

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

2. Woodrows and Wilsons

PAGE

- 17 *even science*: In 1859, Charles Darwin fired the “shot heard round the theological world.” Bert James Loewenberg, “Darwinism Comes to America, 1859–1900,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 28, no. 3 (December 1941), 339–68, at 350. Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle, James Woodrow, a science professor at the Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina, began to accept the possibility of evolution a quarter century later. In 1884 he wrote that while Adam was perhaps the product of evolution, it was certain the first woman was directly created by a miracle of God from Adam’s rib. This half-acceptance of elements of Darwin’s theory was too much for the ruling Presbyterian authorities, who fired him. Clement Eaton, “Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South,” *Journal of Southern History* (February 1962), 3–17, at 11. Joseph Wilson sided with Professor Woodrow, as did his son Thomas Woodrow Wilson. Joseph R. Wilson to WW, October 25, 1890, *PWW*, 3:52; WW to ELA, *ibid.*, 3:216.
- 17 “*must renounce slavery*”: Victor Hugo to Maria Weston Chapman, July 6, 1851, in *Letters on American Slavery* (Boston: The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1860), 7.
- 17 *John Brown*: “The Harper’s Ferry Outbreak: Verbatim Report of the Questioning of Old Brown by Senator Mason, Congressman Vallandigham, and Others,” *New York Herald*, October 21, 1859, 1; “Synopsis of the Speech of Abraham Lincoln,” *Illinois State Journal*, vol. 12, no. 155, December 12, 1859; John Thomas Lewis Preston, “The Execution of John Brown,” *The Southern Bivouac: A Monthly Literary and Historical Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 3 (August 1886), in West Virginia State Archives, John Brown Pamphlets, vol. 6, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.
- 17 *liberty demanded*: Angelo Metzidakis, “Victor Hugo and the Idea of the United States of Europe,” *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1/2 (Fall-Winter 1994–95), 72–84, at 77 (detailing Hugo’s speech to the Third International Peace Congress, Paris, August 21, 1849).
- 17 *formed the partnership*: Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 118; Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony: Biography of a Rebel, Crusader, and Humanitarian of the Women’s Rights and Feminist Movements* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 26.
- 17 *women’s rights conventions*: Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), 81; *HWS*, 1:74.
- 17 *abolitionist clergy*: Samuel J. May, *The Rights and Condition of Women*, sermon delivered November 8, 1846, in the Church of the Messiah, Syracuse, NY (Syracuse: Stoddard & Babcock, 1846); Elizabeth Cazden, *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: A Biography* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1983); *Memoir of Samuel Joseph May* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1873), 190.
- 18 *several months*: Joseph Wilson entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton in 1846, but remained there “less than a year” and did not earn a degree. *Necrological Reports and Annual Proceedings*, vol. 3, “Joseph Ruggles Wilson, D.D.” (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary Alumni Assoc., 1909), 217–18; Robert A. Bober, “Young Woodrow Wilson: The Search for Immortality” (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1980), 37 and n47.
- 18 *Ohio*: Francis P. Weisenburger, “The Middle Western Antecedents of Woodrow Wilson,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (December 1936), 375–90, at 387.
- 18 *legislation to ban slavery*: Abraham Lincoln, “A Bill to Abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia,” January 1849, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

