson had said,” indicating that the president had remarked favorably on the film and that he had written down what Wilson said. Statement of Anna Phillips Williams re April 7, 1915 hearing at Boston City Hall (enclosed with Thacher to JPT). The April 7 clipping Thacher enclosed has not been identified, *PWW*, 33:86n1, but other stories reported similar witness statements. For example, “Name of Wilson Hissed,” *Boston Globe*, April 19, 1915, 3, quoted the chairman of the hearing as stating “the President is credited with approving ‘The Birth of a Nation.’”
- 212 *Tumulty had an idea*: JPT to WW (via Warren F. Johnson), April 24, 1915, *PWW*, 33:68.
- 212 *“unspeakable fellow”*: WW to JPT, April 24, 1915, *PWW*, 33:68.
- 212 *“entirely unaware”*: WW to JPT, April 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:86. For the entirety of his presidency, and his life, Wilson never said a word in public against the movie. Even when, at the height of the World War, he was informed that plans to reprise it in Washington, DC were “hurting the Liberty Loan and Red Cross subscriptions among colored people,” he offered no public expression of concern. In private to Tumulty, three years after his White House screening, he said that he had “always felt” the movie was “very unfortunate.” But the concern he expressed at that time was that it not be shown “in communities where there are so many colored people.” WW to JPT, c. April 22, 1918, *PWW*, 47:388n3. This recalls the approach taken during the 1915 Boston protests against the film, when the exhibitors refused to sell tickets to Black people. “Say Box Office Discriminated,” *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1915, 8.
- 212 *signed it*: Tumulty sent it the day Wilson approved the text. JPT to Thomas Chandler Thacher, April 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:86n2; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 149.
- 212 *box office records*: Joel Waldo Finler, *The Hollywood Story* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003), 47; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 287n1.
- 213 *normalized it*: Helen Klein Ross, “Hatred Endorsed by a President,” *Lapham’s Quarterly*, November 8, 2018.
- 213 *new life*: William Simmons, “How I Put Over the Klan,” interview with William G. Shepherd, *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 82, no. 2 (July 14, 1928), 35.
- 213 *inaugural cross burning*: David B. Freeman, *Carved in Stone: The History of Stone Mountain* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 52.
- 213 *flaming crosses*: Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 146.
- 213 *five million members*: “Religious and Patriotic Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan,” pamphlet (Waco, TX: Rev. W.C. Wright, 1926), 13.
- 213 *written constitution*: Ibid.
- 213 *anti-suffrage novel*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 189. Like Dixon’s book *The Clansman*—which had attracted the attention of filmmaker D.W. Griffith, a southern Democrat and Wilson admirer—*The Foolish Virgin* would soon be sold to Lewis J. Selznick for production as a motion picture. Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 109–10. Selznick was notable not only as a pioneer Hollywood filmmaker but as the father of David O. Selznick, who would later produce the definitive



- paean to the Confederacy, *Gone with the Wind*. Margaret Mitchell would credit Dixon as her inspiration for the novel on which the movie was based. Richard Harwell, ed., *Margaret Mitchell's Gone With the Wind Letters 1936–1949* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976), 52; Mark Calney, “D.W. Griffith and “The Birth of A Monster,”” *The American Almanac*, January 11, 1993. In turn, *Gone with the Wind* would finally break the box office records set by *Birth of a Nation*.
- 213 *sole heir*: Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 65, 69–70. Edith was the sole executor and legatee of her first husband’s will. She received all of the profits from the business until she sold it in 1918, ten years after his death, inheriting as her share \$85,705, approximately \$1.8 million in current dollars. *Ibid.*, 70.
- 213 *anti-suffragist*: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 19, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library; “Gives Joy to Suffragists: Mrs. Wilson, Once Counted Among Antis, Hears President’s Speech,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1918, 13; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 165, 180–81; Rebecca Boggs Roberts, *Untold Power: The Fascinating Rise and Complex Legacy of First Lady Edith Wilson* (New York: Viking, 2023), 117–19.
- 213 *slave-owning family*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 58–59; Roberts, *Untold Power*, 10.
- 214 *invite her*: Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 108; Roberts, *Untold Power*, 74–75; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 52–54.
- 214 *he proposed*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 60–61.
- 214 *constant attentions ... presidential yacht*: James S. McCallops, *Edith Bolling Galt Wilson: The Unintended President* (New York: Nova History Publications, 2003), 13–15; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 81.
- 214 *daily*: Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 66; August Heckscher, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1991), 349.
- 214 *purposeful secrecy*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 56; Cooper, *Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 283.
- 214 *“the very inside”*: WW to MAH, September 20, 1914, *PWW*, 31:59.
- 214 *“think about you”*: WW to MAH, March 14, 1915, *PWW*, 32:371.
- 214 *“unable to answer”*: WW to MAH, April 4, 1915, *PWW*, 32:475.
- 214 *begged off again*: WW to MAH, April 21, 1915, *PWW*, 33:60.
- 214 *secret marriage proposal*: WW to EBG, May 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:278; EBG to WW, May 28, 1915, *ibid.*; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 56.
- 214 *“stop over” ... interrupted by business*: Helen Woodrow Bones to MAH, May 29, 1915, *PWW*, 33:286 and n1; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 23–26, at 25.
- 215 *several letters*: MAH to WW, June 10, 1915, *PWW*, 33:382; MAH to WW, June 16, 1915, *PWW*, 33:412; MAH to WW, June 20, 1915, *PWW*, 33:424.
- 215 *“moment’s hesitation”*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 19–22, at 21.
- 215 *a loan*: Horace Herbert Clark to WW, July 28, 1915, *PWW*, 34:39 and n1.
- 215 *“bank after bank”*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 21.
- 215 *“a Jew gentleman”*: MAH to WW, June 16, 1915, *PWW*, 33:412.
- 215 *Hulbert notified ... “excellent investments”*: Sufficient documentation survives for these transactions to piece together the whole thing. Mary recounted that when she first wrote Wilson asking for money, she proposed that he “advance \$7,500, taking the mortgages for \$15,000 [the face value of the mortgage notes] as security.” She added that Wilson immediately sent “a check or draft.” The loan documentation followed. Wilson met with Mary’s financial agent on two occasions; a third conference between the two men took place by telephone on July 19, the day Wilson signed a receipt for the mortgages that served as loan collateral. Mary’s signed promissory note was mailed to Wilson on July 28. Shortly after signing her promissory note, Mary determined it would be “impossible for [her] to meet the obligation.” On August 6, Mary’s agent confirmed Wilson’s agreement to convert the loan to a purchase of the mortgage collateral. The agent calculated that Wilson would then owe Mary an additional \$7,500, less the amount of unpaid interest to date on the loan. He also offered Wilson “a discount of 2-1/2%,” which he said equaled \$375, on the face value of the mortgages. Since \$375 is 2-1/2% of \$15,000, this confirms the purchase price for all of the mortgages was at par, i.e., \$15,000. Wilson declined the proffered

