

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

PART I

LONG PAST DUE

I. Kindred Causes

PAGE

- 3 *Wilson's ancestors*: LL, 1:6–18; WW to ELA, November 10, 1884, *PWW*, 3:421.
- 3 *propertied women*: Fewer than half of the colonies used the word “male” in their election statutes or otherwise specifically excluded women. Rosemarie Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 28; “Suffrage Wins in Senate,” *New York Times*, June 5, 1919, 1.
- 3 *petitioned against slavery*: Brycchan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657–1761* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 72–86.
- 3 *in 1763*: Frédérique Beauvois, *Between Blood and Gold: The Debates over Compensation for Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 68.
- 3 *“noble effort”*: Patrick Henry to Robert Pleasants, January 18, 1773, in Roger A. Bruns, ed., *Am I Not a Man and a Brother: The Antislavery Crusade of Revolutionary America, 1688–1788* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1977), 222.
- 3 *abolition supporter*: Abigail Adams to John Adams, September 22, 1774, in Charles Francis Adams, Sr., ed., *Letters of Mrs. Adams*, vol. 1 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840), 24 (describing slavery as “a most iniquitous scheme” in which free citizens “are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have,” and calling for its end).
- 3 *“hold ourselves bound”*: Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776, quoted in Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 100.
- 3 *new constitution*: N.J. Constitution of 1776, art. IV. See also Irwin N. Gertzog, “Female Suffrage in New Jersey,” in Naomi B. Lynn, ed., *Women, Politics and the Constitution* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1990), 49. New Jersey women and free Black people were stripped of the vote by statute in 1807. Jan Ellen Lewis, “Rethinking Women’s Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776–1807,” 63 *Rutgers L. Rev.* 1017 (2010).
- 4 *“Constitution gives this right”*: Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 30.
- 4 *“if our State”*: Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, November 15, 1797, in Stewart Mitchell, ed., *The New Letters of Abigail Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), 112. Other prominent American women spoke out publicly for equal rights in this era. See, for example, Judith Sargent Murray, *On the Equality of the Sexes* (1790), in Sharon M. Harris, ed., *Selected Writings of Judith Sargent Murray* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3; Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) (New York: A.J. Matsell, 1833).
- 4 *assumed the presidency*: Franklin became president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1787. *Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Grant, Faires & Rodgers, 1876), 14.
- 4 *“he or she”*: Laws of New Jersey, “An Act to Regulate the Election of the Members of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, Sheriffs and Coroners,” February 22, 1797, sec. XI.

- 4 *ensuing presidential election ... votes of Black women*: Horace Bushnell, *Women's Suffrage, Reform Against Nature* (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1869), 111.
- 4 *every northern state*: Matthew Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 14. New Jersey was the last northern state to abolish slavery. Its statute phasing out slavery is exemplary of several state laws that reflect both the prevalent abolitionist sentiment of the time and the persistence of the evil the abolitionists failed to completely stamp out. The New Jersey law purported to end slavery immediately for all persons born on or after July 4, 1804. But it required men to serve the “owner” of their mothers “as if” they were enslaved until age 25, and women until 21. Anyone born into slavery on or before July 3, 1804 remained enslaved for life. These people were not legally freed until Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,” 28th N.J.G.A., 2nd sitting (February 15, 1804), Acts, chap. 103, 251–54.
- 4 *nationwide ban*: “Act to prohibit the importation of slaves,” 2 Stat. 426, Pub. L. 9–22 (1807).
- 4 *many at the time*: Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877*, 10th ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 80.
- 4 *At Monticello*: Celia Morris Eckhardt, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 81, 84–85.
- 4 *her portrait*: Chester Buttre, Portrait of Frances Wright, *HWS*, 1:6 (frontispiece).
- 4 *In years afterward*: Frances Wright, *Course of [Seven] Popular Lectures with Three Addresses*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Enquirer, 1829); Frances Wright D’Arusmont, *Biography, Notes, and Political Letters* (Dundee: J. Myles, Bookseller, 1844), 40–42; Robert J. Connors, “Frances Wright: First Female Civic Rhetor in America,” *College English*, vol. 62, no. 1 (September 1999), 30–57.
- 4 *“I go for all” ... “his position”*: *HWS*, 4:1075; “Presidents on Suffrage,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 43 (October 23, 1915), 338. Both *HWS* and *The Woman’s Journal*, however, omitted the portion of Lincoln’s statement that limited it to “whites.” “What Lincoln Said,” *New York Times*, February 29, 1915, sec. 7, 2. And while he seems never to have retracted that statement, there is no evidence he ever repeated it. Marjorie J. Spruill, ed., *Jailed for Freedom by Doris Stevens* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 2008), 100n3.
- 4 *meetings with James Madison*: To Martineau, Madison expressed his view that women and men should have the same education, and stressed that “the whole bible is against negro slavery.” Harriett Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, vol. 2 (London: Saunders & Otley, 1838), 1–18.
- 4 *“Forty years ago”*: “Political Non-Existence of Women,” in Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Saunders & Otley, 1837), 148. The future Congressman George W. Julian (R-IN), who would introduce several bills during the 1860s and 70s to grant women the right to vote, became committed to the cause of women’s suffrage after reading Martineau’s essay. *HWS*, 3:552–53.
- 5 *Slavery Abolition Act*: “An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves,” 3 & 4 William 4 c.73 (August 28, 1833).
- 5 *Mott founded*: Carol Faulkner, *Lucretia Mott’s Heresy: Abolition and Women’s Rights in Nineteenth Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 66.
- 5 *that same decade*: Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women’s Rights and Abolition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 107–08.
- 5 *met Elizabeth Cady Stanton*: Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 38–39.
- 5 *“rights of women”*: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More* (New York: European Publishing Co., 1898), 82, 83.
- 5 *Stanton was introduced*: *Ibid.*, 127, 138.
- 5 *the same week ... to “discuss”*: *HWS*, 1:67–68.
- 5 *“right to the elective franchise”*: *Ibid.*, 1:72.
- 6 *Even Lucretia Mott*: Faulkner, *Mott’s Heresy*, 140.

- 6 “*only man*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eulogy for Frederick Douglass, as read by Susan B. Anthony, Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, Washington, DC, February 25, 1895, in Helen Douglas, ed., *In Memoriam: Frederick Douglass* (Philadelphia: John C. Yorston & Co., 1897), 44.
- 6 “*power to choose rulers*”: *HWS*, 1:73.
- 6 *An editorial*: “The Rights of Women,” *The North Star*, July 28, 1848, 3.
- 6 *final act*: *HWS*, 1:73.
- 7 *attend a lecture*: Dorothy Sterling, *Lucretia Mott* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1964), 161.
- 7 “*God’s ordaining*” ... “*domestic state*”: Richard Henry Dana, Sr., “Lecture on ‘Woman,’” Philadelphia, 1849, quoted in David Henry, “Lucretia Coffin Mott’s ‘Discourse on Woman,’” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 25 (1995 Annual Edition), 11–19, at 12.
- 7 *lecture of her own*: Sterling, *Lucretia Mott*, 161.
- 7 *beyond refutation*... “*weak capacity of woman*”: Lucretia Mott, *Discourse on Woman Delivered at the Assembly Buildings, December 17, 1849* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson, 1850).
- 8 *Ada Lovelace*: Christopher Hollings, Ursula Martin, and Adrian Rice, “The Lovelace–De Morgan Mathematical Correspondence,” *Historica Mathematica*, vol. 44, no. 3 (August 2017), 202–31.
- 8 *Maria Mitchell*: Renée L. Bergland, *Maria Mitchell and the Sexing of Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008), xii, 57.
- 8 *that same year*: Wendy Moore, “Elizabeth Blackwell: Breaching the Barriers for Women in Medicine,” *The Lancet*, vol. 397, no. 10275 (February 20, 2021), 662.
- 8 *Plebiscites*: Edward Everett Hale, “A Quarter Century of Kansas,” *The Independent*, vol. 31 (September 25, 1879), 1608.
- 8 *thousands of mercenaries*: That is exactly what happened. Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860–64*, vol. 1 (Hartford: O.D. Case & Co., 1864), 235.
- 9 *89 percent*: *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess. (May 25, 1854), 1321 (roll call on final Senate passage of Kansas-Nebraska Act); *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998) (listing party affiliations of voting members).
- 9 *busy petitioning ... simultaneously organizing*: Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 125; Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony: Biography of a Rebel, Crusader, and Humanitarian of the Women’s Rights and Feminist Movements* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 34–35.
- 9 *to Washington*: “I feel that woman should in the very capitol of the nation lift her voice against that abominable measure,” Susan wrote Lucy Stone on the day the Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Susan B. Anthony to Lucy Stone, March 3, 1854, quoted in Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony*, 35.
- 9 *underwritten by Gerrit Smith*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 26, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith*, 212 and chaps. 4, 6 passim. Smith was not only one of the richest men in New York, but one of the wealthiest men in the United States. From his father, a financial partner of John Jacob Astor, he had inherited a real estate fortune and managed it into a larger one, making him a multibillionaire in today’s currency. His gifts to political causes he supported, measured in today’s dollars, surpassed \$600 million during his lifetime. Norman K. Dann, *Gerrit Smith: Practical Dreamer* (Hamilton, NY: Log Cabin Books, 2009), 29.
- 9 *earliest congressional supporter*: Smith did not propose legislation for women’s voting rights during his single term in Congress, but he endorsed the concept in the weeks before his 1852 election: “All will admit that woman has a right to herself, to her own powers of locomotion, to her own earnings, but how few are prepared to admit her right to the ballot. But all rights are held by a precarious tenure, if this one be denied.... The right of suffrage is the great right that guarantees all others.” Gerrit Smith, Address to National Woman’s Rights Convention, Syracuse, NY, September 8, 1852, in *HWS*, 1:527. Having decided to first secure Black men’s voting rights, he prioritized women’s suffrage in the 1870s. Norman K. Dann, *Gerrit Smith: Practical Dreamer* (Hamilton, NY: Log Cabin Books, 2009), 369.

- 9 *Washington contacts*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 26, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; HWS, 1:526n109.
- 9 *seventy-six members*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 21, 22, 24, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 9 *met personally*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 25, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 9 *Boyd, a slave owner*: Julie Z. Weil and Adrian Blanco Ramos, Congressional slaveholder database, *Washington Post*, www.washingtonpost.com/history/interactive/2022/congress-slaveowners-names-list/.
- 9 “*How hateful*”: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 23, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 9 “*to the winds*”: Walter R. Houghton, *History of American Politics* (Indianapolis: F.T. Neely & Co., 1883), 292.
- 9 *along with the men*: Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, 7th ed., vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1874), 409.
- 10 *with their southern colleagues*: Pearl T. Ponce, *To Govern the Devil in Hell: The Political Crisis in Territorial Kansas* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 228.
- 10 *groundbreaking work*: Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 16–17.
- 10 *decided advantage*: The Missouri slaveholders were highly motivated to prevent an antislavery government across their border. The estimated value of their investment in human “property” was well over one billion dollars, measured in today’s currency. Harrison Anthony Trexler, “Slavery in Missouri 1804–1865,” PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1912 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 10 (citing census figures of 87,422 enslaved people in Missouri as of 1850, and 114,931 as of 1860). In “the fifties [1850s] ... stout hemp-breaking negroes ‘sold readily from \$1,200 to \$1,400,’” while women frequently were sold for over \$1,000, and the price for children was often in excess of \$500. *Ibid.*, 39–42. Using \$500 as the most conservative estimate for all enslaved persons, and multiplying that by the mean enslaved population of 101,000 at mid-decade, the total is \$50.5 million, or \$1.8 billion in current dollars. Given the values Trexler cites, the actual figure could be two or three times greater.
- 10 *first party*: Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: E.F. Caldwell, 1895), 4.
- 10 *slaveholding U.S. Senator*: William E. Parrish, “David Rice Atchison, ‘Faithful Champion of the South,’” *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 51, no. 2 (January 1957), 122–24.
- 10 *five thousand*: Jason Roe, “The Contested Election of 1855,” in *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri–Kansas Conflict, 1855–65*, Kansas City Public Library (online); Donald Gilmore, “Revenge in Kansas, 1863,” *History Today*, vol. 43, no. 3 (March 1993), 47–53.
- 10 *pre-election census*: James W. Erwin, *Guerrillas in Civil War Missouri* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 16.
- 10 *When the dust settled*: U.S. House of Representatives, Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Trouble in Kansas, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 200 (July 2, 1856).
- 10 *proslavery laws*: Rita Napier, “The Hidden History of Bleeding Kansas,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, vol. 27, no. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2004), 44 at 46 and n1.
- 10 *threatened to kill*: Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life*, 10th ed. (Lawrence: Journal Publishing Co., 1899), 20.
- 11 *friend of the victim*: *Ibid.*, 127.
- 11 *stuffing envelopes*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:122.
- 11 “*I doubt not*”: Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 17.
- 11 *almost half*: William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 375; Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 18.

