

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

PART IV

VICTORY AND DEFEAT

30. Death Warrant

PAGE

- 371 *proclamation*: Proclamation 1419—Government Assumption of Control of Transportation Systems, December 26, 1917, *PWW*, 45:358.
- 371 “*control every industry*”: “Government Takes Over the Railroads,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 27, 1917, 1.
- 371 “*noisy feminine demonstrations*”: “Southern Democrats and Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 14.
- 372 *congratulatory letter*: Minnie Bronson to WW, January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59910, image 486, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 372 *Tumulty had forgotten ... “control of the House”*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59117–18, images 492–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 373 “*quiet canvass*”: “House Test Shows Suffrage Gains,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 13.
- 373 *Since Friday*: EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:550.
- 373 *released statements*: Carrie Chapman Catt to William Gibbs McAdoo, January 7, 1918, reel 210, #59939, image 516, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Hope for Victory in House Greater,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage Measure Reported to House,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1918, 12; *HWS*, 5:590. Ten days earlier, Wilson had advised that each cabinet secretary should “feel free to write his own views” on the subject. E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for December 28, 1917, 257.
- 373 *round of golf*: “President’s Visit to Capitol Comes as Utter Surprise,” *Washington Times*, January 8, 1918, 2; Edmund W. Starling and Thomas Sugrue, *Starling of the White House* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 101.
- 373 *notify Speaker*: “President’s Visit to Capitol,” *Washington Times*; EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:550, 555.
- 374 *urgent phone calls ... “precipitate manner”* “President’s Visit to Capitol,” *Washington Times*.
- 374 *beginning of December*: EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:558.
- 374 “*speculated*”: *Ibid.*, *PWW*, 45:550, 555.
- 374 *Bolsheviks seized control*: Leon Trotsky, “Publication of the Secret Treaties,” *Izvestia*, no. 221, November 23, 1917, 4, in *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1928, Documents and Materials*, James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 243–44.
- 374 *known about some*: Mary Reno Frear, “Did President Wilson Contradict Himself on the Secret Treaties?,” *Current History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (June 1, 1929), 435–43.
- 374 *Pravda published an article*: Under the terms of the treaty, Italy would receive large swaths of Trieste and Dalmatia in the Balkans as well as the Alpine territory of Tyrol, all of which were currently part of Austria-Hungary. V. I. Lenin, “One of the Secret Treaties,” *Pravda*, no. 53, May 23 [10], 1917, trans. Bernard Isaacs, in *Lenin: Collected Works*, 45 vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 24:380.

- 375 “colonial thieves”: Abdul Qadir, Zahir Mengal, Pervaiz Ahmed, and Shazia Jaffar, “Arab Revolt of 1916,” *Journal of Education and Humanities Research*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2017), 53.
- 375 *November 23*: By this time Yakov Sverdlov, chairman of the Bolshevik Party’s Central Executive Committee, had taken over as editor of *Pravda*. Angus Roxburgh, *Pravda: Inside the Soviet News Machine* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1987), 282.
- 375 *translated and published*: “Jordan-Syria Boundary,” *International Boundary Study No. 94* (Washington: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1969), 9; F. Seymour Cocks, ed., *The Secret Treaties and Understandings: Text of the Available Documents* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1918), 18.
- 375 *another secret agreement*: James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, eds., *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1928, Documents and Materials* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 24. Other secret agreements among the Allies included the Treaty of Bucharest (1916), by which Romania agreed to join the war; the Treaty of Saint Jean de Maurienne (1917), partitioning Asiatic Turkey; various agreements between France and Russia concerning German borders; and notes between Japan, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy awarding Japan certain Pacific islands and Shantung in China. Mary Reno Frear, “Did President Wilson Contradict Himself on the Secret Treaties?,” *Current History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (June 1, 1929), 435–443.
- 375 “keyed upon the secret treaties” ... “conceded”: Walter Lippmann, “The Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann,” Columbia University Oral History Collection, Columbia University Library, pt. 2, no. 118, 108; Godfrey Hodgson, *Woodrow Wilson’s Right Hand: The Life of Colonel Edward M. House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 163 (quoting the “Reminiscences”); Mark Thomas Edwards, *Walter Lippmann: American Skeptic, American Pastor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 73.
- 375 “Open covenants”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:534.
- 375 “delusion”: Hodgson, *Right Hand*, 173.
- 375 *morning after*: “Tyranny and Crime Reign in Petrograd,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 375 *separate peace*: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918, in U.S. Department of State, *Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference*, Texts of the Russian “Peace” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 13–21.
- 376 *other themes*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:534.
- 376 *Emery Building*: The court occupied temporary quarters there between November 1916 and the fall of 1919. “Courts Well Fixed in Emery Building,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 30, 1916, 18; Washington Topham, “First Railroad into Washington and Its Three Depots,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 27 (1925), 175–247, at 243; F. Regis Noel, “The Court-House of the District of Columbia,” *Journal of the District of Columbia Bar Association*, vol. 5, no. 2 (February 1938), 47–88, at 82; Theodore R. Newman, Jr., “The State of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals,” *Catholic University Law Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1978), 453–68, at 453–54 and n3; “District of Columbia Courthouse,” Form 10–300 (July 1969), National Register of Historic Places, Record Group 79, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC.
- 376 *like brothers ... judicial wisdom*: Photograph of Judges of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, 1917, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 376 *oldest judge*: “Justice C. J. Smyth,” *New York Times*, April 16, 1924, 23; “Constantine Joseph Smyth,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 377 *youngest judge*: “Mr. Justice Charles H. Robb,” *Washington Law Reporter*, vol. 34, no. 41 (October 12, 1916), 637; “Charles Henry Robb,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 377 *other senior judge*: “Josiah Van Orsdel, U.S. Justice, Dead,” *New York Times*, August 8, 1937, 40; “Josiah Van Orsdel,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit. Van Orsdel’s service in the Wyoming state legislature commenced in 1894, four years after the territory’s admission to statehood. Only beginning with statehood in 1890 could women vote in presidential and congressional elections, although as the first territory in the U.S. to enact women’s suffrage in 1869, Wyoming had long given women the right to vote in elections for the territorial legislature.
- 377 *an extensive brief*: *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918) (summary of brief for plaintiffs in error).

- 377 *“forty-foot sidewalk” ... disbelief*: “Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 9.
- 378 *left him a memo*: JPT to WW, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59961, image 540, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 378 *note from Elizabeth Bass*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:542.
- 378 *positive headlines*: “President Specifies Terms as Basis for World Peace,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 1; “Freedom of World Is U.S. Aim in War, Wilson Tells Congress,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Memorable Speech Delivered by Executive to Congress in Joint Session,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1918, 1; “United States Will Continue in Fight to End,” *Houston Post*, January 9, 1918, 1; JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 153.
- 379 *Billy Sunday*: “Women Share Burdens; Give Them the Vote, Says Billy,” *Washington Times*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *page one*: “Suffrage Will Pass the House,” *Buffalo Enquirer*, January 9, 1918, 4; “Suffrage Will Win in House, Say Leaders,” *Dayton Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage Likely to Win in the House,” *Allentown Leader*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage May Be Enacted; House Practically Certain to Vote in Favor of Bill; Senate Not So Sure,” *Huntington Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *twenty-two states*: “Suffrage Measure Reported to House ... Passage Thursday Likely,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1918, 12. In the actual voting the next day, 25 states unanimously supported the Anthony Amendment. See Appendix 2.
- 379 *Conspicuously absent*: “Forces Line Up for Big Suff Fight,” *Montgomery Times*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *“called a conference”*: “Suffrage Bill Goes to House with O.K. Tag,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 1918, 8.
- 379 *“dozen votes”*: “Says Suffrage Will Win in House Tomorrow,” *New York Evening World*, January 9, 1918, 7; “House to Vote Tomorrow Afternoon on Suffrage,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 2.
- 379 *“every member”*: “Suffrage May Be Enacted,” *Huntington Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *two letters*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:545; WW to Rep. Jouett Shouse, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59960, image 539, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 379 *seeking the president’s answer*: Rep. Jouett Shouse to WW, January 8, 1918, reel 210, #59944, image 521, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 380 *“without getting any encouragement”*: “Congress Warned by Suffrage Leader,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1917, 13.
- 380 *“you may readily conjecture”*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:545.
- 380 *urging a decision*: JPT to WW, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59961, image 540, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 380 *close of business*: Ibid. Wilson handwrote “OK” on the memo; Tumulty handwrote “5:00 today the 9th.”

31. Who Will Get the Credit?

PAGE

- 381 *ice-cold*: “Weather,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 10, 1918, 1.
- 381 *Green Room ... “write it himself”*: William J. Cochran to JPT, January 22, 1918 (enclosing interview with Rep. Taylor as draft press release), reel 210, ##59970–71, images 550–554, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President Favors ‘Vote’ Amendment,” *Washington Star*, January 10, 1918, 3; “Wilson Declares in Favor of Woman Suffrage,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President Wilson Urges Congress to Vote for Suffrage,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Give Women Vote—Wilson,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 381 *introduced the group*: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 381 *his first campaign*: *HWS*, 5:356.
- 381 *“no” votes in 1915*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1).
- 381 *steering committee*: *FDL*, images 151–52, MS 188–89.

- 381 *close to the vest ... John Jones*: The fact that Taylor “had not been able to get any Democratic opponents to go” to the White House indicates that Brumbaugh and Jones, along with the others in the group, were supporters by the time they attended the meeting. *FDL*, image 158, MS 145. But neither had publicly announced his conversion. “Ohio Total for Suffrage,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 9, 1918, 7; “Only Two Texans Favor Suffrage; to Vote Thursday,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 8, 1918, 8.
- 382 *recent convert*: Linthicum had been listed as a likely opponent as recently as early December 1917. “Maryland’s Vote Split,” *Baltimore Sun*, December 3, 1917, 1. He announced his conversion on the first of January. “Linthicum with Suffrs,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1918, 2.
- 382 *future U.S. senator*: “Carraway, Hattie Wyatt,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 382 *House saw as a fault*: EMH Diary, January 13, 1918, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 6:20.
- 382 *“statement as to his position”*: “Wilson Favors Suffrage Vote,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Says Wilson Is Won to Suffragist Amendment,” January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59942, image 519, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 382 *urged every Democrat*: “Suffrage Bill Goes to House with O.K. Tag,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 1918, 8.
- 382 *“claiming credit”*: “Women Expect Big Majority for Suffrage,” *Buffalo Evening News*, January 9, 1918, 13; “Hope for Victory in House Greater,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 383 *“every other official action”*: The 1916 Democratic platform touted Wilson’s “he kept us out of war” slogan. South Trimble, ed., *Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856–1916, Inclusive* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 204. While support for war grew in the months between the adoption of the Democratic platform in mid-1916 and Wilson’s war message in early 1917, his departure from this neutrality policy is an obvious omission in Wilson’s assertion that he had strayed from the platform only once.
- 383 *“seem to be requesting” ... “Democratic opponents”*: *FDL*, image 158, MS 145.
- 383 *discussion continued*: The quoted dialog from this point forward is from a press release drafted by the DNC Publicity Department two weeks later, providing additional detail on what Wilson said in the meeting, based on Rep. Taylor’s recollection. The reconstruction accounts for only a few minutes’ dialog, but crucially it describes how Wilson eventually made the leap. William J. Cochran to JPT, January 22, 1918 (enclosing interview with Rep. Taylor as draft press release), reel 210, ##59970–71, images 550–554, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 383 *Since July*: J. A. H. Hopkins to WW, July 18, 1917, *PWW*, 43:212; WW to Albert Burleson, July 19, 1917, *PWW*, 43:212; Maud Wood Park to WW, November 30, 1917, *PWW*, 45:169; JPT to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 383 *“policy, not a principle”*: “Wilson Favors Suffrage Vote,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 384 *“write it himself”*: Ibid.
- 384 *“The committee found”*: WW, Statement to Democratic Members of Congress, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59962, image 541, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 384 *“his game of golf”*: “Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist, Part Two,” *McCall’s Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 2 (October 1919), 12.
- 384 *persistence of Tumulty*: Tumulty, who had long prodded Wilson on the subject, had been a supporter of women’s suffrage since his days at the capitol in Trenton. Delight W. Dodyk, “Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in New Jersey” (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1997), 343n52.
- 384 *opening prayer*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 761–62.
- 384 *raised millions*: Lyle W. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2004), 33–38, 64; Robert F. Martin, *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862–1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), xiii, 121. Sunday’s charitable donations to the war effort in 1917 alone were more than \$120,500, equivalent to \$3 million in today’s currency. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday*, 60.
- 385 *“destroy the Democratic Party”*: “Today: Woman’s Day – Justice at Last – Advice to Representatives – Respect Your Mothers,” *Washington Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.

- 385 “*go over in droves*”: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 “*unanimous vote*”: “Wilson Out for Federal Amendment on Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 *give Republicans credit*: “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 *Cantrill*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 764 (remarks of Rep. Cantrill).
- 385 *Moon*: Ibid., 765–67 (remarks of Rep. Moon).
- 386 *Hersey*: Ibid., 777 (remarks of Rep. Hersey).
- 386 *Norton*: Ibid., 801 (remarks of Rep. Norton).
- 386 *Lenroot*: Ibid., 768 (remarks of Rep. Lenroot).
- 386 *Langley*: Ibid., 780–81 (remarks of Rep. Langley).
- 386 *Clark*: Ibid., 781–86 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Florida).
- 387 *Mansfield*: Ibid., 800 (remarks of Rep. Mansfield).
- 387 “*I don’t believe it*”: Ibid., 784–85 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Florida).
- 387 *Greene*: Ibid., 768 (remarks of Rep. Greene).
- 388 “*pale and weak*” ... “*joy be unconfined*”: “The Story of January Tenth,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 8 (January 19, 1918), 148.
- 388 “*Brother Mann*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 804 (remarks of Speaker Clark).
- 388 “*since the Declaration*” ... “*every conceivable point*”: Ibid., 773 (remarks of Rep. Raker).
- 388 “*women of California*”: Ibid., 773 (remarks of Rep. Kearns).
- 388 “*For 70 years*”: Ibid., 771–72 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 389 “*glorious day*”: Ibid., 804 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 389 *Clyde Kelly*: Ibid., 769; “Kelly, Melville Clyde,” BD.
- 389 *often quoted in*: Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 14, 162, 219, 242, 326, 416, 418–19, 532, 593.
- 389 *Richard Elliott*: “Elliott, Richard Nash,” BD; “Elliott Makes Maiden Speech for Suffrage,” *Richmond Palladium and Sun-Telegram*, January 14, 1918, 3.
- 390 “*divided politically*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 789 (remarks of Rep. Elliott).
- 390 *passed the House*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200).
- 390 *did not mention*: *Official Bulletin—Complete Topical Index from January 2, 1918, to June 29, 1918, Inclusive* (Washington: Committee on Public Information, 1918), 1–35. One of the few official announcements the White House did make that day was the president’s reappointment of Louis Brownlow to preside over the affairs of the District of Columbia. It was a decision, the wire service report said, that was “justified by ... what the chief executive regards as excellent service.” “Lewis Brownlow Named Commissioner of District,” *Nashville Tennessean*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *easy win*: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage; Victory on House Vote Today Expected as Result of His Belated Conversion,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President for Suffrage—Victory Sure,” *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Wilson Out for Federal Amendment On Suffrage ... Victory for the Anthony Amendment in Senate to Follow, Is Belief,” *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Weight of President Wilson’s Suffrage Statement Is Likely to Carry Proposed Amendment,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 10, 1918, 4; “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment ... Safe Majority Certain,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 390 *nearly called upon*: “House for Suffrage, 274 to 136, Exact Two-Thirds Vote Required, With Clark’s Ballot in Reserve,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *featured tables*: “How Suffrage Vote Was Distributed,” *New York Times*, January 13, 1918; “Revised Suffrage Vote in Congress,” *New York Times*, January 14, 1918, 12; “How the House Voted on Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, January 11, 1918, 2. Among Democrats, 104 of 206 members voted in favor; among Republicans, 165 of 198 members voted in favor. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200). See Appendix 2 for a detailed breakdown of the vote in the House.
- 390 *page-one headline*: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 11, 1918, 1.