- discount, waived the unpaid interest on the loan, and paid full face value for the mortgages. MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 21; Receipt dated July 19, 1915, Wilson Papers, Series 14, Mary Allen Hulbert (Peck), 1907–1919, Manuscript Division, image 205, Library of Congress; Horace Herbert Clark to WW, July 28, 1915, *PWW*, 34:39 and n1; Clark to WW, August 6, 1915, *PWW*, 34:117. That Wilson wrote not one but two checks is further evidenced by the fact that Mary refers to multiple payments from Wilson (“these checks”). Colonel House recorded in his diary, immediately following Wilson’s telling him so, that the amount Wilson sent was \$15,000. House also recorded that McAdoo’s understanding was that Wilson had sent this amount. EMH Diary, September 22, 1915, *PWW*, 34:506. Measured in 2024 dollars, the amount Wilson paid Mary Hulbert was \$466,227. For further corroborating analysis, see Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 296–97, notes 71, 84.
- 215 “neglecting practically everything”: EMH Diary, July 31, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:199.
- 215 *secretly accepted*: EBG to WW, June 29, 1915, *PWW*, 33:458.
- 215 “everything that is in me”: WW to EBG, August 13, 1915, *PWW*, 34:190.
- 215 *New Jersey campaign*: New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, “Campaign Statement: A Resume of Campaign Activities and an Analysis of the Vote on the Woman Suffrage Amendment in the State of New Jersey,” October 19, 1915, Ann Lewis Women’s Suffrage Collection.
- 216 *public assurances*: “Wilson to Tell Stand in Time,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 20 (May 15, 1915), 158; “President Will Take Stand Soon,” *ibid.*, no. 30 (July 24, 1915), 231.
- 216 “salacious and incriminating”: Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 65.
- 216 “implicated”: WW to MAH, September 29, 1912, *PWW*, 25:284; MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 35 (January 3, 1925), 8–12, at 12.
- 216 “quite possible”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 15.
- 216 “apothecary’s clerk”: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 269.
- 216 “amiable Mrs. Peck”: “Saunterings,” *Town Topics, The Journal of Society*, vol. 73, no. 6 (February 11, 1915), 1.
- 216 “so persistent”: *Ibid.*, vol. 74, no. 10 (September 2, 1915), 1.
- 216 *confronted him*: House believed the tip, contained in an anonymous letter, was “not genuine,” but that McAdoo used the letter to get the President to discuss the payments to Hulbert. EMH Diary, September 22, 1915, *PWW*, 34:506–07; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 431 and n2.
- 216 “for not waiting”: EMH Diary, July 31, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:199; Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 452; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Confusion and Crises 1915–1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 4–5. Not just McAdoo but virtually the entire Wilson cabinet, as well as Colonel House and Joe Tumulty, feared that remarrying so soon after his wife’s death could spell political disaster, but they worried even more about Mary Hulbert. Link, *Confusion and Crises*, *ibid.* She sensed as much. When *Munsey’s Magazine* asked why Wilson did not marry her after Ellen died, she answered, “Because Tumulty and McAdoo wouldn’t let him.” Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 21, 1940, Woodrow Wilson Collection, MC168, Public Policy Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- 217 “stained and unworthy”: WW to EBG, September 19, 1915, *PWW*, 34:491–92.
- 217 “contemptible error”: WW to EBG, September 21, 1915, *PWW*, 34:497.
- 217 “while it lasted”: WW, “Analysis of the Statement; Admission,” c. September 20, 1915, *PWW*, 34:496.
- 217 “deeply ashamed”: WW, draft statements, *ibid.*
- 217 “pale and bleeding”: EBG to WW, September 22, 1915, Edith Bolling Galt Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 115.
- 217 “make any trouble”: Even after the public announcement of the engagement, worries persisted over Mary Hulbert. On November 27, 1915, a White House aide who had “personally seen reams of letters from the President go to Mrs. Hulbert” wondered whether she was “going to make any trouble” and questioned whether “the wedding can go on.” MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 19.

- 217 “*political considerations*”: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 120.
- 217 “*lessen political reaction*”: Lewis L. Gould, ed., *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 240; Link, *Confusion and Crises*, 12–13.
- 217 *juxtaposed the two*: “President to Wed Mrs. Norman Galt”; “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage, Will Vote for New Jersey Amendment,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 217 “*she’s against it*”: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 19, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, Box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library. Grayson knew Edith Bolling well; she and his fiancée were friends. Roberts, *Untold Power*, 56–57.
- 218 “*knocked by the women*”: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 12, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, Box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library.
- 218 *plaintive reply*: MAH to WW, October 11, 1915, *PWW*, 35:53.
- 218 *To herself*: Ibid.; Frances Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979), 68.
- 218 *down to defeat*: “Overwhelming Defeat for Suffrage Amendment,” *Plainsfield Courier-News*, October 20, 1915, 1.
- 218 “*settled by the States*”: “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 218 *rebranded*: “National Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 5 (January 30, 1915), 5 (first usage of “the Susan B. Anthony Amendment” in the *Suffragist*); Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 215.
- 218 “*not encourage*”: “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 218 “*helpful statement*”: Ibid.
- 218 *harsh terms ... “Do not send”*: “Women Voters,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 1. Not only those inside the Congressional Union felt this way. “Probably he has no special interest in equal suffrage,” wrote Lucy Salmon in *The Nation*, “no more after having voted for it.” His former graduate fellow, now a professor of history at Vassar, attributed Wilson’s barren record on women’s suffrage to his “natural inhibitions.” “Woodrow Wilson: The President’s Policies Analyzed in the Light of His Natural Inhibitions and His Past Record,” *The Nation*, vol. 103, no. 2672 (September 14, 1916), 256–58, at 257 (pseudonymously signed “A. Neutral”).
- 219 “*hasty line*” ... “*Why?*”: WW to MAH, November 10, 1915, *PWW*, 35:187; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 137; Frances Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979).
- 219 *discussed marriage*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 25; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 137.
- 219 “*I loved him*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 5–9, at 9. In her memoir, she wrote that when she heard the news she clung to the copy of the *Oxford Book of English Verse* that Wilson had given her, and choked up when recalling the lines he had recited to her on Bermuda’s South Shore. “For even the purest delight may pall,” Wilson had read, “And the love of the dearest friends grow small.” MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 172, 279; “Dominus Illuminatio Mea,” no. 883 in A. T. Quiller-Couch, ed., *The Oxford Book of English Verse, 1250–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 1058.

