

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

PART III

HOLDING BACK THE TIDE

20. 'Impossible'

PAGE

- 253 *hundred cars ... "letters of fire"*: "Signal by the President Bathes Liberty Statue in Flood of Light," *New York Times*, December 3, 1916, 1; "Wind Brings Down Suff Bird Women," *New York Sun*, December 3, 1916, 8; John Carver Edwards, *Orville's Aviators: Outstanding Alumni of the Wright Flying School, 1910–1916* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009), 12; "First Woman War Aviator," *Boston Globe*, December 3, 1916, 57; Eileen F. Lebow, *Before Amelia: Women Pilots in the Early Days of Aviation* (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, Inc., 2002), 216–17; "President Sets Liberty Aglow," *New York Sun*, December 3, 1916, 1; "Miss Law Tells of Her Record Flight," *New York Times*, November 20, 1916, 1.
- 254 *"conception of liberty"*: WW, After-Dinner Remarks, December 2, 1916, *PWW*, 40:120–21.
- 255 *"pose as a friend"*: David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 112–13.
- 255 *force the issue: SWP*, 180–82.
- 255 *formally dressed*: "President Urges Congress to Pass Railroad Laws ... Suffragists Cause a Stir," *New York Times*, December 6, 1916, 1; WW, Fourth Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1916, *PWW*, 40:155.
- 256 *chose this passage ... newspapers across the country: SWP*, 180–82; "President Urges Congress to Pass Railroad Laws," *New York Times*, 1; "Wilson Avoids Foreign Rows in His Message," *Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 1.
- 256 *"suffrage coup"*: "President Wins Applause from Whole Congress ... Suffragists Produce 'Canned' Demonstration for Votes," *Reading (PA) News–Times*, December 6, 1916, 1.
- 257 *"robbed me"*: Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), vol. 2, 406.
- 257 *"elephantine smart aleck"*: MAH, "The Woodrow Wilson I Knew," *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 3, 1925), 8–12, at 10.
- 257 *state action*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 147 and n42.
- 257 *did not attend*: "Tribute at Capitol for Mrs. Boissevain," *New York Times*, December 26, 1916, 11.
- 257 *Part religious service*: Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), *Alice Paul*, 115.
- 257 *beside a banner*: Linda J. Lumsden, *Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 174–77.
- 257 *formal resolution*: "The National Memorial Service in Memory of Inez Milholland," *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 53 (December 30, 1916), 7–10.
- 258 *wrote President Wilson*: Alice Paul to WW, January 1, 1917, reel 209, #58955, image 655, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 258 *"would like to avoid"*: WW to Thomas Brahany, January 4, 1917, reel 209, #58956, image 656, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 258 *granted Paul's request*: WW to Thomas Brahany, January 8, 1917, reel 209, #58962, image 662, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 258 *audience with Wilson*: SWP, 188–90.
- 258 *"look in his eyes"*: Ibid., 190.
- 258 *"impossible" ... patronizing them*: JFF, 52–57.
- 259 *confirmed this*: Three days after the Democratic convention, Wilson wrote to NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt to confirm that the plank in the platform leaving the decision on women's right to vote to the individual states had "received my entire approval before its adoption." WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, PWW, 37:266; SWP, 162–63.
- 259 *"coldness"*: JFF, 57–58.
- 259 *"indignation meeting"*: "Suffragists Will Picket White House," *New York Times*, January 10, 1917, 1; JFF, 58–60; "Pickets Posted at White House Today by Women," *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1917, 1; Linda J. Lumsden, *Inez: The Life and Times of Inez Milholland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 177–78.
- 259 *"wait more"*: JFF, 59.
- 259 *"every kind of deputation"*: SWP, 202.
- 259 *"the Presidential eye"*: "President Ignores Suffrage Pickets," *New York Times*, January 11, 1917, 13.
- 259 *peaceful protest*: Ibid.; "President Ignores Suffrage Sentinels," *Washington Herald*, January 11, 1917, 10.
- 260 *unseasonably mild*: "Weather Conditions," *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1917, 14.
- 260 *red-painted balls*: Richard W. Winans, "How President Wilson's Health Is Guarded," *Christian Observer*, vol. 106, no. 11 (March 13, 1918), 20; Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 61.
- 260 *1,200 rounds*: Don Van Natta Jr., *First Off the Tee: Presidential Hackers, Duffers, and Cheaters from Taft to Bush* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 138. The 1,200 figure is a conservative estimate; the author opines that the total number of Wilson's golf outings during his presidency may be closer to 1,600. See also John Fischer III, "The Golfing President," The Golf Heritage Society, golfheritage.org.
- 260 *stared straight ahead*: "President Ignores Suffrage Pickets," *New York Times*, January 11, 1917, 13.
- 260 *"mild form of militancy"*: "President Ignores Suffrage Sentinels," *Washington Herald*, January 11, 1917, 10.
- 260 *"till time passed"*: Helen Woodrow Bones to Jessie Woodrow Wilson Sayre, January 16, 1917, WWP17542, Wilson Presidential Library.
- 261 *"any means"*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress on the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany, February 3, 1917, PWW, 41:108.
- 261 *"yellow races"*: John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 375 and n33.
- 261 *organized enemies*: "Women Proffer Services," *Washington Times*, February 10, 1917, 10.
- 261 *British suffragists*: Paula Bartley, *Emmeline Pankhurst* (London: Routledge, 2002), 183–86.
- 261 *private dinner*: WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, February 5, 1917, box 3, reel 3, WWP.
- 261 *dinner conversation*: The Navy Secretary may also have been selected because he was open to granting voting rights to women, albeit not Black women, and not via a federal amendment. Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 457.
- 261 *instant results*: HWS, 5:720–25. Committing to support the war even before it was declared was quite a contortion for Catt personally, given her role as a founder of the Woman's Peace Party. In the wake of her action, she was ousted from the party of which, until then, she had been Honorary Vice Chairman. "Peace Party Ousts Mrs. Carrie Catt," *New York Times*, March 7, 1917, 11.
- 262 *"no intention"*: HWS, 5:723.
- 262 *"one purpose"*: "Suffragists Deny Split," *New York Times*, February 24, 1917, 11.
- 262 *"international situation"*: SWP, 207; "Alice Paul Heads New Suff Party," *New York Sun*, March 4, 1917, 8.
- 262 *gain adherents*: Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party," *Journal of American History*, vol. 71, no. 1 (June 1984), 43–68, at 46. In February 1917, NAWSA claimed a membership of more than two million members, while according to Paul, speaking in December 1917, the NWP's relatively modest

membership had grown to nearly 45,000 as of June that year. *HWS*, 5:723; Sidney Roderick Bland, “Techniques of Persuasion: The National Woman’s Party and Woman Suffrage, 1913–1919” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1972), 142n34.

262 *four cabinet members*: *HWS*, 5:724–25.

263 *“literally impossible”*: *SWP*, 202; WW to JPT, February 8, 1917, reel 209, #59137, image 852, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

21. The ‘Firm Hand of Stern Repression’

PAGE

264 *spoke with pride*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 411; David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865–1965* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 26–27.

265 *kiss the holy book*: “The Lord Is Our Refuge,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 3; Frederick B. Jonassen, “Kiss the Book ... You’re President ... : ‘So Help Me God’ and Kissing the Book in the Presidential Oath of Office,” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, vol. 20, no. 3 (2012), 853.

265 *kill his bill*: The five objecting Democratic senators were Kirby (AR); Lane (OR); O’Gorman (NY); Stone (MO); and Vardaman (MS). Six Republicans opposed the bill: Clapp (MN); Cummins (IA); Gronna (ND); La Follette (WI); Norris (NE); and Works (CA). “Bitter Wrangle As Senate Closes,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1.

265 *“only legislative body”*: WW statement, March 4, 1917, *PWW*, 41:318; “Text of the President’s Statement to the Public,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “Bitter Wrangle as Senate Closes,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “President Takes Oath,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “Armed Ship Bill Beaten,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1. The Senate’s decision four days later to adopt the first-ever cloture rule (making it possible to end a filibuster) was a direct response to this incident.

265 *one thousand marchers ... “turned them away”*: *JFF*, 75–79; *SWP*, 207–212.

266 *“forty centuries”*: Advertisement for Carnegie Hall lecture by Jeannette Rankin, March 2, 1917, Carnegie Hall Rose Archives. The best box seats went for \$18 (\$440 in today’s currency).

266 *“special duty”*: James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 140.

266 *“mild sensation”*: “Senate’s Sacred Precincts Invaded by Miss Rankin,” *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, April 5, 1917, 12. Until her election, Senate rules prohibited women on the floor, even as guests, for any purpose except the funeral ceremony of a senator. “Miss Rankin Stirs Senate,” *New York Sun*, December 2, 1916, 1.

266 *men’s sensibilities*: “Our Busy ‘Congresswoman,’” *Literary Digest*, vol. 55, no. 6, August 11, 1917, 41–44, at 44.

267 *discouraged her*: Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America’s Conscience* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 98–99, 109; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6, 140–43.

267 *“How long”*: *JFF*, 80.

267 *escorted to the floor ... ever witnessed*: Call of States, 55 *CR* (65th Cong., 1st Sess., April 2, 1917), 105–06; “Jeannette Rankin Pledges Her Best to Women’s Cause,” *Daily Missoulian (MT)*, April 7, 1917, 7; Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 108–110; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 141; “America’s First Woman Congress” (*sic*), *Salisbury (NC) Evening Post*, April 2, 1917, 1.

267 *former congressman*: “Trimble, South,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).

268 *called her name*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 106–08 (election of Speaker).

268 *prohibition amendment*: “Institute Applauds Carrie Chapman Catt, As She Discusses Modernity and Prohibition,” *Columbia (NY) Spectator*, November 8, 1926, 1; “Prohibition Analyzed by Carrie Catt,” *Sterling (IL) Daily Gazette*, July 9, 1930, 1; 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 17, 1917), 469.

268 *House Joint Resolution 1*: “Public Bills, Resolutions, and Memorials,” 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 128.

268 *“Nature’s rarest”*: John Muir, *Nature Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1997), 813.

269 *“last of neutrality”*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.