- 390 *six-column headline*: “Republican Votes Chiefly Responsible for Women’s Victory,” *New York Sun*, January 11, 1918, 4.
- 390 *each passing day*: “House for Suffrage, 274 to 136, Exact Two-Thirds Vote Required, With Clark’s Ballot in Reserve,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1918, 1; “Woman Suffrage Wins in House by One Vote,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1918; “Suffrage Barely Wins; House Votes 274–136; Victory After 70 Years,” *New York Sun*, January 11, 1918, 1; “Women’s Victory in House Result of Long Struggle,” *New York Tribune*, January 11, 1918, 2; “The President as Party Leader,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 12, 1918; “Suffragists Celebrate at Luncheon,” *San Francisco Examiner*, January 12, 1918, 7; “Thank Wilson for Aiding Suffrage,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 12, 1918, 4; “The Suffrage Victory,” *Oakland Tribune*, January 13, 1918, 36; “What Will the Lady Do to the Tiger?,” *Buffalo Times*, January 13, 1918, 6; “Woman’s Party Storm Bound, Works by Wire,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 13, 1918, 6.
- 390 *“saved his party”*: David Lawrence, “Suffragists Had Faith in Wilson,” *New York Evening Post*, January 10, 1918, 1. A few months’ time would prove Lawrence’s election prediction wrong, as congressional Democrats suffered an historic defeat.
- 391 *“psychological moment”*: Lawrence likely talked with Helen Gardener after Wilson’s announcement, because in her letter to Tumulty on the night of the vote, she credited the president with acting “at the psychological moment.” Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 10, 1918, *PWW*, 45:565. Lawrence used these precise words in his article.
- 391 *NAWSA had publicly declared*: “See Victory for Suffrage If No Opposition Comes From the Administration,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 3, 1918, 1.
- 391 *“succumbed to the pickets”*: “The Suffrage Amendment,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 391 *“undoubtedly will follow”*: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 391 *credit Wilson*: “Suffrage Wins in House,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 10.
- 392 *“no one party”*: “House Adopts Suffrage Bill by One Vote Margin,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 11, 1918, 3.
- 392 *“whether we were sure”*: *FDL*, image 176, MS 163; “Suffragists Thank Wilson,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1918, 12.
- 392 *“now to the Senate”*: “Woman Suffrage Wins in House by One Vote,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1918, 5.
- 392 *danger signs*: “The Suffrage Outlook in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 3 (January 19, 1918), 10.
- 392 *“would result in defeat”*: “Suffrage Drive for Senate Vote Grows Intense,” *New York Evening World*, January 14, 1918, 10.

32. The Long Fortnight

PAGE

- 393 *“archenemy”*: “The Senate Prospect,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 8 (January 19, 1918), 145.
- 393 *“counting their chickens”*: “Better Late,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 3 (January 19, 1918), 4.
- 393 *“Unless the advocacy”*: “Suffragists Must Gain Four Votes to Win Victory for Amendment in Senate,” *New York Evening World*, January 11, 1918, 7.
- 394 *his “bully pulpit”*: “Democratic Tide Turns in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 4 (January 30, 1918), 5.
- 394 *rallies*: “Roosevelt Centre of Suffrage Host,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1913, 1.
- 394 *Gardener asked Wilson*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 20, 1918, reel 210, #59964–65, images 543–45, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 394 *“not at all be willing”*: JPT to WW, January 23, 1918, reel 210, #59973, image 555, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*; WW to JPT, *ibid.*, #59974, image 556.
- 394 *parties were whipping*: “Suffragists Must Gain Four Votes to Win Victory for Amendment in Senate,” *New York Evening World*, January 11, 1918, 7. The story provides the breakdown of commitments for and against by party, and states that the amendment was “seven votes short of two-thirds.” The seven vote gain could be accomplished with as few as four more votes if they came from senators switching from yes to no.
- 394 *“anything is being started”*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 290.

- 394 “pressure”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, February 15, 1918 (summary of correspondence), reel 210, #59978, image 560, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 395 *did not ask*: WW to Ollie James, June 24, 1918, *PWW*, 48:404. Wilson asked James only to “give up your pair.” A pair was used by senators who anticipated missing the vote. One absent senator in support of a bill would pair with another absent senator who was opposed. The theory was that since their votes would cancel out, the outcome was unaffected when neither voted. But pairs posed a problem for the Anthony Amendment. Because a two-thirds majority was required to pass a constitutional amendment, it took two senators in favor to cancel out one senator against. The absence of a single senator opposed to the Anthony Amendment would prevent the two senators paired with him from voting “yes,” even though, on the day of the voting, they might be present. For an example of this, see the note *room for doubt* accompanying the text at p. 398.
- 395 *losing his influence*: Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 290–91.
- 395 *infectious diseases*: Eric Sezekorn, “Disease and Dissent: Progressives, Congress, and the WW I Army Training Camp Crisis,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 21, no. 2 (April 2022), 93–110.
- 395 *all manufacturing*: “Garfield’s Regime Staked on Order,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1918, 2.
- 395 *financial problems*: “Want to Keep Up Idle Mondays,” *New York Times*, February 5, 1918, 1.
- 395 *shifting the coal cars*: “Reasons for Coal Crisis,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1918, 63.
- 395 *Jim Crow rules*: “The ‘Jim Crow’ Car,” *Hartford Courant*, January 14, 1918, 8; Mia Bay, *Traveling Black* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021), 104.
- 395 *cost of food*: Tom G. Hall, “Wilson and the Food Crisis: Agricultural Price Control During World War I,” *Agricultural History*, vol. 47, no. 1 (January 1973), 25, citing *U.S. War Industries Board, Price Bulletin Number 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 52, and Milton Friedman and A.J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 205–12.
- 396 *influence is going*: Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 290.
- 396 *page-one headline*: “Suffrage Pickets Win on Appeal,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1918, 1.
- 396 *hardly be contended*: *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918).
- 396 *the court understood*: In two more months Wilson would sign the Sedition Act, effectively criminalizing *lèse-majesté*, but as of March 1918 the nation had no such law prohibiting criticism of the president. Sedition Act of 1918, Pub. L. 65–150, 40 Stat. 553 (May 16, 1918). The administration aggressively enforced both the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act, bringing over 1,000 cases to conviction in a matter of two years. Henry N. Scheiber, *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917–1921* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), Appendix, 63.
- 396 *few men in America*: Ernestine Evans, “A Suggestion for Mr. Creel,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 11 (March 26, 1918), 5.
- 397 *pushing for a floor vote*: “Gallinger Espouses Suffrage Resolution,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 28, 1918, 2; “Senator Gallinger Supports Suffrage,” *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1918, 2; “The Progress of the Amendment in 1918,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 12 (March 30, 1918), 8.
- 397 *“If I were satisfied”*: “Senator Martin’s Denial,” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 30, 1918, 2.
- 397 *Employees Union*: “Federal Employees Back Suffrage Cause,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 11, 1918, 11.
- 397 *note to Wilson*: JPT to WW, March 12, 1918, reel 210, #59990, image 572, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Sees Victory for Suffrage with Senate,” *Washington Herald*, March 11, 1918, 10.
- 397 *pressure on Florida’s senators*: “The Strategic South for Federal Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 11 (March 26, 1918), 10.
- 397 *replied to Tumulty*: WW to JPT, c. March 12, 1918, reel 210, #59991, image 573, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. At the request of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, Wilson wrote a brief letter on March 8 supporting that state’s primary suffrage bill (incorporating Jim Crow strictures to prevent Black women from voting). WW to Elizabeth Herndon Potter, March 8, 1918, Jane Y. McCallum Collection, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library. He congratulated the group with a telegram when the bill was signed into law. “Wilson Congratulated Suffrage Leaders,” *Houston Post*, March 27, 1918, 12.
- 398 *within two votes*: Irvine Lenroot (R-WI) was elected on April 18 to fill a vacancy. William Stone (D-MO) had been a pickup for the pro-Anthony Amendment forces only weeks before he died on April 14; NAWSA judged

- his appointed successor, Xenophon Wilfley, to be in favor. Peter Gerry (D-RI) committed after the state legislature formally urged his support. Charles Culberson (D-TX) privately switched in favor after Texas granted women primary suffrage on March 26. Carroll Page (R-VT) committed to NAWSA in April. *FDL*, images 193, 212, MS 180, 198; “Early Skirmish in Senate Shows Suffrage Views,” (*Fall River, MA Evening Herald*, May 8, 1918, 8; “Woman Suffrage Bill Was Signed,” *Houston Post*, March 27, 1918, 5; “Culberson Voted With Sheppard,” *Houston Post*, May 7, 1918, 7. Culberson had long extolled the virtues of the “white primary” for Democrats, because it would be “uninfluenced by the chicanery and intrigue which heretofore defeated the will of the people.” “Satisfactory in Texas,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 26, 1906, 12.
- 398 *a rancher*: “Andrieus Aristeus Jones,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1, 1928), 112.
- 398 *gained the floor*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (May 6, 1918), 6096–97; “Suffrage Motion Beaten in Senate,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1918, 24.
- 398 *room for doubt*: In addition to the many absences, three senators who were present in the chamber refrained from voting to honor their pairs: Porter McCumber (R-ND), Charles McNary (R-OR), and Charles Thomas (D-CO). All three were Anthony Amendment supporters, so the vote of any one of them would have put the Jones motion over the top. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (May 6, 1918), 6097.
- 398 *offering to meet*: JPT to WW, May 7, 1918 (includes WW handwritten note to JPT), reel 210, ##60016–17, images 600–01, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 398 *Kent followed up*: Elizabeth T. Kent to WW, May 8, 1918, reel 210, ##60020–22, images 604–06, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *Catt called*: Staff Memorandum for the President, May 8, 1918, reel 210, #60018, image 602, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, May 8–31, 1918, box 3, reel 3, WWP (reflecting no meetings with Catt).
- 399 *All four men*: John Beckham to WW, May 9, 1918, *PWW*, 47:580; Benjamin Tillman to WW, May 10, 1918, *PWW*, 47:597; Duncan Upshaw Fletcher to WW, May 11, 1918, *PWW*, 47:609; Park Trammell to WW, May 16, 1918, *PWW*, 48:43.
- 399 *Wilson agreed*: WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, May 8, 1918, box 3, reel 3, WWP.
- 399 *“postponed indefinitely”*: “Puts Off Senate Vote on Suffrage Question,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1918, 9; *FDL*, images 212–216, MS 198–202.
- 399 *“more disturbed”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 21, 1918, reel 210, #60038, image 621, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *“left nothing undone”*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60041, image 627, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *“literally impossible”*: JPT to Florence Bayard Hilles, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60042, image 628, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *“overwhelmed with business”*: WW to JPT, May 25, 1918, reel 210, #60050, image 636, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *meet with Bass*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60041 image 627, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *reinforcement he needed*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 300–01; Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 320–21. Wilson would keep up his routine of daily automobile rides almost until his death. Though he never learned to drive, he thoroughly enjoyed being chauffeured in the Pierce-Arrows that he used in the White House years and the post–presidency. And with good reason: the top-end Pierce-Arrows made available to him were at the time arguably the finest automobiles in the world. The 825-cubic inch engine of the 1916 Pierce-Arrow 66 A-4 was the largest ever in any production passenger car, before or since. Its cast aluminum body, aluminum crankcase, and 93-inch wheelbase made it the limousine of choice, with a 1916 price tag of \$7,213 (approximately \$208,000 in current dollars)—more than ten times the average annual household income in America at the time. Wilson took delivery of two of them in 1917, replacing his earlier version. In 1919 he would acquire a newer model, the Series 51; Wilson friends purchased it for his personal use in the post–presidency. Marc Ralston, *Pierce-Arrow* (San Diego: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1980), 87; “Pierce-Arrow Limousine,” Wilson Presidential Library

- (online); Richard F. Weingrof, “On the Road with President Woodrow Wilson,” *Highway History* (Washington, DC: Federal Highway Administration, n.d.) (online).
- 400 *May 28*: David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 227–32.
- 400 *Belleau Wood*: Ibid., 248–49.
- 400 *Catt pressed*: Staff Memorandum to the President, June 10, 1918 (relaying NAWSA request for “a sentence” recommending that the Senate “act at this session”), reel 210, #60073, image 661, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *“my earnest hope”*: WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 13, 1918, *PWW*, 48:303 and n1; “Wilson Spurs Fight for Women’s Vote,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1918, 10; Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 292.
- 400 *briefly reported*: “Wilson Spurs Fight for Women’s Vote,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1918, 10.
- 401 *notifying the Senate*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 20, 1918), 8040–41 (remarks of Sen. Hollis).
- 401 *pressed him to meet*: JPT to WW, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60105, image 694, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *rejected the idea*: WW to JPT, c. June 22, 1918, reel 210, #60106, image 695, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *agreed to write*: WW to John Shields, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60104, images 692–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *ibid.* #60115–17, images 705–07; WW to Shields, June 26, 1918, *ibid.* #60120, image 710.
- 401 *“I have said so much”*: WW to Helen Hamilton Gardener, June 24, 1918, reel 210, #60109, image 698, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *forced to withdraw*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 9, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (July 13, 1918), 8343–55.
- 401 *“most important measure”*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 27, 1918), 8355 (remarks of Sen. Shafroth).
- 401 *adjourned at four o’clock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 26, 1918), 8310.
- 401 *“unwise”*: WW to Helen Hamilton Gardener, June 24, 1918, reel 210, #60109, image 698, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Far from honoring women’s war service, the Wilson administration on February 5, 1917 revoked the only Medal of Honor ever bestowed on a woman. It was on President Lincoln’s recommendation that honors medical school graduate Mary Edwards Walker received the award for her service as a battlefield surgeon in Civil War campaigns from Bull Run to Chickamauga and for her work as a Union spy, captured and imprisoned for four months as a POW in one of the Confederacy’s most notoriously harsh prisons. After Lincoln’s assassination, Andrew Johnson signed the formal citation. Historians have long speculated whether Walker’s suffrage activism, her testimony before Congress, and her criticism of Wilson’s war policies played a role in her inclusion on a long list of non-meritorious winners first compiled in 1916—especially since several white males who saw no combat were allowed to keep their medals. In 1977, during the Carter administration, the Army reviewed the matter, found Walker displayed “front-line gallantry and bravery” at Bull Run and Gettysburg, stated explicitly that she had been a victim of sex discrimination, and restored her to the list of winners. She remains to this day the only woman ever to receive the Medal of Honor. Act of March 3, 1863, 12 Stat. 751, sec. 6 (setting forth the standard in place when her medal was granted, restricting it to those who “most distinguish themselves in action”); “Medal Restored!,” *Boston Globe*, June 3, 1977, 2; “Battlefield Surgeon Vindicated,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 30, 1977, 36; Sharon M. Harris, *Dr. Mary Walker: An American Radical, 1832-1919* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009) 12, 58, 72-73.
- 401 *“not to take a recess”*: “The Suffrage Measure,” *Washington Post*, July 2, 1918, 6.
- 402 *deny permission*: After Tumulty privately told a suffragist in Tennessee that Wilson had asked Tennessee’s U.S. senator John K. Shields to vote for the amendment, she wrote asking Wilson’s permission to publicize the fact. The senator was running for reelection on the strength of his support for the president. Lucy L. Branham to WW, July 17, 1918, reel 210, # 60151–53, images 741–42, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Wilson said no to this request. WW to JPT, July 19, 1918, reel 210, #60153, image 743, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Later, however, Senator Shields himself published Wilson’s letter to him. “Suffrage Is World Issue, Wilson Says,”

- Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 2, 1918, 3. Even after that, Wilson authorized Tumulty to state only this: “The President has written Senator Shields as he has written other senators.” The statement carefully avoided any mention of the Anthony Amendment. JPT to WW (including WW notations), July 30, 1918, reel 210, #60166, image 757, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 402 *Senate adjourned*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 9, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (July 13, 1918), 9096.
- 402 *final offensive*: David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 277–91.
- 402 “*protest the continued delay*”: Alice Paul, “Dear Suffragist” letter, July 28, 1918, reel 210, ##60176–77, images 767–68, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 402 *Wilson had successfully insisted*: “Congress Recess Held Up by Fight on Wire Control,” *New York Times*, July 7, 1918, 1.
- 402 *This demonstration*: SWP, 355–56.
- 403 “*does not seem likely*”: Paul, “Dear Suffragist” letter.
- 403 “*prevent this*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener to Rudolph Forster, August 2, 1918, reel 210, #60175, image 766, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 403 “*most helpful*”: FDL, image 188, MS 175.
- 403 *police informed them*: “Women’s Protest Against Disfranchisement Broken Up by Federal Police,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 30 (August 17, 1918), 5; “What Did Ben Lindsey Mean?,” *The Woman Patriot*, vol. 1, no. 18 (August 24, 1918), 5; JFF, 272.
- 403 *sixty-eight more ... District Workhouse*: SWP, 356–63; JFF, 272.
- 404 “*the next bunch*”: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 80.
- 404 *Brownlow claimed*: Ibid.; SWP, 359–60.
- 404 *more publicity*: “Suffragettes in Prison Ill,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 19, 1918, 4; “22 Suffragettes Go on Hunger Strike, Held Incommunicado, No Visitors Being Allowed,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 17, 1918, 4; “Suffragettes in Jail Begin Hunger Strike,” *Washington Herald*, August 17, 1918, 1.
- 404 *congressional outrage*: “Women Protest Against Action of Democrats,” *Evansville Journal*, August 17, 1918, 2.
- 404 “*withdraw the orders*”: JFF, 274–75.
- 404 *abruptly released*: “Free 23 Suffragists After Six-Day Fast,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1918, 9.
- 404 “*Too Weak to Stand*”: “Suffragists Are Given Freedom—Too Weak to Stand,” *Trenton Evening Times*, August 21, 1918, 10.
- 404 *stood at the pulpit*: “Cabot Lodge Delivers Eulogy,” *Portsmouth Herald*, August 21, 1918, 2; “Gallinger’s Body in State,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1918, 9.
- 404 *sixty-one*: FDL, images 224–25, MS 210–11.
- 404 *four days later*: “Lodge Demands a Dictated Peace, Won by Victory,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1918, 1.
- 405 “*out of respect*”: Writing in 1922, the authors of *History of Woman Suffrage* described the appointed senator, Irving Drew, as “an avowed ‘anti.’” HWS, 6:406. But this only became clear on the eve of the vote, when to the surprise of Republican whips he declared against the amendment. FDL, images 224–25, MS 210–11.
- 405 “*liberal views*” ... *Amendment was won*: FDL, images 224–25, MS 210–11. Tillman of South Carolina was succeeded by Christie Benet; James of Kentucky was succeeded by George B. Martin.
- 405 “*Senate will soon end*”: “The September Suffrage Demonstrations,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 34 (September 14, 1918), 7.
- 405 *her appointment ... “he would not”*: SWP, 363.
- 405 “*all that I can*”: Ibid.; “Women Will Open Vote Drive Today at the White House,” *New York Tribune*, September 16, 1918, 7.
- 405 *Lafayette’s statue ... allowed this protest*: SWP, 363–65.
- 406 “*great crowd cheering*”: “Wilson Words Empty, Charge Suffragists,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 17, 1918, 3.
- 406 *changed his mind*: FDL, image 225, MS 211.
- 406 *Jones rose*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 10, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 17, 1918), 10407.

33. Toujours de l'Audace

PAGE

- 407 *deadliest battle*: Robert H. Ferrell, *America's Deadliest Battle: Meuse-Argonne, 1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), xi. Death came not only from machine gun and rifle fire, hand-to-hand combat, and poison gas, but also the deadly "Spanish flu." Some 70,000 of Pershing's force at Meuse-Argonne became infected with the virus, many of them dying in makeshift hospitals. John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1931), vol. 2, 327.
- 407 *369th Infantry ... entire unit*: Peter Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle: The Harlem Hellfighters' Struggle for Freedom in WWI and Equality at Home* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009), 104–09, 203–05.
- 407 *proudly reported*: "Privates Bill and Needham," *Pottsville Republican*, May 27, 1918, 4.
- 407 *1.5 million women*: Valerie J. Conner, "The Mothers of the Race in World War I: The National War Labor Board and Women in Industry," in Nancy F. Cott, ed., *History of Women in the United States* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1993), 15:147.
- 407 *Black women now worked ... training camps*: Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "Negro Women in War Work," in Emmett J. Scott, *Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (Chicago: Homewood Press, 1919), 374–97, at 376–77, 379, 396.
- 408 *her daughter ... perspectives and experiences*: Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (Washington, DC: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1968), 143–47, 318–28; Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 128.
- 408 *War Camp Community Service*: "Democracy and the Colored Soldier: War Camp Community Service for the Colored Soldier, Sailor and Marine," *Playground Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 3 (September 1919), W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.
- 408 *into men's positions*: "Democracy for Colored Women," *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 24 (September 14, 1918), 3. Paul had proven on previous occasions that she needed Terrell's reminders. Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 137–41.
- 408 *first words spoken*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 26, 1918), 10769–70.
- 409 *intellectual ... biographer*: Shortly after Wilson's election to the presidency, Williams published a book on Thomas Jefferson, using its preface to honor Wilson. John Sharp Williams, *Thomas Jefferson, His Permanent Influence on American Institutions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), vii. He viewed himself as an intellectual. George C. Osborn, "The Home Life of a Plantation Statesman, John Sharp Williams," *Agricultural History*, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 1941), 129–136; "John Sharp Williams Retired to Live at Home Among Books," *New York Times*, October 2, 1932, 10. James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate for president in 1920, hyperbolically declared Williams one of "the two most scholarly men in the history of the United States Congress"—the other in his estimation being John Quincy Adams. Cox, *Journey through My Years* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946), 103.
- 409 *Wilson's presidential ambitions*: H. C. F. Bell, *Woodrow Wilson and the People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Duran and Co., 1945), 86.
- 409 *"irreparable loss"*: WW to John Sharp Williams, August 2, 1917, *PWW*, 43:344.
- 409 *he would boast*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 78.
- 409 *Williams's recommendation*: Edmond Boudreaux, Jr., *Legends and Lore of the Mississippi Golden Gulf Coast* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 131–38.
- 409 *"doggerel"*: John Sharp Williams to WW, October 4, 1918, box 2, John Sharp Williams Papers, 1902–24, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 409 *apology*: WW to John Sharp Williams, April 2, 1914, *PWW*, 29:394.
- 409 *"white man's Government"*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1914), 5104 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 *"Is it not far better"*: Helen Hamilton Gardener, Address to Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, New Orleans, November 11, 1913, at *ibid.*, 5091 (appended to remarks of Sen. Williams).

- 410 “*My good friend and yours*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, June 23, 1918, reel 210, ##6107–08, images 696–97, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 410 “*the word white*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 26, 1918), 10790 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*eliminate the negro*”: Ibid., 10771–72 (remarks of Sen. Vardaman).
- 410 *his own proposal*: Ibid., 10777 (remarks of Sen. Fletcher).
- 410 *Pomerene rose*: Ibid., 10788 (remarks of Sen. Pomerene).
- 410 “*petticoat brigade*”: Ibid., 10848–49 (remarks of Sen. Reed).
- 411 “*earliest possible moment*”: Ibid., 10842–45 (remarks of Sen. Pittman).
- 411 “*would mean the defeat*”: Ibid., 10790 (remarks of Sen. Jones).
- 411 “*without debate*”: Ibid., 10857 (remarks of Sen. Thomas).
- 411 *take Sunday off*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 28, 1918), 10903.
- 411 “*the President desires*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10924 (remarks of Sen. Martin).
- 411 *not his idea ... major headlines*: William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 496–98.
- 411 *that morning*: “President Asks Senate to Adopt Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, September 30, 1918, 1.
- 412 *urgent note*: Carrie Chapman Catt to WW, September 29, 1918, *PWW*, 51:155.
- 412 *private notes*: John Beckham to WW, May 9, 1918, *PWW*, 47:580; Benjamin Tillman to WW, May 10, 1918, *PWW*, 47:597; Lee Slater Overman to WW, May 21, 1918, *PWW*, 48:110; WW to John Shields, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60104, images 692–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *ibid.*, #60115–17, images 705–07; WW to Shields, June 26, 1918, *ibid.*, #60120, image 710; WW to David Baird, July 30, 1918, *ibid.*, #60170, image 761; Baird to WW, August 5, 1918, *ibid.*, ##60184–85, images 775–76; WW to Christie Benet, September 26, 1918, *ibid.*, #60239, image 841.
- 412 “*almost a fatality*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10924; “Wilson Fails to Win Senate for Suffrage,” *New York Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 412 *treated the occasion*: “Wilson Fails to Win Senate for Suffrage,” *New York Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1; “President Asks Senate to Vote for Suffrage as Aid to Winning War,” *Meriden Morning Record*, October 1, 1918, 7 (Associated Press wire story); “Mrs. Wilson and White House Party Hear President’s Suffrage Speech,” *Washington Times*, September 30, 1918, 13.
- 413 *ten-minute speech ... left the chamber*: “President Asks Senate to Adopt Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, September 30, 1918, 1; WW, Address to the Senate, 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10928.
- 413 *cold water*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10931 (remarks of Sen. Underwood).
- 413 *time-sensitive*: Samuel McGowan to JPT, October 1, 1918, reel 210, ##60251–52, images 855–56, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 413 *only a month*: “Both Parties Still Claim Victory in the Elections,” (*Greenwood, SC*) *Evening Index*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 413 *last-minute gesture*: Atlee Pomerene to WW, October 1, 1918, *PWW*, 51:176. An Associated Press report stated that Wilson sent “letters” on October 1, but the letter to Pomerene is the only one reflected in the White House records. “Sends Letters to Senators,” *Corsicana (TX) Daily Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 414 *73 percent*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10984.
- 414 *began voting*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987.
- 414 “*they say we lack*”: “Courageous Act, Says Mrs. Bass of Pres. Wilson,” *Buffalo Evening Times*, October 1, 1918, 2.
- 414 “*Long before*”: Rose Young, “Our Own Congressional Record,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 19, October 5, 1918, 368–377, at 377.

- 414 “*unhesitatingly*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 28, 1918), 10892 (remarks of Sen. Benet).
- 414 “*made no change*”: “Equal Suffrage Lost by Margin of Two Votes,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 2, 1918, 11.
- 414 *recorded vote*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987–88; “Defeat of Suffrage,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 1918, 1. The final vote was 63% in favor. Including Jones as a yes vote, the tally would have been 54–30 (still 63%). The party breakdown (including Jones as a yes) was Republicans 73% yes, 27% no (27–10); Democrats 57% yes, 43% no (27–20). Twelve senators did not vote; all had arranged pairs. Adding the pairs, the vote would have been 63–33 (65%) in favor. See Appendix 3 for details.
- 414 *gas mask*: Cover, *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 38 (October 12, 1918).
- 414 *Inadvertent criticism*: David Lawrence, “Democratic Control of Senate in Peril,” *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 415 “*Wilson’s urgent message*”: “Suffrage Beaten by the Senate,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1918, 1.
- 415 *heart of the matter*: Editorial, *New York Evening Post*, October 2, 1918, 8.
- 415 *Paul personally signed*: “The Defeat in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 38 (October 12, 1918), 4.
- 416 “*toujours de l’audace*”: Editorial, *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1918, 8.
- 416 *met the guillotine*: George-Jacques Danton was a leading force in overthrowing the French monarchy, and president of the notorious Committee of Public Safety. He eventually lost his head in the Reign of Terror that his audacious approach unleashed. Robert Christophe, *Danton: A Biography*, trans. Peter M. Green (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967). He was immortalized in Victor Hugo’s last novel, first published in 1874. Hugo, *Ninety-Three*, trans. Lowell Bair (New York: Bantam Books, 1962).
- 416 *union’s ban on women*: “Conductorets Lose Jobs,” *Cincinnati Post*, September 23, 1918, 1; “Car Women Fight Ousting at Gathering,” September 24, 1918, 1, “Car Women Hear Stand Applauded,” September 25, 1918, 1, “Suffrage Leader Aids Car Protest,” September 27, 1918, 3 (all *Cleveland Plain Dealer*). One week before the November 5 election, the Labor Department suspended its termination order, promising to rule definitively after the election. “Car Women Given Delay of Month,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 28, 1918, 1. It then reissued the termination order less than a month after the election. “U.S. Asks Dismissal of Car Women,” December 4, 1918, 1, “Labor Board’s Recommendation for Dismissal of Conductors,” December 4, 1918, 1, “Strike May Set Women’s Status,” December 12, 1918, 4 (all *Cleveland Plain Dealer*). The following year, after the women’s legal appeals, the War Labor Board reversed itself. But even then the women did not regain their jobs. When the union threatened to strike again to prevent the rehiring of women conductors, the railroad met the union’s demands, and the administration did not enforce its new order. “Company Will Not Reinstate Conductorets,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 19, 1919, 1; “Conductorets Will Not Get Old Jobs Back,” *Springfield Daily News*, March 19, 1919, 18. Finally, in 1921 the Labor Department issued an “emphatic” report determining that “women can be employed on street railways successfully, safely and with due regard to their health and well being.” “Reports Car Work Safe for Women; U.S. Labor Bureau Declares Conductoret Job Is Healthful,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 28, 1921, 14; “Conductors’ Strike of 1918-1919,” *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 2022) (online).
- 416 *Revenue Act of 1918*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 10, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 20, 1918), 10548 (roll call on House passage of H.R. 12863).
- 416 *election-year shock*: When voters went to the polls, the retroactive 1918 bill had passed the House but not yet the Senate, where some changes would be made. But the steeper rates were well publicized and the sticker shock was real. Wilson signed the retroactive tax increases into law on February 24, 1919. Roy Gillespie Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, *The Federal Income Tax* (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, 2006), 167, 185–86. Beginning with Wilson’s first year in office, the lowest bracket started with incomes of \$23,000 (including a personal exemption of \$3,000). That is equivalent to \$730,000 in 2024 dollars. The top rate of 7% kicked in at a taxable income of \$500,000, equal to \$16 million in today’s dollars. Thereafter income tax rates rose continuously and increasingly hit middle- and low-income workers. The Revenue Act of 1918 dropped the bottom bracket to reach taxable incomes beginning at \$1,000, equivalent to \$20,806 in current dollars, and slashed the personal exemption by two-thirds. Revenue Act of 1913, Pub. Law 63–16, 38 Stat. 114; Revenue Act of 1916, Pub. Law 64–271, 39

- Stat. 756; Revenue Act of 1917, Pub. Law 65–50, 40 Stat. 300; Revenue Act of 1918, Public Law 65–254, 40 Stat. 1062; Data Release, “Personal Exemptions and Individual Income Tax Rates, 1913–2002” (Washington, DC: Internal Revenue Service, 2002); Statistics of Income, Appendix to Selected Historical and Other Data Tables, Table 23, U.S. Individual Income Tax: Personal Exemptions and Lowest and Highest Bracket Tax Rates, and Tax Base for Regular Tax, 1913–2018 (Washington, DC: Internal Revenue Service, 2024).
- 416 *annual inflation*: U.S. Historical Consumer Price Index for all Urban Consumers (CPI–U): U.S. City Average, All Items (Washington, DC: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019); 1918 CPI and Inflation Rate for the United States, cpiinflationcalculator.com; Kristijan Gavranic and Dejan Miletic, “U.S. Dollar Stability and the Global Currency Reserves,” *Eurasian Journal of Economics and Finance*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 2016), 14–24, at 19.
- 416 *food prices*: “Yearly Price Changes in the United States, 1890–1919,” U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 270, Retail Prices and Cost of Living Series, in H.Doc. 835, Serial Set vol. 7867, no. 3 (66th Cong., 3rd Sess., February 1921), 50.
- 417 *most likely to die*: John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza* (New York: Viking, 2004), 238–40. Worldwide, the 1918–19 influenza pandemic killed vastly more than the COVID-19 pandemic of 2019–23. According to Nancy K. Bristow, *American Pandemic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–4, the “Spanish flu” killed more than 50 million people globally. Barry cites a modern epidemiological study that placed the death toll from the 1918–19 pandemic “in the order of 50 million” but noted that possibly “as many as 100 million died.” *The Great Influenza*, 96–98, 397, 453–56. In comparison, the 2019–23 pandemic resulted in nearly 7 million deaths. WHO Covid-19 Dashboard, December 31, 2023; “WHO Chief Declares End to COVID-19 as a Global Health Emergency,” *United Nations News*, May 5, 2023.
- 417 *ignoring the advice ... mere minutes*: Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 303–06. Often men without dog tags died anonymously because they were “too sick and too delirious to identify themselves” before they succumbed. Alfred W. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 129.
- 417 *groans and cries*: Account of Col. Ernest W. Gibson Sr., commander of the 57th Pioneer Infantry, quoted in John T. Cushing and Arthur F. Stone, eds., *Vermont and the World War, 1917–1919* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Co., 1928), 6.
- 417 *dumped into the ocean*: The military requirement that those who died at sea be returned to America was abandoned of necessity. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 124; Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 306.
- 417 *instruct him to obey*: Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 306–08.
- 417 *not been on the job*: *Ibid.*, 316.
- 418 *worst month*: *Ibid.*, 313.
- 418 *bedridden*: “Champ Clark, Kitchin Catch Spanish Flu,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, September 28, 1918, 1.
- 418 *a “heavy cold”*: “J. F. C. Talbott Dies at Home,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1918, 16.
- 418 *alarming proportions*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 7, 1918), 11164 (remarks of Rep. Rainey).