## 17. ‘A Towering Rage’

PAGE

- 220 *turned them down*: “Suffragists Renew Siege of President,” *New York Times*, December 7, 1915, 13; *SWP*, 115–16.
- 220 *same day*: “Wilson Hears Pleas of Pros and Antis,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1915, 8; “President Wilson Sees Suffrage Delegation,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 51 (December 18, 1915), 2; “Anti-Suffragists See President,” *ibid.*
- 220 “*a man believes*”: *HWS*, 5:469. Cat’s testimony, delivered on December 16, 1915, was given to the House Committee on the Judiciary, not the Committee on Woman Suffrage as reported in *HWS* by Ida Husted Harper. The House Committee on Woman Suffrage was not created until September 24, 1917, and did not hold its first meeting until January 3, 1918.

- 220 *private ceremony*: “President Wilson Weds Mrs. Galt in Her Home with Simple Ceremony,” *New York Times*, December 19, 1915, 1
- 220 “*nothing to do*”: WW to Margaret Randolph Axson Elliott, December 26, 1915, *PWW*, 35:392.
- 220 *cut short*: JPT to WW, January 2, 1916, *PWW*, 35:419; Robert Lansing to WW, January 3, 1916, *PWW*, 35:422.
- 220 *only domestic issue*: Trisha Franzen, *Anna Howard Shaw: The Work of Woman Suffrage* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 167.
- 221 “*long as necessary*” ... “*like a glacier*”: “Interview with President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 5 (January 29, 1916), 5; “The Deputation to President Wilson,” *ibid.*, no. 6 (February 5, 1916), 4; WW Remarks to the Congressional Union, January 27, 1916, *PWW*, 36:3 and n1; “Women Force Wilson to Say No to Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 28, 1916, 2. Wilson brought the meeting to an abrupt end the moment a delegate attempted to ask a question. This “tried his patience.” *PWW*, 36:3 and n1.
- 221 *various wordings*: Jennie Bradley Roessing to WW, April 14, 1916, *PWW*, 36:484–85. In reply, Wilson made it clear the process must be “state by state.” At the Democratic convention, when the delegates were told that Wilson deemed the “state by state” plank “imperative to his success in November,” they passed it by an overwhelming vote. “Convention Harmony Is Upset by Clash Over Suffrage Plank; Majority Upheld on Roll Call,” *Washington Post*, June 17, 1916, 4. Three days after the convention, Wilson reiterated in a note to Catt his position that suffrage was a question for “the several states.” WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, *PWW*, 37:266.
- 221 *tour of the West ... winning endorsements*: “Farewell Given to Suffrage Envoys,” *Washington Times*, April 10, 1916, 5; “Suffrage Heralds Go,” *Washington Post*, April 10, 1916, 2; *SWP*, 152; “Review of the Year,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 54 (January 10, 1917), 4.
- 221 *in the headlines*: “‘Suffrage Special’ Starts on Its Tour,” *San Francisco Examiner*, April 10, 1916, 1; “All Women To Have the Vote,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1916, pt. 2, 6; “The ‘Suffrage Special’ and Its Mission,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1916, pt. 2, 5; “Final Plea Made by Suffragists,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1916, 5; “The Susan B. Anthony Amendment,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1916, 5; *JFF*, 40–41; Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 237.
- 221 *selecting officers*: “Closing Sessions of the Woman’s Party Convention,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5–7; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 239–40.
- 221 *long roster*: “Woman’s Party Convention,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 23 (June 3, 1916), 3.
- 221 “*flimsy pretext*”: “Woman’s Party, First in World, Born in Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5.
- 221 “*work, independently*”: “Conference of Officers of the Congressional Union,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 15 (April 15, 1916), 4; Platform of the National Woman’s Party (1916), BroadSides and Brochures Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis (IUIPI) University Library.
- 222 *heckled him*: “Women Heckle and Ridicule Party Leaders,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1916, 5; “Closing Sessions,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5–7; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 241.
- 222 *laughable ... “towering rage”*: Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul,” by Amelia R. Fry, *Suffragists Oral History Project*, UC Berkeley (1973), 153–54, 160–61.
- 222 “*Good heavens*”: Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), 262; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 241.
- 222 *love affair*: After their first meeting in Chicago, the couple’s romantic relationship developed quickly. By August, the married Malone was referring to Stevens as the “love of my heart,” pledging his “perfect and constant devotion,” and craving “the power of your love.” Dudley Field Malone to Doris Stevens, August 12, 1916, Papers of Doris Stevens, MC 546, box 22, folder 5, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 222 *in California*: “Democrats Plagued with Their Record on Suffrage,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 1916, 12; “Patton Coming to Finish Up in South,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. 42, no. 307 (October 24, 1916), 7.
- 222 *on June 7*: “Hughes Named, Accepts, Resigns from Bench,” *Washington Post*, June 11, 1916, 1.
- 222 *just as much ink*: “GOP Committee to Hear Women in Main Coliseum,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5; “Birth of the Woman’s Party,” *ibid.*; “Woman’s Party, First in World, Born in Chicago,” *ibid.*; “Women Expect 30,000 to March in Vote Parade,” *ibid.*; “Great National Conventions Bring Crude Men and Stylish Women,” *ibid.*, 4.
- 223 *second stint*: “Officers Elected for National Association,” *Washington Herald*, December 18, 1915, 1.