- 11 “*citizens have been shot*”: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 543 (remarks of Mr. Sumner); “Important From Kansas: Gathering of Pro-Slavery Forces for An Attack on Lawrence” (datelined May 12, 1856), *New York Times*, May 30, 1856, 1.
- 11 “*We are approaching*”: “Important From Kansas,” *New York Times*, May 30, 1856, 1.
- 11 “*no longer worthy*”: Frank W. Blackmar, ed., *Kansas*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), 70. There are multiple contemporary sources for this reported remark. Nonetheless, some have posited it may be apocryphal, invented by free state newspapers. See, e.g., Nicole Etcheson, “Labouring for the Freedom of This Territory: Free-State Kansas Women in the 1850s,” *Kansas History, A Journal of the Central Plains*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1998), 68–87, at 80.
- 12 “*monster posse*”: “Affairs in Kansas,” *Saturday Evening Post*, May 31, 1856, 2.
- 12 “*matrons of Rome*”: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 543 (remarks of Mr. Sumner).
- 12 *consulted with Julia Ward Howe*: Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences, 1819–1899* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900), 178.
- 12 “*effective efforts to Freedom*”: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 543 (remarks of Mr. Sumner).
- 12 *scouts and guards* ... “*one furious woman*”: Nicole Etcheson, “‘Labouring for the Freedom of This Territory’: Free-State Kansas Women in the 1850s,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1998), 68, at 78–79.
- 12 *his “disposition”*: *Alexandria Gazette*, May 22, 1856, 2.
- 12 “*chivalry*”: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 530 (remarks of Mr. Sumner).
- 13 “*ugly to others*”: *Ibid.* It is worth noting that Sumner called *slavery* ugly, not Butler. Nor did he accuse Butler of having a “mistress.” By the chaste public standards of the 19th century, Sumner’s allegedly “lurid” and “sexual” imagery was hardly outré—it is the sort of thing one routinely finds in Shakespeare’s works from the 16th century. Yet this criticism of Sumner had a place in standard American histories well into the 20th century. It is testament to the deep influence of the Dunning school, and even Woodrow Wilson’s own writings depicting Sumner as a crass partisan. See text at 71.
- 13 *gross personal insults*: Manisha Sinha, “The Caning of Charles Sumner: Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 242 and n12; Kellie Carter Jackson, *Force and Freedom: Black Abolitionists and the Politics of Violence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 90.
- 13 *Sumner’s speech*: *Buffalo Daily Republic*, May 21, 1856, 2; “Mr. Sumner’s Speech,” *New York Tribune*, May 21, 1856, 6; “From Washington,” *New York Tribune*, May 22, 1856, 5; “Charles Sumner,” *Lewisburg Chronicle*, May 23, 1856, 2; David Herbert Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 283, 286; W.H. Hoffer, *The Caning of Charles Sumner* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 58, 67; Stephen Puleo, *The Caning: The Assault That Drove America to Civil War* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2013), 59–74.
- 13 *tweed coat*: Donald, *Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, 214.
- 13 *ninety degrees*: “The Crime Against Kansas, May 19, 1856” (undated publication), Art & History, U.S. Senate Historical Office.
- 13 “*Such a speech*”: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 20, 1856), Appendix, 544 (remarks of Sen. Cass).
- 13 *printed in advance*: An example of a contemporaneous published copy is Charles Sumner, “The Crime Against Kansas,” speech before the United States Senate, May 19–20, 1856 (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1856).
- 14 *at one o’clock*: Report of the House Select Committee on the Alleged Assault Upon Senator Sumner, H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 36 (1856) (testimony of Sen. Foster), 64 (testimony of Mr. Sutton).
- 14 *prevent any interference*: *Ibid.*, 44–47 (testimony of Mr. Holland), 49–50 (testimony of Mr. Jones), 57 (testimony of Mr. Simonton), 64 (testimony of Mr. Sutton).
- 14 *acting as lookout*: *Ibid.*, 48 (testimony of Sen. Crittenden), 59 (testimony of Rep. Edmundson that Brooks wanted Edmundson to be present at the assault as “a friend of mine to be with me to do me justice”).

- 14 *he had plotted*: Ibid., 3 (majority report).
- 14 *did not recognize*: Ibid., 23 (testimony of Sen. Sumner).
- 14 *hard as whalebone*: Ibid., 2 (majority report), 73 (testimony of Mr. Davis).
- 14 *chosen for the purpose*: Statement by Preston S. Brooks dated May 28, 1856, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd series, vol. 61 (October 1927–June 1928), 221–23, at 222. The statement, handwritten by Brooks, was first published in 1928 from the original manuscript then in possession of Brooks’s daughter.
- 14 *previously arrested*: Michael A. Morrison, *Slavery and the American West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 154.
- 14 *loaded gun*: Elias Nason, *The Life and Times of Charles Sumner* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1874), 222.
- 14 *not raising his voice*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 28 (testimony of Gov. Gorman).
- 14 *“come to punish you”*: Statement by Preston S. Brooks, 222.
- 14 *all his might*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 35 (testimony of Sen. Toombs), 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 14 *cleaving the bone*: Ibid., 51 (testimony of Dr. Boyle, attending surgeon).
- 14 *milliseconds*: Alan M. Nathan, “Dynamics of the Baseball–Bat Collision,” *American Journal of Physics*, vol. 68, no. 11, 979–90 (2000).
- 14 *lost his sight*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 2 (majority report), 23 (testimony of Sen. Sumner); *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 1279 (May 22, 1856) (remarks of Sen. Wilson).
- 14 *trauma likely triggered*: Alejandro Rodriguez et al., “Post-Traumatic Transient Cortical Blindness,” *International Ophthalmology*, vol. 17, no. 5 (1993), 277–83, at 279; A.P. Gleeson and T. F. Beattie, “Post-Traumatic Transient Cortical Blindness in Children,” *Journal of Accident and Emergency Medicine*, vol. 11, no. 4 (December 1994), 250–52, at 251.
- 14 *exposed his skull*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 51 (testimony of Dr. Boyle, attending surgeon).
- 14 *face, head, and shoulders*: Ibid., 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *left hand . . . nose*: Ibid., 55 (testimony of Capt. Darling).
- 15 *hold his hands up*: Ibid., 33–34 (testimony of Sen. Toombs), 38 (testimony of Rep. Murray), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *instinctively, spasmodically*: Ibid., 23 (testimony of Sen. Sumner), 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *bolts and all*: Ibid., 24 (testimony of Sen. Sumner).
- 15 *victim’s screams*: Brooks testified that “[t]owards the last” his victim “bellowed like a calf.” Preston S. Brooks to John Hampden Brooks, May 23, 1856, reprinted in full in Robert L. Meriwether, ed., “Preston S. Brooks on the Caning of Charles Sumner,” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 52, no. 1 (January 1951), 1–4, at 3.
- 15 *six-foot-one*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 35 (testimony of Sen. Toombs).
- 15 *broke the end*: Ibid., 28 (testimony of Gov. Gorman), 32 (testimony of Sen. Toombs); *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works*, vol. 5 (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1900), 269–70 (testimony of William Y. Leader).
- 15 *two-foot piece*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 75 (testimony of House Sergeant-at-Arms that length of remaining piece was 21.75”).
- 15 *“hard as he could”*: Ibid., 35 (testimony of Sen. Toombs).
- 15 *by his coat collar*: Ibid., 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *convulsions*: Ibid., 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster).
- 15 *“Don’t kill him!”*: Ibid., 57 (testimony of Rep. Winslow).
- 15 *“Let them alone”*: Ibid., 58 (testimony of Mr. Simonton), 4 (majority report), 29 (testimony of Gov. Gorman), 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 41 (testimony of Rep. Morgan), 57 (testimony of Mr. Simonton); Donald, *Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, 248.
- 15 *unconscious*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 24 (testimony of Sen. Sumner), 36–37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan), 48 (testimony of Sen. Crittenden), 57 (testimony of Mr. Simonton); *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 22, 1856), 1279 (remarks of Sen. Wilson).

- 15 “kept up his blows”: H. Rep. No. 34–182, 33 (testimony of Sen. Toombs).
- 15 *turned black*: Ibid., 55 (testimony of Capt. Darling).
- 15 “the stick shivered”: Ibid., 71 (testimony of Sen. Iverson), 38 (testimony of Rep. Murray), 39 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *souvenir*: Ibid., 60 (testimony of Rep. Edmundson); Statement of Preston S. Brooks, 222; Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 222.
- 15 “bleeding and insensible”: Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 222; H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 36 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40, 42 (testimony of Rep. Morgan), 48 (testimony of Sen. Crittenden), 57 (testimony of Sen. Simonton).
- 15 “The next time”: Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 222.
- 15 *critical condition*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 2, 83 (majority report), 69–70 (testimony of Dr. Perry); Marshall S. Perry, M.D. to Boston Society for Medical Improvement, December 8, 1856, in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. 55, no. 21 (December 25, 1856), 417–19, at 417.
- 15 *twenty or thirty blows*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 28 (testimony of Sen. Gorman), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan) (blows given “with great rapidity . . . impossible to tell”), “at least thirty licks,” 57 (testimony of Rep. Winslow). Sen. Foster similarly testified that the blows “were struck with extreme rapidity” so that it was “impossible to count them.” Ibid., 37. Rep. Brooks’s own estimate was that he inflicted “about 30 first rate stripes.” Preston S. Brooks to John Hampden Brooks, May 23, 1856, in “Preston S. Brooks on the Caning of Charles Sumner,” 2.
- 15 “the worst wounds”: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 55 (testimony of Capt. Darling), 67 (testimony of Rep. Buffinton).
- 16 *over three years*: Following the attack, Sumner suffered months of various sequelae, including infection, fever, and partial paralysis. Neurological symptoms included severe head and neck pain, back pain, and semi-paraplegia that made it difficult to stand erect or walk. David Donald’s two biographies of Sumner provide many details consistent with post-traumatic stress disorder. David McCullough, in *The Greater Journey*, infers from the evidence that Sumner’s psychological injuries may have been more profound than the physical harm he suffered. Repeated insistence in the Democratic press that Sumner was “shamming” only added to this. Laura A. White, “Was Charles Sumner Shamming, 1856–1859?” *New England Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 3 (September 1960). After extensive treatment in the U.S. and Europe, Sumner returned to his full-time duties in the Senate on the opening day of the 36th Congress. Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 249; *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (December 5, 1859), 1.
- 16 *avoided censure*: Appendix, *Works of Charles Sumner*, vol. 4, 267–68. The slavery-friendly U.S. Attorney who “prosecuted” the case, a Pierce appointee, was the nephew of Chief Justice Roger Taney, who would author the *Dred Scott* decision the following year.

2. Woodrows and Wilsons

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- 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: Beverley 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: Houghton 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 War* (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.

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- 29 *private school*: LL, 1:42.
- 29 *supremacist platform*: Tali Mendelberg, *The Race Card* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 45–46.
- 29 “*null and void*”: Francis P. Blair, Jr., quoted in Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 51 and n22.
- 29 “*man of high character*”: HAP, 5:55. But to northerners such as Wendell Phillips who had fought slavery for decades, Seymour’s election would amount to “Lee’s triumphing at Appomattox.” Wendell Phillips on the Canvass,” *New York Tribune*, October 28, 1868, 1.
- 29 *Wilson theorized*: HAP, 5:57.
- 29 *staked his campaign*: Ibid., 5:55.
- 29 “*too lazy*” ... Constitution *called it*: “Bureau for the Fabrication of Negro Votes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 23, 1868, 1.
- 30 *full name*: “An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees,” 13 Stat. 507 (March 3, 1865).
- 30 *40,000 Black troops*: “New Estimate Raises Civil War Death Toll,” *New York Times*, April 3, 2012, D1.
- 30 *chiefly women*: Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 146.
- 30 *war-torn buildings*: Ibid., 101.

- 30 *self-sufficiency*: Ibid., 102; Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen's Bureau: Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 14.
- 30 *Oliver Howard*: During the Civil War, Howard literally gave his right arm. John A. Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 32. His later achievements as founder and president of Howard University proved that his devotion to the well-being of his Black fellow citizens was lifelong and sincere. Ibid., 180.
- 30 *damages*: While in theory the murderer could be criminally prosecuted, charges were rarely if ever brought. "Slaves are better protected as property than they are as sentient beings," observed a leading legal commentator of the day. William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* (London: Clarke, Beeton & Co., 1853), 185–86.
- 30 *reports Howard received*: "Report of Freedpeople who have been murdered or attacked with intent to kill in the counties of Richmond, Columbia, Lincoln and Wilkes during the year commencing January 1st and ending October 31, 1868," Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, 1865–69, Series 6, NMAAHC-007676440_00402, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington, DC. The report to the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau lists just as many fatal and near-fatal attacks on Black men.
- 31 *report to Congress*: Report of Carl Schurz on the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2 (December 19, 1865); "Grant and Schurz on the South," pamphlet (1872), YA Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress.
- 31 *in 1866*: Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 29–31.
- 31 *strategically aimed*: Under the initiation rites established by the Klan's "Grand Wizard" Nathan Bedford Forrest, aspiring Klan members were to place one hand on the Bible and answer the question, "are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Radical Republican Party?" After solemnly denying any Republican affiliation, they then swore to support a "white man's government." John C. Lester and Daniel L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan: Its Origin, Growth and Disbandment* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1905), 171.
- 31 *what happened to jurists*: Charles Stearns, *The Black Man of the South and the Rebels* (New York: American News Co., 1872), 217–20; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 291.
- 31 *an empty coffin*: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 301–02.
- 31 *"beaten nearly to death"*: J.W. Alvord, *Letters from the South, Relating to the Condition of the Freedmen* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1870), 22; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 291.
- 31 *castrated him*: Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 154; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 294–95.
- 31 *"pimps and tools"*: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 313.
- 32 *1,207 schools ... 150,000 students*: Ibid., 137.
- 32 *"did in fact do mischief" ... "self-assertion"*: HAP, 5:58–63. Wilson's hostility to the Freedmen's Bureau schools was, according to the American Freedmen's Commission, shared by many of his southern contemporaries who believed that educating Black adults and children gave them "a desire to render themselves equal to the whites." This, in turn, "encouraged directly or indirectly insolence to employers." W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 645; Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class, and Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), 36.
- 32 *13 million*: Mary Farmer-Kaiser, "'With a Weight of Circumstances like Millstones about Their Necks': Freedwomen, Federal Relief, and the Benevolent Guardianship of the Freedmen's Bureau," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 115, no. 3 (2007), 412–442, at 417.
- 32 *"to feed them"*: HAP, 5:17.
- 32 *"insolent, dangerous"*: Ibid., 5:18–22.
- 32 *"be bound" ... "went the farthest"*: Ibid.
- 32 *"veritable apotheosis" ... "not look into the facts"*: Ibid., 5:22.
- 32 *"under the negroes' heels"*: Ibid., 5:38.