- 18 *editorialized against slavery*: Osman Castle Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism, 1793–1933* (Columbus, OH: The Spahr & Glenn Co., 1933), 48; John M. Mulder, “Joseph Ruggles Wilson: Southern Presbyterian Patriarch,” *Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 52, no. 3 (Fall 1974), 245–71, at 247.
- 18 “*early hotbed*”: Ernest T. Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, vol. 1 (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963), 336, 384.
- 18 *minority vote*: Robert C. Galbraith, Jr., *History of the Chillicothe Presbytery* (Chillicothe, OH: Scioto Gazette Book and Job Office, 1889), 181; Lewis G. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861–1869* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 13–15.
- 18 *more enslaved*: “Slave Population of the United States,” Table 71 in *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington: Beverly Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854), 82.
- 18 *tutoring*: Mulder, “Joseph Ruggles Wilson,” 248; Luke Joel Swan, Jr., “The Rhetorical Theory of Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson, D.D.” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1971), 40–41.
- 19 “*best house in Staunton*”: Jim Hargan, *The Shenandoah Valley and Mountains of the Virginias* (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 2005), 126.
- 19 *servants*: The Wilson family’s enslaved servants were provided to them as a perquisite by the Presbyterian church, which leased the human property from local congregants. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 24.
- 19 *Named for*: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, September 22, 1881, *PWW*, 2:80.
- 19 *newly-constructed manse*: *LL*, 1:29–30; Lincoln Bates, “Wilson Home Opens,” *American History*, vol. 36, no. 6 (February 2002); “History of the Manse” (Augusta: Boyhood Home of Woodrow Wilson, 2023).
- 19 “*earliest recollection*”: WW, “Abraham Lincoln: A Man of the People,” Address in Chicago, February 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:33.
- 19 *segregated congregation*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 33. Even through the Reconstruction era, “all predominantly white congregations exhibited the hated segregated pews.” Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 141.
- 19 “*divine authority*”: Joseph R. Wilson, *Mutual Relation of Masters and Slaves as Taught in the Bible* (Augusta: Steam Press of Chronicle & Sentinel, 1861), Rare Book Collection, Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, at 7, 12, 16, 21.
- 19 “*my slaveholding brethren*”: *Ibid.*, 3.
- 20 “*this evil*”: The mainstream church’s General Assembly also condemned all those who “have made war against the United States.” *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, vol. 12 (New York: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1861), 446–48.
- 20 *one of the leaders*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 29–30. In this, Joseph Wilson was in league with his brother-in-law, Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle James Woodrow. Rev. Woodrow authored the resolution at the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia in 1861 that formally dissolved its relations with the northern church over the issue of slavery. T. Conn Bryan, “The Churches in Georgia During the Civil War,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4 (December 1949), 286 and n25. The sentiment was shared by Ellen Wilson’s family. When Union forces occupied Georgia and forced pastors to take loyalty oaths to the Constitution, Ellen Wilson’s father, Reverend Samuel Edward Axson, subversively retaliated by omitting the traditional prayer for the president from his Sunday ritual. *Ibid.*, 298 and n120.
- 20 “*A great battle*”: White, *Wilson*, 33; *LL*, 1:51.
- 20 *slave quarters*: Irvin Haas, *Historic Homes of the American Presidents*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 125; William G. Clotworthy, *Homes and Libraries of the Presidents*, 2nd ed. (Blacksburg, VA: McDonald & Woodward Publishing Co., 2003), 202.
- 20 *more enslaved servants*: Cooper, *Wilson*, 16, 602n7.
- 20 “*honorable*”: WW, *Division and Reunion: 1829–1889* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 209.
- 20 “*willful sin*”: *Ibid.* Wilson lived intermittently with his parents until he was twenty-eight years old. Throughout this time they employed enslaved and later emancipated Black people as servants. As a Princeton professor in

- 1901, Wilson criticized Republicans and Reconstruction for failing to appreciate “how devoted in the service of their masters the great mass of the negro people had remained” and for not deeming “southerners safe friends of the freed slaves.” *HAP*, 5:17.
- 20 “*not so dark*”: WW, “State Rights,” chap. 13 in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 7, A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903).
- 20 *military chaplain ... home defense unit*: Florence Fleming Corley, *Confederate City: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1960), 40; Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; Editorial note, *PWW*, 1:4–5n1. Beginning in May 1861, pursuant to statute enacted by the Confederate Congress, military chaplains were direct appointees of President Jefferson Davis, on par with staff officers. Act of May 3, 1861, Public Acts of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, Stat. II, chap. 1, sec. 1; War Department circular, November 1861, Records of Confederate War Department, Record Group 109, NA; William E. Dickens, Jr., “Answering the Call: The Story of the U.S. Military Chaplaincy from the Revolution through the Civil War” (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1998), 64–65. During the war, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, of which James Woodrow was a director following the North-South schism, was forced to abandon much of its peacetime work but in the South was able to support military chaplains such as Rev. Joseph Wilson. Charles Lemuel Thompson, *The Soul of America: The Contribution of Presbyterian Home Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co, 1919), 88–90, 95, 105, 211; William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Hough-ton Mifflin Co., 1924), 30.
- 20 *used his church ... wartime atrocities*: *LL*, 1:51; Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 11; Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), *passim*. Reverend Wilson also traveled to Richmond to confer with high-ranking Confederate officials including Vice President Alexander Stephens. Corley, *Confederate City*, 63–64. Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle, James Woodrow, oversaw munitions manufacturing for the Confederate armies. Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; White, *Wilson*, 73.
- 20 “*weak nature*” ... “*future of their children*”: Joseph R. Wilson, *Female Training* (Augusta: Steam Power Press of the Chronicle and Sentinel, 1858), 6, 8, 10.
- 21 “*refined women*”: *HWS*, 2:2.
- 21 *One-third*: Kari A. Cornell, *Women in the Civil War* (Minneapolis: Abdo Publishing, 2016), 66.
- 21 *women were killed*: Brian Bergin, *The Washington Arsenal Explosion: Civil War Disaster in the Capital* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 13–14, 41–42.
- 21 *espionage*: DeAnne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 26, 68–69, 188–22; Karen Abbott, *Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy: Four Women Undercover in the Civil War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013); Thomas B. Allen, *Harriet Tubman, Secret Agent: How Daring Slaves and Free Blacks Spied for the Union During the Civil War* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2006); Curtis Carroll Davis, ed., *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison, Written by Herself* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1968).
- 21 *four hundred women*: Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 6–7; Cornell, *Women in the Civil War*, 28.
- 21 *Enslaved women ... war matériel*: Willi Coleman, “Architects of a Vision: Black Women and Their Antebellum Quest for Political and Social Equality,” in Ann D. Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, ed., *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 25–26.
- 21 *fled to England*: Douglass fled first to Canada and then Britain to escape prosecution as a conspirator with John Brown. David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 305–9. He made his escape on a horse borrowed from New York’s former lieutenant governor, who later defended Susan B. Anthony in her criminal trial for illegally voting. Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (London: Christian Age, 1882), 270–71.
- 22 *met with President Lincoln*: Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 203–07.
- 22 *enter the public arena*: Cultural taboos had long existed against women speaking in public. J. Matthew Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc: The Life of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.