- 223 *did not ask*: The language Catt submitted stated only that the party “favors the extension of the suffrage to women.” HWS, 5:710. Senator William Borah, a member of the committee, interpreted the GOP plank as adopted as “an unqualified endorsement of woman suffrage” that “left open” the method, neither rejecting nor endorsing the Anthony Amendment. “Senator Borah Interprets Republican Suffrage Plank,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 3.
- 223 *precisely that*: “G.O.P. Committee to Hear Women in Main Coliseum,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5; “Suffragists Invade Platform Hearing,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1916, 4.
- 223 *easier path*: HWS, 5:709–12.
- 223 *Hughes was “convinced”*: “Hughes to Make Suffrage Issue in His Campaign,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 26 (June 24, 1916), 9.
- 223 *“imperative to his success”*: “Convention Harmony Is Upset by Clash Over Suffrage Plank; Majority Upheld on Roll Call,” *Washington Post*, June 17, 1916, 4. Three days after the convention, Wilson reiterated in a note to Catt his position that suffrage was a question for “the several states.” WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, *PWW*, 37:266.
- 223 *“deliberate act”*: Charles A. Beard, “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, vol. 7, no. 91 (July 29, 1916), 329–31, at 330.
- 223 *“Wilson’s policy”*: “The Democratic Convention and National Woman Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 26 (June 24, 1916), 6.
- 223 *“strict neutrality”*: “Planks in the Democratic Platform,” *New York Sun*, June 14, 1916, 1.
- 223 *“saved the country”*: “Bryan Extols President,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1916, 1.
- 223 *“single American child”*: Address of Senator Ollie M. James, June 15, 1916, in J. Bruce Kremer, comp., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (St. Louis: Louis Granat, 1916), 79–91, at 88.
- 223 *unwanted headlines*: “Wilson’s Suffrage Views,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1916, 11.
- 223 *“opposed by conviction”*: *JFF*, 43.
- 223 *“no right” ... “be patient”*: “Suffragist Warns Wilson—Tells President That Women Voters Are Hostile to Him,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1916, 16; *SWP*, 165–66.
- 224 *personally welcomed*: June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 171.
- 224 *potent fundraiser*: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 246–54; HWS, 5:450, 457–58.
- 224 *Her plan ... “through this Congress”*: M. Carey Thomas to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 4, 1916, NAWSA Records, General Correspondence 1839–1961, box 29, reel 19, M. Carey Thomas, image 9, Library of Congress.
- 225 *racial prejudice*: Just weeks before, in a speech to Bryn Mawr students and faculty, she had expressed her hope that the “intellectual supremacy of the white races is maintained ... for centuries to come.” M. Carey Thomas, 1916 Address at the Opening of the College, M. Carey Thomas Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections. In 1903, when a Black student graduated as valedictorian from Philadelphia’s Girl’s High School, tradition would have placed her at Bryn Mawr College, but President Thomas “would not consent to the admission.” “The Earliest Black Graduates of the Nation’s Highest-Ranked Liberal Arts Colleges,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 38 (Winter 2002–03), 104–109, at 108.
- 225 *electoral votes*: “How Many of the Four Million Will Vote?” *Ladies Home Journal*, vol. 33, no. 4 (April 1916), 12.
- 225 *arguments in support ... “never yet felt”*: M. Carey Thomas to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 4, 1916, NAWSA Records, General Correspondence 1839–1961, box 29, reel 19, M. Carey Thomas, image 9, Library of Congress.
- 225 *responded immediately*: “Tells Suffrage Demands,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1916, 6; “Pick Six Moose for G.O.P. Committee,” *New York Sun*, July 6, 1916, 5.
- 226 *Alice Carpenter*: “The Women’s Roosevelt League,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1916, 10.
- 226 *“jolly him along”*: Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 245.
- 226 *“sit tight and profit”*: “Tells Suffrage Demands,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1916, 6.
- 226 *announce it to the nation*: “Mr. Hughes Expected to Declare for National Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 31 (July 29, 1916), 7; “Mr. Hughes Accepts Progressive Platform,” *ibid.*, no. 28 (July 8, 1916), 6; “Women Win Hughes to the Amendment,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1916, 1; “Mr. Hughes for the Anthony Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 32 (August 5, 1916), 6.

- 226 *Two weeks later*: HWS, 5:507.
- 226 *Anthony had urged*: “The Susan B. Anthony Amendment in 1916—‘Failure Is Impossible,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 23 (June 3, 1916), 12.
- 226 *On July 27*: JPT to WW, July 27, 1916, *PWW*, 37:490.
- 227 *five years earlier*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 566–67.
- 227 *“the negro question”*: “Suffragists Seek Fund of \$500,000,” *New York Sun*, August 5, 1916, 1. Blatch provided a substantially identical version of Wilson’s remarks in a later memoir. Blatch and Lutz, *Challenging Years*, 268–69.
- 227 *“still preponderate”*: Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 197.
- 227 *two states*: 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Hearings Before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage on H.J. Res. 200*, January 3, 1918, 19.
- 227 *Catt’s meeting request ... “radical” one*: JPT to WW, July 27, 1916, *PWW*, 37:490; WW to JPT, *PWW*, 37:491; JPT to WW, *ibid.*; all July 27, 1916.
- 227 *“cannot defeat”*: Charles Evans Hughes, Speech of Acceptance at Carnegie Hall, New York, July 31, 1916, *Republican Campaign Textbook* (Washington: Republican National Committee, 1916), 2–19, at 17.
- 228 *caryatid maidens*: “Organist at Hotel Astor,” *Diapason*, vol. 1, no. 8 (July 1, 1910), 3.
- 228 *unconditionally embraced ... page-one headline*: “Women Win Hughes to the Amendment,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1916, 1.
- 228 *“women went wild”*: “Republican Candidate for President Endorses Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 32 (August 5, 1916), 7.
- 228 *sculptor’s model*: John N. Serio, “Elsie Stevens, Audrey Munson, and the Model for the 1916 Dime and Half Dollar,” *Wallace Stevens Journal*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Fall 2018), 153–175, at 153.
- 228 *contributed her wages*: “Financial Report,” *Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 72 (June 9, 1917), 11 (listing Audrey Munson as a contributor to the NWP); James Bone, *The Curse of Beauty: The Scandalous and Tragic Life of Audrey Munson, America’s First Supermodel* (New York: Regan Arts, 2016), 3.
- 228 *“embarrassing solitude”*: Florence Brewer Boeckel, “New Women in Politics,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (November 1916), 432–37, at 434.
- 228 *“already declared”*: “Nation-Wide Suffragists Win Hughes; GOP Nominee Would Have Congress Amend Constitution; He Demands Quick Action,” *New York Tribune*, August 2, 1916, 1.
- 228 *full of cordiality ... “unconvinced”*: HWS, 5:507.
- 228 *became public*: “Hughes Declares for Woman Suffrage While President Wilson Hesitates,” *San Jose Mercury Herald*, August 2, 1916, 9; “Wilson’s Stand Equal to Denial,” *ibid.*
- 228 *White House statement*: “Wilson Unchanged on Suffrage Issue,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1916, 1.
- 229 *Marshall advised him*: Thomas Riley Marshall to WW, August 2, 1916, *PWW*, 37:516.
- 229 *“cost him the election”*: EMH to WW, August 2, 1916, *PWW*, 37:535.
- 229 *“born suffragist” ... “again and again”*: Ellen Duane Davis to WW, August 3, 1916, *PWW*, 37:522; WW to Davis, August 5, 1916, *PWW*, 37:529.
- 229 *“convictions”*: Mary Wilson Thompson to WW, July 30, 1916, *PWW*, 37:502; WW to Thompson, August 3, 1916, *PWW*, 37:518.