- 269 *Finland Station*: Joshua Hammer, “The Road to Revolution,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 10 (March 2017), 66. Lenin had been publicly calling for “armed insurrection” and “mass terror” in Russia for over a decade. Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 170–71. British suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst, who had seen firsthand the threat that Russia’s civil war posed to democracy, offered a more discerning contemporary warning. June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 309–11.
- 269 “safe for democracy”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 “continued to play golf”: “Memorable Address Typed by Wilson Himself,” *The Butte (MT) Miner*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 “preparedness” parades: Ross A. Kennedy, “Preparedness,” in Kennedy, ed., *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson* (Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2013), 271–76; Manuel Franz, “Preparedness Revisited: Civilian Societies and the Campaign for American Defense, 1914–1920,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 17, no. 4 (October 2018), 663–76, at 670.
- 269 *Daily news reports*: H. Schulyer Foster, Jr., “Charting America’s News of the World War,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 15, no. 2 (January 1937), 311–319.
- 269 *papal appeals*: “Pope Makes Appeal for Belgian Children,” *New York Times*, December 6, 1916, 1; “Victorious Peace, Pope’s Word to Italy,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1917, 1.
- 269 *propaganda*: Edward James Thorne, “Aspects of the British and German Campaigns to Win American Sympathy, 1914–1917” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1954), 263–69.
- 269 *Lusitania*: “German Order to Sink Armed Ships Holds Up the Lusitania Settlement,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1916; “Germany Again Fails to Meet Lusitania Demands,” *New York Sun*, January 26, 1916, 1.
- 269 *saboteurs*: “Germans Ruin N.Y. Ships; Loss is \$30,000,000,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1917, 1; “German ‘Sabotage’ – Another Explosion at U.S. Powder Works,” *Manchester Courier*, January 11, 1916, 1; Dwight R. Messimer, *The Baltimore Sabotage Cell: German Agents, American Traitors, and the U–Boat Deutschland during World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2015).
- 269 *Zimmerman telegram*: “Germany Asks Mexico to Seek Alliance with Japan for War on U.S.,” *New York Tribune*, March 1, 1917, 1; “Congress Faces War Demand; Exposure of German Plot Against U.S. Expected to Arouse Nation,” *ibid.*; “Plot Awakens Congress,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1917, 1; “Senate Is Told Officially Zimmerman Note Is Authentic,” *New York Sun*, March 2, 1917, 1; Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmerman Telegram* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1958), 184, 199–200.
- 270 *his direct authority*: The three men whom Wilson appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, were at all times subject to his power to remove them. Their relationship to the president was, according to the U.S. Supreme Court, analogous to that of territorial governors, over whom presidents traditionally exerted significant influence. *District of Columbia v. Thompson*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953). Within this arrangement they held the power to “make and enforce all such reasonable and usual police regulations” for the District of Columbia “as they may deem necessary.” Joint Resolution of February 26, 1892, 27 Stat. 394.
- 270 *banned all demonstrations*: “Pacifists Get Cold Shoulder,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 3. Congress did not begin granting the District of Columbia home rule until 1967, culminating in the Home Rule Act in 1973.
- 270 *Federal law required*: Louis F. Brownlow, *A Passion for Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 584.
- 270 *Newman*: “Oliver Newman, Editor, Reporter,” *New York Times*, September 27, 1956, 35; “Oliver P. Newman Dies: Ex-D.C. Commissioner,” *Washington Post*, September 27, 1956; “‘Ideal City’ Rulers: Newman and Siddons Named District Commissioners,” *Washington Post*, June 27, 1913, 2.
- 270 “long conversations”: Fred C. Kelly, “Writing the News,” *Duluth Herald*, July 29, 1914, 8.
- 270 *revive the practice*: David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: George H. Doran, 1924), 81–83.
- 270 *once kept slaves*: Brownlow, *Passion for Politics*, 3–18.
- 270 *admirer and acquaintance*: *Ibid.*, 67–68.
- 270 *Wilson’s articles*: *Ibid.*, 233.
- 270 *cannot even pretend*: *Ibid.*, 82.
- 270 “several long talks”: *Ibid.*, 400–401.
- 271 “very closest friend”: *Ibid.*, 583.

- 271 *appointed them both*: Ibid., 593.
- 271 *vice-chairmen*: “Washington Prepares for Wilson’s Inaugural,” *Austin American Statesman*, March 3, 1917, 5.
- 271 “*Doughnut Cabinet*”: Brownlow, *Passion for Politics*, 585–86; “Five O’Clock Tidbits,” *The Spur*, vol. 20, no. 6 (September 15, 1917), 25.
- 271 *severely beaten*: “Jeers Greet Pacifists in Washington,” *The Butte (MT) Miner*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 271 “*cowardice and disloyalty*”: 79 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 74th Cong., 1st Sess. (July 29, 1935), 12007 (remarks of Rep. Stefan, quoting letter from former Rep. Rankin).
- 271 “*all he could*”: Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 144.
- 271 “*You and I*”: Ibid., 146.
- 272 *long been active*: “Congressman Mann Speaks for Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 3.
- 272 *to vote for the*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1420, 1479 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 272 *joint appearance*: “Mann Pledges Support to Suffrage Amendment,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 27, 1916, 3.
- 272 “*No reply*”: Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 109.
- 272 *made matters worse*: Ibid.
- 272 *joined forty-nine*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 6, 1917), 413. The Democratic Speaker of the House, Champ Clark, also opposed the war resolution, but by tradition the Speaker does not vote.
- 272 “*war-mad moment*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 5, 1917), 332 (remarks of Rep. Kitchin).
- 272 “*cannot vote for war*”: “Casts Vote Against War, Then Miss Rankin Cries,” *Washington Times*, April 6, 1917, 9.
- 272 *Catt took pains*: “Suffrage Leaders Pardon Miss Rankin,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1917, 4.
- 272 “*a joker*”: Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 113 “Peace Party Ousts Mrs. Carrie Catt,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1917, 11.
- 273 *moratorium resolution*: “Democrats Shun War Prohibition,” *New York Times*, April 20, 1917, 6.
- 273 *Woman Patriot Publishing*: Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 124, 217n40.
- 273 *particularly prohibition . . . exigencies of war*: When Congress eventually passed the prohibition amendment, it did so only after declaring it a war measure, based in part on administration testimony. Wilson himself offered muted support for the prohibition amendment, having previously supported the idea of prohibition at state option as a candidate and governor in New Jersey. JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 409–12. In June 1918, Secretary Josephus Daniels, who had already banned all alcohol at Navy yards and stations and on naval vessels, testified before the Senate to “the benefits that have come to the Navy through prohibition,” offering his opinion that “similar benefits would accrue to the industries of the country if prohibition were made general.” Frank O’Hara, “Prohibition in the United States,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 7, no. 28 (December 1918), 596–606, at 596; “‘Bone Dry’ Bill Reported Out to the Senate,” *New York Tribune*, June 28, 1918, 1. In May 1917, shortly before becoming Director of the United States Food Administration, Herbert Hoover testified before the Senate Agriculture Committee in support of prohibition as a war measure. “Prohibition Urged for War by Hoover,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1917, 4. Former Secretary of State Bryan also lobbied actively for the prohibition amendment, directly tying it to the war. “Saloon Halts War Program, Says Bryan,” *Washington Herald*, December 12, 1917, 5; William Jennings Bryan, Address to the 18th National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in *The Saloon Must Go: Proceedings of the Eighteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America* (Westerville, OH: American Issue Publishing Co., 1918), 65. But three weeks after Wilson’s most severe stroke in 1919, when the eighteenth amendment had already become part of the Constitution, a veto message aimed at the Volstead Act’s enforcement of the amendment issued from the White House. “Most likely with Edith’s consent and without Wilson’s knowledge, Tumulty wrote a veto message,” surmised Wilson biographer John Milton Cooper. The brief veto message was vague about its purpose—possibly, it was an encouragement to Congress to define “intoxicating liquors” to exclude beer and wine, or to raise the alcohol content limits in the bill. Whatever its provenance and purpose, both houses of Congress swiftly overrode the veto. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 537.

- 273 *supported the moratorium*: “Woman Suffrage and War,” in *The Case Against Woman Suffrage*, Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women (Boston: Anchor Linotype Printing, 1917), 23–24, pamphlet, University of Maine Library.
- 273 *“no patriotism”*: “Miss Rankin Assailed and Lauded by Women,” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, April 6, 1917, 3.

22. ‘Lock Them Up’

PAGE

- 274 *cold, gray Friday*: Weather forecast, (*Alexandria, VA Gazette*, April 13, 1917, 1.
- 274 *its chairman*: No one else was interviewed for the post. Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, “The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917–19,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1939), 8.
- 274 *150,000*: George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 5.
- 274 *two press conferences*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 450.
- 275 *Addressing a joint session*: WW, Third Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1915, *PWW*, 35:293.
- 275 *“ministry of propaganda”*: Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 75.
- 275 *“muckrakers” ... “hack”*: Mark Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 60, no. 9 (November 10, 1917), 13, 36. The *New York Times* criticized the choice of a man without “any evidence of the ability, the experience, or the judicial temperament” such a sensitive post required. “Censorship and Publicity,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1917, 12.
- 275 *organized a Wilson club*: George Creel, *Rebel at Large* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1947), 148–49.
- 275 *personal correspondence*: George Creel to Cedric Larson, July 18, 1938, quoted in Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 275 *campaign book*: James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 409.
- 275 *Jefferson, and Lincoln*: George Creel, *Wilson and the Issues* (New York: The Century Co., 1916), 123, 157.
- 275 *no criticism*: Creel devoted an entire chapter to defending Wilson’s white supremacist Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels from such imagined “offenses” as the integration of white officers and Black enlisted sailors at meals. “No such order was ever made or even contemplated,” Creel assured his readers. *Ibid.*, 91.
- 275 *“Democratic dailies”*: Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 149, 153.
- 276 *film industry*: Creel had experience working for a film studio that was later acquired by Warner Brothers. Their cowboy star, “Bronco Billy,” was a nationwide sensation. In Colorado, Creel not only wrote scenarios but acted in one of the Bronco Billy shorts, *The Heart of a Cowboy* (1910). (He played the blackhearted villain.) Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 132–41; David Kiehn, *Broncho Billy and the Essanay Film Company* (Berkeley, CA: Farwell Books, 2003), 19–20, 305. Creel’s wife was an actress who had appeared in films by Cecil B. DeMille and Paramount. “Blanche Bates,” n.d., *Internet Movie Database*, imdb.com.
- 276 *feature film*: Josh Glick, “Wilson and the War Effort: Film, Pedagogy, and the Presidency,” in Jeff Menne and Christian B. Long, eds., *Film and the American Presidency* (New York: Rutledge, 2015), 72–95, at 76. The film’s ponderous title, *Motion Picture Portrait Studies of the President of the United States and the Cabinet*, is evidence that while the campaign’s use of film was cutting-edge, its marketing techniques were not. Nonetheless, journalists of the time mentioned the film’s important role in the race. *Ibid.* The Hughes campaign produced its own feature-length film, a two-reel production more simply titled *A Reunited Party*. *Ibid.*, 91n21.
- 276 *movie theaters*: “History of Film, The Silent Years, 1910–27: Pre–World War I American cinema,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. That figure compares to fewer than 6,000 in 2019 before the 2020 pandemic resulted in the permanent closure of many U.S. theaters. National Association of Theatre Owners, “Data—Number of U.S. Cinema Sites,” www.natooonline.org. Wilson’s 1916 film appeared in over forty theaters in Chicago alone. “Forum Film in Forty Houses,” *Motography*, vol. 16, no. 18 (October 28, 1916), 959.
- 276 *endorsement*: Glick, “Wilson and the War Effort,” 91n22.
- 276 *Confederate officer*: Carla Waal and Barbara Oliver Korner, eds., *Hardship and Hope: Missouri Women Writing about Their Lives, 1820–1920* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 81.
- 276 *“two classes of men”*: Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, 13.