- 32 “insolence” ... “intolerable burden”: *Ibid.*, 5:49, 58.
- 33 *disenfranchised*: No records survive indicating whether Joseph Wilson voted between 1866 and 1868. Unlike most Confederate officers, he had never served in the United States military and so had not previously sworn “to support the Constitution of the United States.” In that case, he would not have violated a previous oath and would not for that reason have been automatically excluded from the franchise by operation of the Reconstruction Acts. 14 Stat. 428–429, chap. 153 (First Reconstruction Act, March 2, 1867); 15 Stat. 2–4, chap. 6 (Second Reconstruction Act, March 23, 1867). However, voting requirements under Reconstruction’s military rule, administered locally, frequently required an oath affirming that the prospective voter had not participated in rebellion. For example, Georgians wishing to vote for delegates to the state constitutional convention in 1867 were required to deny under oath “participation in any rebellion or civil war against the United States.” Reconstruction Registration Oath Books, Executive Dept., Governor, RG 1–1–107, Georgia Archives. Joseph Wilson could not truthfully take such an oath.
- 33 “would not take the oath”: *HAP*, 5:44.
- 33 “the most ignorant blacks”: *Ibid.*, 5:82.
- 33 *staunchest ally*: Sargent was first elected to Congress from California in 1860, serving one term in the House. He did not run for reelection until 1868. Within days of his second victory, several California newspapers promoted him for Speaker of the House or a member of Grant’s cabinet. “Condition of the State,” *Sacramento Bee*, December 7, 1868, 2; “Sargent for Speaker,” *Weekly Trinity Journal*, December 12, 1868, 1; “Sargent for Speaker of the House,” *ibid.*, November 28, 1868, 2. His wife Ellen founded the Nevada County Woman’s Suffrage Association in 1869. (Constitution of the Nevada County Woman’s Suffrage Association, 1869, MS 1552, North Baker Research Library, California Historical Society.) In 1871 the Sargents arranged for free rail travel for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on their West Coast tour, hosted Anthony in their California home, and traveled with her in their first-class Pullman car back to Washington, DC in the winter of 1871–72. Ellen Sargent was then elected treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, while Aaron Sargent was soon elected to the Senate, commencing his term in March 1873. There, before authoring what eventually would become the 19th Amendment, he promoted other suffrage legislation, presented Anthony’s petitions, and successfully lobbied President Grant to pardon the election officials who had been criminally convicted for allowing Anthony to vote for him in 1872. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:405–08 and n62, 450, 452, 486, 507–08; *HWS* 2:483, 546–48, 555–76, 698–701, 714, 949–50, 3:757; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 262, 268, 302, 374; “Sargent Nominated by the Republican Caucus,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1871, 1; “Woman Suffrage; Miss Susan B. Anthony at Platt’s Hall,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 14, 1871, 3; “The Next Senator,” *San Francisco Examiner*, December 18, 1871, 1; “Woman Suffrage; The Arrest of the Rochester Inspectors,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1874, 2; “The Woman Suffrage Cases,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 7, 1974, 4; “Sargent, Aaron Augustus,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998). For additional background on Aaron Sargent, including his three remarkable round-trips from Boston to California around Cape Horn and his authorship of the Pacific Railway Act, 12 Stat. 489 (1862), see Rhoda F. Milnarich, “The Public Career of Aaron Augustus Sargent” (MA thesis, Texas Western University, 1961); Gary Noy, “Area Couple Fought for Women’s Rights; Sen. Aaron Sargent Wrote Words That Became 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution,” *Sacramento Union*, June 17, 2004.
- 33 “dominance of the negroes” ... “real leaders”: *HAP*, 5:57–59.
- 33 *too remote*: In fact, even at the height of Jim Crow, no action would ever be taken under the 14th Amendment to reduce a state’s representation in Congress.
- 33 *seize control*: “The Platform and the Nomination,” *The Nation*, vol. 6, no. 152 (May 28, 1868), 424–25, at 425.
- 33 *platform*: Thomas Hudson McKee, *The National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties, 1789–1905*, 6th ed. (Baltimore: The Friedenwald Co., 1906), 132–36, at 135.
- 34 “fair or foul”: *HAP*, 5:58.

- 34 “*If colored men*”: Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (New York: Robert J. Johnston, Printer, 1867), 20.
- 34 “*equally to woman*”: Susan B. Anthony, Address at Ottumwa, Kansas, July 4, 1865, in Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:960–67, at 966; *ibid.*, 1:248–49.
- 34 *first pioneers*: Charles S. Glead, ed., *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers’ Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15–16, 1879* (Kansas City, MO: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880), 108; Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: E.F. Caldwell, 1895), 47; Horace Andrews, Jr., “Kansas Crusade: Eli Thayer and the New England Emigrant Aid Company,” *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4 (December, 1962), 497–514, at 501–02 and n2.
- 34 *led the defense*: Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, 99–103; Leverett Wilson Spring, *Kansas, Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887), 121–128; “Kansas: The Sacking of Lawrence,” *Saturday Evening Post*, June 7, 1856, 2; “The Sacking of Lawrence,” *New York Daily Times*, May 31, 1856, 2; “The War in Kansas,” *New York Daily Times*, May 30, 1856, 1–2.
- 34 *proposed 15th Amendment*: *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 7, 1868), 6 (introduction of S.R. 180 by Sen. Pomeroy). Pomeroy first called for the amendment in a speech to the American Equal Rights Association in Washington the previous year. Samuel C. Pomeroy, Address to the American Equal Rights Association, Washington, DC, July 19, 1867, excerpted in “Senator Pomeroy and Female Suffrage,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1867, 5.
- 35 “*All honor*”: “Now’s The Hour,” *The Revolution*, vol. 2, no. 23 (December 10, 1868), 360.
- 35 *named sex*: *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 8, 1868), 21 (introduction of H.R. 371 by Rep. Julian); George Washington Julian, *Political Recollections* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1884), 324–25. Six days later, Rep. Julian introduced H.R. 1530, providing for immediate women’s suffrage in the District of Columbia, and H.R. 1531, providing for immediate enfranchisement of women in all U.S. territories. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 14, 1868), 69. In the next Congress, he reintroduced these bills as H.R. 67 and H.R. 68, respectively. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess. (March 15, 1869), 72. On that same day in 1869 he introduced a revised version of his nationwide women’s suffrage amendment. Designated H.R. 15, it struck the words “race” and “color” (since the 15th Amendment approved by Congress two weeks earlier already included these as illegitimate grounds for discrimination) and specified only “sex.” *Ibid.* On April 4, 1870, he reintroduced it as H.R. 230, redesignating it as the proposed 16th Amendment to the Constitution, since in the interim the 15th Amendment had been ratified. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 2401; *HWS*, 3:553.
- 35 *before he came to Congress ... fugitive slave cases*: Julian, *Political Recollections*, 163–4; *HWS*, 3:552–53; Patrick W. Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian: Radical Republican* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1966), 13–15; Charles H. Money, “The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1921), 159–98, at 177; Money, “The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana (Concluded),” *ibid.*, no. 3 (September 1921), 257–97.
- 35 “*next grand movement*”: Julian, *Political Recollections*, 324–25.
- 35 *suffrage convention*: *HWS*, 2:346.
- 35 *both men had sponsored*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess. (December 11, 1866), 55–56 (statement of Sen. Anthony); *ibid.*, 62–63 (statement of Sen. Wade). At the same time, Massachusetts Republican Henry Wilson, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, introduced his own bill to immediately grant voting rights to women in the District of Columbia. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 14, 1868), 61 (introduction of S. 688).
- 35 “*Like Mahomet’s coffin*”: “Our Washington Correspondence,” *National Antislavery Standard*, vol. 29, no. 42 (February 20, 1869), 2.
- 35 *Chinese*: Stacey L. Smith, “Beyond North and South: Putting the West in the Civil War and Reconstruction,” *Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 6, no. 4 (December 2016), 566–591, 631, at 570.
- 36 “*treachery*”: *HWS*, 2:322.
- 36 “*forgotten that women existed*”: *Ibid.*, 3:74.

- 36 *had long warned*: Jen McDanel, “White Suffragist Dis/Entitlement: *The Revolution* and the Rhetoric of Racism,” *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2013), 243–64, at 247.
- 36 “ignorant African”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Revolution*, vol. 3, no. 19 (May 13, 1869), 289–292, at 290.
- 36 *Douglass offered*: Frederick Douglass, Address to the American Equal Rights Association, May 12, 1869, in *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition*, John R. McKivigan, IV, Julie Husband, and Heather L. Kaufman, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 269, 270–71; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 235.
- 36 “We are lost”: *HWS*, 2:383.
- 36 “entire people”: *Ibid.*
- 36 “separate and apart”: “The Woman’s Suffrage Association,” *New York Times*, May 18, 1869, 5.
- 36 *Stone led over one thousand*: “Woman Suffrage. The Convention at Cleveland,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1869, 1.
- 36 *Black women ... choose sides*: Margaret Hope Bacon, “‘One Great Bundle of Humanity’: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911),” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 113, no. 1 (January 1989), 21–43, at 38–39; “Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin,” *Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3:613. Susan B. Anthony was present, but was not allowed to participate as a delegate. “National Woman Suffrage Convention,” *Elyria Independent Democrat*, December 1, 1869, 2.
- 37 *new constitution’s requirements*: White v. Clements, 39 Ga. 232, 266–68 (1869); William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction*, 1869–79 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 85–87; *HAP*, 5:57–58, 72.
- 37 *military rule*: An Act to Promote the Reconstruction of the State of Georgia, 16 Stat. 59, 60 (December 22, 1869).
- 37 “Lightfoot Baseball Club”: *PWW*, 1:5, 56n1; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 12.
- 37 *in her own name*: Suzanne D. Lebsack, “Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (May 1977), 195–216, at 195.
- 37 “wonderful reform”: Letter to the Editor, June 23, 1870, *The Revolution*, vol. 6, no. 1 (July 7, 1870), 10.
- 37 *page-one headline*: (*Cheyenne*) *Wyoming Tribune*, December 11, 1869, 1.
- 38 “not repealed”: “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Atlanta Constitution*, December 21, 1869, 4.
- 38 “enlightened progress”: “Female Voters at Last—The New Paradise of the Strong-Minded,” *Lancaster, PA Daily Evening Express*, December 17, 1869, 1 (quoting the *Philadelphia North American*).
- 38 *congratulatory telegrams*: “Esther Morris and Her Equality State,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 46, no. 3 (July 2004), 310n57.
- 38 “attracted more attention”: S. Doc. 86–69, 86th Congress (1960), 38.
- 38 *correspondence and other writings*: James Bryce to WW, February 25, 1888, *PWW*, 5:707; WW to Munroe Smith, December 17, 1888, *PWW*, 6:31; WW to Robert Underwood Johnson, February 25, 1896, *PWW*, 9:448; 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), reprinted in *PWW*, 11:303, at 321.
- 38 “protect all voters”: *HAP*, 5:74.
- 38 *territorial governor*: Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1933), 1:207n1.
- 38 *September 2, 1869*: John A. Campbell Diary, 1869, *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 1938), 5n1.
- 38 *a violent affair*: *HWS*, 3:729; Jennifer Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” in *Equality at the Ballot Box: Votes for Women on the Northern Great Plains*, ed. Lori Ann Lahlum and Molly P. Rozum (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019), 47–48.
- 38 “large knives” ... “knocked down”: Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926), 76.
- 38 “repudiated the Reconstruction policy”: Michael A. Massie, “Roots of Woman Suffrage,” *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 62, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 5; Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” 51.