## 18. ‘He Kept Us Out of Suffrage’

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- 230 *forged shells*: The Hotchkiss Company in Sharon, Connecticut, four miles from Amenia, made rifle munitions for the Union Army. Federal Writer’s Project, *Connecticut: A Guide to Its Roads, Lore, and People* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1938), 418.
- 230 *national importance*: David L. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2009), 340.
- 230 *committed suffragists*: “The Amenia Conference, August 24–25–26, 1916,” pamphlet, NAACP Papers, Part 11, NAACP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; “Amenia,” *The Crisis*, vol. 12, no. 6 (October 1916),

- 276–77; “Amenia Conference Album,” enclosure to letter from Roy Nash to W. E. B. Du Bois, August 7, 1916, Series 1A, General Correspondence (listing Amenia Conference acceptances), W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Amherst Libraries, University of Massachusetts; NAACP photograph of conference held at estate of Joel Spingarn, Amenia, NY, August 1916 (depicting Addie W. Hunton, William Pickens, Arthur Spingarn, Mary Talbert, and Mary Church Terrell), NAACP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Lewis, *Du Bois*, 340; Joyce A. Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women’s Political Activism* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 47–54.
- 230 *summer estate*: Marshall Van Deusen, *J.E. Spingarn* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971), 60–61; Lewis, *Du Bois*, 340.
- 230 *run for Congress*: Van Deusen, *Spingarn*, 23–24.
- 230 *Four years earlier*: “Spingarn to Fight Butler,” *New York Times*, March 8, 1912, 10; Mark Sullivan, “Armageddon at Chicago,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 49, no. 23 (August 24, 1912), 13.
- 231 *quit the Socialist Party*: W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, ed. Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 118.
- 231 *“since the Civil War”*: W. E. B. Du Bois, “I Won’t Vote,” *The Nation*, vol. 183, no. 16 (October 20, 1956), 324.
- 231 *several arguments*: Sheldon Avery, *Up from Washington: William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality, 1900–1954* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 38–42.
- 231 *“inviolable privacy”*: “Amenia,” *The Crisis*, vol. 12, no. 6 (October 1916), 267–277, at 277.
- 231 *“relic of barbarism”*: Mary Church Terrell, “Woman Suffrage and the 15th Amendment,” in “Votes for Women: A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored America,” *The Crisis*, vol. 10, no. 4 (August 1915), 191.
- 231 *newly elected . . . stressed*: “Mrs. Mary B. Talbert Women’s President,” *Colorado Statesman*, August 26, 1916, 1; Lillian Serece Williams, “National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, Inc.,” in Nina Mjagkij, ed., *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2001), 339–43, at 341.
- 231 *adopted resolutions*: “Colored Women O.K. Hughes for President,” *Washington Evening Star*, August 13, 1916, 8.
- 231 *“tower of strength”*: N. H. Burroughs, “Black Women and Reform,” in “Votes for Women: A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored America,” *The Crisis*, vol. 10, no. 4 (August 1915), 187.
- 231 *Hunton pointed out*: A.W. Hunton, “Y.W.C.A.,” *ibid.*, 188–89, at 189.
- 231 *“votes for (white) women”*: Mary Church Terrell, “Woman Suffrage and the 15th Amendment,” *ibid.*, 191.
- 231 *“produced results”*: Eben Miller, *Born Along the Color Line* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 24.
- 232 *“wholesale murder”*: Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 118.
- 232 *“only alternative”*: Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), *Challenging Years*, 269.
- 232 *grandfather clauses*: In *Guinn v. United States*, 238 U.S. 347 (1915) and *Myers v. Anderson*, 238 U.S. 368 (1915), Hughes voted to strike down the grandfather clauses in Oklahoma and Maryland. The decisions set a precedent for judicial intervention in cases involving race-based voting rights discrimination.
- 232 *striking down segregation*: *McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.*, 235 U.S. 151 (1914).
- 232 *“black race’s redemption”*: George W. Harris, “Colored Citizens and the Present Campaign,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1916), 19–20. Harris was editor of the *New York News* from 1913–1936. In 1920, he was elected as New York City’s first Black alderman, serving until 1924. Everett L. Beanne, “Biographical Sketch of George W. Harris,” 1939, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; *Negro Year Book 1921–22*, ed. Monroe N. Work (Tuskegee Institute, 1922), 423.
- 232 *“due to him”*: “Justice Hughes,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1916), 5.
- 232 *educated readers*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 140–41.
- 232 *largest audience . . . “brass bands”*: “Hughes Is Given Hearty Welcome to Denver,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, August 27, 1916, 1; “Hughes Sums Up Campaign Attacks,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1916, 5.

- 232 “*en masse*”: “Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican Presidential Nominee, Denver’s Distinguished Visitor Today,” *Colorado Statesman*, August 26, 1916, 1.
- 232 *progressive reforms*: Robert F. Wesser, *Charles Evans Hughes: Politics and Reform in New York, 1905–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 304–21.
- 232 *Lenin Prize*: Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 177.
- 232 *voting for Hughes*: Du Bois, “I Won’t Vote” (“In 1916 I took Hughes as the lesser of two evils”); Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909–1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 179; Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 244–64, at 263n6. As of late October, when the November edition of *The Crisis* went to press, Du Bois was torn between Hughes and Allen Benson, the Socialist candidate, although he had been assured by NAACP treasurer John Milholland, father of Inez, that “Hughes’ attitude is right on every question.” In 1912 he had taken a risk on Wilson despite red flags because he “could not let Negroes throw away votes”; for the same reason, in 1916 he chose Hughes over Benson. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 118; “Mr. Hughes,” *The Crisis*, vol. 13, no. 7 (November 1916), 12; Du Bois to JPT, October 24, 1916, *PWW*, 38:522; Du Bois, “I Won’t Vote.”
- 232 *western campaign swing*: “Hughes Plans for Coast Trip,” *New York Tribune*, July 14, 1916, 9.
- 233 *warning signs*: “Worry Over Hughes Trip; Chairman Willcox Faces Storm to Confer with Candidate,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1916, 5.
- 233 *would be best*: Frederick M. Davenport, “The Case of Hiram Johnson: Not Guilty,” *North American Review*, vol. 205, no. 735 (February 1917), 203–220, at 205–06.
- 233 *vetoed any delay*: *Ibid.*, 206.
- 233 *Amendment supporter ... too late*: William R. Willcox to Margaret J. Roberts, August 15, 1916, Margaret Stephenson Roberts Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; Davenport, “The Case of Hiram Johnson,” 206; Spencer C. Olin, Jr., “Hiram Johnson, the California Progressives, and the Hughes Campaign of 1916,” *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 31, no. 4 (November 1962), 403–12, at 405.
- 233 *pilgrimage ... public endorsement*: Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 1:340 and n5; “Johnson Out for Hughes,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1916, 8.
- 233 “*We are not divided*”: “An Invitation from Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1916, 5; Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:340.
- 234 *two-to-one*: Olin, “Hiram Johnson,” 410.
- 234 *at every stop*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:341.
- 234 *not what happened*: “California Moose Complain to Hughes,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1916, 4.
- 234 *excluded Johnson*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:343–44; Davenport, “Hiram Johnson,” 214–15; Olin, “Hiram Johnson,” 406.
- 234 *on his arrival*: “Political Clash Unchanged by Hughes–Rowell Parley,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 18, 1916, 3; “Finds California Torn by Factions,” *New York Times*, August 19, 1916, 4.
- 234 *passing in the night*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:340–49.
- 234 *full public view*: “Crocker Is Determined to Misunderstand, Says Rowell,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 27, 1916, 6; “Bacon’s Plea for Harmony Is Spurned,” *ibid.*; “Hughes Widens California Split,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1916, 1; “Say California Row Won’t Hurt Hughes,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1916, 1; “Hitchcock to Aid Willcox,” *New York Times*, August 23, 1916, 6; “Hughes Turns East; Strife Unallayed,” *New York Times*, August 23, 1916, 7.
- 234 “*Hughes’ attitude*”: “National Campaign from the Viewpoints of the Chairmen,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 27, 1916, 6.
- 234 *Johnson won*: “Majority for Johnson About Twenty Thousand,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 1916, 1.
- 234 “*We still hope*”: Davenport, “Hiram Johnson,” 203 (quoting Chester H. Rowell, Progressive national committeeman, Republican national committeeman, and member of Hughes national campaign committee).
- 235 “*promptly*”: Charles Evans Hughes, Speech of Acceptance at Carnegie Hall, New York, July 31, 1916, Republican Campaign Text-book (Washington: Republican National Committee, 1916), 2–19 at 17.
- 235 *reporters’ tables*: *HWS*, 5:496.