- 276 *pro-suffrage*: Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 145.
- 276 “*corrupt and self-seeking*”: George Creel and Ben B. Lindsey, “Measuring Up Equal Suffrage,” *The Delineator*, vol. 77, no. 2 (February 1911), 85, at 152.
- 276 “*not only to the United States*”: Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 277 “*self-censorship*”: Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 277 “The Censor”: “Creel: An Announcement,” *Everybody’s Magazine*, vol. 40, no. 1 (January 1919), 25.
- 277 “*hostility*”: “Censorship and Publicity,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1917, 12.
- 277 “*absolutist tendencies*”: Jonathan Auerbach, *Weapons of Democracy: Propaganda, Progressivism, and American Public Opinion* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 60.
- 277 *led the opposition*: Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 172.
- 277 *head off similar protests*: Nancy Gentile Ford, *The Great War and America: Civil–Military Relations During World War I* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 29–30.
- 277 “*propaganda*”: Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 5, 351. Ironically, Creel’s innovations in the war for democracy furnished a model for Nazi propagandists in the 1930s. After the war, both Walter Lippman and Edward L. Bernays, who worked for the CPI in New York and at the Paris Peace Conference, published books based on their experiences with propaganda. Lippman’s work, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), recognized the dangers—explaining, for example, how during the war, propaganda convinced the public that the “racial” differences between uncivilized “Teutons” and civilized “Anglo-Saxons” or “French” were “eternal.” Nonetheless he argued for an enlightened government-led “manufacture of consent.” *Public Opinion*, 145, 248. Bernays, in *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1923), demonstrated how the CPI’s wartime approach could be used to manipulate “malleable public opinion” in peacetime. *Ibid.*, 76, and *passim*. In 1933, Joseph Goebbels told a reporter he was “particularly fond” of *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, kept it in his personal library, and relied upon it in constructing the Nazi Party’s propaganda campaign. Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 111. The World War, Hitler wrote, had demonstrated “the tremendous results which could be obtained by a propagandist system.” Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 176.
- 278 *party of dignitaries*: SWP, 207; Charles Hanson Towne, ed., *The Balfour Visit: How America Received Her Distinguished Guest* (New York: George H. Duran, 1917), 15–17, 26.
- 278 *from Wilson’s war message*: *Ibid.*
- 278 *minor political parties*: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, May 14, 1917, *LL*, 7:67.
- 278 *endorsed the Anthony Amendment*: Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment,” by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, University of California, Berkeley (1973), 154.
- 278 “*will you not*”: *JFF*, 86.
- 278 *had come from NAWSA*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, May 10, 1917, *PWW*, 42:269–70; WW to Rep. Edward W. Pou, May 14, 1917, *PWW*, 42:293.
- 279 “*another committee*”: *JFF*, 87.
- 279 *moved to Washington*: “Mrs. George Bass to Head Woman’s Democratic Bureau,” *Daily Oklahoman*, February 1, 1917, 7.
- 279 *Her perspective*: “Elizabeth Bass,” obituary, *Manitowoc Herald Times*, August 26, 1950, 2; “Judge George Bass Dies at Chicago,” *Manitowoc Herald News*, February 21, 1930, 1.
- 279 *gently nudged*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 3, 1917, *PWW*, 42:208.
- 279 *child labor law*: Keating–Owen Child Labor Act of 1916, Pub. L. 98–449, 39 Stat. 675.
- 280 *led the NWP delegation*: *JFF*, 29; Jana Brubaker, “Biography of Elizabeth Glendower Evans, 1856–1937,” in *Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States*, Thomas Dublin and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2015) (online).
- 280 “*follow you wherever*”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 3, 1917, *PWW*, 42:208.
- 280 “*hardly necessary*”: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 4, 1917, *PWW*, 42:214.
- 280 *Creel’s protocols*: Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 107.

- 280 *verbatim*: For example, see “Espionage Bill Is Signed; Numerous Prosecutions Expected Under Its Provisions,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1917, 9; “President Signs Espionage Bill,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, June 16, 1917, 2; “President Signs Espionage Bill; Measure Regarded as Most Important Piece of Legislation Since War Started,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 16, 1917, 2; “Espionage Act Now In Effect; Prosecutions Anticipated Following President’s Approval of Bill,” *Salt Lake Herald Republican*, June 16, 1917, 5; “New Espionage Law Is Regarded As Important; Department of Justice Officials Expect Many Prosecutions Under Its Provisions,” *Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 16, 1917; “Much Expected of Espionage Bill Now Signed by President,” *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 16, 1917, 1.
- 280 *detailed regulations*: Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 101–03.
- 281 *unprecedented regime*: According to the editor of the *New York World*, Wilson said privately on the evening before his war message that “every man who refused to conform would have to pay the penalty.” He thought “the Constitution would not survive it. Free speech and the right of assembly would go.” John L. Heaton, comp., Cobb of “The World” (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), 267; Memorandum in Frank I. Cobb Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 281 *“peacetime practice”*: Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 71–72.
- 281 *Division of News ... expense*: Ibid., 74; Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 107–108.
- 281 *“national newspaper” ... less difficult*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 126; John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 113.
- 282 *“mind of America”*: Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses*, 101.
- 282 *“censorship” ... “suppressive features”*: Ibid., 101–02 (Creel’s emphases).
- 282 *“Ambassador Extraordinary”*: “Mr. Root Envoy to Russia,” *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 43, no. 1 (January 1917), 1353.
- 282 *rejoin the war*: George F. Kennan, *Soviet–American Relations*, vol. 1, *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 21–22.
- 282 *die-hard opponent*: “Root Denounces Suffrage Agitation,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1917, 1.
- 282 *Root told the members*: Elihu Root, “Address to the Council of Ministers, Petrograd, June 15, 1917,” in *The United States and the War—The Mission to Russia—Political Addresses by Elihu Root*, Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 98; Alton Earl Ingram, “The Root Mission to Russia, 1917” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 147–48.
- 282 *Lvov’s formal declaration*: “Declaration of the Provisional Government Reviewing Its Accomplishments and Calling for the Support and Cooperation of All the Vital Forces in the Nation,” Interim Government Meeting Records, No. 40 (April 26, 1917), 1, in *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917—Documents*, vol. 3, Robert Paul Browder and Alexander F. Kerensky, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 1249.
- 283 *one million copies*: David R. Francis to Robert Lansing, June 20, 1917, Records of Governor David Rowland Francis, 1889–1893, Office of Governor, Record Group 3.27, Missouri State Archives, cited in Alton Earl Ingram, “The Root Mission to Russia, 1917” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 147–48.
- 283 *passage was quoted*: “The Real Russia,” *New York Times*, June 19, 1917, 12.
- 283 *Pankhurst met with Root*: “Mrs. Pankhurst Sees Root,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 283 *“universality”*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 276.
- 283 *“no time for manners”*: *JFF*, 93. The words on the ten-foot sign were: “To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say we are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracies may survive. We, the Women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement. Help us make this nation truly free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim Russia as an ally.” Photograph, *To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root Are Deceiving Russia* (Harris & Ewing, 1917), Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016884713/>.
- 283 *“lined with cheering people”*: “Washington Cheers Russian Mission,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1917, 3.
- 283 *taunting*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner at White House,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 284 *crowd rushed*: “Obnoxious Banner Is Torn to Shreds,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 20, 1917, 1.

- 284 *police did nothing ... White House usher*: Ibid.
- 284 *personally directed*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*.
- 284 *Wilson’s top aide*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*; “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 284 *pallbearers*: “R. W. Pullman Dead—Washington Police Chief Was Long a Newspaper Man,” *Editor and Publisher*, vol. 52, no. 39 (February 26, 1920), 12.
- 284 *military zone*: *JFF*, 93.
- 284 *direct orders*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 285 *“say the word”*: “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1; “Crowds Again Rend Suffrage Banners,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1917, 5; “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 285 *served notice*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*; “Flaunt Fresh Banner,” *Washington Post*.
- 285 *carte blanche*: Donald Johnson, “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 46–58, at 46–47.
- 285 *secret directive*: Ibid., 48; Stephen Rhode, “Julian Assange, the Espionage Act of 1917, and Freedom of the Press,” *The American Prospect*, prospect.org, June 19, 2019.
- 285 *“defamatory”*: “Women’s Banner Torn to Pieces at White House,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1917, 2.
- 285 *encouraging insurrection*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 286 *“lock them up”*: “Shut Up or Be Locked Up!,” *Chicago Day Book*, June 23, 1917, 21.
- 286 *“advertising”*: “Flaunt Fresh Banner,” *Washington Post*.

23. ‘You Ought Not to Have the Vote’

PAGE

- 287 *page-one stories*: Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, “The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917–19,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1939), 17.
- 287 *“not in the least”*: “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 287 *“meant business”*: “Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden; Question of Rights to Be Fought Out in the Courts,” *Washington Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 287 *“German money”*: “Capital Police Stop Picketing,” *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 287 *news from London*: “Women Win in England—Commons Passes Electoral Reform Bill Dealing with Suffrage,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1917, 3.
- 288 *Burns and Morey*: “Police Censor Banner Mottoes of Suffragists,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1917, 2; “Police Suppress Women Rioters at White House,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1917, 1; “Mob Led by Woman Rips Suffrage Flags to Bits,” *Washington Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 288 *“paled into insignificance”*: “Police Suppress Women Rioters,” *Los Angeles Times*.
- 288 *10,000 men and women*: “Police Censor Banner Mottoes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*.
- 288 *“We shall fight”*: “Two Suffragists Arrested,” *Washington Times*.
- 288 *mob rushed*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 288 *ripped the banners*: Ibid.; “Police Suppress Women Rioters,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Brave Third Day Riot—White House Pickets Will Fly More Banners This Morning,” *Washington Post*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 289 *“went down instantly”*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 289 *“motion picture men”*: “Suffrage Banners Torn from Frames,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 289 *“police did not wait”*: “Police Censor Banner Mottoes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*; “Brave Third Day Riot,” *Washington Post*.
- 289 *“quickly stripped it”*: “Woman Leads Attack On White House Pickets,” *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1917, 1; “Brave Third Day Riot,” *Washington Post*.
- 289 *ultimatum*: “Suffrage Banners Torn from Frames,” *Los Angeles Times*; Raymond W. Pullman, Report of the Major and Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia (Washington, DC, 1916), 6; *JFF*, 93–94.
- 289 *disdainful lede*: “Brave Third Day Riot,” *Washington Post*.