- 39 “*barbarism and rebelism*”: Meredith Rathbone, “Equivocal Equality: Women’s Suffrage and Its Legacy in Wyoming,” unpublished manuscript (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Law Center, 2001), 3.
- 39 *largest newspaper*: Douglas C. McMurtrie, “Early Printing in Wyoming,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter, 1942), 267–304.
- 39 “*characteristic of the election*”: Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 77.
- 39 “*force negro suffrage*”: Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” 51.
- 39 *ban on interracial marriage*: Beard, *Wyoming*, 1:212.
- 39 “*never heard a woman speak*”: “Wyoming and Woman,” *The Revolution*, vol. 5, no. 3 (January 13, 1870), 21.
- 39 “*for half a century*”: Beard, *Wyoming*, 1:215.
- 39 *front-page coverage*: “Humbing,” *Cheyenne Leader*, vol. 2, no. 94 (January 9, 1869), 1.
- 39 *Cheyenne welcomed her*: “Miss Anna Dickinson,” *Cheyenne Leader*, vol. 3, no. 6 (September 25, 1869), 1; T. A. Larson, “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 2 (April 1965), 57–66, at 58.
- 39 *two months later*: “Miss Redelia Bates,” *Cheyenne Leader*, November 5, 1869, 4.
- 39 *use of the House*: “Legislative Summary,” *ibid.*, November 4, 1869, 1.
- 39 *Bright announced*: *Council Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (November 12, 1869), 66. According to Wyoming historian T.A. Larson, circumstantial evidence indicates that the pro-suffrage Territorial Secretary, Edward M. Lee, actually wrote the bill and persuaded Bright to introduce it. Larson, *Wyoming: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), 80.
- 40 *years younger*: “Funeral of W.H. Bright,” *Washington Evening Star*, April 28, 1912, 5; “The Town Crier,” *Washington Herald*, November 20, 1915, 14.
- 40 “*superior*”: T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 93; John W. Kingman, “Wyoming,” *HWS*, 3:730; Hon. Ben Sheeks to Dr. Grace R. Hebard, August 20, 1920, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
- 40 *even more deserving*: Julia Bright to Grace R. Hebard, undated, cited in Grace Raymond Hebard, “How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming,” pamphlet (New York: William Dean Embree, 1940; originally published by University of Wyoming, 1920), 9.
- 40 “*ring in the women*”: *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 28, 1870, 1, col. 3.
- 40 *only two votes*: *Council Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (November 30, 1869), 122.
- 40 *tailored his arguments . . . “support their pet schemes”*: Larson, *Bicentennial History*, 79–80.
- 40 *outnumbered them*: At the time, males outnumbered females four to one in Wyoming. Superintendent of Census, *Ninth Census*, June 1, 1870, vol. 1, Table 22, “The Table of Sex” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 606.
- 40 “*greatest hilarity*” . . . “*expectation of a veto*”: “They Builded Wiser Than They Knew,” (*Cheyenne*) *Wyoming Tribune*, vol. 1, no. 47 (October 8, 1870), 2.
- 40 “*colored women and squaws*”: *House Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (December 6, 1869), 207.
- 40 *Woman’s Suffrage Convention*: Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 78–79.
- 40 “*without distinction*”: Robert W. Audretsch, ed., *Proceedings of the Salem, Ohio 1850 Women’s Rights Convention* (Salem, OH: Salem Area Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 17.
- 41 “*as gladly as Abraham Lincoln*”: John A. Campbell Diary, December 10, 1869, *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1938), 70; “Address of Governor John W. Hoyt Upon Experience of Women’s Suffrage in Wyoming, U.S.A.,” (*London, UK*) *Woman’s Signal*, vol. 5, no. 119 (April 9, 1896), 227–28; Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 79.
- 41 *Effective immediately*: “Female Suffrage Act,” Session Laws of Wyoming, chap. 31 (1869).
- 41 *advice of his physician*: Parker McCobb Reed, *The Bench and Bar of Wisconsin* (Milwaukee: P.M. Reed, 1882), 132–33.
- 41 “*knotty Mormon question*”: John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 21:104–110.

- 41 *its own plank*: The 1856 Republican platform declared that “it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.” *The Republican Campaign Textbook, National Platform Analysis, 1856–1884* (New York: Republican National Committee, 1884), 192.
- 41 *“to discourage polygamy”*: *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess. (March 15, 1869), 72 (introduction of H.R. 64 by Rep. Julian).
- 41 *“safe, sure and swift”*: “Petticoat Parliament!,” *National Republican*, vol. 11, no. 46 (January 19, 1870), 4.
- 41 *Dickinson’s railroad tour*: “‘A Lay Sermon’: Anna Dickinson’s Lecture on Sunday Evening,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 7, 1869, 3; “The Mormon Question,” *ibid.*, 2.
- 41 *reported the results*: The flamboyant Train was campaigning for president at the time, calling himself “Citizen Train.” Beverly Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1978), 100–120, at 104–05; “Geo. Francis Train at Tammany Hall,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1869, 8.
- 41 *Mormons supported*: Lola Van Wagenen, “Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage” (PhD diss., New York University, 1994), 7, 55–56n21.
- 42 *“speak for ourselves”*: Rebecca Edwards, “Pioneers at the Polls: Woman Suffrage in the West,” in Jean H. Baker, ed., *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 93.
- 42 *backed them up ... unanimously approved*: Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” 103, 112.
- 42 *“without the least difficulty”*: “Departure of Gov. Durkee,” *Deseret News*, December 31, 1869, 2.
- 42 *New York lawyer*: George S. Mann, *Mann Memorial: A Record of the Mann Family in America* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1884), 125–26.
- 42 *nine months before*: “Arrived,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 22, 1869.
- 42 *“its universal adoption”*: Stephen A. Mann to Eliza R. Snow et al., February 19, 1870, published in *Deseret News*, February 23, 1870, 2.
- 42 *municipal elections ... first voter*: Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” 112–13 and n30 (citing *Deseret News*, February 15, 1870); George W. Givens, *500 Little Known Facts in Mormon History* (Springville, UT: Bonneville Books, 2002), 1:197. Once granted their voting rights, Mormon women did not use the franchise to outlaw polygamy as Republicans in Washington had hoped. Unsatisfied with that result, Congress responded with the Edwards-Tucker Act of 1887, repealing Utah’s grant of women’s suffrage as an anti-polygamy measure. “Woman Suffrage,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1572.
- 42 *part of the Constitution*: The amendment took effect immediately when Iowa ratified it on February 3, 1869. President Grant later made a formal announcement of its ratification on March 30, 1870. “Message to Congress Announcing the Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment,” in Kurt T. Lash, ed., *The Reconstruction Amendments: The Essential Documents*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 2:595. See endnote accompanying text at page 488, “took effect immediately.”
- 42 *voted the amendment down*: Georgia was the first state to vote against ratification of the 15th Amendment, on March 17, 1869. Travis Crum, “The Lawfulness of the Fifteenth Amendment,” *Notre Dame Law Review*, vol. 97, no. 4 (April 2022), 1587.
- 42 *“eaten up”*: “To Be Territorialized,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal and Messenger*, March 22, 1870, 6.
- 42 *“ruin of the South”*: *HAP*, 5:51–52.
- 42 *reports from witnesses*: H.W. Pierson, “A Letter to Hon. Charles Sumner, with Statements of Outrages Upon Freedmen in Georgia” (Washington: Chronicle Print, 1870), African-American Pamphlet Collection, 1824–1909, Library of Congress.
- 43 *“the worst of crimes”*: “The Outrages in Georgia; Report of Major General Alfred Terry,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal and Messenger*, December 14, 1869, 3.
- 43 *Grant requested*: Ulysses S. Grant, Special Message to the Senate and House of Representatives, March 23, 1871, in James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 7:127–28.
- 43 *authority he was seeking*: Third Enforcement Act (“Ku Klux Klan Act”), Pub.L. 42–22, 17 Stat. 13 (1871).
- 43 *most aggressive efforts*: Herbert Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January 1964), 34–55, at 34; Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 97 and n42.

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- 44 *eighty-nine-mile route*: Charlotte, Columbia and Augusta Railway schedule, April 1870, in J.D. Lewis, *South Carolina Railroads* (Little River, SC: 2007).
- 44 *Joseph Rainey*: Philip Dray, *Capitol Men* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2008), 55–56.
- 44 *prestigious post*: “Inauguration of the Rev. Dr. Wilson,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, vol. 22 (Columbia, SC: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1871), 413–28, 549.
- 44 *“stated supply”*: W. A. Clark, “A Brief History of First Presbyterian Church, Columbia, South Carolina,” *Presbyterian of the South*, vol. 86, no. 44 (October 30, 1912), 2; *LL*, 1:58; John M. Mulder, *Woodrow Wilson: The Years of Preparation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 13.
- 44 *across the street ... five-bedroom home*: Jennifer Whitmer Taylor, “Rebirth of the House Museum: Commemorating Reconstruction at the Woodrow Wilson Family Home” (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 2017), 5–8, 328.
- 44 *a considerable sum*: *LL*, 1:59.
- 45 *“Every day”*: Orville Vernon Burton, *In My Father’s House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 2.
- 45 *stores and businesses*: Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 73.
- 45 *“white Republicans first”*: *Ibid.*, 78.
- 45 *“drive them out”*: 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, vol. 2 (4), *South Carolina* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 1260; Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 56–58 (“the Klan was a weapon designed to strike directly at the Republican political machine”).
- 45 *“solid Negro vote”*: “The Vote,” *Charleston Daily News*, November 9, 1870, 2.
- 45 *Seventy-five percent*: R.H. Woody, “The South Carolina Election of 1870,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 8, no. 2 (April 1931), 166–86, at 181, 184–85.
- 45 *Robert K. Scott*: Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 269, 292.
- 45 *reelected as governor*: Woody, “South Carolina Election of 1870,” 185.
- 45 *November election ... Three quarters*: *Ibid.*, 184.
- 45 *half a million*: The boast was made by Grand Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest to a *Cincinnati Commercial* reporter. Forrest later denied it when summoned to testify before Congress. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 421n47; Robert Kumamoto, *The Historical Origins of Terrorism in America: 1644–1880* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 223. In January 1869, Forrest issued an ineffectual call for the Klan to disband. Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 59.
- 45 *York County that spring*: Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2023), 363.
- 45 *retaliatory terrorism ... all resign*: Herbert Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January 1964), 34–55, at 40–43.
- 46 *Klux Klan Act*: Third Enforcement Act, Pub.L. 42–22, 17 Stat. 13, §4 (1871).
- 46 *“rebellion”*: Ulysses S. Grant, Proclamation No. 200, October 12, 1871, in James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 7:136–38.
- 46 *only the year before*: P.L. 41–97, 16 Stat. 162 (1870). The new law gave the attorney general direct supervisory power over U.S. attorneys, and a significant Washington staff to go with it. W. H. Hoffer, *To Enlarge the Machinery of Government* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 103–08.
- 46 *nine thousand residents*: Superintendent of Census, *Ninth Census*, June 1, 1870, vol. 1, Table 3, State of South Carolina (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872) 260.

- 46 *clear autumn day* ... “eager, curious, and watchful”: “The First Day of the Ku–Klux Trials,” *Charleston Daily News*, November 29, 1871, 1; Shapiro, “Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction,” 46.
- 46 “ministers of the Gospel”: Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 100–01.
- 46 “Doctors, lawyers” ... “too revolting”: “The Ku–Klux,” *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1871, 1.
- 47 “fabrications”: “Ye Hypocrites!,” *Charleston Daily News*, October 7, 1871, 2; “A National Crime,” *ibid.*, October 27, 1871, 1; “The Ku–Klux,” *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1871, 1.
- 47 “right and wrong”: “The Ku–Klux,” *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1871, 1.
- 47 *far more lenient*: “Negroes on the loose, and marauding Yankees haunted Tommie,” biographer Arthur Walworth wrote at mid-century, and “ground into the boy’s marrow a sympathy that was never to leave him.” Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 8.
- 47 “real leaders” ... “defend the constitution”: *HAP*, 5:58–62.
- 47 “One lawless force”: *Ibid.*, 5:64.
- 47 *idolized his father*: *LL*, 1:30–31.
- 48 “exactly what he thought”: “President Talks As Minister’s Son,” *New York Times*, April 22, 1915, 5.
- 48 “select school for boys”: *LL*, 1:60.
- 48 *public high school*: Justus K. Jillson, *Report of the State Superintendent of Education* (Columbia: State of South Carolina, 1870), 56.
- 48 “higher classes”: Colyer Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina, with a Sketch of the Free School System* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 115.
- 48 *segregated*: Jillson, *Report*, 56–57.
- 48 *slight majority*: *Ibid.*, 6–7.
- 48 “Reared in luxury”: Meriwether, *Higher Education in South Carolina*, 103–04.
- 48 “barnlike structure”: *LL*, 1:59.
- 49 *curriculum*: *Ibid.*; Meriwether, *Higher Education in South Carolina*, 30–31.
- 49 “not a brilliant student”: *LL*, 1:59.
- 49 “not one in fifty” ... *bother to vote*: Frances B. Simkins, “The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, 1868–1871,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October 1927), 606–647, at 646.
- 49 *troops protecting voters*: Lou Falkner Williams, *The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871–1872* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 125–26.
- 49 *remarkably productive*: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 270.
- 49 “crow congress”: *Ibid.*, 269.
- 49 *her writings*: Louisa S. McCord, “Woman and Her Needs,” *DeBow’s Review of the Southern and Western States*, vol. 1, no. 3, art. 5 (September 1852), 267–291.
- 49 “confusion, disorganization”: *LL*, 1:63.
- 49 *sparked a change* ... *unanimously admitted*: *LL*, 1:66–68.
- 50 “studying well”: James E. Woodrow to James Hamilton Woodrow, n.d. 1873, quoted in *LL*, 1:71.
- 50 “happy boyhood”: WW to David Clymer Ward, December 14, 1914, quoted in *LL*, 1:72.
- 50 “general understanding”: *LL*, 1:72.
- 50 *first Black faculty*: Katherine Reynolds Chaddock, *Uncompromising Activist: Richard Greener, First Black Graduate of Harvard College* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 46–48.
- 50 *first Black law students*: W. Lewis Burke, Jr., “The Radical Law School,” in *At Freedom’s Door*, Burke and James L. Underwood, eds. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 90.
- 50 *introduced himself as “Tommy”*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 81.
- 50 *sadistic murder*: “Life in North Carolina—The Murder of John W. Stephens,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1873, 1.
- 51 *broad amnesty*: “An Act for Amnesty and Pardon,” N.C. Pub. L. 1872–1873, chap. 181.