- 235 *theater's entrance*: “Boardwalk at Delaware Ave. showing New Nixon Theatre,” Robert M. Skaler Postcard Collection, Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Athenaeum of Philadelphia Featured Collections.
- 235 *standing ovation ... sashed women*: HWS, 5:496.
- 235 *his remarks*: WW, Address to NAWSA Convention, Atlantic City, September 8, 1916, PWW, 38:161.
- 235 *13 percent*: In 1860, the total U.S. population was 31.44 million, of whom 3.95 million were enslaved people. *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, Public Information Office, 2018).
- 236 *At the conclusion*: HWS, 5:496–99.
- 236 *“shall not quarrel”*: WW, Address to NAWSA Convention, PWW, 38:161; HWS, 5:496–99.
- 236 *“verbal fog”*: “The New Situation in Suffrage,” *New Republic*, vol. 9, no. 108 (November 25, 1916), 85–86.
- 237 *her own address*: Carrie Chapman Catt, “The Crisis,” address to NAWSA convention, Atlantic City, NJ, September 7, 1916, as published in *The Woman's Journal*, vol. 47, no. 38 (September 16, 1916), 299.
- 237 *only in private ... primary elections*: FDL, images 18–20, MS 6–8.
- 237 *eleven states*: The states were: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. In the twelfth state, Illinois, women could vote only in the presidential race.
- 237 *“white primary”*: Stephanie Haught Wade, “John Andrew Riggs and Arkansas’s Primary Suffrage Bill,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 79, no. 3 (Autumn 2020), 254–277, at 263.
- 237 *“primary suffrage”*: Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham: A Suffragist's Life in Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 52–53. Southern suffragists who were committed to the Anthony Amendment felt betrayed. Sue Smith, a NAWSA officer since 1912, quit the organization and joined the National Woman’s Party as a result of Catt’s decision “that the southern states could not expect any help from the National.” Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 170–71.
- 237 *perfectly attuned*: Earlier that year, when Catt worked with Wilson to insert a states’ rights suffrage plank in the 1916 Democratic platform, the Democratic leader of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association protested bitterly. Such deference, she said, made NAWSA complicit in Wilson’s “hypocritical” strategy designed solely “to avoid giving women the vote” in the South. It was unnecessary, she told Catt, since the Democratic candidate was guaranteed to carry the one-party South either way. McArthur and Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham*, 52.
- 238 *question the chair*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 257. She would continue to show the same willingness to compromise on race two years later.
- 238 *Wilson's next stop*: “President Returns and Prepares to Close White House,” *Washington Times*, September 5, 1916, 4.
- 238 *most of the bills*: Wilson lived at the lavish estate courtesy of the undisclosed donors, who paid all costs “except the upkeep of his own household,” an amount that he had “been accustomed to pay for a summer place.” “President Wilson Accepts Shadow Lawn for a ‘Summer Capitol,’ But Will Pay Rent,” *New York Sun*, October 16, 1915, 20. The grand hall alone was 6,000 square feet, surrounded by two tiers of wide galleries beneath a 100-foot high ceiling. The third of five floors was dedicated to an art gallery. “Wilson to Direct 1916 Campaign from Jersey Palace,” *Hedges (MT) Herald*, February 1, 1916, 2; “Summer Capitol Beautiful Home; Jersey to Give Wilsons Welcome,” *Long Branch (NJ) Daily Record*, October 22, 1915, 12.
- 238 *“Kept Us Out of War”*: National Platform of the Democratic Party, 1916, art. 27, in J. Bruce Kremer, comp., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (1916), 121–130, at 130.
- 238 *“mothers of the land”*: Address by Martin H. Glynn, June 14, 1916, *ibid.*, 14–41, at 26.
- 238 *former schoolmate ... western United States*: Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 78.
- 238 *“white woman's burden”*: “Woman Whom Senator Walsh Places in Charge of Big Campaign Work,” (Helena) *Independent-Record*, September 3, 1916, 8; “Mrs. George Bass,” *Little Falls Herald*, August 25, 1916, 5; “Mrs. George Bass at the Helm,” *Rock Island Argus*, August 29, 1916, 3; Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 79.
- 239 *peace message*: Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 53–54.