- 289 *a “hero”*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 289 *“little short of treason”*: “A Study in Contrasts,” *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1917, 4.
- 289 *earlier threat ... would be arrested*: “Suffrage Banners at White House Forbidden,” *St. Louis Post–Dispatch*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 290 *“no matter what”*: “Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden; Question of Rights to Be Fought Out in the Courts,” *Washington Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 290 *immediately arrested*: “Suffrage Banners at White House Forbidden,” *St. Louis Post–Dispatch*; “Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden,” *Washington Times*; “Boston Suffragist Put Under Arrest,” *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1917, 10; “Police Arrest Suffrage Pickets,” *Hartford Courant*, June 23, 1917, 10; “White House Pickets Gone, But Women Hint at New Move,” *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1917, 9; “Woman Arrests Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Times*, June 23, 1917, 9.
- 290 *“police were instructed”*: “Woman Arrests Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Times*.
- 290 *“White House folks are happy”*: “White House Pickets Gone, But Women Hint at New Move,” *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1917, 9.
- 290 *blockade*: “Two Suffragists Under Arrest,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 23, 1917, 5.
- 290 *obstructing traffic*: *Ibid.*
- 290 *dozen women*: “More Suffragists Booked for Trial,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 26, 1917, 3.
- 290 *nine more*: “Nine New Suffs Arrested After Charge on Police,” *Washington Times*, June 26, 1917, 1.
- 291 *“greatest obstacle”*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 291 *“lack of patriotism”*: “State Suffragist President Denounces Washington Pickets,” *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 22, 1917, 3.
- 291 *“no shadings”*: Mark Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 60, no. 9 (November 10, 1917), 13.
- 291 *“fists, feet, fingers, teeth, nails”*: Nor did he see any need for “time-wasting with the rights and wrongs” or “fussing with facts.” *Ibid.*, 13, 37. Creel became *Collier’s* Washington editor during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s second term. Betty Houchin Winfield, *FDR and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 62.
- 291 *twenty-one more*: Catherine J. Lancot, “‘We Are at War and You Should Not Bother the President’: The Suffrage Pickets and Freedom of Speech During World War I,” Villanova University School of Law, Working Paper Series 116 (May 2008), 17.
- 291 *not in itself unlawful*: Peaceful demonstrations on public property, including sidewalks, have “from ancient times, been a part of the privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties of citizens.” *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496 (1939). The suffrage protesters had been so advised by their legal counsel. A year after the first suffragists were arrested, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals held that the suffragist protesters had been unlawfully indicted for sidewalk obstruction. *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918). See text at p. 396 and accompanying notes.
- 292 *forty-foot width*: At oral argument in the suffragists’ appeal of their convictions on January 9, 1918, Judge Josiah Van Orsdel stated that “it is commonly known there is a forty-foot sidewalk” in front of the White House. “Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 9. Washington, DC pedestrian traffic in 1917 was, of course, very light compared to the 21st century. Fifty years after the 1917 arrests, when the advent of jet travel had dramatically increased the volume of tourists in Washington, the maximum number of pedestrians using the sidewalk in front of the White House during peak summer periods was 3,260 per hour, according to a 1968 study. If demonstrators used five feet of the then 35-foot-deep sidewalk, the study determined, this would leave ample room for demonstrators as well as over 30,000 pedestrians per hour—10% of the entire population of the District of Columbia in 1917. Vasant H. Surti and Thomas J. Burke, “Investigation of the Capacity of the White House Sidewalk for Orderly Demonstrations,” Highway Research Board, Committee on Pedestrians, Washington, DC, 1968, at 22, 24.
- 292 *relevant provisions*: Police Regulations of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: July 31, 1915), §§ 40(b), (c).
- 292 *chief legal officer*: Syme’s background was similar to that of many others in the Wilson administration: his father was a volunteer infantryman for the Confederacy in the Civil War, and his mother worked for the Confederate cause “with unceasing devotion ... often incur[ring] personal danger” to do so. In Washington he worked for

- several years for a Democratic senator, later becoming a Democratic party officer in West Virginia and a surrogate speaker for both of Wilson’s presidential campaigns. J.R. Cole, *History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: J.R. Cole, 1917), 166–171.
- 292 *Washington correspondent*: Gilson Gardner, “Why Arresting Suffragists Is Stupid: A Word of Advice for the Administration,” reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 7.
- 293 “*control discretion*”: Charles D. Breitel, “Controls in Criminal Law Enforcement,” *University of Chicago Law Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1960), 427–35.
- 293 “*ought not to have the vote*”: “Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 5; Prison Register, April 1917–September 1918, Washington Asylum and Jail, District of Columbia Department of Corrections, at Lucy Burns Museum, Lorton, VA.
- 293 “*admission of guilt*”: *JFF*, 95.
- 293 *established the precedent*: “An Account of the Proceedings of the Trial of Susan B. Anthony” (Rochester, NY: Daily Democrat and Chronicle Book Print, 1874), pamphlet, NAWSA Collection, Library of Congress, 84–85.
- 293 *rats*: “Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 13.
- 294 *personally promised*: Mrs. Ellis Meredith to JPT, June 28, 1917, reel 210, #59557, image 114, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 294 “*a line or two*”: *Ibid.*
- 294 *NAWSA’s latest criticism ... “their existence”*: “National Woman Suffrage Association States Its Views on Publicity Tactics That It Regards as Harmful to Real Ends Sought,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 46 (July 3, 1917), 2.
- 295 “*defying police*”: “Militants Will Picket Before White House, Defying Police,” *Washington Post*, July 4, 1917, 1.
- 295 “*attacking the president*”: “Militants in Riot; 13 Held for Trial,” *Washington Post*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Washington Crowds Menace Militants,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Hagerstown Exponent*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Injuring the Cause,” *Potter (PA) Enterprise*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Say Militants Hurt the Cause,” *Burlington Weekly Free Press*, July 5, 1917, 9; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Polk County Democrat*, July 5, 1917, 2; “Militants Forced to Wait on Court,” *Camden, NJ Morning Post*, July 5, 1917, 11; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Waterloo Press*, July 5, 1917, 2; “Suffragists Had No ‘Nighties,’” *Dodge City Daily Journal*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Suffragists in White House Riot,” *New Britain Herald*, July 5, 1917, 6. The narrative in this sampling is endlessly repeated in newspaper reporting across the U.S. during the first week of arrests, convictions, and incarceration. An exception was the *Des Moines Register*, which in an article headlined “Suffs Differ on Tactics” patiently laid out both sides of the story. But even it branded the protesters as “militants.” *Des Moines Register*, July 5, 1917, 4.
- 295 “*comedy riot*”: “White House Riot Broken Up By Police,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1917, 9; *JFF*, 96.
- 295 *Clayton Act*: Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, Pub. L. 63–212, 38 Stat. 730, 15 U.S.C. §§ 12–27 and 29 U.S.C. §§ 52–53.
- 295 “*militant picketing*”: Philip Price, “The Effect of the Clayton Act on Picketing,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 70, no.2 (January 1922), 101–05, at 102.
- 295 *the absurdity*: Alva Belmont, “Militancy,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 9.
- 296 *much to the advantage*: The same would be true for the over 1,900 judicial proceedings during and after the war considering issues of free speech, about half of which resulted in convictions. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States: 1829–1925* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 533–34. The Supreme Court cases were all decided after the Armistice on November 11, 1918, while government appeals of the cases it lost were still pending, so the administration effectively had its way throughout the war.
- 296 “*I can’t believe*”: “Militants Go to Jail,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 1917, 2.
- 296 *Bastille Day vigil*: “Protest for Liberty Answered with Sixteen More Suffrage Arrests,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 4.
- 296 *precisely one o’clock ... from a wedding*: “Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 13; *SWP*, 225–26; “60-Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1; “Protest for Liberty Answered with Sixteen More Suffrage Arrests,” *The Suffragist*.
- 297 *recently dined*: *JFF*, 110.

24. ‘Traitor’

PAGE

- 298 *political representative*: “Malone Nominated as Port Collector,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1913, 6.
- 298 *Malone made headlines*: “Malone Aids Fight of Anti-Draft Press,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1917, 7; “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 46–58, at 49. The New York meeting was held under the auspices of the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism. (The Bureau would later become the American Civil Liberties Union.) Also in attendance at the AUAM meeting in New York was Clarence Darrow, with whom Malone would pair in defending Tennessee teacher John T. Scopes against criminal charges for teaching evolution in the famous 1925 “Monkey Trial.” Opposing Malone as a member of the state’s prosecution team would be William Jennings Bryan. “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship,” 49; Jonathan K. Van Patten, “The Trial of John Scopes,” *South Dakota Law Review*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Summer 2021), 273.
- 298 *German influence*: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 76–77.
- 298 *Gregory spotted Malone*: *JFF*, 116–117. Gregory, who did not recognize Stevens until Malone introduced her, began the conversation by addressing Malone: “I see you were mixed up with the suffragettes yesterday.” *Ibid*.
- 298 *pro se counsel ... “squirmed”*: “Blames Capitol Police,” *New York Times*, July 17, 1917, 9.
- 299 *“treasonable and seditious”*: “The United States Government on Trial,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 7.
- 299 *Mullowney declared*: *SWP*, 233.
- 299 *two months*: “Sixteen Militants Begin 60-Day Term,” *Washington Post*, July 18, 1917, 1; “Suffragists Take 60–Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 299 *maximum penalty*: “Suffragettes Sent to Occoquan,” *Washington Times*, July 17, 1917, 1.
- 299 *city prosecutor ... sharing a box*: “Police Judge Alexander R. Mullowney,” *Washington Law Reporter*, vol. 33, no. 41 (October 13, 1905); “Named by President,” *Richmond News Leader*, October 6, 1905, 5; “Heard and Seen at the Ball Game,” *Washington Post*, April 13, 1911, 2. Mullowney shared a box with Assistant Corporation Counsel Gus Schuldt.
- 299 *prison workhouse*: “Suffragists Take 60-Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 300 *the very day*: “Pickets Amuse Court ... Dudley Field Malone a Witness,” *Washington Post*, July 17, 1917, 12; “Suffragists Take 60–Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 300 *Creel could at least*: “Malone Aids Fight of Anti–Draft Press,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1917, 6.
- 300 *form letter*: Donald Johnson, “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 50.
- 300 *“well-intentioned people”*: *LL*, 7:165n1.
- 300 *They had done much*: Eastman publicly supported Wilson in 1916 because he was committed to “keeping out of war.” “Max Eastman for Wilson,” *Times and Democrat* (Orangeburg, SC), October 17, 1916, 1.
- 300 *AUAM was outraged*: Max Eastman, Amos Pinchot, and John Reed to WW, July 12, 1917, *PWW*, 43:165–66.
- 300 *emergency meeting*: “Amos Pinchot: Rebel Prince,” *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Spring 1999), 166–198, at 189–193.
- 300 *pledged to Pinchot*: WW to Amos Pinchot, July 13, 1917, *PWW*, 43:164.
- 301 *“sincere men”*: WW to Albert Burleson, July 13, 1917, *PWW*, 43:164.
- 301 *prepared a letter*: WW to Amos Pinchot, July 17, 1917, *PWW*, 43:193; Albert Burleson to WW, July 16, 1917, *PWW*, 43:187.
- 301 *“shut off steam”*: “Limited to Tariff,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 8, 1913, 9. “He spent no more than four or five hours a day on his work,” according to biographer Gene Smith’s description of the routine Wilson established his first year in office, and “he did not work on Saturdays or Sundays,” preferring to follow a “schoolboy schedule.” Gene Smith, *When the Cheering Stopped* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1964), 5.
- 301 *“nervous energy”*: “Suffragists Take 60–Day Sentence,” *New York Times*.
- 301 *forty–five minutes*: *Ibid*.