34. ‘Things to Be Done at Once’

PAGE

- 419 *heroic proportions ... “campaign button”*: John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 425–29.
- 419 *enormous leverage*: James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), 138–41.
- 420 *six million women*: “Population—Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States,” *14th Census of the United States*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), Table 9, 21–33. The states in which women could vote in House and Senate races in 1918 were California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, South Dakota, Michigan, and New York.
- 420 *She herself*: “McCormick, Ruth Hanna,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).

- 421 *women had achieved*: WW, Address to the Senate, 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10928.
- 421 *Wilson himself had put it*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 68.
- 421 “*uncompromising partisan*”: WW, Private Address to Members of the Democratic National Committee, February 28, 1919, in JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 332–34.
- 421 *encouraged it*: Ibid., 326.
- 421 “*boldly ask*”: Ibid.
- 421 “*appeal to the country*”: “Text of President Wilson’s Appeal,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, 1.
- 421 “*not a dignified thing*”: EBW to Ray Stannard Baker, in LL, 8:510 and n1. Unsurprisingly, Creel would be one of the few to defend it. George Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 133–47.
- 422 *over-the-top*: LL, 8:487 and notes 1, 2.
- 422 “*repudiation*”: “Text of President Wilson’s Appeal,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, 1.
- 422 *unwelcome headlines*: “Congress Won by Republicans,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1918, 1; “House and Senate Won by Republicans,” *New York Sun*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 422 “*we had an election*”: Franklin Lane, “Cabinet Notes,” November 6, 1918, in *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political*, Anne Wintermute Lane and Louis Herrick Wall, eds. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), 299.
- 422 *revolution*: Newton Diehl Baker to WW, November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:607.
- 422 “*Russian people themselves*”: WW, aide-mémoire, July 17, 1918, in George F. Kennan, *The Decision to Intervene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 482–485; John M. House and Daniel P. Curzon, *The Russian Expeditions 1917-1920* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2019), 7, 22–23, 41–43, 61–65; Eugene P. Trani, “Woodrow Wilson and the Decision to Intervene in Russia: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 48, no. 3 (September 1976), 440–461. Wilson’s decision to intervene in Russia came three weeks after corresponding with Thomas Dixon about the wisdom of doing so. Dixon had strongly urged that course of action. LL, 8:233.
- 422 “*practically bankrupt*”: Frank Irving Cobb, memorandum c. November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:613.
- 422 *laying down markers*: Robert Lansing to Hans Sulzer, November 5, 1918, quoting memorandum from Allied governments, in “Text of President Wilson’s Note to Germany,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 423 “*friendship and admiration*”: Jouett Shouse to WW, November 7, 1918, *PWW*, 51:623.
- 423 “*It distresses me*”: WW to Charles William Eliot, November 8, 1918, *PWW*, 51:637.
- 423 “*sick at heart*”: Key Pittman to WW, November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:611.
- 423 “*unfair burden*”: WW to Key Pittman, November 7, 1918, *PWW*, 51:620.
- 423 “*no longer have been entitled*”: David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 349.
- 423 “*talked almost continuously*”: Homer Cummings to WW, November 8 or 9, 1918, *PWW*, 51:646.
- 423 *to-do list*: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920,” memorandum to WW, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:23.
- 424 *enough new Anthony Amendment supporters*: As of election day, the changes at the margin that made the difference in the Senate were the victories of Walter Edge (R-NJ), L. Heisler Ball (R-DE), and David Walsh (D-MA), all Anthony Amendment supporters who replaced opponents; and the victories of Pat Harrison (D-MS) and Nathaniel Dial (D-SC), both Anthony Amendment opponents who replaced supporters. The net result was that the amendment picked up the one additional supporter needed. *FDL*, images 254–55, MS 240–41. Before the new Congress voted on the Anthony Amendment in June 1919, William Harris (D-GA) and Eugene Hale (R-ME), both of whom replaced amendment opponents, also publicly committed to vote yes, further increasing the Anthony Amendment supermajority. The final, successful vote would be 56–25, representing 69% in favor. 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 4, 1919), 635.
- 424 *detailed analysis*: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920.”
- 424 “*almost certain*”: EMH to WW and Robert Lansing, telegram no. 74, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:4–5.

- 425 3:00 a.m.: “World War Ends as Germany Signs Armistice,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1918, 1; “Armistice Is Signed; War Is Over,” *New York Sun*, November 11, 1918, 1.
- 425 *Three telegrams*: EMH to WW, telegrams nos. 85–87, November 11, 1918, *PWW*, 53:33–34.
- 425 *one o’clock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (November 11, 1918), 11541–43.
- 425 *Pedestrians cheered him ... took a bow*: “Truce Electrifies Congress,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1; “Truce Leaves Germany Helpless,” *New York Sun*, November 12, 1918, 1.
- 425 *empty seats*: The Associated Press photo of Wilson addressing the chamber shows approximately one-third of the seats on the floor empty.
- 426 *“no small anxiety”*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, speaking copy, November 11, 1918, *PWW*, 53:35.
- 426 *himself as chairman*: WW to EMH, telegram no. 14, *PWW*, 53:66.
- 426 *who might be appointed*: Bipartisan representation, the *Tribune* said, would ensure that the “Senate was not asked to approve a document of which its members know nothing” and that they were “not left out in the cold.” “America at the Peace Table,” *New York Tribune*, November 11, 1918, 8.
- 427 *“presented”*: U.S. Const., art. I, sec. 7, cl. 2–3.
- 427 *parchment*: This remains the custom today, except in extraordinary cases. *Jefferson’s Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, H.R. Doc. No. 110–162, § 573, 301 (2009), provides that “When a bill has passed both Houses of Congress, the House last acting on it notifies its passage to the other, and delivers the bill to the joint committee of enrollment, who see that it is truly enrolled in parchment.” Despite the rapid development of technology throughout the 20th century, the presentment clause was not definitively interpreted to allow the use of electronic facsimiles until the second decade of the 21st century. “Whether Bills May Be Presented by Congress and Returned by the President by Electronic Means,” Memorandum Opinion for the Counsel to the President, May 3, 2011, 35 Op. O.L.C., at 8–9 (2011).
- 427 *met with his cabinet*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 427 *“unwise”*: Robert Lansing, State Department memorandum, November 12, 1918, *PWW*, 53:65–66.
- 427 *“domestic affairs would suffer”*: Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: World Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 206.
- 427 *“Chief Executive abroad”*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 427 *definitely leaving*: “Text of the Official Announcement of the President’s Plan to Go to Europe,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1918, 1. The CPI announcement indicated that Wilson would not participate in the formal peace conference itself or serve as a delegate on the U.S. Peace Commission, but that he would participate only in preliminary discussions concerning the “greater outlines” of the eventual treaty before returning to the United States.
- 428 *“who will be in charge”*: “President Going to Europe for Peace Preliminaries,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1918, 1.
- 428 *“organ of Wilsonianism”*: “The Ebb Tide,” *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1918, 8.
- 428 *lengthy critique*: “Wilson Faces Crisis in His Leadership,” *New York Post*, November 25, 1918, 1.
- 428 *“practically demanding”*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 428 *“practically unanimous”*: EMH to WW, November 14, 1918, *PWW*, 53:71.
- 428 *two to one*: “On Wilson at the Peace Table the ‘Noes’ Have It,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1918, 1.
- 429 *“Just destroy”*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, November 27, 1918, reel 210, ##60307, image 912, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, November 27, 1918, *ibid.*, ##60308–09, images 914–915.
- 429 *“what shall we say”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 2, 1918), 13.
- 429 *“I welcome this occasion”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 2, 1918), 15.
- 429 *“cool reception”*: “Address Fails to Stir,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1.
- 430 *pick up the phone*: “Wilson Guards His Speech,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1918, 1.
- 430 *“Bitter resentment”*: “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 1; “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*, December 4, 1918, 1.

- 430 *Senate observers*: “Would Vacate Wilson’s Office,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1; “Wilson Guards His Speech,” *New York Times*; “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*.
- 430 *“executive sabotage”*: “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*.
- 430 *Republican defenders*: “Taft Defends Wilson’s Trip as Essential,” *St. Louis Star*, December 5, 1918, 1; WW to James R. Mann, December 3, 1918, *PWW*, 53:308 and n1.
- 430 *Marshall as president*: The Senate debated but did not adopt a resolution offered by Senator Lawrence Sherman of Illinois declaring Wilson’s purposeful long absence from the country while Congress was in session an “inability to discharge the powers and duties” of the presidency within the meaning of the Constitution and the Presidential Succession Act. 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3d Sess. (December 3, 1918), 23, 24–31; “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*; “Would Vacate Wilson’s Office,” *New York Times*.
- 430 *“No one in America”*: EMH Diary, October 13, 1918, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 5:307.

35. ‘The Apex of My Glory’

PAGE

- 431 *honeymoon*: “Bridal Pair Is Hidden,” *Washington Post*, November 27, 1913, 1.
- 431 *troop transport*: Albert Gleaves, *A History of the Transport Service: Adventures and Experiences of United States Transports and Cruisers in the World War* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921), 93–101, 240–46, 264, 294. The passenger capacity was 2,700, the highest of any U.S.-registered ship.
- 431 *“pleasantest voyages”*: WW, epigraph, *The Hatchet of the U.S.S. George Washington* (New York: J.J. Little & Ives Co., 1919).
- 431 *Husband and wife ... a thousand*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 172–75; “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 1.
- 432 *Louis Seres*: “Wilson Sails Tomorrow,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1; “Louis G. Seres, Chef to President Wilson,” *New York Times*, November 27, 1948, 17; Stephen T. Moskey, “The Pilgrim’s Passage,” *White House History Quarterly*, no. 51 (Fall 2018), 39–53, at 47.
- 432 *three-hour nap ... “undisturbed”*: EBW, *My Memoir*, 173.
- 432 *frequently slept in*: Daily logs, December 4–13, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP. Even so, Edith would claim years later that the president “worked every morning.” EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 432 *“guests to lunch”*: EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 432 *“Fourteen Specific Articles”*: “Fourteen Points Urged for Race,” *Washington Star*, December 7, 1918, 10; John R. Hawkins, “What Does the Negro Want: Fourteen Articles Setting Forth What the American Negro Expects after Helping to Win the War for Democracy,” pamphlet (Washington, DC: NAACP, 1918), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
- 432 *Democracy Congress*: “City Briefs,” *Washington Post*, December 17, 1918, 8.
- 432 *southern-born educator*: Hawkins also served as chief financial officer of Washington, DC’s African Methodist Episcopal Church, the head of its Department of Education, and editor of its *Centennial Encyclopedia*. “History of John R. Hawkins,” thejohnrhawkins.org/about-us.
- 432 *observer*: “Race Congress Appoints Peace Meeting Delegates,” *Washington Herald*, December 4, 1918, 3; “Names Delegates to Paris,” *Washington Star*, December 4, 1918, 19.
- 432 *“What does the Negro want?”*: “Fourteen Points Urged for Race,” *Washington Star*
- 433 *quickly lost touch*: An indication of the extreme time lag for communications with Wilson is a letter from Jeannette Rankin, written a few days before the president left Washington. It was not stamped “received” until more than a month later, on January 9. Wilson may never have seen her request for him to speak “in this last hour” with the “many doubting Members” on the Anthony Amendment, as he did not reply. Jeannette Rankin to WW, December 8, 1918, reel 210, #60313, image 920, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 433 *Fosdick ... “went on with his story”*: Raymond Blaine Fosdick Diary, December 8, 1918, *PWW*, 53:340–41. Fosdick later became president of the Rockefeller Foundation. “Raymond B. Fosdick Dies at 89,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1972, 41. On his return voyage to Washington, Wilson frequently entertained the members of the ship’s

- crew with “stories in negro dialect.” “Mrs. Wilson Says Trip to Europe Was ‘Lots of Fun,’” *Boston Globe*, February 26, 1919, 2.
- 433 “*determine this question*”: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920,” memorandum to WW, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:23.
- 433 “*profound convictions*”: John K. Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *PWW*, 48:427.
- 433 “*disposed to vote*”: Richard I. Manning to WW, October 14, 1918, *PWW*, 51:337. Pollock had assured NWP representatives in South Carolina that he would support the Anthony Amendment. *SWP*, 330, 404; “Another Suffrage Vote,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 41 (November 2, 1918), 7.
- 434 *twenty-five years*: Elna C. Green, “Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–189, at 179.
- 434 “*intimate friends*”: “Colonel Ewing, Publisher, Dead,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1931, 27. He is not to be confused with Judge Robert Ewing of Nashville, TN, Ellen Wilson’s cousin who featured in the 1912 *Harper’s Weekly* drama. EAW to Robert Ewing, January 12, 1912, *PWW*, 24:40; “Editors’ Break With Wilson Is Explained,” *Nashville Banner*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 434 *Ewing was instrumental*: “Robert Ewing Dies Suddenly,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 28, 1931, 1; “Robert Ewing,” *Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*, Carl A. Brasseaux and James D. Wilson, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association, 1999).
- 434 “*You know Senator Gay*”: WW to Robert Ewing, December 2, 1918, *PWW*, 53:287.
- 434 *state constitutional amendment*: B.H. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 303.
- 434 “*concise way of expressing*”: Kate Gordon to Laura Clay, December 3, 1908, Laura Clay Papers, 1906-1920, box 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Libraries.
- 434 *lost narrowly*: Report of the Secretary of State to His Excellency the Governor of Louisiana, January 1, 1919 (Baton Rouge, 1919), 275; “Republicans Get House; Senate Doubtful,” (*Alexandria, LA*) *Weekly Town Talk*, November 9, 1918, 1; “New Orleans Kills Woman Suffrage,” *New Iberia (LA) Enterprise*, November 9, 1918, 3.
- 434 “*white female*”: B. H. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 296.
- 435 “*pull its teeth out*”: Kate Gordon to Laura Clay, November 13, 1918, Laura Clay Papers, Special Collections, University of Kentucky Library.
- 435 *remained a member*: Despite occasional ruptures in the relationship, both Gordon sisters were life members of NAWSA. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” 289–306, at 304 and n61; Kenneth Johnson, “Kate Gordon and the Woman-Suffrage Movement in the South,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 38, no. 3 (August 1972), 365–392, at 391.
- 435 “*entirely out*”: *HWS*, 6:224.
- 435 *Harper dutifully reported ... “save the situation”*: Ida Husted Harper to Kate Gordon, November 18, 1918, Laura Clay Papers, 1906-1920, box 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Libraries.
- 436 “*looked very fit*”: “President Wilson Welcomed at Brest,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1918, 1.
- 436 “*a real holiday*”: EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 436 “*All these movies*”: Michael Sragow, *Victor Fleming: An American Movie Master* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 66–74.
- 436 “*go to Paris*”: George Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 152, 156.
- 436 “*why George Creel*”: “Wilson Faces Crisis in His Leadership,” *New York Evening Post*, November 25, 1918, 1.
- 436 *planned Wilson visits*: Sragow, *Victor Fleming*, 66–67 and n71.
- 436 *Wilson’s tour*: Daily logs, December 14-29, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915-1924, WWP; “Wilson Fete Outdoes Armistice Night,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1918, 2; “Paris Welcomes Wilson,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1918, 1; “Wilson Sorbonne Guest,” *New York Times*, December 22, 1918, 1.
- 437 *touring the palace*: “President Wilson Makes Visit to Versailles; Makes Arrangements to Play Golf as Often as Time Will Permit During Peace Conference,” *Deseret News*, December 17, 1918, 1; “President Breaks Two Precedents,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 1.