- 22 *invitation was signed*: “Words for the Hour,” advertisement for address by Anna E. Dickinson, *Washington Evening Star*, January 15, 1864, 1. The vice president, twenty-four senators and seventy-eight representatives signed the invitation, including the elected leadership of both chambers.
- 22 *Among the dignitaries*: “Miss Dickinson’s Address,” *Cleveland Morning Leader*, January 18, 1864, 1; Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc*, 36–37.
- 22 *could not even “imagine”*: “America in the Midst of War,” *London Daily Telegraph*, February 2, 1864, 5.
- 22 *throughout the North*: Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc*, 9, 25–26, 40.
- 22 *a mass meeting*: “Addresses of the Hon. W. D. Kelley, Miss Anna E. Dickinson, and Mr. Frederick Douglass,” National Hall, Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, African American Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress.
- 22 *four times higher*: Dictating his autobiography years later, Twain still appeared envious over how much more Anna Dickinson was paid for her speeches than he was. Twain and Dickinson had the same agent on the lecture circuit, James Redpath of the Boston Lyceum Bureau. But her standard fee was four times larger than his. Twain records that “Anna Dickinson’s price was \$400 a night.” Twain’s own fees “typically ranged from \$75 to \$150,” only “occasionally” reaching \$200. Harriet Elinor Smith and Benjamin Griffin, eds., *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 3 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 166, 527n165.33–166.6; *ibid.*, vol. 1 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010), 151, 511nn151.12–14.
- 22 *“degrading the master”*: “Hope! Hope! Hope! for the South!,” *Macon Telegraph*, February 27, 1865, 2.
- 22 *“no one doubted” . . . “buffets of freedom”*: *HAP*, 5:6–7, 17–18.
- 23 *Women’s Loyal National League*: *HWS*, 2:50–66, 891–98; Judith E. Harper, *Women During the Civil* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 416–17; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 168–69; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), 110; Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 153–54.
- 23 *five thousand members*: *HWS*, 2:81.
- 23 *Sumner presented*: Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York: Alfred J. Knopf, 1970), 147–48.
- 23 *buried the Senate*: Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony*, 77; Ginzberg, *Stanton*, 110.
- 23 *voted to approve*: U.S. Congress, Journal of the Senate, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., April 8, 1864, 311 (roll call on S.J. Res. 16).
- 23 *added its vote*: U.S. Congress, Journal of the House of Representatives, 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., January 31, 1865, 170–71 (roll call on S.J. Res. 16).
- 23 *final chapter*: The amendment was ratified before the year was out. Certification of the Adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, 13 Stat. 774 (December 18, 1865).
- 23 *Augusta crowd*: E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for April 30, 1917, 144; *PWW*, 42:168; *LL*, 1:52; Alexander Stephens Diary, May 14, 1865, in Myrta Lockett Avery, ed., *Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910), 109–11; Ben H. Procter, *Not Without Honor: The Life of John H. Reagan* (Austin: 1962), 165.
- 23 *“crowd of Negroes”*: Corley, *Confederate City*, 97–98.
- 24 *look into Lee’s face*: *WW*, Address on Robert E. Lee, January 19, 1909, *PWW*, 18:631.
- 24 *“great man” . . . “self-respect”*: *Ibid.*
- 24 *“filled with vagrants”*: *HAP*, 5:19.
- 24 *“equality with the whites”*: *Ibid.*, 5:28.
- 24 *“all persons born”*: Despite the seemingly plain language of the 14th Amendment, it was later deemed not to grant Native Americans citizenship because they were under the jurisdiction of tribal laws. *Elk v. Wilkins*, 112 U.S. 94 (1884). Subsequently the Dawes General Allotment Act, Pub. L. 49–105, 24 Stat. 388–91 (1887), gave citizenship to roughly two-thirds of Native Americans—those who had received allotments of land or moved off of tribal lands. Not until President Calvin Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act, Pub. L. 68–175, 43 Stat. 253 (1924), did all Native Americans gain their rights as U.S. citizens. Robert H. Ferrell, *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 110.
- 24 *cynically political*: Kate Masur, *Until Justice Be Done* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2021), 305.
- 24 *“needed the ballots”*: *HAP*, 5:25.