- 301 *extraordinary confrontation*: We know the details of this White House meeting because Malone recounted them in person in a ninety-minute session with Colonel House, who in turn recorded them in his diary the same night, and because Malone dictated an even more extensive account in dialogue form, which Doris Stevens published in 1921. EMH Diary, July 26, 1917, *PWW*, 43:290; *JFF*, 158–62. Words within quotation marks are reproduced from Malone’s account verbatim, except that first person pronouns are used and verb tenses changed to the present, where appropriate to represent dialogue.
- 303 *“you do know”*: *SWP*, 227 (Malone’s emphasis).
- 305 *“Everything that you do”*: WW to Dudley Field Malone, June 22, 1916, *PWW*, 37:283.
- 306 *Lost in thought*: “16 Suffragists Sent to Jail for 60 Days,” *New York Tribune*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 306 *upstairs to Edith*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 138; Alden Hatch, *Edith Bolling Wilson, First Lady Extraordinary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), 80.
- 306 *“did not sleep”*: EMH to Dudley Field Malone, July 31, 1917, box 76, folder 2562, House Papers, MS 466, Yale University Library.
- 306 *front and center*: “Suffragists Take 60 Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 306 *two lines of type*: “Dudley Field Malone May Quit for Suffrage,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 307 *Wilson told him*: Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity*, 78.
- 307 *on leave ... Newman’s replacement*: “To Act Promptly on D.C. Vacancy,” *Washington Evening Star*, July 16, 1917, 1; “Gen. Knight Takes Oath of Office,” *ibid.*
- 307 *directly through*: Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity*, 79.
- 307 *side by side*: “March of Home Defense League’s Red Cross Unit of 1,050 Government Clerks for Review by Wilson,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 1917, 2.
- 307 *he told Wilson ... “take further action”*: Brownlow, *Passion for Anonymity*, 78–79. Brownlow said Wilson instructed him to report in advance whenever “I, knowing of his dissent, nevertheless intended to take further action.” Brownlow in turn agreed “to accept full responsibility.” *Ibid.*
- 307 *recorded the encounter*: “Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants, May Advocate ‘Votes for Women’ as Part of War Emergency Program,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1917, 1.
- 308 *“a dirty workhouse”*: *JFF*, 110.
- 308 *“outrageous and farcical”*: “Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants,” *New York Times*.
- 308 *“the only solution”*: *JFF*, 111.
- 308 *“absolutely guiltless”*: J. A. H. Hopkins to Edwin Webb, August 9, 1917, box I:73, reel 46, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; “Quotes Wilson’s Views,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1917, 9.
- 308 *continued to press ... results*: “Militants Freed at Wilson’s Word,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 308 *“a day or two”*: *Ibid.*

25. ‘The Blood Be On Your Head’

PAGE

- 309 *positive headlines*: “Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants, May Advocate ‘Votes for Women’ as Part of War Emergency Program,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1917, 1.
- 309 *rode beside him*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 138; Millard West., Jr., “Interview with Millard West., Jr.,” by Marjorie Zapruder and Joan Marsh, Chevy Chase Historical Society Oral History Project, April 19, 1986.
- 310 *pardon order*: Pardon Order, July 19, 1917, box I:72, reel 46, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 310 *“[put] the hose on ‘em”*: *JFF*, 117.
- 310 *return home*: According to unnamed Wilson “friends” quoted in the *Post* story, the fact that some of the women “had small children at home needing their care” had been “the determining influence with him.” “Fight of Militants Taken to Congress,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 310 *“patriotic action”*: “Pardon Pleases Dr. Shaw,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 5.
- 310 *piggyback*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, July 19, 1917, reel 210, #59594, image 153, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 310 “*sudden surrender*”: “The Pickets and the President,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 79 (July 28, 1917), 6.
- 310 *Malone seemed happy*: “Fight of the Pardoned Militants, Before Congress Next, Seems Lost,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 5.
- 310 “*devils in the workhouse*”: Alden Hatch, *Edith Bolling Wilson, First Lady Extraordinary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), 80.
- 310 *Alice Hay Wadsworth*: “New Head for the ‘Antis,’” *New York Times*, July 1, 1917, 5.
- 310 “*magnanimity*”: Alice Hay Wadsworth to WW, July 23, 1917, reel 210, #59623, image 185, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 310 *whip count*: A. J. H. Hopkins to WW, July 18, 1917, *PWW*, 43:212–13.
- 311 *second opinion*: WW to Albert S. Burleson, July 19, 1917, reel 210, #59591, image 150, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 311 *unattributed “poll”*: “Defeat of Suffrage Amendment in Senate Shown by a Poll,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 311 *sink it*: The one-third estimate was a vast understatement, as would be demonstrated even before the next year’s midterm election, when the Senate would come within one vote of the needed two-thirds. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987–88.
- 311 *two-thirds of the House*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200).
- 311 *taken “to himself”*: 53 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, 64th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 8, 1916), 12276 (remarks of Sen. Cummins).
- 311 “*application of force*”: WW, “Leaders of Men,” June 17, 1890, *PWW*, 6:661 (emphasis in original).
- 312 *generous boost*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 *younger brother*: “Theodore Noyes, Washington Star Editor, Succumbs,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 5, 1946, 2.
- 312 “*suppress anything*”: Mrs. Ellis Meredith to JPT, June 28, 1917, reel 210, #59557, image 114, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 *Brisbane explained ... “to the letter”*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 “*one-time socialist*”: W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York: Scribner’s, 1961), 390.
- 313 *assassination*: Oliver Carlson, *Brisbane* (New York: Stackpole Sons, 1937), 128–29.
- 313 *moral responsibility*: Patricia O’Toole, *The Moralist* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), xv.
- 313 “*My own suggestion*”: JPT to WW, WW to JPT, both July 21, 1917, reel 210, ##59602–03, images 162–63, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. The July 20 incoming letter from Brisbane is stamped “ack’d July 21, 1917,” indicating it had been answered, though not necessarily in writing. Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917.
- 313 *largest crowds*: *SWP*, 229.
- 313 *back pages*: “On the Suffrage Firing Line,” *Lexington Herald*, August 6, 1917, 10.
- 313 *Brisbane had urged*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 313 “*several years*”: “Fight of Militants Taken To Congress,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 314 *to do “nothing”*: *SWP*, 229.
- 314 *until midnight ... “on the brink”*: EMH to WW, July 26, 1917, *PWW*, 43:283; EMH Diary, July 26, 1917, *PWW*, 43:290.
- 315 *the day he met with House*: Surveillance began on July 25. Leo Stanton Rowe to McAdoo, memorandum dated August 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 315 *chiefly counterfeiting*: “William H. Moran, Aided Presidents; Secret Service Ex-Chief Dies—Counterfeit Expert Had Been With Agency 54 Years,” *New York Times*, September 11, 1946, 7.
- 315 *executive order*: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “The U.S. Secret Service During the First World War,” World War I Centennial series, vol. 4 (2017).

- 315 *\$100 million*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 9, 1917), 496–98 (remarks of Rep. Mann); Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 178.
- 315 *William J. Flynn*: By 1919, near the end of the Wilson administration, Flynn was head of the Bureau of Investigation within the Department of Justice. At the same time, 24-year-old lawyer J. Edgar Hoover was appointed assistant director of the newly created General Intelligence Division. Steven A. Stinson, “The Federal Bureau of Investigation: Its History, Organization, Functions and Publications,” *Government Publications Review*, vol. 6, no. 3 (October 1978), 213–39.
- 315 *personally ordered*: Leo Stanton Rowe to William G. McAdoo, memoranda dated July 30, August 6, August 13, August 20, August 27, and August 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 315 *sent Wilson a report*: M.B. Claggett to WW, September 7, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Wilson may not have needed these official reports since McAdoo, who married Wilson’s daughter Eleanor two years before, was a regular at the White House.
- 315 *stays at the Shoreham*: Secret Service report, July 30, 1917, listing Malone arrivals and departures at Shoreham Hotel, Washington, DC, November 1913–July 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The task of collecting this information entirely in secret was challenging. The Chief of the Division of Customs within the Treasury Department, who acted as liaison with the Secret Service special agent in charge of the Malone investigation, complained that it seemed “practically impossible” to accomplish the background investigation “without the Collector learning of it.” F. M. Halstead to Leo Stanton Rowe, July 30, 1917, *ibid.*
- 315 *surveilling the NWP*: Investigative report, George Lillard, June 20, 1917, file #25025 (microfilm), Records Group 65.2.2, National Archives. The pursuers had one surprising source of background information on their prey. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leo Stanton Rowe, who provided several of the agents’ reports to McAdoo, was Alice Paul’s professor when she was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania. Rowe to McAdoo, August 6, 13, 20, 27, 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; archives.upenn.edu/digitized-resources/docs-pubs/alice-paul/alice-paul-transcript.
- 316 *negotiate directly ... daily basis*: Minutes of meeting, National Executive Committee, NWP, August 10, 1917, box 4:4, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; 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), 127.
- 316 *“Kaiser Wilson”*: “Banner Torn from Hands of Picket at White House,” *Washington Post*, August 10, 1917, 12.
- 316 *“type of government” ... “liar or thief”*: Lucy Burns to Aline E. Solomons, August 13, 1917, reel 46, National Woman’s Party records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 317 *to his face*: “Quotes Wilson’s Views,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1917, 9.
- 317 *“the autocratic ruler”*: Suffragists Ask A Picketing Law,” *New York Times*, August 10, 1917, 8.
- 317 *rushed at Burns*: “Banner at White House Torn from Standard in Afternoon,” *Washington Post*, August 11, 1917, 4.
- 318 *off the front pages*: “Tears Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*, August 11, 1917, 16.
- 318 *following day ... No arrests*: “Suffragettes Lose Two More Banners,” *New York Times*, August 12, 1917, 6.
- 318 *“four men” ... “did not interfere”*: *Ibid.* (“With one exception, the offenders were sailors in uniform. The exception was James Delaney”).
- 318 *wore the uniform*: “President Onlooker at Mob Attack on Suffragists,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 82 (August 18, 1917), 7.
- 318 *reach the sidewalk ... “bowed to the crowd”*: “Three More Banners Lost by Suffragists,” *New York Times*, August 14, 1917, 9.
- 318 *“Men in uniform”*: “Washington Crowd Eggs Suffragettes,” *New York Times*, August 15, 1917, 3.
- 319 *.38 caliber round*: JFF, 126.
- 319 *“policemen watched”*: “Naval Reservists Attack Suffrage Banner Bearers,” *Washington Times*, August 15, 1917, 3.