- 51 *exempted murder*: The law initially exempted specific classes of murder. Ibid. The following year the amnesty was broadened to include murder generally, without qualification. N.C. Pub. L. 1874–1875, chap. 20; “The Amnesty Act,” *Charlotte Democrat*, March 11, 1873, 2; “Life in North Carolina,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1873, 1.
- 51 *quarter-million bricks*: Report to President Carol Quillen from the Commission on Race and Slavery, Davidson College, August 19, 2020; “Davidson College Apologizes for Support of Slavery,” *Charlotte Observer*, August 20, 2020, 1.
- 51 *whipping posts*: D.A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903* (Charlotte, NC: Observer Printing House, 1903), 119.
- 51 *Clingman*: Thomas E. Jeffrey, *Thomas Lanier Clingman: Fire Eater from the Carolina Mountains* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 225.
- 51 *join its board*: Board of Trustees, *Catalog of Davidson College 1874–75*, 5, E.H. Little Library, Davidson College. Tommy Wilson’s Georgia father in law, J.S.K. Axson, joined Rev. Joseph Wilson on the Board of Trustees the following year, though Tommy by then had dropped out. *Catalog of the Officers and Students of Davidson College for the 39th Collegiate Year* (Walker, Evans & Cogswell, Printers, 1876), 7. An early Wilson biographer claimed that Wilson’s father was later offered the presidency of Davidson. White, *Wilson*, 51.
- 51 *chiefly devoted to politics*: Minutes of the Eumenean Society, *PWW*, 1:31–53.
- 51 *“Is slavery justifiable?”*: Ibid., at 39. During the 1870s, the Eumenean Society and Davidson’s other literary societies chose a number of similar debate topics, such as “Was the reconstruction of the Southern States justifiable?” and “Was the introduction of slavery into the United States beneficial to the human race?” Cornelia Rebekah Shaw, *Davidson College: Intimate Facts* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Press, 1923), 258.
- 51 *no women faculty*: Faculty roster, *Catalog of Davidson College 1874–75*, 6, E.H. Little Library, Davidson College.
- 51 *“cult of chivalry”*: Bradley J. Longfield, *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 37.
- 51 *president’s daughters . . . “already knew”*: “Women of Davidson—Coeducation 1860s–1960s,” Archives and Special Collections, E.H. Little Library, Davidson College.
- 51 *“so damn lazy”*: William Bayard Hale, *Woodrow Wilson—The Story of His Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1912), 50.
- 52 *“Everybody here”*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, May 20, 1874, *PWW*, 1:50.
- 52 *including a butler*: White, *Wilson*, 58.
- 52 *“mamma’s boy”*: WW to EAW, April 19, 1888, *PWW*, 5:719.
- 52 *“took it easy”*: Hale, *Wilson*, 51.
- 52 *hung around the docks*: *LL*, 1:78. Ray Stannard Baker observed that through Wilson’s twenty-fifth year he “had never up to that time earned a dollar.” Throughout his later life as well, Baker wrote, he “never had the slightest interest in business of any kind.” Ibid., 1:109, 138.
- 52 *close friend*: *LL*, 1:79 and n1.
- 52 *“old young man”*: David Bryant to Ray Stannard Baker, quoted in *LL*, 1:78.
- 52 *“nose in a book”*: David Bryant to William Allen White, quoted in White, *Woodrow Wilson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 58.

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- 53 *Presbyterian teachings*: Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 18.
- 53 *wholly of southerners*: *LL*, 1:82.
- 53 *“Star Spangled Banner”*: Wilson told his fiancée Ellen Axson that the first time he heard the Star Spangled Banner was 1884, when he was 27 years old. WW to ELA, March 25, 1884, *PWW*, 3:98. It had been a popular patriotic song since the early 19th century, claimed by both North and South, but during Reconstruction it became an increasingly powerful symbol of Union. “How the National Anthem Has Unfurled,” *New York Times*, June 27, 2014, AR–10.

- 53 “*very full of the South*” ... “*getting quite bitter*”: Interview with Robert H. McCarter, July 15, 1940, in Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 21–22.
- 54 “*honor men*”: “1879 Senior Honors,” in *Academic Honors in Princeton University, 1748–1902* (Princeton: C.S. Robinson & Co., 1902), 103–06; *LL*, 1:85; John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 27.
- 54 “*preparatory school*”: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 16.
- 54 “*debating club*”: Hale, *Wilson*, 66–67.
- 54 “*Tar Heels*”: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 58.
- 54 *John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay*: WW Shorthand Diary, July 10, 1876, *PWW*, 1:151.
- 54 “*stout opinions*”: Hale, *Wilson*, 56.
- 54 *Hayes had supported*: Ari Hoogenboom, *Rutherford Hayes: Warrior and President* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 197–201, 208–10.
- 54 *supported Black suffrage*: *Ibid.*, 211–13; J.Q. Howard, *The Life, Public Services and Select Speeches of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1876), 69, 72–74, 78–79, 123.
- 54 “*salvation of the country*”: WW Shorthand Diary, November 6, 1876, *PWW*, 1:221.
- 54 *former slaveholder*: Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958), 27–28.
- 54 *a lengthy article*: William Henry Trescot, “The Southern Question,” *North American Review*, vol. 123, no. 253 (October 1876), 249–280, at 266, 271.
- 54 *defending Klansmen*: Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2023), 399–400.
- 55 “*outdoor recreation*”: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, September 25, 1876, *PWW*, 1:200.
- 55 “*make them intelligent*”: William Henry Trescot, “The Southern Question,” *North American Review*, vol. 123, no. 253 (October 1876), 249–280, at 273, 275–77.
- 55 “*excellent article*”: WW Shorthand Diary, November 2, 1876, *PWW*, 1:219.
- 55 “*weak instrument*”: *Ibid.*, October 13, 1876, *PWW*, 1:208.
- 55 “*one of my favorites*”: *Ibid.*, November 4, 1876, *PWW*, 1:220.
- 55 “*offensive sayings*”: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, November 8, 1876, *PWW*, 1:223.
- 55 “*insolence*” ... “*knocking anybody down*”: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, November 15, 1876, *PWW*, 1:228.
- 55 “*white with rage*” ... “*You don’t know*”: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 73; *LL*, 1:82.
- 55 *a “Tilden Democrat*”: “The Political Predestination of Woodrow Wilson,” *North American Review*, vol. 196, no. 681 (August 1912), 145–153, at 152. The comparison was first made by a Wilson supporter writing in the *New York Times* during the 1910 New Jersey gubernatorial campaign. Charles Willis Thompson, “Wilson—A Tilden, But A Tilden Up to Date,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1910, 7.
- 55 *best known*: “Tilden and Tweed,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1876, 4; Roy Morris, Jr., *Fraud of the Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 103–104.
- 55 *convention delegate*: Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 80.
- 56 *human “property*”: Theodore P. Cook, *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic Nominee for President of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1876), 84; Adam I.P. Smith, *No Party Now: Politics in the Civil War North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 75.
- 56 “*scandal and shame*”: Cook, *Samuel J. Tilden*, 139.
- 56 *After the war*: S. J. Tilden to R.C. Root, February 28, 1868 (“Our position must be condemnation and reversal of negro supremacy [and of] admitting the blacks and organizing them through the Freeman’s [sic] Bureau”); S.J. Tilden, Augustus Schell, and August Belmont to W.F. Story, October 17, 1868 (rejecting “suffrage for negroes as a national right”); both in John Bigelow, ed., *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1908).
- 56 “*A great deal depends*”: WW Shorthand Diary, November 7, 1876, *PWW*, 1:222.

- 56 *essay in his third year ... “earnest study”*: WW, “Some Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs,” c. January 30, 1878, *PWW*, 1:347.
- 56 *refused to take part*: Charles Andrew Talcott to WW, May 21, 1879, *PWW*, 1:484.
- 56 *“anarchy”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, April 17, 1879, *PWW*, 1:477.
- 56 *“you could not enter”*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, May 13, 1879, *PWW*, 1:479–80; Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, April 17, 1879, *PWW*, 1:477 and Editorial Note, “Wilson’s Refusal to Enter the Lynde Competition,” *PWW*, 1:480.
- 57 *“you were right”*: Charles Andrew Talcott to WW, May 21, 1879, *PWW*, 1:484.
- 57 *essay*: WW, “Cabinet Government in the United States,” *International Review*, vol. 6 (August 1879), 146–63, in *PWW*, 1:493–510; Ronald J. Pestritto, *Woodrow Wilson and the Roots of Modern American Liberalism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 134.
- 57 *“indisputably true”*: WW, “Cabinet Government.” *PWW*, 1:493.
- 57 *Woolsey*: President, Yale College, 1846–71; author of *Political Science*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1877 [1889]); editor of Francis Lieber’s *Manual of Political Ethics, Designed Chiefly for the Use of Colleges and Students at Law*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1875).
- 57 *“despotic” and “dangerous”*: Far from operating under “despotic authority” as Wilson claimed in his essay, the House and Senate of the 1870s were, if anything, handicapped by procedures that allowed a minority of members to frustrate the leadership, not to mention the majority of members. In the House, devices such as the “disappearing quorum,” and insistence on taking up bills in the order introduced unless two-thirds of the House voted otherwise, were frequently used to gain leverage over the agenda. The Senate established a right of unlimited debate in 1856, but did not adopt a cloture rule until 1917, in the meantime giving individual senators enormous leverage over the conduct of business. *Jefferson’s Manual of Parliamentary Practice* (New York: Clark & Maynard, 1873); Catherine Fisk and Erwin Chemerinsky, “The Filibuster,” *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 49, no. 2 (January 1997), 181–254, at 195.
- 58 *first-hand research*: In a later essay on the workings of Congress, Wilson feigned first-hand knowledge of the institution by describing a visit to the House of Representatives, though he had never been there himself. While his description sounds as if it is a first-hand account, Wilson actually borrowed from news reports of congressional proceedings. Pestritto, *Wilson and the Roots of Modern American Liberalism*, 135. Even by the time he published his book on congressional procedures, he had not yet visited the Capitol. “Woodrow Wilson, 1885” (undated publication), U.S. Senate Historical Office (Wilson “prepared *Congressional Government* without visiting Congress or conducting research in congressional documents”). See text at 79 and corresponding endnote “only fifty-two citations.”
- 58 *overall weakness ... get in the way*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 54–56, 59–60, 86–87, 199–200, 204, 221.
- 58 *subsequently developed*: WW, *Congressional Government* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1885); WW, *Constitutional Government*.
- 58 *demurely back away*: Two years’ experience as governor of New Jersey may also have caused Wilson to abandon some of the naïve assertions about the legislative process he expressed during his academic years. As late as *Constitutional Government*, written near the end of his presidency of Princeton, he insisted that the executive branch of the federal government “is the only possible body of experts with regard to the practicability and necessity of alterations in the law.” (*Constitutional Government*, 85.) The *only* possible? The people’s elected representatives, informed by testimony from the private sector, the scientific community, and academia, are frequently more sensitive to the need for legislative change than is the bureaucracy or the leadership of the executive branch. Regardless of party or faction, members of Congress since the first days of the nation have understood that citizen input is vital to the lawmaking process. In the year preceding *Constitutional Government*, Congress issued more than 400 reports of legislative hearings. (ProQuest Congressional Database, 1907–08.) Wilson attended none of these hearings.
- 59 *public hearings*: *HWS*, 3:75–98 (reporting the resolution with unfavorable recommendation).