- 437 *Trotter arrived ... Wells-Barnett*: “Colored Men Choose Peace Table Envoys,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, December 17, 1918, 5; “Appoints 11 to Versailles,” *Washington Post*, December 20, 1918, 5; “Boston Delegates to Big Colored Congress Return,” *Boston Globe*, December 22, 1918, 6; “Colored Peace Envoys,” *The (St. Paul, MN) Appeal*, December 28, 1918, 2; Kerri K. Greenidge, *Black Radical: The Life and Times of William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Liveright, 2020), 261–62.
- 437 *under surveillance*: Theodore Kornweible, Jr., *‘Investigate Everything’: Federal Efforts to Ensure Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 50, 60, 270–71; A’Lelia Bundles, *On Her Own Ground: The Life and Times of Madam C. J. Walker* (New York: Scribner, 2002), 264.
- 437 *State Department denied*: Greenidge, *Black Radical*, 263.
- 437 *“immediate threat”*: Act of May 22, 1918, 40 Stat. 559, chap. 81.
- 437 *executive order*: Executive Order 2932 (August 8, 1918), reprinted in 12 *American Journal of International Law*, Supp. (1918), 331–43; Presidential Proclamation No. 65, 40 Stat. 1829 (1918).
- 437 *refused passports*: Jeffrey D. Kahn, “International Travel and the Constitution,” 56 *UCLA L. Rev.* 271 (2008), at 313–14. To evade these restrictions, Trotter shaved his trademark mustache and traveled to France disguised as a ship’s cook using a laborer’s passport under a false name. Even so, he did not arrive in time for the conclusion of the peace agreement. Greenidge, *Black Radical*, 265–66. The Wilson administration did issue passports to the NAACP’s W. E. B. Du Bois and Robert Russa Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington as president of the Tuskegee Institute, to attend the second Pan-African Congress that was taking place in Paris alongside the peace conference. *Black Radical*, 262.
- 437 *summarily revoked ... “embarrassed”*: Clara Wold, “Making Paris Safe for the President,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 6–7.
- 438 *three hundred ... “this old fight”*: Kate Heffelfinger, “The Demonstration,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 49 (December 28, 1918), 5; “Wilson’s Words Are Burned by Suffragists,” *New York Tribune*, December 17, 1918, 7; “Burn Wilson’s Messages,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 12.
- 438 *“how hollow”*: “Women Burn Wilson Book and Speeches,” *Minneapolis Journal*, December 17, 1918, 14.
- 438 *another suffrage story*: “All Voters in Britain—Equal Suffrage Is Established,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1918, 1.
- 438 *England*: Representation of the People Act, February 6, 1918, 8 Geo. 5 chap. 64 (Eng.). The law enfranchised women over 30, subject to certain other requirements.
- 438 *Australia*: Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 (Cth) no. 8 (Austl.).
- 438 *New Zealand*: Electoral Act of 1893, 57 Vict., no. 8 (N.Z.). New Zealand was the first democracy in the world to grant women’s suffrage on a national basis.
- 438 *Canada*: An Act to Confer the Electoral Franchise upon Women, S.C. 1918, c. 20 (Can.). Uruguay was also cited by suffragists at the time as having granted women’s suffrage in 1918. But while Article 10 of the 1918 Constitution made explicit provision for women’s right to vote, it specifically required implementation by statute, which did not occur until 1932. Andrea Scoseria Katz, “*La Suiza de América*: Direct Democracy, Anti-presidentialism, and Constitutional Entrenchment in Uruguay’s Constitution of 1918,” *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 19, no. 3 (July 2021), 997–1019, at 1008n46.
- 438 *more than twenty*: Prior to 1919 limited or full voting rights were granted to women in Sweden (1734, expanded 1862, 1918); Tuscany (1848); Denmark (1898, expanded 1908, 1915); Latvia (1905, 1917); Finland (1906); Norway (1913); Belarusian People’s Republic, Estonia, Russian Republic, Ukrainian People’s Republic, and Crimean People’s Republic (all 1917); Netherlands, Democratic Republic of Georgia, Austria, Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, Germany, Hungarian Republic, Poland, Serbia (province of Banat, Bačka and Baranja), Russian SFSR, and Kirghiz SSR (all 1918).
- 438 *shopping with Edith*: Daily log, December 24, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 438 *every bit as regal*: “London Gives Wilson Surpassing Popular Welcome,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1918, 1; “Wilson Explains Plans,” *Boston Globe*, December 27, 1918, 1; Cary T. Grayson, *Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), 62–63.
- 439 *page-one headline*: “Like A King Is Wilson—First Commoner to Use Regal Suite,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 1918, 1. The article noted that the disgraced Kaiser Wilhelm—Queen Victoria’s grandson and the first cousin

- of England's current sovereign, King George V—had preceded Wilson as a guest in these same royal apartments shortly before the war.
- 439 *dined alone*: "President and King Have a Long Talk Alone," *Boston Globe*, December 27, 1918, 2.
- 439 *had met once*: Wilson convened the meeting after prodding by a member of the group, who buttonholed the president in the ship's movie theater. William C. Bullitt Diary, December 9 [10], 1918, *PWW*, 53:350.
- 439 *While in Paris*: Daily logs, December 14–29, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 439 *In England he conferred*: "President Closeted Five Hours with Lloyd George and Balfour," *New York Times*, December 28, 1918, 1.
- 439 *Tumulty prodded*: JPT to WW, December 29, 1918, *PWW*, 53:542.
- 439 *continued to demonstrate*: "Burn Wilson's Messages," *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 12.
- 439 *visit the chapel*: "President Speaks in Carlisle Church," *Washington Post*, December 30, 1918, 1.
- 439 *"Is there anything else"*: WW to JPT, January 10, 1919, *PWW*, 53:711.
- 439 *crowds in Italy*: "Must Organize Friendship of World, President Tells Acclaiming Romans," *New York Times*, January 4, 1919; "Brilliant First Day for Wilson in Rome," *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 2; "Wilson Confers with Pope, Leaves Rome for Genoa," *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 1; "Rome's Demonstration Is Wilson's Greatest," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 1919, 1; "The Visit of President Woodrow Wilson to Italy, January 3, 1919," National Archives at College Park, MD, U.S. Department of Defense, Historical Films, Record Group 111: Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860–1985, reels 1 and 2; "Citizenship of Rome Conferred on Wilson," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 1919, 2.
- 440 *"apex of my glory"*: Grayson, *Intimate Memoir*, 66.
- 440 *"Paris to rest"*: "Italian Cities Give President Amazing Greeting," *New York Times*, January 7, 1919, 1.
- 440 *"two-thirds of the time"*: Edith Benham Diary, January 12, 1919, *PWW*, 54:34.
- 440 *first two days*: "Allied Unity Marks Opening of the Peace Congress; Clemenceau Made Chairman," *New York Times*, January 19, 1919, 1.
- 440 *roster of nations*: "Says Allies Won't 'Confer' With Reds," *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 3; "Letts State Terms for Conference," *New York Times*, February 14, 1919, 2. Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and several other countries later joined the Paris conference as national representatives. But they would later join the United States in the category of non-signatories.
- 440 *considered resigning*: Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), 3, 87.
- 440 *"unwelcome"*: *Ibid.*, 87.
- 441 *he could present it*: "Printed Draft Presented," *New York Times*, February 4, 1919, 1.
- 441 *immediate disagreements*: "League of Nations with Reservations," *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, 1; "Wants Guarantees of France's Safety," *New York Times*, February 13, 1919, 2; Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002), 101–03.
- 441 *first week of February*: "Sign of Peace Conference Unity Seen in Lloyd George's Decision to Go to London," *New York Times*, February 4, 1919, 1; "Lloyd George Is Leaving Today; Orlando Going Back to Rome," *New York Times*, February 8, 1919, 1.
- 441 *could not go*: "Wilson in Charge of Conference Work Where Big Issues Now Wait on League; Drops Belgian Trip to Complete Plan," *New York Times*, February 8, 1919, 1.
- 441 *leave for home*: "French Ask World Army," *New York Times*, February 12, 1919, 1.

36. Sex, Race, and Paris

PAGE

- 442 *joint meeting*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 9, 1919), 3038–3046.
- 442 *"national ceremonies"*: "Nation Honors the Life Work of Col. Roosevelt," *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 1; "Lodge Eulogy Stirs Congress," *New York Sun*, February 10, 1919, 1.
- 442 *his own blueprint*: "Mr. Roosevelt's Nobel Address on International Peace," *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1910), 700–03, at 702; "Roosevelt Wants League of Peace," *New York Times*, May 6, 1910, 4.

- 442 “*anything or nothing*”: Theodore Roosevelt, “The League of Nations,” *Metropolitan Magazine* (January 1919), in William Griffith, ed., *Newer Roosevelt Messages*, vol. 3 (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1919), 1046–51, at 1046–47. In private correspondence with Rudyard Kipling he was more direct: Wilson’s ideas for the League were “a sloppy sea of universal mush.” Theodore Roosevelt to Rudyard Kipling, quoted in Peter Vansittart, ed., *Voices from the Great War* (London: Frankline Watts, 1984), 259.
- 442 *risen dramatically*: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 38.
- 443 *briefest of messages*: WW to John Sharp Williams, January 14, 1919, *PWW*, 54:56.
- 443 “*please rebuke me*”: WW to Williams, November 29, 1918, *PWW*, 53:244.
- 443 *stood pat*: Williams to WW, January 15, 1919, *PWW*, 54:90.
- 443 *Daniels cabled*: Josephus Daniels to WW, January 26, 1919, *PWW*, 54:281.
- 443 *terse sentences*: WW to Trammell, January 27, 1919, *PWW*, 54:302.
- 443 *fell short*: Wilson had previously sent a brief cable to Trammell on January 14, the same day he wrote Williams. *PWW*, 54:56. Neither that nor Wilson’s two sentences on January 27 changed Trammell’s position.
- 443 *understood why*: Williams, like his other southern Democratic colleagues, remained opposed on racial grounds, as he repeatedly explained on the Senate floor. But choosing to avoid that fundamental objection in his cabled reply to Wilson, he blamed the NWP demonstrations at Lafayette Square for his opposition—as if denying voting rights to the women of Mississippi were a logical way to punish the protestors in Washington with whom he was upset. John Sharp Williams to WW, January 15, 1919, *PWW*, 54:90.
- 443 “*force action*”: JPT to WW, February 4 [3], 1919, *PWW*, 54:471.
- 443 *a week’s notice*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 3, 1919), 2591 (remarks of Sen. Jones).
- 443 “do not fail us”: JPT to WW, telegram no. 37, February 7, 1919, *PWW*, 54:555 (Tumulty’s emphasis).
- 443 “*strong letter*” ... “*main defender*”: JPT to WW, February 6, 1919, *PWW*, 54:519.
- 444 “*on the fence*”: JPT to WW, telegram no. 42, February 8 [7], 1919, *PWW*, 54:555.
- 444 *already said no*: WW to JPT, January 25, 1919, *PWW*, 54:274.
- 444 “*real possibility*” ... *two telegrams*: JPT to WW, telegram no. 37, February 7, 1919, and JPT to WW, telegram no. 42, February 8 [7], 1919, both *PWW*, 54:555.
- 444 “*pardon me*”: WW to Lee Slater Overman, February 9, 1919, *PWW*, 55:37.
- 444 *over two hours*: “Balk Democratic Test on Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, 1.
- 445 *Pollock ... endorsement*: Ibid.; “Bourbons Dodge Suffrage Vote,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February 6, 1919, 4; *HWS*, 5:565–66; “Democrats Have Trouble,” (*Waterloo, IA Evening Courier and Reporter*, February 10, 1919, 4.
- 445 *one vote shy*: “Suffs Shy One Vote in Senate,” *Washington Herald*, February 9, 1919, 4; “Suffrage Needs One Vote,” *Kansas City Star*, February 9, 1919, 3; “Suffrage Before Senate Tomorrow,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 9, 1919, 3.
- 445 *more than forty ... Police Court*: “Suffragists Burn Wilson in Effigy; Many Locked Up,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 1; “Sixty-Five Women Held for Burning Wilson in Effigy,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1919, 2.
- 445 *statutory authority*: D. M. Corrigan, “Military Police Authority Over Civilians—They Look Like Police, They Act Like Police, But Are They the Police?” (MMAS thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1978), passim.
- 445 *voted “no” the last time*: The seven were Saulsbury and Wolcott of Delaware; Smith of Maryland; Reed of Missouri; Hitchcock of Nebraska; Pomerene of Ohio; and King of Utah. The latter was paired against. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987.
- 445 *Pollock rose ... “any race question”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3052–55 (remarks of Sen. Pollock on H.J. Res. 200).
- 446 *keep them apart*: “Senate Again Beats Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 11, 1919, 1.
- 446 *prickly response*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3052–55 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 447 “*great speech*”: *FDL*, images 272, 274, MS 259, 261.
- 447 *speech in full*: “Senator Pollock’s Idea of State Rights,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 42 (March 15, 1919), 868.