- 319 *kidney ailment*: The diagnosis was subsequently changed to idiopathic digestive ailment. Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 270.
- 319 *lone policeman*: “Washington Crowd Eggs Suffragettes,” *New York Times*.
- 319 *“jeering mob”*: “Suffs’ Buy Gun and 50 Bullets; Militants Take Measures for Defense Following Riot at Cameron House,” *Washington Herald*, August 16, 1917, 1.
- 319 *graduation ceremony*: “Three More Banners Lost by Suffragists,” *New York Times*.
- 319 *twice that week*: “Pickets’ Comic Riot a Regular Feature,” *New York Evening Post*, August 17, 1917, 3.
- 320 *fifth day ... “no specific information”*: “Suffs’ Buy Gun and 50 Bullets,” *Washington Herald*.
- 320 *five thousand*: “Suffrage Banners Seized by Throng,” *Washington Post*, August 17, 1917, 7; “Pickets’ Comic Riot,” *New York Evening Post*.
- 320 *phoned Wilson*: Brownlow, more than 40 years later, wrote “I do not recall” the exact date of this phone call. Since the subject of the call was his intention to make arrests, it stands to reason it was at or near the time that arrests resumed. It was assuredly beforehand. Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 79.
- 320 *“several members of the cabinet”*: Ibid., 77.
- 320 *“do something”*: Ibid.; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 274.
- 320 *green light*: Brownlow, *Passion for Anonymity*, 79.
- 320 *ordered the arrests*: “Suffrage Banners Seized by Throng,” *Washington Post*, August 17, 1917, 7; “Six Suffragists Arrested,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1917, 3.
- 320 *“blocking traffic”*: “Six Suffragists Arrested,” *New York Times*.
- 320 *crime to insult the president*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (August 18, 1914), 6145 (introduction of S. 2810 by Sen. Myers); “Asks Special Law to Stop Picketing,” *New York Times*, August 19, 1917, 1. The bill did not become law.
- 320 *government version*: “Senate,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 86, August 20, 1917, 5.
- 320 *Democratic bill*: “House,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 40, June 26, 1917, 5.
- 321 *simply quoting*: *SWP*, 236–37.
- 321 *twenty-two more*: The first six women were sentenced to 30 days on August 18. “Pickets at Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, August 19, 1917, 1. Another half-dozen were sentenced on August 24, also to 30 days. “Six Pickets Are Sentenced,” *New York Times*, August 25, 1917, 7. On August 28, four more women (along with the previous half-dozen, who were out on bail pending appeal) were sentenced to 30 days. On September 4, twelve more women were arrested, and subsequently sentenced to 60 days. (A thirteenth woman included in this sentencing had already been arrested on August 23; she was given the longer sentence.) *SWP*, 238.
- 321 *“family of Democrats”*: “Pickets at Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, August 19, 1917, 1.
- 321 *committee to investigate*: H. Res. 130, “To Investigate Mob Violence in Washington, D.C.,” 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 17, 1917), 6144 (introduced by Rep. Baer).
- 321 *began lobbying*: “Hopkins Pleads for Suffragists,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 22, 1917, 4. The article was distributed widely via the *New York Times* wire service.
- 322 *counseled his readers*: Charles A. Lindbergh, *Why Is Your Country at War and What Happens to You after the War, and Related Subjects* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1917), 6. Lindbergh’s resume in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* states that in 1916, he “was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate on the Non-Partisan League ticket.” But because the Non-Partisan League was not then sufficiently organized in Minnesota to field its own slate, Lindbergh ran as a peace candidate in the Republican primary. He finished fourth in a field of four candidates.. “Lindbergh, Charles August,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998); “Minnesota Politics,” *Minneapolis Journal*, July 3, 1916, 6; Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1998), 45.
- 322 *“happened to be in the City”*: Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. to WW, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:108.
- 323 *final chapter*: Lindbergh, *Why Is Your Country at War*, 195–99.
- 323 *“very little confidence” ... “or not”*: WW to Newton Diehl Baker, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:108. While in Congress, Lindbergh had taken another political position that irritated Wilson. He had been in the minority that voted against arming merchant ships. 54 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 64th Cong., 2nd Sess., March 1, 1917, 4692 (roll call

on H.R. 544). And while he had voted in support of the creation of the Federal Reserve, 50 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 1st Sess., September 18, 1913, 5129 (roll call on H.R. 7837), he argued in *Why Is Your Country at War* that it was the “money trust” dominated by New York bankers, now enshrined as the Federal Reserve, that most benefitted from the war. Therefore, despite his call for patriotic support of America in the war, and his stated purpose “to avoid the discussion of any subject that might give any satisfaction to our military foe” (*Why Is Your Country at War*, 8), the Wilson administration decided to ban his book. As recounted in the introduction to the second edition of the book when it was finally printed under a different title nearly two decades later, federal agents appeared at the offices of the National Capital Press in Washington in the spring of 1918 and demanded that the publisher destroy “all the Lindbergh plates in your plant.” Charles A. Lindbergh, *Your Country at War and What Happens to You after a War* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1934), 7. Forced to comply, the publisher destroyed the plates for not only *Why Is Your Country at War* but also Lindbergh’s earlier book, *Banking and Currency and the Money Trust* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1913).

26. ‘A Dangerous Man to Cross’

PAGE

- 324 “*No man*”: WW, Address on the Occasion of Robert E. Lee’s Birthday, January 19, 1909, University of North Carolina, reprinted as “Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation,” in *Journal of Social Forces*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1924), 321–328. Wilson was the president of Princeton University at the time of the address.
- 324 *resignation*: Dudley Field Malone to WW, September 7, 1917, *PWW*, 44:167.
- 324 *front pages*: “Malone Resigns to Aid Suffrage,” *Boston Globe*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Resigns As Collector to Aid Suffrage,” *New York Times*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Suffragists’ Champion Resigns Big Federal Job,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Collector Job,” *Washington Herald*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits; Suffrage Plea Ignored, Cause,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Rich Office as Rebuke to President,” *Arizona Republic*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Job to Battle for Suffrage,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Dudley Malone Quits,” *Wichita Beacon*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Champion of Suffragist Movement Resigns,” *El Paso Times*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Customs Collector Peeved, Censures President Wilson,” *Shreveport Journal*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Suffragette Champion; Collector Malone Resigns,” *Vicksburg Herald*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Office to Aid Suffragists,” *Nashville Tennessean*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Dudley Field Malone Resigns,” *Orlando Sentinel*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Collector Malone, Suffrage Champion, Quits as Protest,” *Philadelphia Enquirer*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Office as Collector of Ports to Fight for Suffrage,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 8, 1917, 1.
- 324 “*Dear Mr. President*”: “Malone Resigns As Collector to Aid Suffrage,” *New York Times*.
- 325 *same schedule*: “Wilson at Gloucester Takes a Motor Drive; Col. and Mrs. House Dine with President and Wife on the Mayflower,” *New York Times*, September 10, 1917, 12; “President Sees Sights of Salem,” *Boston Globe*, September 11, 1917, 1.
- 325 “*hub of the universe*”: John Hays Hammond, *The Autobiography*, vol. 2 (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1935), 653; Lisa Peek Ramos, *Magnolia, A Brief History* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 26.
- 325 *pose ... “not himself”*: EMH Diary, September 10, 1917, *PWW*, 44:184.
- 326 “*President’s phrase*”: “The Pickets Jailed,” *Washington Herald*, August 19, 1917, 6.
- 326 *hospital*: “Suff” Pickets Go to Hospital,” *Washington Herald*, August 31, 1917, 7.
- 327 *99.9 percent*: “Militants Win Re-Trial Order,” *Washington Herald*, August 28, 1917, 2 (noting that in the last quarter century, only 65 of the more than 35,000 appeals had been granted).
- 327 “*If there should be*”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 327 *terse letter*: WW to Dudley Field Malone, September 12, 1917, *PWW*, 44:190.
- 327 *Rankin rose*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7372 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 327 “*do not expect action*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7370–71 (remarks of Rep. Pou).
- 328 “*Federal intermeddling*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7375 (remarks of Rep. Huddleston).

- 328 three *committees*: The new House rule created jurisdiction over women’s suffrage in the new committee, but did not amend the existing rule describing the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, which had long embraced the subject. Nor did it deal with the fact that the Anthony Amendment had already been referred to the Judiciary Committee. H.Res. 12 (H. Rept. No. 163), 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7369. Ultimately the Anthony Amendment did not come to the House floor until both the Judiciary Committee and the Woman Suffrage Committee had reported it out. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 15, 1917), 345–49 (debate regarding competing jurisdiction of Judiciary and Woman Suffrage committees); “The Tide Turns,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 98 [100] (December 22, 1917), 5.
- 328 “*old suff mossbacks*”: James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 135.
- 328 *her close friends*: Ibid., 142; Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America’s Conscience* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 121.
- 328 *Worms in the soup*: *JFF*, 141–46; *SWP*, 268.
- 329 *Harvey Wiley*: “Dr. Wiley Protests at Treatment of Picket Prisoners,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 93 (November 3, 1917), 9; *JFF*, 149–51.
- 329 *sworn affidavits ... “cries and blows”*: *JFF*, 144–48.
- 329 *exonerated him*: “Whittaker Keeps Job,” *Washington Post*, October 12, 1917, 4. The perfunctory “inquiry” that exonerated Whittaker was conducted by the Board of Charities, which reported to the Board of Commissioners, and refused to allow Malone or any other counsel for the inmates the opportunity to appear and present evidence. *JFF*, 230–32.
- 329 “*not made up of suffragists*”: “Woman Leader in Loan Campaign Is A Portland Visitor,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, October 29, 1917, 3.
- 330 *investigate conditions*: “Pickets Condemn Food,” *Washington Post*, August 26, 1917, 7; “Investigation of Occoquan,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 91 (October 20, 1917), 4; Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment,” by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, University of California, Berkeley (1973), 238.
- 330 “*In all my years*”: *JFF*, 142.
- 330 *sound the alarm*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 12, 1917), 7062 (remarks of Rep. Timberlake); “The West Interprets the ‘Militant’ Picket,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 80 (August 4, 1917), 4.
- 330 *her resolution*: H. Res. 171, 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 5, 1917), 7872.
- 330 “*not a war measure*”: *JFF*, 171; “Proceedings of the Congress of the United States Briefly Told,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 72, August 8, 1917, 5.
- 330 “*side by side*”: *JFF*, 109.
- 331 *fellow inmates ... “treason”*: Ibid., 111–14.
- 331 *enforcers*: Ibid., 155.
- 331 “*hope you get it*”: Ibid., 112. The author’s inexpert attempt at dialect is omitted.
- 331 *daughter, Phyllis*: Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 128. When Terrell’s husband, Robert Heberton Terrell, was appointed as a judge on the District of Columbia municipal court, he became the first Black federal judge in the United States. An honors graduate of Harvard, he was reappointed by Wilson in 1914 only after a nationwide campaign was mounted in his behalf. “Judge Terrell,” *The Crisis*, vol. 16, no. 2 (June 1, 1918), 66; M. Sammy Miller, “An Unpublished Letter from Dr. Charles B. Purvis to Judge Robert Heberton Terrell,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 63, no. 3 (July 1978), 235.
- 331 *200,000 members*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 90–93. By 1916, the National Association of Colored Women included some 300 clubs. Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women and Gender in the New South: 1865–1945* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 90.
- 331 *Fifth Avenue*: “Negroes in Protest March in Fifth Av.,” *New York Times*, July 29, 1917, 12.
- 332 “*Another great class*” ... “*all the people*”: “Negro Unrest,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 83 (August 25, 1917), 3.
- 332 “*East St. Louis riots*”: “Anti-Negro Riots Due to Labor Causes,” *New York Times*, July 8, 1917, 67.

- 332 *another sentencing hearing ... left civilization*: “Militants Given 6 Months in Jail,” *Washington Post*, October 17, 1917, 10; “Pickets Get Maximum Sentence from Administration,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 91 (October 20, 1917), 4; Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 189–90.
- 332 *Three times*: *SWP*, 238–48.
- 333 *traffic ordinance*: Police Regulations of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: July 31, 1915), §§ 40(b), (c).
- 333 *novel legal theory*: “Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 5.
- 333 *“this obstruction clause” ... “We shall continue”*: Transcript of Proceedings, Police Court for the District of Columbia, October 21 [22], 1917, reel 50, National Woman’s Party records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 333 *Three days later ... longest sentences yet*: *Ibid.*; “Militants Jailed for Seven Months,” *Boston Daily Globe*, October 23, 1917, 1.
- 334 *his own crackdown ... for this purpose*: “Militants Jailed for Seven Months,” *Boston Daily Globe*, October 23, 1917, 1; “Seven Months Sentence for National Suffrage Leader,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 92 (October 27, 1917), 4; “Political Prisoners,” *The Suffragist*, *ibid.*, 8.
- 334 *Burns in solitary*: *JFF*, 177.
- 334 *Winslow squatted ... “psychopathic ward”*: *JFF*, 188–89.
- 335 *malnutrition ... “choking down”*: “Horrors of Jail Life Revealed by Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1917, 1; *SWP*, 263; Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 282–83.
- 335 *no prison riots*: “‘Like Rat in a Trap,’ Says Jailed Militant,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1917, 1; “Jail Horrors,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 4, 1917, 21; *SWP*, 284–85; “Why They Put Alice Paul in Solitary Confinement,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 94 (November 10, 1917), 7.
- 335 *“No, indeed” ... “Revolted”*: Alice Paul Talks, *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 10, 1910, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, NAWSA Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress.
- 335 *released from jail*: “The November Tenth Protest,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5., no. 93 (November 3, 1917), 5.
- 335 *begin a hunger strike*: “Miss Alice Paul on Hunger Strike,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1917, 13; “Will Use Force to Feed Suff,” *Washington Herald*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 336 *devised other means*: Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 285.
- 336 *letters and telegrams*: Reel 210, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*, *passim*.