- 239 “*to the end*”: WW to Jane Jefferson Club, Denver, CO, August 7, 1916, reprinted in full at “President Pledges His Aid To Suffrage,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1916, 1. Wilson understood full well such statements were misleading. “I can’t keep the country out of war,” Josephus Daniels recalled Wilson confiding to him before the election. “Any little German lieutenant can put us into war at any time.” Daniels to Ray Stannard Baker, March 20, 1929, *LL*, 258.
- 239 “*holding off*”: WW, Address at the Chicago Auditorium, January 31, 1916, *PWW*, 36:63.
- 239 “*greater aggressiveness*”: Alice Hamilton, “As One Woman Sees the Issues,” *New Republic*, vol. 8, no. 101 (October 7, 1916), 239–41.
- 239 *Wilson appealed directly*: Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women’s Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women’s Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 73.
- 239 “*unneutral*”: J. Lee Thompson, *Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 147.
- 239 “*loyalty to [a] foreign power*”: WW, Address at Long Branch, New Jersey Accepting the Democratic Nomination for President, September 2, 1916, *PWW*, 38:126.
- 239 “*only one choice*”: WW, Campaign Speech to Young Democrats at Shadow Lawn, *PWW*, September 30, 1916, 38:301; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916–1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 105–06.
- 239 “*If You Want War*”: Thompson, *Never Call Retreat*, 152.
- 239 “*go to hell*”: Joslyn Barnhart and Robert F. Trager, “How Women Shape the Course of War: Women’s Suffrage and the Election of 1916,” *Security Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4 (August 2022), 703–735, at 716n57.
- 239 “*our own citizens*” ... *Villa’s raids*: WW, Address at Long Branch, New Jersey Accepting the Democratic Nomination for President, September 2, 1916, *PWW*, 38:126.
- 240 “*too proud to fight*”: WW, Address to Naturalized Citizens at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, *PWW*, 33:147. Even so, Secretary of State Bryan deemed Wilson’s private diplomatic correspondence with Germany too bellicose. Wilson’s increasing abandonment of strict neutrality in favor of the Allies ultimately led to Bryan’s resignation in June 1915. William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, vol. 10 (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1925), 395–428.
- 240 “*inevitable*” ... “*cannot tell them*”: JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 159.
- 240 “*ought to be in now*”: Harold Garnet Black, *The True Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1946), 160–61. Arthur Link believed Secretary of War Garrison “understood Wilson’s faults better than almost any other member of his circle.” Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 121. Garrison judged harshly Wilson’s willingness to decide issues of war and peace on the basis of politics. “He was a man of high ideals but no principles,” Garrison wrote privately of Wilson after his death. Lindley M. Garrison to William E. Brooks, February 24, 1929, Papers of William E. Brooks, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 240 “*sordid, soft, and spineless*”: Theodore Roosevelt, “The Soul of the Nation,” Address at Cooper Union, November 3, 1916, in Herman Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 20 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 515–27, at 527; Thompson, *Never Call Retreat*, 151.
- 240 *her own slogan*: “Call to the Women Voters: ‘Vote Against Wilson—He Kept Us Out of Suffrage,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 46 (November 11, 1916), 7–9.

## 19. ‘We Might as Well Lie Down and Die’

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- 241 “*promised nothing*”: “Inez Hayes Irwin” in Lina Mainiero, ed., *American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1994), 2:370; *SWP*, 171.
- 241 *campaign swing*: “Mrs. Boissevain Off Today,” *New York Times*, October 4, 1916, 4.
- 241 “*a little while*”: “Last Appeal from Unenfranchised Women,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 42 (October 14, 1916), 7–9, at 9.
- 241 “*transcontinental*”: “Illness Halts Tour of Noted Suffragist,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 24, 1916, 6.

- 242 *unable to finish*: “Faints at Her Highest Point; Inez Milholland Boissevain Falls on Platform,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1916, 15; “Illness Halts Tour of Noted Suffragist,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 24, 1916, 6; “Mrs. Boissevain Faints on Stage,” *Los Angeles Record*, October 24, 1916, 7.
- 242 *martyr*: “Lays Down Life for Women’s Cause,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1916, 1; “Long Struggle Is Vain; Mrs. Boissevain Is Dead,” *Los Angeles Times*, *ibid*; Linda J. Lumsden, *Inez: The Life and Times of Inez Milholland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 174.
- 242 *volcano*: Hannah Kimberley, *A Woman’s Place Is at the Top: A Biography of Annie Smith Peck, Queen of the Climbers* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2017), 286–87.
- 242 *Robins ... Elliott*: “Nation’s Brightest Women Plead the Cause of Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, part 2, 1.
- 243 *Bankrolled*: “Trainload of Prominent Women Will Tour the United States to Campaign for Hughes,” *San Jose Mercury Herald*, September 23, 1916, 1. Hearst re-registered as a Republican for the 1916 election, as a protest against Wilson’s stand on suffrage. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst*, 412–13.
- 243 *Hughes’s example*: “Charles Evans Hughes: Glens Falls–Bred Civil Rights Hero,” *Glens Falls (NY) Chronicle*, January 18, 2016.
- 243 *Black churches*: Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 77.
- 243 *votes on the train*: J. Leonard Bates and Vanette M. Schwartz, “Golden Special: Republican Women Campaign for Charles Evans Hughes for President in 1916,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 37, no. 3 (Summer 1987), 26–35, at 27.
- 243 *to discredit*: Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 79.
- 243 *already visited*: Bates and Schwartz, “Golden Special,” 32.
- 243 *rotten eggs*: Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 170.
- 243 *most luxurious venue*: Ruth Wallach, et al., *Historic Hotels of Los Angeles and Hollywood* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 52.
- 243 *taunted*: “Women Hoodlums Fail to Mar Great Ovation,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, pt. 2, 6.
- 243 *“mass meeting”*: “To Give Women Warm Welcome,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Hats Fly as Hughesettes Reach L.A.,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Wilson Women Heckle Hughes Special Party,” *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, October 18, 1916, 1; “When Greek Meets Greek Then—,” *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Nation’s Brightest Women Plead the Cause of Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, part 2, 1.
- 243 *invaluable positive press*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 78.
- 243 *failing to vote*: “A Message of Cheer and Goodwill for Woodrow Wilson” (advertisement), *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, October 18, 1916, 6. From 1911 to 1916, Hughes and his family lived in the home they built at 2100 16th Street, NW, in the District of Columbia. At the time, he intended to live there with his family “for the remainder of their days.” Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 1:276. Today the impressive structure is the Embassy of Angola.
- 243 *“futile and foolish”*: “Mrs. George Bass at the Helm,” *Rock Island Argus*, August 29, 1916, 3.
- 244 *male politicians*: Antoinette Carter Hughes, the wife of the candidate, was the first to break this barrier when she campaigned alongside her husband on his cross-country whistlestop campaign in 1916. “Why Hughes Really Believes in Suffrage,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 27, 1916, 4.
- 244 *“integrity of principle”*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Contemporary Notes,” *Vassar Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (February 1, 1916), 66.
- 244 *interfering in Mexico*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Nelson O’Shaughnessy and Wife,” summary accompanying photograph, item 2014700506, Library of Congress.
- 244 *“unprecedented pitch”*: *JFF*, 45. Jane Addams, torn between her strong support for the Anthony Amendment and her pacifism, finally opted for Wilson and peace only weeks before the election. But at the same time she told the press she would not “make any statement formally declaring myself.” “Woodrow Wilson Is Good Enough for Jane Addams,” *Day Book* (Chicago), October 14, 1916, 3.