- 59 *suffrage amendment introduced*: 7 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1878), 252 (introduction of S. Res. 12 by Sen. Sargent).
- 59 “*our champion*”: *HWS*, 3:75; Laura DeForce Gordon to National Suffrage Convention, January 9, 1877, in *HWS*, 3:64.
- 59 *in the newspapers ... “hands of a few”*: “The Right of Women to Vote,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1878, 1; “The Woman Suffragists; Hearing by a Senate Committee,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 11, 1878, 1; “Woman Suffragists at the Capitol; Another Hearing by the Senate Committee,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 12, 1878, 1; “Woman’s Rights,” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 11, 1878, 3. Lawrence’s testimony was quoted in the *Times* article, while the *Gazette* noted that among “speeches being admitted by members of the committee to be the best that they ever heard from man or woman,” the “speech of Mrs. Lawrence was particularly eloquent.”
- 59 “*many sound arguments*”: “Woman Suffragists at the Capitol”; *HWS*, 3:97.
- 59 *Within four years*: 13 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 9, 1882), 268 (Senate roll call creating Select Committee on Woman Suffrage); U.S. Senate, Report of the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage to accompany S. Res. 60, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 686 (June 5, 1882) (reporting the Sargent amendment with favorable recommendation).
- 59 *House followed suit*: 13 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 13, 1882), 1836 (appointment of members to House Select Committee on Woman Suffrage). In the 48th Congress, the select committee expired and its jurisdiction was transferred to the Committee on the Judiciary. 15 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (December 20, 1883), 217–19; *HWS*, 5:386.
- 60 *final unraveling*: For the first time since the Civil War, the election of 1878 delivered a “Solid South” and a Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate. Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction*, 243; “Party Division,” 46th Congress, Senate.gov.
- 60 *minstrel character*: W.T. Lhamon, Jr., *Jump Jim Crow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), vii–19.
- 60 *Susan B. Anthony*: In 1872, Anthony famously voted for the re-election of President Ulysses Grant and “the Republican ticket, straight,” for which she was arrested, tried, and convicted. Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 277–83, 292–300. Throughout the fall, Anthony had campaigned for Grant, speaking along with Stanton, Olympia Brown, and other prominent suffragists at Republican rallies throughout New York. Together they extolled the Republican platform’s commitment to “the loyal women of America,” whose “honest demands” for “equal rights should be treated with respectful consideration”—the first time women’s rights were formally recognized by a major political party. It was, they said, “the nearest approach to an endorsement” of women’s suffrage to date. *HWS*, 4:1075; 2:520 and n150. Anthony attended the Republican convention and helped push through the plank. Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 48.
- 60 *Sojourner Truth*: Truth unsuccessfully attempted to vote in Battle Creek, Michigan in 1872. *Battle Creek Journal*, November 13, 1872, Willard Library, Battle Creek, Michigan; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 40; Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 51.
- 60 *The justices agreed*: *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. 162 (1875).
- 60 *children*: *Ibid.*, 174–75.
- 60 *creative schemes*: Michael A. Smith, Kevin R. Anderson, and Chapman Rackaway, *State Voting Laws in America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 14–21.
- 61 “*more disastrous*”: *The Nation*, March 21, 1872, quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 123 and n50.
- 61 “*negro will disappear*”: *The Nation*, April 5, 1877, quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 138.
- 61 “*harder than I had feared*”: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, July 7, 1879, *PWW*, 1:487.
- 61 “*very intimate*” ... “*political ambitions*”: *Ibid.*; WW to ELA, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:499.
- 61 *meet again*: *LL*, 4:7.
- 61 “*held in common*”: WW to ELA, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:499, 500.
- 61 *restriction of the suffrage*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on woman suffrage amendment, H.J. Res. 1, Rep. Talcott voting “nay”).

- 62 “*all my life*”: “President Refuses to Aid Suffragists,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1915, 12; “Suffragists to Call on Wilson Wednesday,” *Titusville (PA) Herald*, January 4, 1915, 3.
- 62 *summer of ‘79*: WW to Robert Bridges, July 30, September 4, 1879, *PWW*, 1:489, 539.
- 62 *calling cards*: *LL*, 1:104.
- 62 *began to sign*: See, for example, WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, December 31, 1879, *PWW*, 1:591.
- 62 *dignified-sounding*: White, *Wilson*, 89.
- 62 *tradition of Thomas Jefferson*: Frank Dewey, “Thomas Jefferson’s Law Practice,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 85, no. 3 (July 1977), 289–301.
- 62 *well-established path*: White, *Wilson*, 84.
- 62 “*disgusts me*”: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, December 31, 1879, *PWW*, 1:591.
- 62 *campus offices ... political questions*: *LL*, 1:115, 118–23, 131.
- 62 *tainting “our English blood”*: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, May 20, 1880, *PWW*, 1:655.
- 62 “*restriction of the suffrage*”: Minutes of the Jefferson Society, February 6, 1880 and February 28, 1880, *PWW*, 1:602, 608.
- 62 “*Absolute identity*”: “John Bright—A Biographical Essay,” March 6, 1880, *PWW*, 1:608–621, at 617.
- 63 *accompanying article*: WW, “John Bright,” *Virginia University Magazine*, vol. 19, no. 6 (March 1880), 354–70, in *PWW*, 1:608–621.
- 63 “*friend of the Union*” ... “*righteousness of the cause*”: *PWW*, 1:619.
- 63 “*stupendous act of guilt*” ... “*trampled in the dust*”: John Bright, “America,” speech in House of Commons, June 30, 1863, in James E. Thorold Rogers, ed., *Speeches by the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1878), 135–143, at 143; WW’s marginal notes to John Bright’s speech, *PWW*, 1:665.
- 63 “*real mob*”: John Bright, “Canada,” speech in House of Commons, March 13, 1865, in Rogers, *Speeches*, 64–76, at 73–74.
- 63 “*unjust censures*”: WW’s marginal notes, *PWW*, 1:664–65.
- 63 *morally wrong*: Four years later, in a letter to a friend celebrating the election of Grover Cleveland and the restoration of Democratic rule, Wilson elaborated on his distinction between the Civil War’s having been a mistake (an “easy and cheap” observation that anyone could make in hindsight, he said) and its having been “morally” wrong. Wilson condemned calling secession “morally wrong” and wrote of the Civil War that he “would fight it again if placed once more in the same circumstances.” WW to John Hansen Kennard, Jr., November 18, 1884, *PWW*, 3:455–56.
- 64 “*appeal irresistibly*”: WW to ELA, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 1:499, 502.
- 64 *from the chairman*: Report of James F. Harrison, M.D., Chairman of the Faculty, University of Virginia, June 1, 1880, *PWW*, 1:659 and note.
- 64 *followed up ... avoid discipline*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, June 5, 1880, *PWW*, 1:659; Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, June 7, 1880, *PWW*, 1:659; Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, June 18, 1880, *PWW*, 1:661.
- 64 “*depressed*”: Marion Woodrow Bones to WW, June 14, 1880, *PWW*, 1:660.
- 64 “*vacation loaf*” ... “*most rests me*”: WW to Robert Bridges, August 22, 1880 and September 18, 1880, *PWW*, 1:671, 1:675.
- 65 “*law, law, law*”: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, May 20, 1880, *PWW*, 1:655.
- 65 *upset stomach ... without comment*: Editorial Note: Wilson’s Withdrawal from the University of Virginia, *PWW*, 1:704.

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- 66 *did not love him*: Editorial Note: Wilson’s Proposal to Hattie Woodrow, *PWW*, 2:84.
- 66 *gossip*: WW to Harriet (Hattie) Woodrow, October 5, 1880, *PWW*, 1:678.
- 66 *too close a relative*: Wilson’s Proposal to Hattie Woodrow, *PWW*, 2:84; WW to Harriet (Hattie) Woodrow, September 25, 1881, *PWW*, 2:83; *LL*, 1:129–30.
- 66 “*may I call you that?*”: WW to Harriet (Hattie) Woodrow, *PWW*, 2:87.

- 66 *a new plan*: *LL*, 1:138–40.
- 67 *opinion pieces*: WW, “Stray Thoughts from the South,” c. February 22, 1881, *PWW*, 2:26–31.
- 67 *ridiculed “ignorant”*: William Henry Trescot, “The Southern Question,” *North American Review*, vol. 123, no. 253 (October 1876), 249–280, at 273.
- 67 *floor speech*: 4 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 44th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 2, 1876), 5087–94, 5090 (remarks of Rep. Lamar), reprinted as Lucius Q.C. Lamar, “The Policy of the Republican Party in the South, and the Condition of Southern Affairs,” in Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar: His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825–1893* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1896), 682–697, at 689. In 1888, Grover Cleveland would appoint Lamar to the U.S. Supreme Court. The words Lamar quoted on the House floor were originally spoken by the Republican governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, in an 1865 speech that became notorious. The speech set out what Indiana congressman George Julian called a “ghastly policy” of denying the ballot to illiterate Black citizens. Within months Morton recanted, and the state’s Republicans “gathered together and cremated all the copies of his famous speech which could be found,” Julian recorded in his *Recollections*. That served only to give the remark more currency, as “the disowned document was printed as a campaign tract by the Democrats for a dozen successive years afterward” in a dishonest attempt to claim bipartisan support for the policy. Wilson was one of those who exhumed it, in his case 16 years after its author disowned it. Within two years after Morton’s notorious speech, his conversion was so complete that he was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Radical Republican supporting universal suffrage and the 15th Amendment. By attributing the long disavowed quotation to “Senator” Morton, who held the opposite position throughout his entire service in the Senate, Wilson was more than shading the truth. George Julian, *Recollections*, 267, 269.
- 67 *rejected his submission ... third version*: Editor’s note, *PWW*, 2:31.
- 68 *“political opportunities”*: Robert Bridges to WW, March 12, 1882, *PWW*, 2:105–06.
- 68 *left North Carolina for Georgia*: *LL*, 1:140.
- 68 *Coudert Brothers*: B.F. Harlow, Jr., *The Renicks of Greenbrier* (Lexington, VA: B.F. Harlow, Jr., 1951), 10–11.
- 68 *found lodgings ... political journals*: *LL*, 1:142–43; Edward Ireland Renick to WW, June 23, 1883, *PWW*, 2:371 (discussing their shared subscription to *The Nation*).
- 68 *reworking his critique*: WW, “Government by Debate” (unpublished essay), c. December 4, 1882, *PWW* 2:159; WW, “Committee or Cabinet Government,” *Overland Monthly*, vol. 2, no. 3 (January 1884), 17–33, in *PWW*, 2:614 (published while Wilson was at Johns Hopkins but written in August and September 1883 while he was still in Atlanta).
- 68 *1882 essay*: WW, “Government by Debate,” *PWW* 2:159, subsequently recast as “Committee or Cabinet Government,” *PWW*, 2:614, but nonetheless rejected by the *Princeton Review*, *PWW*, 2:640.
- 68 *only paying client*: *LL*, 1:151.
- 69 *power of attorney*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, June 13, 1882, *PWW*, 2:133.
- 69 *once again reported*: Four Republicans voted aye; three Democrats voted no. U.S. Senate, Report of the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage to accompany S. Res. 60, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 686 (June 5, 1882).
- 69 *“larger than a man’s hand”*: “Presidents on Suffrage,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 43 (October 23, 1915), 338; James A. Garfield, Address to Cops Consolidated Business College, Washington, DC, June 29, 1869, in *General Garfield as a Statesman and Orator* (New York: Republican National Committee, 1880), 13; “Commencement Exercises of the Consolidated Business College,” *Washington Chronicle*, June 30, 1869, 4.
- 69 *“nonentity”*: *LL*, 1:145.
- 69 *“chief end of man”*: WW to Richard Heath Dabney, May 11, 1883, *PWW*, 2:350.
- 69 *“isn’t making a cent”*: *LL*, 1:152.
- 69 *“professional income”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, December 15, 1882, *PWW*, 2:276.
- 69 *do his “utmost”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, February 13, 1883, *PWW*, 2:303–04.
- 69 *“with leisure”*: WW to Robert Bridges, May 13, 1883, *PWW*, 2:354, 358.
- 69 *enormously consequential ... two-year engagement*: J.G.B. Bulloch, “Axson Family,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 2 (July 1914), 2; Stockton Axson, “Brother Woodrow”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 51–52; *LL*, 1:159–64; WW to Richard Heath

- Dabney, May 11, 1883, *PWW*, 2:350; ELA to WW, September 24, 1883, *PWW*, 2:433; WW to ELA, October 11, 1883, *PWW*, 2:465; Editorial Note: the Engagement, *PWW*, 2:426; Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson's First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 5.
- 70 *the right words*: ELA to WW, September 24, 1883, *PWW* 2:433. Compare “Sonnets from the Portuguese,” Sonnet 42, *The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 2nd ed. (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1850), 547.
- 70 *Woodrow responded*: WW to ELA, October 2, 1883, *PWW*, 2:449.
- 70 “*bigger than his vocabulary*”: WW to ELA, December 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:609.
- 70 *a world away*: John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (New York: Arno Press, 1946; reprint ed., 1979), 22, 83. During the 1880s, Johns Hopkins met financial pressures in part by increasing enrollment. *Ibid.*, 98.
- 71 *the German system*: Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), 147–49. The Teutonic social history taught at the John Hopkins seminars “paid little attention to blacks as persons” and “interpreted slavery as a positive force.” John David Smith, “‘Scientific’ History at The Johns Hopkins University,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, vol. 115, no. 3 (July 1991), 421–26, at 424–25.
- 71 *eugenics*: Thomas C. Leonard, “Eugenics and Economics in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Fall 2005), 207–224. “The hubris of Progressive Era eugenics,” according to Leonard, was “naive faith” that the state, guided by experts and science, could guarantee human biological progress while curing all social ills. *Ibid.*, 221.
- 71 *malignant form*: Eugenics “contributed to appalling atrocities of the 20th century, including the Nazis’ persecution and murder of Jewish people in World War II.” Delan Devakumar and Rochelle Burgess, “Legacies of Eugenics,” *The Lancet*, vol. 401, no. 10378 (March 4, 2023), 725.
- 71 *distinct human races*: Wulf D. Hund, Christian Koller, and Moshe Zimmerman, eds., *Racisms Made in Germany* (Berlin: Lit Verlag GmbH & Co., 2011), 14.
- 71 “*pride of place*”: Léon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, trans. Edmund Howard (New York: New American Library, 1974), 2.
- 71 *this racialized view*: William A. Link, “The Enduring Worlds of Thomas Dixon,” in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, Michelle K. Gillespie and Randall Hall, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 208; Ido Oren, *Our Enemies and US: America’s Rivalries and the Making of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 45.
- 71 *inspire future historians*: C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951) (1980 printing), 440–43; David W. Southern, *The Progressive Era and Race: Reaction and Reform, 1900–1917* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2005), 54; James S. Humphreys, “William Archibald Dunning: Flawed Colossus of American Letters,” in John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery, ed., *The Dunning School* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 77–105.
- 71 *Hegel’s assertion*: G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, trans. T.M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 166.
- 71 *Hegel’s assessment of “The Negro”*: G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. John Sibree (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1956), 98, quoted in Poliakov, *Aryan Myth*, 241.
- 72 “*necessary qualification*”: Immanuel Kant, *On the Old Saw*, trans. E.B. Ashton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 63.
- 72 *his philosophy of history*: Hund, Koller, and Zimmerman, *Racisms Made in Germany*, 4.
- 72 *Of six courses*: “Schedule of Exercises at the Johns Hopkins,” *PWW*, 2:448–49.
- 72 *Adams was a proponent*: Southern, *The Progressive Era and Race*, 53–54; Oren, *Our Enemies and US*, 44.
- 72 “*progress of our race*”: Herbert Baxter Adams, *Methods of Historical Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1884), 126.
- 72 *particular genius*: Melvyn Stokes, *D.W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32.