- 448 *considerable length*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3056–60 (remarks of Sen. Frelinghuysen).
- 448 *“friendly influence”*: WW to Robert Ewing, December 2, 1918, *PWW*, 53:287.
- 448 *“still optimistic”*: “Women Not Discouraged by Attitude of Senator Gay,” *Bogalusa Enterprise and American*, January 2, 1919, 3; “Louisiana Branch Holds Suffrage Conference,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 5.
- 448 *“I favor”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3061 (remarks of Sen. Gay on H.J. Res. 200); “Senate Again Beats Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 11, 1919, 1.
- 448 *eleven southern Democrats*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3062 (roll call on H. J. Res. 200). See Appendix 4 for the partisan breakdown of the vote.
- 448 *Tuesday in Paris*: JPT to WW, February 11, 1919, *PWW*, 55:94.
- 448 *the Official Bulletin*: “Proceedings of the Congress of the United States Briefly Told,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 535, February 11, 1919, 5.
- 449 *floated an idea*: “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *Shreveport Times*, February 12, 1919, 2; “News Nubs for Hasty Reading: Louisiana,” *Bossier (LA) Banner*, February 13, 1919, 1; “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” (*Monroe, LA Weekly News-Star*, February 13, 1919, 1.
- 449 *“to the hilt”*: Interview with Harry Gamble Jr., item 19, side A, July 28, 1988 (New Orleans: Tulane University, Amistad Research Center). In this interview, Gamble Jr. speaks of his father, who served as assistant attorney general in the administration of Louisiana Governor Ruffin G. Pleasant.
- 449 *“Open Letter”*: Harry Gamble, “An Open Letter to U.S. Senator Ransdell Opposing the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” January 26, 1918, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Women’s Suffrage and Equal Rights Collection, box 3, folder 16; “Senatorial Bee Buzzes Around Harry J. Gamble,” *Shreveport Times*, February 3, 1918, 1; Elna C. Green, “The Rest of the Story: Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–189, at 182–83.
- 449 *“happy time”*: “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *Shreveport Times*, February 12, 1919, 2.
- 449 *“instantly accept”*: Ibid.
- 449 *“double-headed articles”*... *“mass meeting”*: Florence Murphy Cooley to JPT, February 17, 1919, reel 210, #60324, image 934, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 449 *two dozen veterans ... unanimously*: “Suffragists Off in ‘Prison Special,’” *New York Times*, February 16, 1919, 16; “Charleston Crowds Hear Suffragettes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 17, 1919, 10; “Columbia Suffragists Will Not Hear Members of Woman’s Party Speak,” *Columbia Record*, February 17, 1919, 5; Julius Cahn, *Julius Cahn’s Official Theatrical Guide*, vol. 3 (New York: Empire Theater Publication Office, 1898), 620. This contemporary theatrical guide lists the capacity of Charleston’s Owens Academy of Music at 1,400.
- 450 *“30 years”*: “Democracy Drowned in the Senate,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 38 (February 15, 1919), 777–78.
- 450 *editorial comments*: “The Democrats’ Blunder,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 41 (March 8, 1919), 837–38.
- 450 *parade*: JPT to WW, February 11, 1919, *PWW*, 55:94; JPT to Cary T. Grayson, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:218; WW to JPT, February 21, 1919, *PWW*, 55:222.
- 450 *“Democratic city”*: “Wilson to Lead Big Parade and Make a Speech,” *New York Sun*, February 24, 1919, 1.
- 450 *friendly crowd*: Newton D. Baker to WW, January 1, 1919, *PWW*, 53:580–81; JPT to WW, January 6, 1919, *PWW*, 53:625–26; EMH Diary, February 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:193–94; James J. Kenneally, “‘I Want to Go to Jail’: The Woman’s Party Reception for President Wilson in Boston, 1919,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Winter 2017), 102–133, at 106.
- 451 *for the first time*: Hankey’s Notes of a Meeting of the Council of Ten, January 22, 1919, *PWW*, 54:204.
- 451 *paid little attention ... “against racial prejudice”*: Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 1998), 16–17 and n19.
- 451 *getting time with Wilson*: Ibid., 17.
- 451 *“I took occasion”*: Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, vol. 4 (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1928), 320–21.

- 451 “amour-propre”: *Ibid.*, 323.
- 452 *drafted a proposal ... abandoned the idea*: Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 17–21 and n33. Wilson’s unwillingness to devote serious time to the proposal reflected, as historian Mary Renda put it in connection with Wilson’s military interventions in Mexico and Haiti, the fact that he shared “basic assumptions about white racial superiority with European imperialists.” Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 113.
- 452 *new language ... “not proposed”*: Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 20.
- 452 “*absurdly mild*”: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, March 8, 1919, *PWW*, 55:463.
- 453 *Times had already warned*: “Delays May Force Wilson to Sail Without League Plans,” *New York Times*, February 12, 1918, 1.
- 453 *The same day ... unanimous*: “Draft to Conference Today,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1919, 1; Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 21 and n46.
- 453 *foundational principle*: The insult to Japanese national pride provoked widespread public hostility to Wilson in Japan, “exposing the hypocrisy and emptiness of Wilson’s slogans on the equality of nations.” Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 182.

37. Adulterating Anthony

PAGE

- 454 *climbed the gangway*: “Scene at Commonwealth Pier as Wilson Landed,” *Boston Globe*, February 24, 1919, 11; “Mayor Peters’ Committee,” *Boston Globe*, February 20, 1919, 5; “President Cheered from Pier to Hotel,” “Wilson Welcomed on Way from Boston,” both *New York Times*, February 25, 1919, 2.
- 454 “*Army can take care*” ... “*seven minutes*”: “Solid Line of Troops to Guard Wilson’s Route,” *Boston Globe*, February 20, 1919, 1; “Arrest of 22 Suffragettes,” *Boston Globe*, February 24, 1919, 1; “Reminding the President When He Landed in Boston,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 9, March 1, 1919, 6; “Women Jailed in Boston,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 4–5; *JFF*, 320–22.
- 455 *roses*: “Wilson’s Receive Women’s Delegation,” *Boston Globe*, February 24, 1919, 13; “Cheered by 20,000 in Copley Square,” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1919, 8.
- 455 *fiery address*: “Challenge to His Critics,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1919, 1. If Wilson’s objective was to antagonize the incoming Senate Majority Leader and chairman of the committee responsible for treaty ratifications, he succeeded. John A. Garraty, *Henry Cabot Lodge: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 351.
- 455 *equal prominence*: “19 Suffragettes Spend Night in Jail,” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1919, 1; “Wilson’s Speech Plan,” *ibid.*
- 455 *twenty-eight bills*: “Will Camp at Capitol,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1919, 1.
- 455 *speech before the Senate*: *Ibid.*; “Wilson to Speak Early in Congress,” *New York Times*, February 21, 1919, 1.
- 455 *House’s suggestion*: WW to JPT, February 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:184; JPT to John Sharp Williams, February 15, 1919, *PWW*, 55:198; JPT to WW, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:197; Edward M. House to WW, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:221.
- 455 *At 8 o’clock ... article by article*: “World Despair If League Fails, Is President’s View,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 27, 1919, 12.
- 456 “*No modification*”: “Wilson Tells League Plans,” *Boston Globe*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 456 *no converts*: “President Expounds League of Nations to Dinner Guests ... Republicans Unconvinced,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 456 “*abandoned whatever hope*”: “Insists on Naval Bill ... President Gives Up Hope for Expression of Approval from Congress,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 456 *Peace Monument ... no one from Congress*: “Roster of Parade,” *Washington Times*, February 27, 1919, 1; “Thousands Cheer Soldiers and President,” *Washington Times*, February 27, 1919 (Final Edition), 1; “District War Heroes Cheered as President Leads Them in Parade,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 27, 1919, 1; “President Marches With D.C. Heroes,” *Washington Post*, February 28, 1919, 1; “President Leads Parade of Victors,” *New York Sun*, February 28, 1919, 4.

- 457 “never communicated”: “Frelinghuysen’s Views,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1919, 2.
- 457 3:30 p.m.: “President Holds Levee at Capitol,” *New York Times*, February 28, 1919, 1.
- 457 “keen regret”: “President Spends Two Hours at Capitol in Conferences,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 28, 1919, 1.
- 457 he had announced: “Women Lose Out on Suffrage; Louisiana Senator Casts the Deciding Vote Against Votes for Women,” (*Opelousas, LA*) *Star-Progress*, February 15, 1919, 14.
- 457 new amendment: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 4, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 18, 1919), 3636 (remarks of Sen. Gay introducing S.J. Res. 224); “Susan B. Anthony Amendment Reintroduced,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 9.
- 458 “the point desired” ... Williams, too: “Central Figure in New Suffrage Turn,” (*Washington Parish, LA*) *Era-Leader*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 458 “contrary, in spirit” ... “sixty-four votes”: “New Attempt to Push Suffrage Through Senate,” *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1919, 11; “Little Chance Seen to Pass Suffrage in This Congress,” *New York Tribune*, February 23, 1919, D3.
- 458 from Robert Ewing: “Gay Amendment To Win, Is Belief,” *Alexandria (LA) Daily Town Talk*, March 6, 1919, 1.
- 458 “only to the extent”: “Suffrage Compromise Planned in Senate,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1919, 4.
- 458 “denying it to the colored women”: “Compromises on the Suffrage Amendment,” *New York Age*, March 1, 1919, 4.
- 458 Jones expected: “Suffrage Seems Assured Now by Gaining Senator,” *Atlanta Journal*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Champions of Woman Suffrage Take Hope,” *Washington Star*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Woman Suffrage May Pass Soon,” *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1919, 3; “Senator Gay of Louisiana Announces That He Will Support New Compromise Resolution,” *Miami News*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Hope for Federal Vote for Women Raised by Action of Senator Gay,” *Shreveport Journal*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Suffrage Hopes Again Raised,” *Knoxville (TN) Sentinel*, March 1, 1919, 2; “Suffragists Gain Hope with Convert,” *Barre (VT) Daily Times*, March 1, 1919, 1; “New Vote May Bring Success for Suffrage,” *Madison (WI) Capitol Times*, March 1, 1919, 9; “Senator Gay Goes Over to Side of Suffragists,” (*Rock Hill, SC*) *Herald*, March 1, 1919, 1; Interview with Harry Gamble Jr., item 19, side A, July 28, 1988 (New Orleans: Tulane University, Amistad Research Center).
- 458 “passed at this session”: “President Spends Two Hours,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 28, 1919, 1; “Renew Suffrage Fight in Senate,” *Washington Post*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Equal Suffrage Measure May be Called at Once,” *Albuquerque Journal*, March 1, 1919, 6.
- 459 Gay walked in: “President Holds Levee at Capitol,” *New York Times*.
- 459 introduced it: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 28, 1919), 4519 (remarks of Sen. Jones introducing S.J. Res. 230).
- 459 support of NAWSA: *HWS*, 6:228–29.
- 459 formal approval: “Name Cummings Chief,” *Washington Post*, February 27, 1919, 4; “Democratic National Committee Urges Immediate Action in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 7; “Cummings As Party Leader Sees Victory,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 460 “sanctified by age”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10984 (remarks of Sen. Andrieus Jones).
- 460 half of the members: In addition to Pou, the members of the Rules Committee opposed to the Anthony Amendment were Democrats Finis Garrett of Tennessee, Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and Daniel Riordan of New York. 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 115 (listing members of Rules Committee for 65th Congress); 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 4, 1919), 93–94 (roll call on H.J.Res. 1).
- 461 queued up: “War Congress Ends; Many Big Bills Unpassed,” *New York Sun*, March 5, 1919, 1.
- 461 waved it through: “For Suffrage Compromise,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1919, 3. Senate rules normally required advance public notice for a hearing or markup.
- 461 made his move: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 1, 1919), 4716 (statements of Senators Shafroth, Jones, and Wadsworth).
- 462 “take away”: Herman Frank Holthusen, *James W. Wadsworth, Jr.: A Biographical Sketch* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1926), 208.

- 462 *For the moment*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 1, 1919), 4716; “Gay’s Vote to Give Majority, Suffis Believe,” *Shreveport Times*, March 2, 1919, 1.
- 462 *La Follette held the floor*: “Filibuster On in Senate,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1919, 1.
- 462 *attempted filibuster*: “Filibuster Fails; Loan Bill Passed,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1919, 1.
- 462 *Jones was stymied*: “Woman Suffrage,” 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 3, 1919), 4872.
- 463 *Jones pleaded*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 4, 1919), 5006 (statements of Sens. Sherman and Jones, and Vice President Marshall).
- 463 *last moments*: Ibid., 5018 (conclusion of remarks of Sen. Sherman).
- 463 *gave up the ghost*: “Another Suffrage Resolution Introduced in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 7.
- 463 *died at last*: While NAWSA endorsed the changes to the Anthony Amendment, the NWP did not formally endorse the Jones substitute. But the *Suffragist* at the time called the Jones substitute “practically as acceptable as the original.” Ibid. And in telegrams to NWP chapters across the country on the day of Gay’s announcement, perhaps composed before the import of the new language was understood, Paul urged supporters to “Please have telegrams sent president, urging him to not lose this last opportunity.” “Telegram Causes Rejoicing Here,” *Dayton (OH) Daily News*, March 2, 1919, 6; “Suffragettes Dance with Delight When Happy News Comes,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, March 2, 1919, 18. In a 1973 oral history, however, Alice Paul stated that when the Anthony Amendment was changed to satisfy Senator Gay, the National Woman’s Party “would have nothing to do with it.” 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), 247.
- 463 *“sine Deo”*: “Congress Ends,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1919, 1.
- 463 *did not report*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 4, 1919), 5021 (remarks of Vice President Marshall).
- 464 *decorated soldier*: “Hero of ‘Black Devils’ to Be Buried at Old Home,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1919, 9.

38. ‘This Tardy Act of Justice’

PAGE

- 465 *already at sea*: “Wilson Takes Quick Route,” *New York Times*, March 6, 1919, 1.
- 465 *“will not come back”*: WW, Address at the Metropolitan Opera House, March 4, 1919, *PWW*, 55:413.
- 465 *new Senate majority*: “52 Senators Lined Up Against League Plan,” *New York Herald*, March 5, 1919, 3.
- 465 *“certain amendments”*: Gilbert M. Hitchcock to WW, March 4, 1919, *PWW*, 55:437.
- 466 *same answer*: “Criticisms of the ‘Covenant,’” *The Advocate of Peace*, vol. 81, no. 7 (July 1919), 204–06.
- 466 *“no constructive suggestion”*: WW, Address at the Metropolitan Opera House.
- 466 *more seriously*: “Wilson Ready to Compromise With Senate?,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1919, 1. In fact, Wilson’s initial reaction to Hitchcock’s warnings was to seek a way to bypass the Senate altogether. Kurt Wimer, “Woodrow Wilson’s Plan to Enter the League of Nations through an Executive Agreement,” *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4 (December 1958), 800–12; Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002), 163.
- 466 *“spacious philanthropy”*: Winston Churchill, *The Aftermath* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1929), 94.
- 466 *“ignorance”*: WW, Address at the Metropolitan Opera House, *PWW*, 55:415, 418.
- 466 *“gentle knight”*: Norman L. Zucker, *George W. Norris: Gentle Knight of American Democracy* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1966), xii.
- 466 *Norris responded*: “Norris Is Lined Up As Against League,” *Nebraska State Journal*, March 12, 1919, 2.
- 467 *half a year*: Henry B. Hogue, *Recess Appointments: Frequently Asked Questions*, CRS Report RS21308 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2015), 1 and n3.
- 467 *“no necessity”*: WW to JPT, February 21, 1919, *PWW*, 55:222.
- 467 *“under no circumstances”*: “President Not to Call Extra Session of Congress Until He Returns from Europe, He Tells Senators,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1919, 1. Even on the subject of promptly returning the nation to a peacetime footing, Wilson would have faced a battle royal with the Republican Congress had he attempted to push through his favored approach of vast nationalization. Writing to Stockton Axson shortly before losing both