- 244 “*seen everywhere*”: Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 54.
- 244 *political winds*: The film’s opening came just weeks after more than 100,000 marchers and one million spectators in New York City clamored for war preparedness and cheered the flag. “135,683 Serious, Earnest Americans Emphasize Demand for Preparedness in Parade That March-es for 12 Hours,” *New York Times*, May 14, 1916, 1; Brooke Kroeger, *The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 182–83.
- 244 *first movie sequel*: “America Is Invaded Again in the Films; ‘The Fall of a Nation’ Another Sensational Photoplay Plea for Preparedness,” *New York Times*, June 7, 1916, 11.
- 245 *how to influence*: Historian Joel Williamson concluded that Thomas Dixon probably did more to shape the lives of modern Americans than most presidents. Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 140.
- 245 *enemies of preparedness*: Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense: American Women and World War I* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 230.
- 245 “*thirty million*”: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 422.
- 245 “*America first*”: WW, Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, DC, October 11, 1915, *PWW*, 35:47.
- 245 *beat the women*: “Wilson Exhorts the Foreign Born ... Crowd Routs Suffragists,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1916, 1.
- 245 “*petulant tut tut*”: “Banners Torn; Hughes Women Lose Battle,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1916, 1.
- 245 *Hotel Manhattan ... “didn’t choose”*: Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 261–64.
- 246 *\$8 million*: In 1916 dollars, Hulbert said she was offered first \$200,000 and then \$300,000, equivalent to \$5.8 million and \$8.6 million, respectively, in today’s currency. *Ibid.*, 263.
- 246 *doubted it*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 264.
- 246 “*does not know of anyone*”: Draft of EBW to MAH, c. November 1, 1916, *PWW*, 38:589. Link’s commentary indicates this letter was sent, and Hulbert’s memoir makes clear it was received. *Ibid.*, n1; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 264.
- 246 *more than once*: After the large checks Wilson wrote in the summer of 1915, and another he had his cousin Helen Bones send that Mary did not cash, she impatiently prodded him to become involved in promoting her California property sale in the fall: “I ... for the last time am asking you to give the necessary help ... unless you are indifferent.” MAH to WW, November 22, 1915, *PWW*, 35:237 and notes. Wilson did involve himself, including paying for McAdoo’s former secretary to travel to California to inspect the property. Horace Herbert Clark to WW, January 19, 1916, *PWW*, 35:503 and n1.
- 246 *For the time being*: Hulbert would make another pitch for funds in a Los Angeles meeting with Wilson, Edith, and Grayson on September 21, 1919. WW to MAH, September 20, 1919, *PWW*, 419; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 267–77; EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 281; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 42 (February 21, 1925), 25–27. Her final, and most successful, financial exploitation of the relationship came in 1928, when through an agent she successfully negotiated with the former president’s close advisers Bernard Baruch, Ray Stannard Baker, and Josephus Daniels to sell them her cache of Wilson letters. On June 5, 1928, she signed a contract of sale for \$31,500 (over \$575,000 in 2024 currency). The money was provided by Baruch, a wealthy Wall Street financier, under conditions of complete secrecy for the purpose of keeping the letters off the market. According to Hulbert’s memoir, Baker personally took delivery of the letters and paid her for them. Even then, as she later confessed to him, she had held back some letters, claiming to have subsequently destroyed them. After an extensive review of the record, historian Frances Saunders’s explanation for why “most” of the letters “were destroyed or have otherwise disappeared” was that “Wilson’s frequent outpourings were apparently so incriminating.” Frances W. Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979); MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 283–84; Jonathan Daniels, *The End of Innocence* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1954), 292.

- 246 “*a shadowed woman*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 19–22, at 21–22.
- 246 “*showing letters*”: Ibid., no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 8.
- 246 “*Justice sent men*”: Ibid., 6.
- 246 “*mysteriously stopped*”: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 265–66.
- 246 *confronted Wilson*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 12–16, at 15; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 261–64.
- 247 “*vital to the success*”: Paul made this declaration in a letter to Gertrude Hill Cuthbert, daughter of Republican U.S. Senator Nathaniel Hill. Alice Paul to Gertrude Hill (Mrs. Lucius M.) Cuthbert, August 23, 1916, National Woman’s Party Papers, 1891–1940, reel 1, Library of Congress.
- 247 *long-distance*: SWP, 178.
- 247 “*kept us out of suffrage*” “Call to the Women Voters,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 46 (November 11, 1916), 7; “Woman’s Party Orator Makes Final Appeal,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1916, 17.
- 247 *invaded*: Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 270.
- 247 *freshman reformer*: Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War: Shaping an American City* (London: Routledge, 2016), 133.
- 247 *conventional wisdom*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:360.
- 247 *flashed the news*: Spencer C. Olin, *California’s Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911–1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 157.
- 247 *prepared to concede*: JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 218–19; Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:361.
- 247 *finally rested*: Lisa G. Materson, *For the Freedom of Her Race: Black Women and Electoral Politics in Illinois, 1877–1932* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 98–107.
- 248 “*rebuke to Wilson*”: “Women, Register!” *Chicago Defender*, October 7, 1916, 3.
- 248 *Stevens’s reports*: JFF, 46.
- 248 “*prairie fire*”: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:359, 363.
- 248 *Malone had spearheaded*: Dudley Field Malone to WW, September 7, 1917, PWW, 44:167.
- 248 *speaking for Hughes*: Olin, *California’s Prodigal Sons*, 149.
- 248 *endorsed Hughes*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 141.
- 248 *3,421: Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington: CQ Press, 2005), 141.
- 248 *war skeptic*: Howard A. De Witt, “Hiram Johnson and World War I: A Progressive in Transition,” *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 3 (Fall 1974), 295–305.
- 249 “*lie down and die*”: Kathleen Morey to Alice Paul, November 15, 1916, reel 35, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 249 “*race is in peril*”: “The Race Is in Danger,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 4 (December 1916), 170.
- 249 *women defecting*: “Votes of Women and Bull Moose Elected Wilson,” *New York Times*, November 12, 1916, 1.
- 249 “*quavering slogan*”: “Why Wilson Won” (*Literary Digest* advertisement), *New York Tribune*, November 18, 1916, 7.
- 249 “*dedicated pacifist*”: Richard Nixon, Remarks at the Dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, February 18, 1971, *Public Papers of the Presidents, 1971* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 187–88.
- 249 *South Dakota*: “South Dakota,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1916, 2.
- 249 *leading role*: David Oks, “The Election of 1916, ‘Negrowumpism,’ and the Black Defection from the Republican Party,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 20, no. 4 (October 2021), 523–547, at 528.
- 249 “*two to one*”: JFF, 46.
- 250 “*mass peace meeting*”: “New Year Plea for Peace,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1917, 1.
- 250 “*no conviction whatever*”: “The New Situation in Suffrage,” *New Republic*, November 25, 1916, 85.
- 250 “*calamity*”: “Mr. Wilson’s Reelection,” *New York Age*, November 16, 1916, 4. Lucy Burns, speaking for the National Woman’s Party, regarded Wilson as the man who “for four years treated with open contempt the movement for the enfranchisement of women.” “Congressional Union Bitter Against Wilson,” *New-York Tribune*, August 12, 1916, 9.