- 25 “callous”: Ibid., 5:9. Rep. Thaddeus Stevens (R-PA) was, in fact, genuinely committed throughout his political career to ending slavery and granting full political rights to the formerly enslaved. Christopher Shepard, “Making No Distinctions Between Rich and Poor: Thaddeus Stevens and Class Equality,” *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 80, no. 1 (Winter 2013), 37-50, at 41-43.
- 25 “extraordinary” ... “humiliation”: Ibid., 5:36–38.
- 25 *North and South*: No Democrat in the House or the Senate voted for the 14th Amendment. U.S. Congress, Journal of the House of Representatives, 39th Cong., 1st sess., May 10, 1866, 686–87 (roll call on H.R. 127); U.S. Congress, Journal of the Senate, 39th Cong., 1st sess., June 8, 1866, 504–05 (roll call on H.R. 127 as amended); Journal of the House, June 13, 1866, 834 (roll call on H.R. 127, concurring in Senate amendments); *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998) (listing party affiliations of voting members).
- 25 “decent and respectable”: “Why the South Should and Will Adopt the Constitutional Amendment—The Northern Argument,” *Macon Telegraph*, October 2, 1866, 2.
- 25 *inferior legal status*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:248; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 191; Barry, *Anthony*, 163–64.
- 25 “persons”: The incidental appearance of male pronouns in their generic sense in Articles I, II, and IV, as well as in the 6th Amendment (referring, respectively, to members of Congress, the president, the vice president, and persons accused of a crime) was consistent with then-traditional usage in which *he*, *him*, and *his* were understood to be epicene. In 1850 this long standing rule of construction was enshrined in statute in England. “An Act for shortening the Language used in Acts of Parliament,” 13 & 14 Vict., c. 21 (June 10, 1850) (U.K.) (“in all Acts Words importing the Masculine Gender shall be deemed and taken to include Females”). But unlike epicene pronouns, the common concrete noun “male” plainly referred to men, exclusively. It had never before appeared in the Constitution.
- 25 “take us a century”: Stanton to Gerrit Smith, January 1, 1866, in Ann D. Gordon, ed., *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 1:67.
- 25 *petition drive*: The petitions demanded that Congress “extend the right of Suffrage to Woman.” Otherwise, “placing new safeguards round the individual rights of four million emancipated slaves” would leave women as “the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens.” Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al., Petition for Universal Suffrage, *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 23, 1866), 380.
- 26 “an inferior order”: *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393, at 407, 420 (1857).
- 26 “second only”: Susan B. Anthony, Address at Ottumwa, Kansas, July 4, 1865, in Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:960–67, at 966.
- 26 “celestial gate”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the Editor, *Antislavery Standard*, December 26, 1865, in HWS, 2:94n51.
- 26 “someday”: “Speech of Wendell Phillips,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1865, 1.
- 26 “argued constantly”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Susan B. Anthony, August 11, 1865, in *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diaries, and Reminiscences*, Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 2:105.
- 26 *out of order*: Remarks by Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the American Anti–Slavery Society, May 9, 1866, in Gordon, *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, 1:579–80.
- 27 *first proposed version ... gave Stevens credit*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 22, 1866), 351 (original Stevens committee version using “persons”); Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the Editor of the *Antislavery Standard*, January 2, 1866, in HWS, 2:92n49.
- 27 “the word ‘male’”: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 31, 1866), 537 (remarks of Rep. Stevens).
- 27 “Southern wenches”... “strain the Republican Party”: HWS, 2:91.
- 27 *More pressure*: William Gillette, *The Right to Vote* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 24–25.
- 27 *go far to enfranchising*: Harper, *Life and Work*, 1:250.
- 27 *dutifully presented*: HWS, 2:93–94, 151n53.
- 27 *declined to endorse*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (February 21, 1866), 952 (remarks of Sen Sumner).
- 27 “Even Charles Sumner”: Harper, *Life and Work*, 1:269.

- 27 *a new organization*: Ellen Carol DuBois, *Suffrage: Women's Long Battle for the Vote* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020), 60.
- 27 *luminaries of the movement*: : HWS, 2:179.
- 28 "Republican candidate, as expected": HAP, 5:56.