- houses of Congress in the 1918 midterm election, he confided that his vision of the postwar world was one in which the government would “take over ... all the water power, all the coal mines, all the oil fields. They will have to be government owned.” It was, he said, “the only way we can prevent communism.” WW to Stockton Axson, June 30, 1918, *LL*, 8:241-42.
- 468 “*against all precedent*”: “The Special Session,” *Hartford Courant*, March 3, 1919, 12.
- 468 *source of mischief*: The 20th Amendment was ratified on January 23, 1933. By moving the start of each new Congress eleven months earlier, to January 3, and ending the terms of the president and vice president on January 20 instead of March 4, it slashed the “lame duck” periods for both the executive and legislative branches. A further result was that only a newly elected House of Representatives—not members defeated in the last election—could decide a contested presidential election in the case of an electoral college deadlock, or in the case of no candidate receiving a majority of electoral votes. Edward J. Larson, “The Constitutionality of Lame-Duck Lawmaking: The Text, History, Intent, and Original Meaning of the Twentieth Amendment,” *Utah Law Review*, vol. 2012, no. 2, 707 (2012).
- 468 *Rankin rose*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 4, 1919), 5079 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 469 *not fully well*: Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 186–95, 198–99.
- 469 *Mann’s advice*: “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*, December 4, 1918, 1.
- 469 *defense of the League*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 11, 1919), 3151 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 469 *extraordinary step*: Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival*, 192–94.
- 469 *heels of his defeat*: *Ibid.*, 194–99.
- 470 *needle-like stabs*: *Ibid.*, 185.
- 470 *cause of his symptoms*: *Ibid.*
- 470 *three years*: “Congressman Mann Dies; GOP Leader Sudden Victim of Pneumonia,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 1, 1922, 1; “James R. Mann Dies in Washington Home After Week’s Illness, Ending in Pneumonia,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1922, 1.
- 470 *family tragedy*: “Kept Out of War, J. R. Mann’s Son Kills Himself,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1918, 13.
- 470 *“supreme legislative effort”*: “Hays Supports Mann Opponents,” *New York Times*, April 2, 1919, 3.
- 470 *“immediate favorable report”*: “Membership of Suffrage Committee in the New House; Representative Mann Chosen Chairman,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 14 (April 5, 1919), 5.
- 471 *first quarter ... “criminally wasted”*: “A Special Session Immediately,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 6; “The Present Responsibility,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 16 (April 23, 1919), 4.
- 471 *demonstrated in New York ... police station*: “Suffragists Protest at President’s Meeting in New York,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 4–5; “Suffs Fight In Street to Burn Wilson Speech,” *New York Sun*, March 5, 1919, 1; “Six Suffragettes Put Under Arrest,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1919, 1.
- 471 *each passing week*: Caroline Katzenstein to WW, March 21, 1919, reel 210, #60343, image 953, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 471 *“CANNOT proceed”*: “A Special Session Immediately,” *The Suffragist*.
- 471 *“speedily call”*: “A Special Session for Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 6.
- 471 *“For once at least”*: “In Accord With Popular Opinion,” *Burlington (VT) Enterprise*, March 13, 1919, reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 16 (April 23, 1919), 10.
- 471 *“right quarter”*: “The Demand for An Extra Session of Congress,” *Hartford Post*, March 15, 1919, reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 16 (April 23, 1919), 8.
- 471 *“essential to America’s business”*: “Declares Wilson Should Come Home,” *New York Times*, April 30, 1919, 8; “Decide Not to Ask Wilson to Return,” *New York World*, May 2, 1919, 31.
- 472 *dry up by May*: “Bankers Agree to Finance Roads for Another Month,” *New York Tribune*, April 12, 1919, 16.
- 472 *up in arms*: “Imports of Liquor Still to Continue,” *New York Sun*, April 14, 1919, 4.
- 472 *prioritized the League*: JPT to WW, March 13, 1919, *PWW*, 55:493; JPT to WW, March 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:500; WW to JPT, March 15, 1919, *PWW*, 55:532; EMH Diary, March 14, 1919, Yale University Library,

- MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 6:95, 97; “Wilson Will Force League Plan,” *New York Sun*, March 16, 1919, 1.
- 472 “*All to do over*”: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 248.
- 472 “*integral part*”: “League of Nations Covenant to be Integral Part of the Peace Treaty, President States,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 563, March 17, 1919, 2.
- 472 “*at all hours*”: David Lloyd George, Eulogy to Woodrow Wilson, in “The Death of Woodrow Wilson,” *Current History*, vol. 19, no. 6 (March 1924), 887–895, at 894.
- 472 *At home*: “Call Upon Wilson to Convene Senate,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1919, 2; “Big Four Deadlocked in Paris,” *New York Times*, March 31, 1919, 1.
- 472 *worse note*: “Big Four in Bad Tangle,” *New York Times*, April 4, 1919, 1; “Severe Cold Confines Wilson to Bed,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1919, 1; “President Escapes Influenza Attack,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1919, 2; EBW, *My Memoir*, 248–49.
- 472 *considered going home*: “Wilson’s Ship Starts for Brest April 11,” *New York Tribune*, April 9, 1919, 1.
- 472 “*impatience and petulance*”: The White House secretary was careful to route the criticism through the president’s physician, Admiral Cary T. Grayson, who could be trusted to soften the message. JPT to Cary T. Grayson, April 9, 1919, *PWW*, 57:177.
- 473 “*any necessary sacrifice*”: JPT to WW, April 9, 1919, *PWW*, 57:188.
- 473 *another attempt ... for good*: Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 1998), 27–33.
- 473 “*will not be convened*”: “Congress Not to Meet Until May 19, Is Belief,” *New York Tribune*, April 17, 1919, 4.
- 473 “*might be called*”: “The Stock Market,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 6, 1919, 4; “May Call Extra Session Before June 1,” *ibid.*, 7.
- 473 “*VERY URGENT*”: Carter Glass to WW, March 15, 1919, *PWW*, 55:537; WW to Glass, March 18, 1919, *PWW*, 56:83.
- 474 “*end of its tether*” ... “*both parties*”: “Congress Called by President to Meet May 19,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1919, 1; “Explains Extra Session,” *ibid.*, 3.
- 474 *Wilson sent a cable*: WW to JPT, May 7, 1919, *PWW*, 58:531.
- 474 “*against his will*”: “Unfinished Business,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 1919, 1.
- 474 “*friends were scarcer*”: “The New Republican Chairmanships and Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 7.
- 474 *NAWSA praised him*: *HWS*, 6:428.
- 475 *privilege of introducing*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1919), 24.
- 475 *The following morning*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 20, 1919), 67.
- 475 *Jim Crow opponent*: “He Speaks for Phil Campbell,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 25, 1910, 3; “Philip Pitt Campbell,” biographical entry, *Kansapedia* (Topeka: Kansas Historical Society, 2022).
- 475 *eighteen House committees*: “The New Republican Chairmanships and Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 7.
- 475 *second day*: “Already Reported Favorably by House Committee,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 20 (May 24, 1919), 5.
- 475 *third day*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 21, 1919), 78–94.
- 476 “*bigness*”: “The Size of the Victory,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 53 (May 31, 1919), 1149.
- 476 “*steamroller*”: “Suffrage Passed by 304–89 Vote in Lower Chamber,” *Washington Herald*, May 22, 1919, 1.
- 476 *little opposition remained*: Of 235 Republicans, 199 voted yes (84%); of 189 Democrats, 101 voted yes (53%). 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 21, 1919), 93–94 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1). See Appendix 5 for a detailed breakdown of the vote.
- 476 “*not a partisan question*”: *Ibid.*, 88 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 476 *underscored the point*: *Ibid.*, 87–88 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Missouri).
- 476 “*fought the good fight*”: *Ibid.*, 92–93 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 476 *special reason*: 74 Cong. Rec. pt. 4, 71st Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 9, 1931), 4408–09 (short biography of Rep. Anthony); “The University in National Affairs: Michigan Graduates in Washington,” *Michigan Alumnus*, vol. 28

- (September 14, 1922), 429–33, at 432; “Anthony, Daniel Read,” in *The American Blue Book of Biography* (Chicago: Men of Nineteen-Twelve, 1913), 22.
- 476 “tardy act of justice” ... “will be approval”: “Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Star*, May 21, 1919, 6.
- 476 for years: “Hughes and Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, August 2, 1916, 6.
- 476 every other commentator: “Senate Filibuster Holds Up Suffrage,” *New York Times*, May 27, 1919, 17; “Senators Puzzle Over Quickest Way to Reach Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1919, 13; “Will Ask Senate Vote on Suffrage Next Week,” *Washington Evening Star*, May 30, 1919, 14; “Important Congress Program,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 1919, 6; “Democrats by Filibustering Delay Suffrage,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1919, 14; “Suffrage May Pass Tuesday,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1919, 12.
- 477 “shadow of doubt”: “Women Assured Vote by Senator Curtis,” *Boston Globe*, April 21, 1919, 6; “Predict Suffrage Success,” *New York Times*, April 21, 1919, 19.
- 477 sixty-six senators: “Suffrage Majority Assured in Senate,” *New York Times*, May 23, 1919, 4. Shortly before final Senate approval of the Anthony Amendment, Wilson, still in Paris, met with a newly-elected senator who had recently made up his mind to vote for it. Wilson’s press secretary hastily arranged for the senator to speak with reporters in an effort to claim the president had personally won the one vote needed for Senate passage. But the *New York Times* reported no such statement from the senator attributing his decision to Wilson, while adding that suffrage advocates declared the additional vote “not necessary” since they had already received commitments from a two-thirds majority. The editors of the *Papers of Woodrow Wilson* were likewise unable to find any such statement. WW to JPT, May 13, 1919, *PWW*, 59:120 and n1; Cary T. Grayson Diary, May 8, 1919, *PWW*, 58:535; JPT to Cary T. Grayson, May 9, 1919, *PWW*, 58:606; “Georgia Senator to Swing Suffrage,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1919, 7.
- 477 changes in chairmanships: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 28, 1919), 326 (listing chairs of Senate committees). There was one especially notable exception: Anthony Amendment opponent Thomas Martin, Democrat of Virginia, who chaired the majority Democratic Caucus in the 65th Congress, was replaced in the 66th Congress by Senate Majority Leader and Republican Conference Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, one of nine Republicans who were also opposed.
- 477 supporter of many years: “Suffragists Given Rousing Welcome,” *Des Moines Register*, October 31, 1915, 6.
- 477 Indiana’s James Watson: “Senate Filibuster Holds Up Suffrage,” *New York Times*, May 27, 1919, 17. The purpose of the filibuster was to block the motion to proceed—the key procedural step in bringing House Joint Resolution 1 to the Senate floor. The filibuster was carried on by two southern Democrats, Michael H. Smith of Georgia and Oscar Underwood of Alabama, joined by New York Republican James W. Wadsworth. Eventually, the motion was approved by unanimous consent. 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 3, 1919), 556.
- 477 “action and not speech”: *Ibid.*, 557 (remarks of Sen. Watson).
- 477 “white citizens”: *Ibid.* (amendment offered by Sen. Harrison).
- 477 “a mistake”: *Ibid.*, 563 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 477 “half of that race”: *Ibid.* (June 4, 1919), 618 (remarks of Sen. Smith).
- 477 “nobody intends”: *Ibid.* (June 3, 1919), 561–63 (remarks of Sen. Borah).
- 477 “well-known fact”: *Ibid.*, 634 (remarks of Sen. Gay).
- 478 77 percent: *Ibid.*, 634 (roll call on Gay amendment).
- 478 two-thirds plus two: *Ibid.*, 635 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1).
- 478 cheers and wild applause: “Galleries Cheer As Vote of 56 to 25 Is Announced at Close of Long Debate,” *Washington Herald*, June 5, 1919, 1; “Suffrage Is Winner,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1919, 1; “Suffrage Wins in U.S. Senate,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 5, 1919, 1. Immediately following the Senate vote on June 5, signing ceremonies prearranged by NAWSA’s Helen Hamilton Gardener took place in the Capitol. First, on the House side, Speaker Gillett signed the joint resolution, with a small group that included Gardener and Maud Wood Park standing beside him. That same afternoon, across the Rotunda, Vice President Thomas Marshall signed the Anthony Amendment in his capacity as president of the Senate. For both ceremonies, Gardener’s handpicked guest list excluded any NWP members. “Speaker Gillett Signs Woman Suffrage Amendment Immediately After Its Passage by the Senate,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 5, 1919, 2; “Marshall Signs Suffrage Measure,” *New*

York Herald, June 6, 1919, 9; Kimberly A. Hamlin, *Free Thinker: Sex, Suffrage, and the Extraordinary Life of Helen Hamilton Gardener* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2020), 275–77.

39. ‘The Last Thing to Be Brought About’

PAGE

- 479 *most important event*: Frank Newport, David W. Moore, and Lydia Saad, “The Most Important Events of the Century From the Viewpoint of the People,” *Gallup News Service*, December 6, 1999.
- 479 *jumble of cables ... revolt in the Senate*: “Four Telegrams from Joseph Patrick Tumulty,” June 5[4], 1919, *PWW*, 60:155.
- 479 *June 7*: “Senate Demands Treaty, Votes Inquiry,” *New York Times*, June 7, 1919, 1; “Borah to Bare Text of Treaty,” *New York Herald*, June 5, 1919, 1.
- 480 *bipartisan vote*: The senators were further antagonized when they learned that Wilson had cabled Tumulty with specific instructions to prevent the Senate from seeing the document. “Peace Treaty Made Public by Senate After Warm Debate,” *New York Times*, June 10, 1919, 1.
- 480 *tentative schedule*: JPT to WW, June 28, 1919, *PWW*, 61:350; Wilson to Begin Tour Early in July,” *New York Times*, June 18, 1919, 1. Although he would extend his brief stay in Washington slightly, remaining through Labor Day, during that time he continued to prioritize the treaty and the League of Nations to the near exclusion of all other public business.
- 480 *“earliest opportunity”*: WW, Address to the Senate, July 10, 1919, *PWW*, 61:426.
- 481 *“first time”*: “Ovation to the President,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 *“ripple of laughter”*: “President Treats of Pact From Many Angles in General Terms,” *New York Sun*, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 *“no spontaneous applause”*: “Wilson Tells Congress League Alone Can Ensure World Peace,” *Washington Post*, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 *“generalities”*: “Senate Is Not Satisfied With Treaty Speech,” *New York Sun*, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 *“hand of God”*: WW, Address to the Senate, July 10, 1919, *PWW*, 61:426.
- 481 *presidential attention*: “America was anything but totally engrossed in the dream of its president,” given the “many other immensely difficult problems that demanded attention.” Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, *Woodrow Wilson: A Life for World Peace*, trans. Herbert H. Rowen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 375.
- 481 *epidemic of lynchings*: Douglas O. Linder, “Lynching Statistics by Year” (summary of data from Tuskegee Institute archives), University of Missouri–Kansas City School of Law, <https://famous-trials.com/sheriffship/1084-lynchingsyear>.
- 481 *Each of them*: Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2012), 1–11, 41, 51–52, 73, 82–85, 90–92, 125–29, 174–77, 183, 194–200, 207, 211–13, 234, 241–45; Peter Perl, “Nation’s Capital Held at Mercy of the Mob,” *Washington Post*, July 16, 1989, 19 (online); “Service Men Beat Negroes in Race Riot at Capitol,” *New York Times*, July 21, 1919, 1; “Capital Clashes Increase,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1919, 1; “Troops Act; Halt Rioting,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1919, 1; Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis, “Extraordinary Isolation? Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement,” *Studies in American Political Development*, vol. 36, no. 2 (November 29, 2017), 193–217; Tom Lewis, “How Woodrow Wilson Stoked the First Urban Race Riot,” *Politico Magazine*, November 2, 2015; Patricia O’Toole, *The Moralist* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 410–11; Gillian Brockell, “The Deadly Race Riot ‘Aided and Abetted’ by The Washington Post a Century Ago,” July 15, 2019 (online).
- 481 *more than one hundred ... Two men were shot*: “Score of Negroes Hurt as Race Riot Spreads,” *Washington Herald*, July 21, 1919, 1; Patrick Sauer, “One Hundred Years Ago, a Four-Day Race Riot Engulfed Washington, D.C.,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, smithsonianmag.com, July 17, 2019 (online); “Two Shot; 4 Hurt in D.C. Race Riots,” *Washington Herald*, July 20, 1919, 1.
- 481 *arrested no one*: David F. Krugler, *1919: The Year of Racial Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 73–75.