- 72 *Wilson's own views*: Despite accepting the racial premises prevalent in German universities, Wilson remained an Anglophile for his entire life. He would later privately confess personal contempt not only for Germany but the German people, while denouncing German philosophy as “lacking in spirituality.” EMH Diary, August 30, 1914, *PWW*, 30:461. From the first he fashioned his theories of government according to the views of English writer Walter Bagehot—who promoted his own pseudo-scientific racial theories of Aryanism and English racial superiority. Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 63; WW, “A Wit and a Seer: A Celebration of the Life and Career of British Writer and Economist Walter Bagehot,” *The Atlantic*, vol. 82 (October 1898) (the English are “a race singularly enriched with genius”).
- 72 “*Bluntschli Library*”: WW to EAW, November 27, 1883, *PWW*, 2:550; Herman Paul, “German Thoroughness in Baltimore: Epistemic Virtues and National Stereotypes,” *History of Humanities*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Fall 2018), 337.
- 72 “*fighting for slavery*”: Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, “An Impartial Opinion on the *Alabama* Question and the Manner of Settling It,” trans. from *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*, T. II, 1870, pt. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), 6–7.
- 72 “*claims to the ownership*”: *Ibid.*, 9.
- 72 “*the colored races*”: Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, *Lehre vom modernen Stat* [1875] (*The Theory of the State*), auth. trans. of 6th German ed. (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books, 2000), 152. Wilson cited Bluntschli as an authority in his own book on the theory of the state. WW, *The State* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1889), 419.
- 72 *commentary from Bluntschli*: Minutes of the Johns Hopkins Seminary of Historical and Political Science, March 15, 1889, *PWW*, 6:152 notes 1 and 2; WW, Notes for Lectures on Public Law, c. September 22, 1894–January 20, 1895, *PWW*, 9:5–49 and n5. He would later make *The Theory of the State* assigned reading for his students at Princeton. WW, “Collateral Reading in Public Law,” *Daily Princetonian*, October 25, 1894, in *PWW*, 9:99.
- 72 *Ely argued*: Clifford F. Thies and Ryan Daza, “Richard T. Ely: The Confederate Flag of the AEA?,” *Econ Journal Watch*, vol. 8, No. 2 (May 2011), 147–56. In 2020, the American Economic Association, of which Ely was president in 1900–01, decided to disassociate itself from him because of his support for slavery, segregation, and eugenics, and because of his animus toward immigrants. The AEA removed Ely’s name from its Distinguished Lecture Series and announced that it was encouraging other institutions with distinctions named after Ely to consider renaming them. American Economic Association, Announcement, October 1, 2020; Report of AEA Committee regarding Renaming the Ely Lecture Series, April 24, 2020.
- 73 *on Wilson's right*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 230–31; Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 34. Cook places Dixon on Wilson’s left, but Dixon’s autobiography is the better source.
- 73 “*intimate friends*” ... *common bond*: Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 230–31; Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 51.
- 73 *highest student honors*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 49.
- 73 *sons of ministers* ... *chivalry towards women*: *Ibid.*, 3–34; Cook, *Thomas Dixon*, 19–31; Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, 3–4.
- 73 *once turned down*: Thomas Dixon, Sr. declined the offer in 1863. Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 6.
- 73 *their seminar colleagues*: Albert Shaw, another classmate sitting with Dixon and Wilson at that fall’s first seminar, later published a volume of his own lectures at Columbia University that echoed Ely’s and Adams’ themes. He claimed that the “legal disfranchisement of negro illiterates paved the way for a more stable political condition in the South,” and saw “social and political advantage in leaving to men the more formal errands and functions of politics” and restricting women to “domestic and social activities.” This, he said, would “avoid duplication of effort.” Albert Shaw, *Political Problems of American Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907), 63, 123, 125.
- 73 “*strength and dash and mastery*”: WW to ELA, November 27, 1883, *PWW*, 2:551.
- 73 *German scholarship, Teutonic superiority*: James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan & Co, 1899), 366, 466, 476–77; Keith G. Robbins, “Lord Bryce and the First World War,” *The Historical Journal*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1967), 255–277, at 255.

- 73 *would be republished*: James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1888), quoted in broadsheet published by the New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women (1900), printed ephemera, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress. Bryce would later publish a favorable review of Wilson’s first book. Patricia O’Toole, *The Moralists* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 64. As president of Princeton University in 1907, Wilson would confer an honorary degree on Bryce. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, October 17, 1907, *PWW*, 17:443. On Wilson’s first full day as president, Bryce (then the British ambassador) would be the first foreign dignitary he received at the White House. Daily log, March 5, 1913, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 74 *even Adams*: WW to ELA, January 1, 1884, *PWW*, 2:641; WW to Robert Bridges, December 15, 1883, *PWW*, 585.
- 74 *Congress of Women*: The event was sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of Women, whose president was the celebrated writer Julia Ward Howe, at this time also the coeditor of the AWSA national magazine, *Woman’s Journal*. Souvenir program, *15th Annual Convention of the Association for the Advancement of Women* (New York: Fleming, Brewster & Alley, 1887), 19 (summary of 12th Congress in Baltimore, with list of 1884 speakers and topics). Charles B. Wright, who joined Wilson at this event, was Wilson’s fellow graduate student in 1884. “Check List of Students,” *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. 4, no. 34 (November 1884), 10. A year later, as Wilson was appointed an “associate” at Bryn Mawr, Wright became Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric at Middlebury College. *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. 4, no. 41 (July 1885), 125.
- 74 *irreverent commentary*: WW to ELA, October 31, 1884, *PWW*, 3:389.
- 74 *“chilled, scandalized feeling”* . . . *“old maids”*: Ibid.
- 74 *Howe*: Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott, *Julia Ward Howe, 1819–1910* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915) 187–91, 365.
- 74 *Harper*: Melba Joyce Boyd, *Discarded Legacy: Politics and Poetics in the Life of Frances E.W. Harper* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 197–227; Kerri Lee Alexander, “Frances Ellen Watkins Harper,” monograph (Washington, DC: National Women’s History Museum, 2020).
- 74 *Cheney*: “Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney,” *The Woman’s Column*, vol. 17, no. 24 (November 26, 1904), 1–2.
- 74 *Mitchell*: Dorothy G. Rogers, *America’s First Women Philosophers: Transplanting Hegel, 1860–1925* (London: Continuum, 2005), 104–14.
- 74 *Her lecture*: Ellen Mitchell, “A Study of Hegel,” lecture delivered to the Congress of Women in Baltimore, October 30, 1884, John Hay Library, Brown University.
- 75 *this learned person*: Wilson’s reference to the “old maid” as a “dialectic Amazon”—a play on Hegel’s terminology—makes clear that Mitchell was the target of the barb. Mitchell’s paper on Hegel was the last one read on the day Wilson visited, and the “old maid” is the last of the speakers he described. WW to ELA, October 31, 1884, *PWW*, 3:389; “The Woman’s Congress,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 31, 1884, 1.
- 75 *marked contrast*: “The Woman’s Congress,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 31, 1884, 1; “The A.A.W.—Close of the Twelfth Congress—Interesting Papers Read,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 1, 1884, 1; “For the Advancement of Women,” *New York Times*, October 30, 1884, 1; “The Advancement of Women,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1884, 3.
- 75 *“little volume”*: Preface to 15th edition, WW, *Congressional Government* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900), v.
- 75 *“endless grinding”*: WW to ELA, September 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:318; Editorial Note: Wilson and His Caligraph, *PWW*, 2:366.
- 75 *only months earlier*: U.S. Senate, Report of the Committee on Woman Suffrage to accompany S.R. 19, 18 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 27, 1884), 2361; “History of the Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 28 (July 10, 1915), 4.
- 75 *Dixon had won*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 39–40.
- 75 *fallen short*: *LL*, 1:75–76, 85–86, 93–95, 98, 105–06; Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 22, 31–32, 43–45.
- 75 *sympathetic portrayal*: Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 19. The play was based on the real-life 1872 case of 18-year-old David S. Ramseur,

who joined the Klan after graduating from Wake Forest and was convicted in federal court of conspiracy. George Washington Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, vol. 2, 1865–1905 (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1943), 48–52.

- 76 *touted Dixon's prowess ...* Richard III: Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 230–31; Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 51–54; Slide, *American Racist*, 20.

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- 77 *seven hundred*: WW to ELA and ELA to WW, September 18, 1883–June 21, 1885, *PWW*, vols. 2–4.
- 77 “*good motto*”: ELA to WW, February 4, 1884, *PWW*, 3:6. Wilson’s father had given him this same advice shortly after his 21st birthday: “dearest boy, do not allow yourself to dwell upon *yourself*.” Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, January 25, 1878, *PWW*, 1:345. Nonetheless, it would remain a lifelong habit.
- 77 “*a woman’s right*”: WW to ELA, March 1, 1885, *PWW*, 4:316.
- 77 “*wonderful sympathy*”: WW to ELA, March 31, 1885, *PWW*, 4:437.
- 78 “*to serve you*”: ELA to WW, March 6, 1885, *PWW*, 4:337.
- 78 *alarming letter*: ELA to WW, April 27, 1885, *PWW*, 4:532, 533–34.
- 78 “*desperate things*”: WW to ELA, April 28, 1885, *PWW*, 4:536–37.
- 78 “*patriarchal authority*”: Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1965), xiii.
- 78 *Scott’s chivalric novels*: Wilson continued to read and reread Scott throughout his life. WW “Index Rerum,” n.d. 1876, *PWW*, 1:108, 110; WW Shorthand Diary, June 10, 19, 1876, *PWW*, 1:137, 156n1; WW, “Culture and Education at the South” (unpublished article), March 29, 1883, *PWW*, 2:327; WW Inventory of Books, c. August 1, 1883, *PWW*, 2:402–04, 406 (partial list of WW’s Scott books); WW, “On an Author’s Choice of Company,” *Century Magazine*, vol. 51, no. 5 (March 1896), 775–779, at 777, in *PWW*, 9:342; WW to EAW, July 12, 1899, *PWW*, 11:163; *LL*, 1:36; William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Hough-ton Mifflin Co., 1924), 38, 307–08; A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 35, 43, 49, 730. Ellen and the children read Scott as well. EAW to WW, July 25, 1894, *PWW*, 8:626 and n1; EAW to WW, July 10 and August 14, 1899, *PWW*, 11:160, 227 (Wilson children read Scott “devoutly”).
- 78 *influence of Scott’s works*: J.V. Ridgely, *Nineteenth–Century Southern Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), 2, 32–49, 116; Hamilton James Eckenrode, “Sir Walter Scott and the South,” *North American Review*, vol. 206, no. 743 (October 1917), 595–603. Writing in dead earnest, Mark Twain blamed Scott’s “sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanished society” for the perpetuation of class and race distinctions in the South long after the Civil War. Scott, he alleged, did “more real and lasting harm, perhaps, than any other individual that ever wrote.” He contended that “Sir Walter disease, the character of the Southerner,” was “in great measure responsible for the [Civil] War.” Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, Author’s National Edition (New York: Harper & Brothers, n.d.), 375–78.
- 79 “*neither her person nor her room*”: WW to ELA, April 15, 1884, *PWW*, 3:132.
- 79 “*no special effort*”: ELA to WW, November 8, 1884, *PWW*, 3:414.
- 79 “*I have given up*”: WW to ELA, February 19, 1885, *PWW*, 4:268. At the time, Johns Hopkins offered him the option of taking another year or two of classes and then sitting for the required examinations. WW to ELA, February 26, 1885, *PWW*, 4:299. But after that spring, Wilson never took another class at Johns Hopkins, or elsewhere.
- 79 *never to enroll again*: Stockton Axson, “*Brother Woodrow*”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 57; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 30 (“Wilson never completed the requirements for the PhD [at] Johns Hopkins”).