27. Unshaken

PAGE

- 337 *Winslow joined*: “Pickets in Jail Hospital Go on a Hunger Strike,” *Washington Herald*, November 7, 1917, 3; “2 Suffragettes Go on Hunger Strike,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 7, 1917, 1. “Alice Paul Starts Jail Hunger Strike,” *Boston Globe*, November 7, 1917, 18.
- 337 *every borough*: Rusty C. Tobin, “Who Voted for Woman Suffrage,” *New York History*, vol. 98, no. 3/4 (Summer/Fall 2017), 422–40, at 435n5, 436.
- 337 *multi-partisan roster*: Brooke Kroeger, *The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 222–31.
- 337 *“the many men”*: James Lees Laidlaw, “Men’s Leagues—Why,” *St. John’s (New Brunswick) Globe*, May 17, 1912, quoted in Kroeger, *Suffragents*, 101.
- 337 *Earlier this year*: “Presidential Suffrage for Michigan Women—Full Suffrage in 1918,” *The Michigan Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 3 (April 1917), 1; “Partial Suffrage Passes in Senate,” *Lincoln Daily News*, April 21, 1917, 1; “Suffrage Measures Signed,” *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, January 24, 1917, 1; “Presidential Suffrage for Rhode Island,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 1917, 16. Ohio and Indiana also enacted presidential suffrage in 1917, but both laws were overturned the same year: Ohio’s in a voter referendum, and Indiana’s in court.
- 337 *did not endorse*: Wilson wrote a brief note of congratulations to North Dakota’s governor after the fact. *WW* to Lynn Joseph Frazier, January 23, 1917, *PWW*, 40:549; *WW* to Carrie Chapman Catt, January 25, 1917, *PWW*,

- 41:13. He also wrote briefly to the president of the Tennessee Senate offering his support for a state suffrage bill there, after the state assembly had already approved it. “Wilson for Suff Bill,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1917, 8. The Senate defeated the measure anyway.
- 338 *two sentences*: WW to Deborah Knox Livingston, September 4, 1917, *PWW*, 44:144.
- 338 *no observable impact*: “A Message from President Wilson to Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston,” *Brunswick (ME) Record*, September 7, 1917, 1; S.D. 117, Resolves 1917, c. 4, Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution Granting Suffrage to Women Upon Equal Terms with Men, Maine State Legislature, 78th session (1917). The results of the balloting were: Yes, 20,604; No, 38,838.
- 338 *43 percent*: Rusty C. Tobin, “Who Voted for Woman Suffrage,” *New York History*, vol. 98, no. ¾ (Summer/Fall 2017), 422–40, at 423.
- 338 *early enough*: WW to Vira Boarman Whitehouse, August 14, 1917, *PWW*, 43:462.
- 338 *lobbied Colonel House ... Wilson responded*: *Ibid.*; Vira Boarman Whitehouse to WW, August 10, 1917, *PWW*, 43:462n2.
- 338 *two more sentences*: WW to Vira Boarman Whitehouse, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:62.
- 338 *endorsement from Wilson*: WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, October 13, 1917, *PWW*, 44:372.
- 338 *only white voters*: Writing for a Black audience, Catt and Shaw did not mention Wilson. Carrie Chapman Catt, “Votes for All,” *The Crisis*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Special Suffrage Number, November 1917), 19–21; Anna Howard Shaw, “Votes for All,” *ibid.*, 19.
- 338 *“so good an example”*: *Ibid.*, 43.
- 339 *page-one headline*: “‘Now, the Nation,’ Is Suff’s Slogan,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 7, 1917, 1.
- 339 *victory celebration*: “Women Citizens Pledge Votes to Nation’s Welfare,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 339 *“inevitable”*: *Chicago Sunday Herald*, November 18, 1917, reproduced in *The Suffragist*, vol.5, no. 98 (December 8, 1917), 14.
- 339 *“renew our appeal”*: “Women Citizens Pledge Votes to Nation’s Welfare,” *New York Times*.
- 339 *Malone took the stage*: “Talk of Dropping Capital Pickets,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1917, 13.
- 340 *“obeying an order”*: “Court Decides Dr. Zinkhan Exceeded Law,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 7, 1917, 1; “Verdict of \$2,500 Against Zinkhan,” *Washington Post*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 340 *“must pay penalty”*: Josephus Daniels Diary, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:556.
- 341 *press statement*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, November 30, 1917, reel 210, ##59820–21, images 400–01, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 341 *“everything that he can”*: “Wilson Unshaken in Suffrage View,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1917, 1.
- 341 *“very harshly”*: JPT to WW, October 26, 1917, reel 210, #59743, image 314, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 341 *“condition of mind”*: JPT to WW, October 26, 1917, reel 210, #59744, image 315, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 341 *whitewash*: Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 287.
- 342 *six-page letter*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 342 *“Don’t you think”*: WW to JPT, c. November 10, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 342 *very next day*: JPT to Lillian D. Wald, November 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:39. Evidence of the transmittal to both women is a handwritten notation on the original of Gardiner’s letter to WW, “Copy sent Mrs. Amos Pinchot & Miss L.D. Wald Nov 13/17.”
- 342 *recent appointee*: “President Names Gardiner to Take Place of Newman,” *Washington Times*, September 29, 1917, 2.
- 342 *seeking a job*: “J.E. Laskey Named District Attorney; Nomination by President Ends Contest for Place With W. Gwynn Gardiner,” *Washington Times*, August 21, 1914, 4; “William Gwynn Gardiner,” *Washington Post*, June 12, 1912, 55; “Gardiner, W. Gwynn,” *Who’s Who in the Nation’s Capital*, 1921–22 (Washington, DC: Consolidated Publishing Co., 1921), 144.

- 342 *Jim Crow*: The changes to the Anthony Amendment that Sen. Lee endorsed would have repealed the 15th Amendment’s ban on voting restrictions based on “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1914), 5091, 5097 (remarks of Sen. Lee).
- 342 *Gardiner’s report*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 342 *St. Elizabeth’s*: Congress originally named the facility the Government Hospital for the Insane. 10 Stat. 682 (Act of March 3, 1855). By the 20th century it was frequently referred to as St. Elizabeth’s, after the name of the land on which the hospital was constructed. The year before Alice Paul’s ordeal, Congress officially redesignated it St. Elizabeth’s Hospital, 39 Stat. 309 (Act of July 1, 1916), but it continued to be referred to by its original name or a combination of the two for several years thereafter. See, for example, *Malone v. Overholzer*, 93 F. Supp. 647 (D.D.C. 1950).
- 343 *fifty years later*: Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment,” by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, University of California, Berkeley (1973), 225.
- 343 *“considerable time”*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 343 *leading questions*: *JFF*, 220–223.
- 343 *sixty pounds*: “To Bring Suit for Treatment of Miss Paul,” *Buffalo Evening News*, November 16, 1917, 1.
- 343 *“very frail”*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 343 *“Go ahead”*: *JFF*, 220–23.
- 343 *Kussmaul*: Theodore H. Bast, *The Life and Time of Adolf Kussmaul* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1926), 110–11; Ray Clarke, “The Pioneers of Endoscopy and the Sword Swallowers,” *ENT & Audiology News*, March 3, 2021.
- 344 *intense debate ... patients who objected*: Ian Miller, *A History of Force Feeding: Hunger Strikes, Prisons and Medical Ethics, 1909–1974* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 38.
- 344 *fully in command*: “W. Gwynn Gardiner Sworn In,” *Washington Times*, October 9, 1917, 1.
- 344 *“publicity scheme”*: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 77–79.
- 344 *“force if necessary”*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 344 *“grossly exaggerated”*: WW to JPT, c. November 10, 1917, reel 210, #59807, #59807, image 384, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 345 *single sentence*: “Hunger Striker Is Forcibly Fed,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1917, 13.
- 345 *prisoner access*: Lucy Burns to Members of the Woman’s Party, November 9, 1917, box I:80, reel 52, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 345 *“kill my sister”*: “Hunger Striker Is Forcibly Fed,” *New York Times*.
- 345 *“you are human”*: *SWP*, 58–59.
- 345 *“bad day”*: *SWP*, 283–84.
- 346 *make a statement*: *JFF*, 192.
- 346 *new recruits*: Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 72–73; *JFF*, 192–94.
- 346 *permanently denied*: John Sayer, “Art and Politics, Dissent and Repression: The Masses Magazine versus the Government, 1917–1918,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1988), 42–78, at 55. When Eastman appealed to his friend the president, Wilson personally rejected his arguments. Max Eastman to WW, September 8, 1917, *PWW*, 44:169; WW to Max Eastman, September 18, 1917, *PWW*, 44:210. Shortly afterward, Eastman, four other editors, and the business manager of *The Masses* were criminally charged under the Espionage Act. “7 on ‘Masses’ Staff Indicted for Sedition,” *New York Tribune*, November 20, 1917, 14.
- 346 *journalist’s knack*: Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 73; “Arrest 41 Pickets for Suffrage at the White House,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1917, 1; “Police Net 40 Pickets,” *Washington Post*, November 11, 1917, 2; *JFF*, 192–94.
- 346 *paid their bond*: “Arrest 41 Pickets for Suffrage at the White House,” *New York Times*.
- 346 *“fast as they appeared”*: “Suffragist Pickets Get Arrested Again,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1917, 4.
- 347 *“crowds poured out”*: “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, 6; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 72–73.
- 347 *All of the women*: “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 73.

- 347 *“got to live”*: “A Note from Alice Paul,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 6; *JFF*, 224.
- 347 *publicly preached*: “Soothing Effect of News,” *Popular Mechanics* (January 1912), advertising section, 138.
- 347 *another rebuff*: Dora Lewis to Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, November 13, 1917, box I:80, reel 52, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 347 *listened patiently*: “The Government Holds “The Ringleader,”” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 5; “Banners Torn From Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, 4.
- 348 *“make himself famous”*: Helen Paul to Tacie Paul, November 13, 1917, Papers of Alice Paul, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 348 *bedside*: Gertrude Hunter, “The Legal Aspect of the Suffrage Case,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 85 (September 8, 1917), 7; Matthew E. O’Brien to Alice Paul, August 27, 1917, box I:74, reel 47, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 348 *across the country*: “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, 6; “Malone Sees Hunger Strikers After Habeas Corpus Action,” *Boston Globe*, November 14, 1917, 10; “Throngs Angered by Women Pickets,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1917, 2; “Suffragist Pickets Riot; 31 Arrested,” *San Francisco Examiner*, November 14, 1917, 3; “Banners Torn From Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, 4.
- 348 *prison uniforms*: “Prison Styles for Washington Suffragists,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 19, 1917, 5; “How the Suffragettes Look After Their Jail Terms,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, 4.
- 348 *Malone told reporters*: “The Government Holds “The Ringleader,”” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 5; “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, 6.
- 349 *“Six months”*: “31 Militants Sent Back to Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, November 15, 1917, 11; “31 More Pickets Sent to Workhouse,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1917, 6.
- 349 *at the District Jail*: *JFF*, 235. Because the prisoners were immediately transferred to Occoquan, the newspapers inaccurately reported they were “sentenced” there. The fact they were actually sentenced to jail would be the basis for a subsequent court determination that they were illegally imprisoned.