- 481 *no disciplinary actions*: Ibid., 75; McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 99; Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 258, 270. In 2020, the statue of Daniels in Raleigh's Nash Square was taken down in recognition of "his reprehensible stand on race." "Family Removes Statue of Racist Ancestor," (*Raleigh, NC*) *News & Observer*, June 17, 2020, A1.
- 482 *Pullman called out*: David F. Krugler, 1919, 71; Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 177.
- 482 *"like clansmen"*: "Four Dead, Scores Wounded in Night of Red Terror Here," *Washington Times*, July 22, 1919, 2; "Eye-Witness Account of Battles Near 8th Precinct," *ibid.*; "2 Police Officers and 3 Negroes Killed; Scores Hurt as Races Battle in Streets of Washington," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919, 1; "4 Dead, 5 Dying, 70 Hurt in New Race Riots in Washington," *New York Times*, July 22, 1919, 1; Krugler, 1919, 79–89.
- 482 *"the very gates"*: "Washington Is Swept by Race Riots; Many Shot," *New York Tribune*, July 22, 1919, 1.
- 482 *out of touch ... "a complete rest"*: "Wilson Sailing Back," *Washington Post*, July 21, 1919, 1; "Wilson on Cruise Despite the Storm," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1919, 9.
- 482 *cramps*: "Wilson Stays in Bed," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919, 1.
- 482 *resumed his work*: "President, Better, Resumes G.O.P. Conferences," *Washington Times*, July 22, 1919, 1.
- 482 *open letter*: "Negro Pastors and Citizens Call on the President and Officials for Protection," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919, 2.
- 482 *brief meeting*: Krugler, 1919, 89.
- 482 *Baker immediately ordered*: "2,000 Regular Troops Take Control of Capital," *Washington Post*, July 23, 1919, 1. When the NAACP learned that all the troops were to be white, they complained to Brownlow. He and Pullman asserted that it would be impossible to include Black troops in the force, albeit they were veterans of the World War. Krugler, 1919, 78–79.
- 482 *halt the violence*: "Extra Patrols, Closed Streets Are Ordered to Check Rioting," *Washington Times*, July 22, 1919, 1; "Street Rioting in Check, Is Belief of Authorities, After 4 Are Killed and 11 Are Dangerously Wounded," *Washington Evening Star*, July 22, 1919, 1; "Negroes Again Riot in Washington, Killing White Man," *New York Times*, July 23, 1919, 1; "Haan Fears No Further Trouble," *Washington Times*, July 24, 1919, 1; "Feel Rioting Here Definitely Ended," *Washington Evening Star*, July 25, 1919, 1; Sauer, "One Hundred Years Ago," *Smithsonian Magazine*.
- 482 *erupted in Chicago*: "5 Regiments Begin Patrol of Riot Areas," *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1919, 1; "Snipers Fire Upon Soldiers," *ibid.*; "Mayor's Call for Troops to Stop Riot," *ibid.*; "Location of Troops in the Riot Zone," *ibid.*; "Chicago Riots Spread to the North Side; Mob of 5,000 Whites Renew Attack on the Negroes," *Cook County Herald*, August 1, 1919, 3.
- 482 *presidential statement*: Among those urging the president to speak out were the NAACP, the National Race Congress, and Booker T. Washington's successor as principal of the Tuskegee Institute, Robert Moton. John R. Shillady to WW, July 21, 1919, *PWW*, 61:576 and n2; Robert Russa Moton to WW, August 8, 1919, *PWW*, 62:233 and n1; WW to James Edward McCulloch, August 15, 1919, *PWW*, 62:313; "Negro Pastors and Citizens Call on the President and Officials for Protection," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1919, 2. Wilson's eventual public statement, two sentences as an aside in a lengthy address on the League of Nations, did not come until months later. WW, Address in Helena, MT, September 11, 1919, *PWW* 63:180.
- 483 *in private, he confessed*: WW to James Edward McCulloch, August 15, 1919, *PWW*, 62:313.
- 483 *"completely well again"*: Cary T. Grayson, *Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), 93–94.
- 483 *gastric disorders*: Ibid., 80–81; A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2013), 82, 87, 106, 144, 271, 284, 406, 615.
- 483 *headaches*: Berg, *Wilson*, 96, 106, 244, 284, 367, 406.
- 483 *minor stroke*: Ibid., 124.
- 483 *arteriosclerosis*: Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 33.
- 483 *kidney failure*: Bert Edward Park, *The Impact of Illness on World Leaders* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 8.
- 483 *hypertension*: Arthur S. Link, "Woodrow Wilson: A Cautionary Tale," *Wake Forest Law Review*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1995), 585–92, at 585.

- 483 “*several little strokes*”: According to Wilson biographer Gene Smith, “Grayson said he knew that the President had had several little strokes—some of them before he left for Paris.” Gene Smith to James F. O’Toole, M.D., c. 1987, described in O’Toole, “Some Observations on Wilson’s Neurologic Illness,” *PWW*, 58:635.
- 483 “*different personality*”: “Wilson’s Neurologic Illness at Paris—Editors’ Commentary,” *PWW*, 58:639. Beginning with his early April bout of influenza in Paris, those around him noticed subtle changes in his behavior and personality, suggesting to some that the virus may have had neurological ramifications. Historians and physicians have speculated for years about whether what Wilson contracted was the “Spanish flu,” and what its effects were on the president. Bert Edward Park, *The Impact of Illness on World Leaders* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 33–25; Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 190, 192–95.
- 483 *noticed the changes*: Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 344–49; Grayson, *An Intimate Memoir*, 85; JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 438; James O’Toole, “Some Observations on Wilson’s Neurologic Illness,” *PWW*, 58:636–38; Edmund W. Starling and Thomas Sugrue, *Starling of the White House* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 138; Jaffray, *Secrets of the White House*, 71; Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 99; Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: The Years of Adventure, 1874–1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 468; EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs–Merrill Co., 1939), 273; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 290–99.
- 483 “*grimmer and grimmer*”: JPT, *Wilson As I Know Him*, 434–35.
- 483 “*not lose a moment*”: Robert Lansing, memorandum, August 11, 1919, *PWW*, 62:258.
- 484 “*take its medicine*”: Wilson made the remark to the French ambassador, Jean Jules Jusserand. Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York: Macmillan, 1945), 15.
- 484 “*consent to nothing*”: Ibid. Wilson similarly shunned the advice of former President Taft, his strongest Republican ally in support of the treaty and the League. “Taft Proposes Six Interpretations of League to Win Republican Votes and Ratify Peace Treaty; Wilson Sees Four More Senators, Opposes Changes,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1919, 1.
- 484 “*last thing*”: EMH Diary, June 29, 1919, *PWW*, 61:354.
- 484 *broke off relations*: Honoring her husband’s wishes, Edith made certain House was not invited to Wilson’s funeral. Charles E. Neu, *Colonel House: A Biography of Woodrow Wilson’s Silent Partner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 456–57; William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 483.
- 484 *would not require*: Steven P. Mulligan, *Reservations, Understandings, Declarations, and Other Conditions to Treaties*, CRS Report IF12208 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2022), 2.
- 484 *virtually assured*: White, *Wilson*, 455–56.
- 484 “*as sometimes happens*”: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 139–40.
- 484 *private train*: “President Starts His Long Tour,” *Washington Herald*, September 4, 1919, 1.
- 484 *telegrams*: WW to Thomas Erby Kilby, July 12, 1919, *PWW*, 61:464; WW to Henry Paul Merritt, July 12, 1919, *PWW*, 61:464; WW to Hugh Manson Dorsey, July 15, 1919, *PWW*, 61:480; WW to Benjamin Franklin Buchanan, August 22, 1919, *PWW*, 62:462; WW to James Campbell Cantrill, September 2, 1919, *PWW*, 62:615; “Asks Kentucky State Convention to Indorse Federal Amendment,” *New York Times*, September 3, 1919, 10.
- 484 *ignored the telegrams*: “2 States Reject Suffrage,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1919, 14.
- 484 *poll of state legislatures*: “Suffrage Index of Good and Bad Governors,” *New York Times*, September 7, 1919, 71.
- 485 “*greatest day*”: “State Women Celebrate as Suffrage Wins,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 9, 1919, 1.
- 485 *single sentence*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of the Minnesota Legislature, September 9, 1919, *PWW*, 63:125.
- 485 *movie cameras*: “Cheering Throngs Hail President As He Parades Through Streets on Way to Auditorium for His Speech,” *Bismarck Tribune*, September 10, 1919, 1.
- 485 *sixteenth state*: “Anthony Amendment Is Passed,” *Portsmouth Herald*, September 10, 1919, 1.
- 485 *arrived in Los Angeles*: Cary T. Grayson Diary, September 20, 1919, *PWW*, 63:396–97; “Los Angeles Shrieks Approval of the President,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1919, 1.

- 485 “a rather tired man”: “Great Throng Greets President Wilson,” *Deseret News*, September 24, 1919, 1.
- 485 “choke up and cough”: Cary T. Grayson Diary, September 23, 25, 1919, *PWW*, 63:446, 487; Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson*, 353.
- 485 “collapse” ... “mouthed certain words”: Starling and Sugrue, *Starling of the White House*, 152.
- 485 most aggressive attack: “Wilson Will Hold Treaty Rejected by Senate Change,” *New York Times*, September 26, 1919, 1.
- 485 face twitched ... cancelled: Cary T. Grayson Diary, September 26, 1919, *PWW*, 63:518.
- 486 back to Washington: “President Suffers Nervous Breakdown, Tour Cancelled,” *New York Times*, September 27, 1919, 1; Bert E. Park, M.D., “Woodrow Wilson’s Stroke of October 2, 1919,” *PWW*, 63:639. Park theorized that Wilson suffered from hypertension, which modern medicine has linked to periodontitis. See, for example, Rodrigo Martin-Cabezas, et al., “Association between Periodontitis and Arterial Hypertension: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis,” *American Heart Journal*, vol. 180 (October 2016), 98–112. Photographs of Wilson during his presidency provide evidence of serious gum disease and severely rotted teeth, adding periodontitis to the growing number of possible causes of or contributors to his strokes.
- 486 paralyzed... “great mind”: Irwin Hood Hoover, “The Facts About President Wilson’s Illness” (unpublished manuscript, undated), handwritten, *PWW*, 63:632–38, at 635; Grayson, *An Intimate Memoir*, 100, 108; Bert Edward Park, *Ailing, Aging, Addicted* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 95–117; Park, *The Impact of Illness on World Leaders* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 3–63; Park, “Wilson’s Neurologic Illness at Paris,” *PWW*, 59:613–14; Ray Stannard Baker Diary, November 5, 1919, *PWW*, 63:620; Statement by Dr. Cary T. Grayson, October 15, 1919, *PWW*, 64:497.
- 486 “since last October”: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, January 23, 1920, *PWW*, 64:320.
- 486 “trivialities” ... “stubborn immovability”: *Ibid.*, January 23 and February 3, 1920, *PWW*, 64:320, 359.
- 486 urged compromise: WW to Gilbert M. Hitchcock, March 8, 1920, *PWW*, 65:67; WW to Hitchcock, c. March 11, 1920, *PWW*, 65:80; John Milton Cooper, *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 261.
- 486 vote “no”: Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York: Macmillan, 1945), 259–270; Cooper, *Breaking the Heart of the World*, 260–62, 318, 323, 345–47, 367; Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations* (New York: Scribners, 1925), 214; 59 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1920), 4598–99 (roll call on resolution of ratification).
- 487 February 24: WW to Tom C. Waldrep and Martin Edwin Trapp, February 24, 1920, *PWW*, 64:466 and n2.
- 487 “critical importance”: All *PWW*: WW to Julius Edgar Frazier and Milton Burr, March 1, 1920, 65:36 (WV); WW to John Milliken Parker, May 18, 1920, 65:295 (LA); WW to John J. Mulvena, June 1, 1920, 65:351 (DE); WW to Albert Houston Roberts, June 23, 1920, 65:445 (TN); WW to William Little Frierson, June 24, 1920, 65:450 (acting U.S. Attorney General, regarding TN legal question); WW to Thomas Walter Bickett, June 24, 1920, 65:450 (NC).
- 487 movies every day: Hoover, *Forty-Two*, 107; Gene Smith, *When The Cheering Stopped* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1964), 138–39.
- 487 not to discuss business: White, *Wilson*, 457.
- 487 “in a trance”: Irwin Hoover, “The Facts About President Wilson’s Illness,” 637; Hoover, *Forty-Two*, 104–05.
- 487 split exactly evenly: “Suffrage Amendment Adopted by House,” *Nashville Tennessean*, August 19, 1920, 1; Elaine Weiss, *The Woman’s Hour* (New York: Viking, 2018), 303.
- 487 “national harmony”: WW to Seth M. Walker, August 13, 1920, *PWW*, 66:30.
- 487 “honest convictions”: Seth M. Walker to WW, August 14, 1920, *PWW*, 66:35.
- 488 “Dear Son”: “Mother’s Letter to Son, Representative Burn, Helps Suffrage Cause,” (*Knoxville, TN Journal and Tribune*, August 19, 1920, 1.
- 488 took effect immediately: The Tennessee legislature completed its ratification of the Anthony Amendment on August 18. Tennessee Governor A. H. Roberts certified the state’s ratification on August 24. Tennessee Certificate of Ratification, August 24, 1920, NAID 63546858, folder 3, file #6577777, National Archives. Bainbridge Colby, U.S. Secretary of State, certified the adoption of the 19th Amendment on August 26, 1920. 41 Stat. 1823. In *Dillon v. Gloss*, 256 U.S. 368, 376 (1921), which involved the effective date of the 18th Amendment establishing

- prohibition, the Supreme Court held that an amendment becomes part of the Constitution on the day that the number of state ratifications meets the three-fourths threshold. The Anthony Amendment was therefore effective immediately when Tennessee ratified it on August 18, not the later dates of certification by Tennessee and Secretary Colby.
- 488 *30 million*: U.S. Census Bureau, *Estimates of the Population of Voting Age and of the Percent Voting in General Elections, 1920 to 1964*, Series P-25, No. 315 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 1; William C. Hunt, ed., *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, vol. 3, *Population: 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), Table 1, “Color or Race,” 15.
- 488 *new attorney general*: Palmer had run unsuccessfully for the 1920 Democratic presidential nomination, capitalizing on his notoriety for the so-called Palmer Raids that targeted suspected political radicals. Palmer testified before Congress that Black people were especially susceptible to Bolshevism; they were among his department’s favored targets. A. Mitchell Palmer, *Report to the U.S. Senate in Response to Senate Resolution 213* (November 14, 1919), 7; Adam Hochschild, *American Midnight* (New York: Mariner Books, 2022), 286, 296, 302–04, 313; William J. Maxwell, “Editorial Federalism: The Hoover Raids, the New Negro Renaissance, and the Origins of FBI Literary Surveillance,” in *Punishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race Since 1850*, George Hutchinson and John K. Young, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 136–155; David Pietrusza, *1920: The Year of the Six Presidents* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 246; Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), xiv–xv.
- 488 *sought Wilson’s intervention*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, c. October 15, 1920, reel 210, #60525, image 1156, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Blanche Rogers to Maud Wood Park, c. October 15, 1920, *ibid.*, #60526, image 1157.
- 488 *Virginia*: J. Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht, *Counting Women’s Votes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 98–99.
- 488 *Florida*: Krugler, 1919, 300.
- 488 *“a record vote”*: “Maryland Appears Safely Republican,” *Washington Post*, October 31, 1916, 4.
- 488 *“suffrage school”*: Martha S. Jones, *Vanguard: How Black Women Broke Barriers, Won the Vote, and Insisted on Equality for All* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 3–4; Martha S. Jones, “For Black Women, the 19th Amendment Didn’t End Their Fight to Vote,” *National Geographic*, nationalgeographic.com/magazine, August 7, 2020.
- 488 *voted for Hughes*: Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 312.
- 489 *making speeches*: Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 151.
- 489 *voted by mail*: “President’s Vote, With That of Wife, Sent to Princeton,” *Washington Evening Star*, October 30, 1920, 1.
- 489 *“solemn referendum”*: WW, Jackson Day Message, January 8, 1920, *PWW*, 64:257; Richard L. Merritt, “Woodrow Wilson and the ‘Great and Solemn Referendum,’ 1920,” *Review of Politics*, vol. 27, no. 1 (January 1965), 78–104.
- 489 *“obsessed”*: “Wilson Told Cox Will Win and Vindicate Him,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 2, 1920, 3.
- 489 *failed to carry*: The Cox-Roosevelt ticket failed to carry Tennessee and Oklahoma. Harding won 60.3% of the popular vote nationwide; Cox polled 34.1%. *Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 142. Since 1920, no presidential candidate has come close to Harding’s 26.2% margin of victory in the popular vote.
- 489 *lonely convalescence*: Smith, *When the Cheering Stopped*, 210.
- 489 *Is it “true”*: WW to Cordell Hull, October 13, 1922, *PWW*, 68:155.