28. Terror

PAGE

- 350 *Four hours later ... “all afraid”*: Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 74.
- 350 *Before they arrived*: *Ibid.*, 75.
- 351 *At seven thirty ... her memoir*: *JFF*, 196–97; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 75–76.
- 351 *“hell let loose”*: *SWP*, 276 (account of Paula Jakobi).
- 352 *“like a sack” ... human waste*: *SWP*, 273–78; *JFF*, 197–99; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 75–77.
- 352 *detachment of U.S. Marines*: *SWP*, 278; *JFF*, 199; “A Week of the Women’s Revolution,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 4.
- 353 *“no one could see them”*: “A Week of the Women’s Revolution,” *The Suffragist*, 4.
- 353 *half mile*: *Ibid.*; *JFF*, 199.
- 353 *targeted Lewis and Burns*: “A Week of the Women’s Revolution,” *The Suffragist*, 5.
- 353 *third prisoner*: Affidavit of Elizabeth McShane, November 28, 1917, NWP Records, 110.00.00, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 353 *prisoners’ legal counsel*: Matthew O’Brien, whom Dudley Malone had associated as co-counsel for the prisoners, was twice turned away by the Marines when he attempted to see his clients inside the Occoquan prison. *JFF*, 199.
- 353 *one of the Marines ... rejected the offer*: *JFF*, 199–202, 206–08, 234, 279–80.
- 355 *former U.S. Attorney*: “Waddill, Jr., Edmund,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 355 *“distressed”*: Vira Boarman Whitehouse to JPT, November 16, 1917, reel 210, ##59833–36, images 413–417, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 355 “*time is soon coming*”: JPT to WW, November 19, 1917, reel 210, #59837, image 418, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 355 “*no real harshness*”: WW to JPT, November 21, 1917, reel 210, #59838, image 419, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 355 *day before the hearing*: “Dr. Shaw Severe in Blaming Pickets,” *New York Times*, November 23, 1917, 5.
- 356 *watched in disbelief ... original sentences*: “Pickets Remanded to District Jail,” *Washington Post*, November 25, 1917, 3; “Move Militants from Workhouse,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1917, 6; *SWP*, 279–82, 290; *JFF*, 201, 232–240; “Government Forced to Release Suffrage Prisoners from Occoquan,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 97 (December 1, 1917), 4.
- 357 “*iron-jawed angels*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7378 (remarks of Rep. Walsh).
- 357 *through her nostril*: *JFF*, 201–02.
- 358 “*result in their deaths*”: “Move Militants from Workhouse,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1917, 6. On April 30, 1918, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit overruled the District Court decision that the suffrage prisoners’ transfer from the District Jail to Occoquan was illegal, holding that “both institutions were arms of the same penal institution.” “White House Pickets Lose Case on Appeal,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 1, 1918, 12. By then, however, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals had ruled that the arrests were illegal. In the face of that decision, the women were “asked by the government not to appear” to complete their sentences. “Suffrage Pickets Due at Occoquan,” *Washington Herald*, July 9, 1918, 5. The District’s acknowledgement of the binding precedent of the D.C. Court of Appeals was the final step in establishing the legality of the silent sentinels’ picketing. “White House Pickets Not to Return,” (*Annapolis*) *Evening Capital*, July 12, 1918, 1.
- 358 “*Permission has been granted*”: “Baltimoreans to View Occoquan,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 25, 1917, 4.
- 358 *ghastly mistreatment*: “Suffragists Transferred by U.S. Court,” *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, November 26, 1917, sec. 2, 2.
- 358 “*kill the story*”: Lawrence C. Woods to JPT, November 26, 1917, reel 210, #59854, image 436, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WW Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 359 *already on the case ... “violating rules”*: “For and Against Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Evening Post*, November 27, 1917, 1.
- 359 *other topics*: *SWP*, 254–55; *JFF*, 226–28.
- 360 *Zinkhan requested*: L.F. Zinkhan to Alexander R. Mullowney, November 27, 1917, in Donald L. Haggerty, ed., *National Woman’s Party Papers: The Suffrage Years, 1913–1920* (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1981), Microfilm 18,276–97P, Part II, Series 1, Section B; Zinkhan to Mullowney, November 28, 1917, *ibid*.
- 360 “*convene next week*”: “Hunger Strike Wins Freedom for Picketers,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 28, 1917, 13.
- 360 “*heroine picketers*”: “22 Militants Are Released Very Suddenly,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, November 28, 1917, 1.

29. ‘Any Direction Fraught’

PAGE

- 361 *shortly after noon*: WW, Annual Message on the State of the Union, December 4, 1917, *PWW*, 45:194; “Wilson, Urging War on Austria-Hungary, Says U.S. Will Fight Till Wrongs Are Ended,” *Baltimore Sun*, December 4, 1917, 1. In addition to ignoring her repeated pleas for help on the Anthony Amendment, Wilson had recently rebuffed Bass’s efforts to include a woman on his Peace Commission. Elizabeth Bass to WW, November 18, 1918, *PWW*, 53:125; WW to Bass, November 19, 1918, *PWW*, 53:129.
- 362 “*virtually adopted*”: “House Will Follow Wilson’s Program,” *New York Times*, December 6, 1917, 4.
- 362 *That very day*: “House Resolution Provides War Upon Austria-Hungary,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 1; “Congress May Extend Price-Fixing Power,” *New York Times*, December 5, 1917, 2; “Act Quickly on President’s Proposal in House,” *Santa Ana Register*, December 5, 1917, 1; “Unlimited Control of Prices Forecast,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 3.

- 362 *the following Tuesday*: “To Vote on Amendments,” *New York Times*, December 5, 1917, 6.
- 362 *Kitchin further promised*: “Chairman Kitchin Outlines Program,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 1; “Suffrage and Dry Vote Dec. 19 and 20,” *New York Sun*, December 5, 1917, 14.
- 362 *more than a month*: “Close of Suffrage Battle Predicted,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 98 (December 8, 1917), 6; “President Wilson Endorses National Suffrage,” *ibid.*, 6. The five states granting voting rights to women in 1917 were New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Arkansas (primary suffrage only), and Rhode Island (presidential suffrage).
- 362 *planning its national convention*: “Pre-Convention Activities,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 2 (December 8, 1917), 28; “Program for the Great Washington Convention,” *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 1 (December 1, 1917), 9.
- 363 *“the coming session”*: “Acknowledgements,” *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 25 (November 17, 1917), 469.
- 363 *since January*: “National Advisory Council Organizes,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 99 (December 15, 1917), 5.
- 363 *no useful data*: Maud May Wood Park to Helen Hamilton Gardener, November 24, 1917, *PWW*, 45:121.
- 363 *Wilson was grateful*: WW to Maud May Wood Park, November 27, 1917, *PWW*, 45:129.
- 363 *“the right hands”* ... *“what theaters”*: Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 2:406.
- 364 *party measures*: Randall B. Ripley, “The Party Whip Organizations in the United States House of Representatives,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 58, no. 3 (September 1964), 561–76, at 562 and n8. In fact, herding members into the party position, as opposed to simply counting votes yea and nay, was the quintessential function of the whip organization. The term “whip” came from the British parliament, where it originated as a metaphor borrowed from fox hunting. (The “whipper-in” was the man responsible for keeping the hounds from leaving the pack.)
- 364 *infected*: Since Oscar Underwood of Alabama became the first Democratic Whip when the post was created in 1900, the organization had grown to its current size and stature under southern Democratic management. Ripley, “Party Whip Organizations,” 562–64.
- 364 *current majority whip*: “Tube Appropriation Is Passed by House,” *Boston Globe*, January 17, 1917, 16; “Democratic Whip Indicates Chances for Extra Session,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 2, 1917, 1; “Tariff Increase on Sugar Is Again Up as Suggestion,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 17, 1917; “Rouse Made Assistant Whip by Speaker Clark,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 16, 1917, 3. Each of these articles identifies Bell as Democratic whip in the 64th and 65th Congresses.
- 364 *“political equality”* ... *anti-lynching*: U.S. House of Representatives, Report of the Committee on the Judiciary to Accompany H.R. 13, 67th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Digest*, vol. 1, no. 6 (October 31, 1921), 11 (minority views of Rep. Bell of Georgia).
- 364 *Bell had led a division*: “Harrison Again Heads Veterans,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 8, 1917, 1.
- 364 *“had it classified”* ... *“party expediency”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 7, 1917, *PWW*, 45:242.
- 365 *“I realize the circumstances”*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, December 8, 1917, *PWW*, 45:242.
- 365 *brief note*: WW to Albert S. Burleson, December 8, 1917, Reel 210, #59874, image 458, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 365 *“next week”*: “Reports Suffrage and ‘Dry’ Measures,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1917, 9.
- 365 *hopes of defeating it*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 365 *poorly drafted*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7369 (text of H. Res. 12, creating Woman Suffrage Committee), 7384–85 (roll call on H. Res. 12).
- 366 *“delay a vote”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 366 *“no direct aid”*: “Women to Make War on Foes at Polls,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1917, 9; “Suffragists Resolve on Drive at Polls,” *New York Times*, December 11, 1917, 15.
- 367 *“never mentioned”*: “Congress Warned by Suffrage Leader,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1917, 13.
- 367 *friendly terms*: Anti-suffragists jealously guarded the president’s public support of their anti-Anthony Amendment position. Three days before Christmas, the NOAWS wrote Wilson to complain of intimations “that the President of the United States ‘secretly favors’ suffrage methods he has publicly condemned.” Minnie Bronson to WW, December 22, 1917, Reel 210, ##59891, image 476, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 367 *Kitchin announced*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 13, 1917), 258 (remarks of Rep. Kitchin). The Democratic members were John Raker (CA), chairman; Edward W. Saunders (VA); Frank Clark (FL); Benjamin C. Hilliard (CO); James H. Mays (UT); Christopher D. Sullivan (NY); and Thomas L. Blanton (TX).
- 367 *voted against*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res 1). Clark voted no, and Saunders was paired against.
- 367 *pledged to his Texas constituents*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 787 (remarks of Rep. Blanton).
- 367 *six members*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 13, 1917), 258 (remarks of Rep. Gillett). The Republican members were Jeannette Rankin (WY); Frank Mondell (WY); William H. Carter (MA), Jacob E. Meeker (MO), Edward C. Little (KS), and Richard N. Elliott (IN).
- 367 *“chief Father”*: “Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist, Part Two,” *McCall’s Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 2 (October 1919), 12.
- 368 *result was a shock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 18, 1917), 514–15.
- 368 *steering committee ... “how much weight”*: *FDL*, images 151–52, MS 188–89.
- 368 *major development*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 18, 1917), 515; “Vote on Suffrage in House on Jan. 10,” *New York Times*, December 19, 1917, 5.