- 79 *didn't need a Ph.D.*: Wilson shared his “coolest judgment in the matter” with his father, setting out 16 pages of pros and cons concluding it was best “not to try for it.” Based on that, his father agreed. Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, October 29, 1884, *PWW*, 3:385; WW to ELA, October 26 and November 8, 1884, *PWW*, 3:374, 414.
- 79 *only fifty-two citations ... years at Johns Hopkins*: Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 127; “Woodrow Wilson: The President’s Policies Analyzed in the Light of His Natural Inhibitions and His Past Record,” *The Nation*, vol. 103, no. 2672 (September 14, 1916), 256–58, at 258 (“it has been a matter of boast that he had but once casually visited the House of Representatives before he wrote *Congressional Government*”). According to Ray Stannard Baker, Wilson did not make his first visit to the Capitol until more than a year after he published *Congressional Government*. *LL*, 1:266. Wilson biographer John Milton Cooper determined that Wilson “would not set foot in the Capitol until 1898,” twelve years after receiving his doctorate. Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 51.
- 79 *“no patience”*: WW to ELA, February 24, 1885, *PWW*, 4:286.
- 79 *panned it*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 135.
- 79 *Lowell*: Abbot Lawrence Lowell, “Ministerial Responsibility and the Constitution,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 57, no. 340 (February 1886), 180–93.
- 80 *Equally forceful*: “Wilson’s Congressional Government,” *The Nation*, vol. 40, no. 1024 (February 12, 1885), 142–43; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 135.
- 80 *take on his critics*: WW, “Responsible Government Under the Constitution,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 57, no. 342 (April 1886), 542–553.
- 80 *introduction of legislation*: *Ibid.*, 552.
- 80 *high time*: WW to ELA, January 13, 1885, *PWW*, 3:603; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 58.
- 80 *parents had died*: Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 7; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, x.
- 80 *Like Woodrow’s father*: Ellen Axson’s grandfather, Isaac Stockton Keith Axson, preached as well as published his arguments in favor of the indefinite perpetuation of slavery. Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 363. As a pastor during the Civil War, he conducted prayer meetings for the success of the Confederate government. John Rozier, ed., *The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth & Sallie Bird* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 60. For Wilson’s father’s views on slavery, see text at 19–20.
- 80 *the very resort*: A travel guide of the era described the Arden Park Lodge in North Carolina’s Great Smoky Mountains as “an excellent hotel largely patronized by exclusive guests from the cotton and cane States.” North Carolina State Board of Agriculture, *North Carolina and Its Resources* (Raleigh, NC: M.I. & J.C. Stewart, 1896), 294.
- 81 *“advanced women”*: Frank Parker Stockbridge to Ray Stannard Baker, December 11, 1927, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, reel 83, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress.
- 81 *“meddled”*: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 175.
- 81 *“co-educational institution”*: WW to ELA, November 30, 1884, *PWW*, 3:499.
- 81 *“I hate the place”*: WW to ELA, October 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:605.
- 81 *In Pennsylvania alone*: The University of Northern Pennsylvania began admitting women in 1850, followed by Waynesburg College, 1851; Westminster College, 1852; Penn Medical College, 1853; Mount Pleasant College, 1855; Westmoreland College, 1862; Swarthmore, 1862; Lebanon Valley College, 1866; Lambeth College, 1868, Cherry Tree Male and Female College, 1868; Thiel College, 1869; African College, 1869; Monongahela College, 1869; Juniata College, 1870; Agricultural College of Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania State University), 1871; and Grove City College, 1884. Saul Sack, “The Higher Education of Women in Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 83, no. 1 (January 1959), 29–73, at 37–39.
- 81 *She preferred*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 57.
- 81 *academic star ... Sorbonne*: Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women’s Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, 2nd ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press,

- 1993), 113; “Thomas, M. Carey,” *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1906), 13:84–85; Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 124.
- 82 *The occasion*: WW to ELA, November 28, 1884, *PWW*, 3:493.
- 82 *a reference*: Daniel Hoyt Gilman to Herbert B. Adams, August 19, 1884, in *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams*, ed. W. Stull Holt (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), 72 [464].
- 82 *tossing in bed*: Wilson confided to Ellen that his “anxiety” over whether he could bring himself to teach at a women’s college “has cost me both sleep and ease of mind,” with the result that “I am not feeling very well.” WW to ELA, November 30, 1884, *PWW*, 3:500.
- 82 “prefer to teach young men”: WW to ELA, December 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:517 (Wilson’s emphasis).
- 82 *told him so*: When Ellen learned that even though Bryn Mawr’s dean was a woman it had “a man for President,” she was much relieved, writing Woodrow, “that makes it less *disagreeable*.” But, she added, “it’s being a school for women *must* remain an objection.” ELA to WW, December 1, 1884, *PWW*, 504.
- 82 “*The idea*”: WW to ELA, December 8, 1884, *PWW*, 3:526.
- 82 “*peculiarly susceptible*”: WW to EAW, February 14, 1889, *PWW*, 6:92.
- 82 *comely appearance*: For physical descriptions of Carey Thomas, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 133, and Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 173–74. These authors describe her “comely appearance,” “good looks,” “brilliant” and “energetic brown eyes,” and “lovely voice.”
- 82 “*altogether attractive*”: WW to ELA, November 27, 1884, *PWW*, 3:491.
- 83 “*which I propose*”: WW to ELA, November 30, 1884, *PWW*, 3:500.
- 83 *an unmistakable air*: WW to ELA, December 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:517.
- 83 *taken aback . . . trial basis*: *Ibid.*; Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 155, 175.
- 83 *mistaken in thinking*: *Ibid.*, 175.
- 83 “*interesting experience*”: WW to ELA, December 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:517.
- 84 *far more accomplished . . . rigorous standards*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 57–157; Horowitz, *Power and Passion*, 56–230; Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, ed., *The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1979), 28; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 144.
- 84 *racial and religious prejudices*: Thomas strongly resisted admitting Black students or hiring Jewish faculty. Horowitz, *Power and Passion*, 422–23. In a 1916 speech to Bryn Mawr’s freshman class, she expressed her hope that the “intellectual supremacy of the white races is maintained . . . for centuries to come.” Susan Snyder, “Bryn Mawr Confronts Racist Views of Former Leader,” *TCA Regional News (Chicago)*, August 25, 2017.
- 84 “*Stuff and nonsenses!*”: M. Carey Thomas Diary, January 6, 1871, in Dobkin, *Making of a Feminist*, 48–49.
- 84 *atheism and free love*: Logan Pearsall Smith, *Unforgotten Years* (London: Constable and Co., 1938), 78.
- 84 “*Boston marriage*”: Professor Leila J. Rupp recounts the Thomas-Gwinn relationship in detail in *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). It was during their time together in Switzerland in the early 1880s, she writes, that Thomas “formed with her Baltimore friend Mamie Gwinn what they both considered a marriage.” *Ibid.*, 90. According to historian Lillian Faderman, “Thomas left many papers that revealed her lesbianism.” While earlier in her life she experienced heterosexual feelings, during the period 1877–78 she fell in love with two women simultaneously. With one of these women, Mamie Gwinn, she entered into “a mutually nonmonogamous partnership that lasted almost a quarter century.” Faderman, *To Believe In Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America—A History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2000), 201, 385–86n201. See also Leslie Mukau, “Johns Hopkins and the Feminist Legacy: How a Group of Baltimore Women Shaped American Graduate Medical Education,” *American Journal of Clinical Medicine*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Fall 2012), 188–127 at 124.
- 84 *natural antipathy*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 175, 178.
- 84 *reluctant to hire him*: Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr College, December 20, 1884, *PWW*, 3:568n1.
- 85 “*much less a Fellow*”: WW to ELA, April 27, 1885, *PWW*, 4:532.

- 85 “could not pass”: Ibid.
- 85 “as a criminal”: WW to ELA, January 10, 1885, *PWW*, 3:595.
- 85 complained about the terms: WW to ELA, January 13, 1885, *PWW*, 3:604.
- 85 president’s job: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 170.
- 85 ruling spirit: Ibid., 171; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 144.
- 85 course curriculum: James E. Rhoads to WW, January 10, 1885, *PWW*, 3:596.
- 85 go over Thomas’s head: Dobkin, *Making of a Feminist*, 20n7.
- 85 “How ridiculous!”: ELA to WW, November 28, 1884, *PWW*, 3:494.
- 85 “same gifts”: WW to ELA, March 1, 1885, *PWW*, 4:317 (Wilson’s emphases).
- 85 consoled himself: WW to ELA, January 13, 1885, *PWW*, 3:603.
- 85 only faculty member ... she was responsible: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 172–74.
- 86 graduate fellows: M. Carey Thomas to WW, August 15, 1885, *PWW*, 5:13–15.
- 86 he objected: M. Carey Thomas to WW, c. May 17, 1887, *PWW*, 5:505; WW to Thomas, May 17, 1887, *PWW*, 5:506.
- 86 wrote the publisher: Editorial Note: Wilson’s Plan for a Textbook in Civil Government, *PWW*, 5:147. The publisher, D.C. Heath & Co., agreed to accept Wilson as sole author. The result was *The State*, published three years later.
- 86 school business: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 173–74.
- 86 “keep house for me”: WW to ELA, January 19, 1885, *PWW*, 3:622.
- 86 making their own beds: Horowitz, *Power and Passion*, 197.
- 86 clashed with Thomas: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 175.
- 86 students gossiped: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 159–60.
- 86 “relaxing my mental muscle”: WW to Robert Bridges, November 30, 1887, *PWW*, 5:632.
- 87 “through a vacuum” ... “evolution of fashion”: WW confidential journal, October 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:619.
- 87 “Mr. Wilson preferred”: Mary Tremain to Ray Stannard Baker, n.d., quoted in *LL*, 1:291.
- 87 “too docile”: Virginia Kays Creezy, “Woodrow Wilson Amid the ‘Demure Damsels,’” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 75, no. 17 (March 4, 1975), 8.
- 87 complained about the “strain”: WW to ELA, October 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:605.
- 87 “singularly ill-adapted”: Letters from Lucy Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, January 15 and February 1, 1926, quoted in Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 436n21.
- 87 “must not anticipate”: C.K. Adams to Lucy Maynard Salmon, June 3, 1886, in Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), 100–01.
- 87 “an audience” ... never wholeheartedly: Lucy Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, February 1, 1926, Baker Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*, 101–02.
- 87 “deadly secret”: *LL*, 1:261.
- 87 “unconscious”: Lucy Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, February 1, 1926, Baker Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*, 101–02.
- 87 “interesting and inspiring”: Mary Tremain to Ray Stannard Baker, n.d., quoted in *LL*, 1:290.
- 88 essays, and a college textbook: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 155.
- 88 leaned on him: Ibid., 159; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 58; Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 175; *LL*, 1:236.
- 88 “Sorry a figure” ... “I need a degree now”: WW to Herbert Baxter Adams, April 2, 1886 and April 8, 1886, *PWW*, 5:150–51, 155 (Wilson’s emphasis).
- 88 “no chance” ... “very easily”: Herbert Baxter Adams to WW, April 7, 1886, *PWW*, 5:154 (Adams’s emphasis).
- 88 gave him credit: Herbert Baxter Adams to WW, April 7, 1886, *PWW*, 5:154; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 58; Victoria Bissell Brown, “Conservative Among Progressives,” in Axtell, *Educational Legacy*, 139; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 30.
- 88 “exceedingly fair”: WW to ELA, May 29, 1886, *PWW*, 5:267.
- 88 Thomas had endured: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 122–23; Brown, “Conservative Among Progressives,” 138–39.

- 89 *put her on a train*: WW to EAW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:156 and n3; WW to EAW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:158. When she boarded the train, the baby was expected in “two or three weeks.” WW to Robert Bridges, April 19, 1886, *PWW*, 5:163.
- 89 *complications*: Ludwig M. Deppisch, M.D., *The Health of the First Ladies* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2015), 107–08.
- 89 *septicemia*: Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 7.
- 89 *arrived in Georgia*: Louisa Brown to WW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:158.
- 89 *“unquestionably hastened”*: WW to Robert Bridges, April 19, 1886, *PWW*, 5:163.
- 89 *not “for the pain”*: Louisa Brown to WW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:158.
- 89 *“enjoy” himself*: Louisa Brown to WW, April 17, 1886, *PWW*, 5:160.
- 89 *“seeing all sorts of things”*: WW to EAW, April 15, 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:156, 157.
- 89 *“My heart aches”*: EAW to WW, April 21, 1886, *PWW*, 5:166.
- 89 *“seeing the homes”*: WW to EAW, April 23, 24, 25, 1886, *PWW*, 5:167, 169, 171.
- 90 *what he really wanted*: Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 35.
- 90 *ruled him out*: James Burrill Angell to WW, November 12, 1887, *PWW*, 5:628; Edward Ireland Renick to WW, November 1 and 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:621–22.
- 90 *going abroad ... another academic year*: WW to Robert Bridges, January 23, 1887, *PWW*, 5:433; WW to Philip Gilbert Hamerton, January 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:428n2.
- 90 *seemed to focus*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 152.
- 90 *seemed “more interested”*: Lucy Maynard Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, n.d., quoted in *LL*, 1:153.
- 90 *first-ever floor vote*: 18 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 25, 1887) (roll call on S.R. 5, the future Anthony Amendment), 1002.
- 90 *marveled at the votes*: “Woman Suffrage in the Senate,” *New York Times*, January 26, 1887, 4.
- 91 *excerpts from the debate*: “Woman’s Suffrage—Constitutional Amendment Defeated in the Senate—Ungallant Senators Two to One,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 26, 1887, 7.
- 91 *“great deeds by women”*: 18 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 25, 1887), 984 (remarks of Sen. Dolph on S.R. 5).
- 91 *predictable objection*: *Ibid.*, 986, 988 (remarks of Sen. Vest on S.R. 5).
- 91 *undisclosed*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 176.
- 91 *“graduated in law” ... “waxed eloquent”*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 273–75.
- 91 *“crisis in my career”*: WW to Thomas Dixon, quoted in *ibid.*, 407; Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 170.
- 91 *no effort*: Thomas Dixon to WW, June 7, 1887, *PWW*, 5:515; Thomas Henderson Pritchard to Joseph Ruggles Wilson, June 8, 1887, *PWW*, 5:516; Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, June 11, 1887, *PWW*, 5:516.
- 92 *June 9, 1887*: William Hartwell Pace to WW, June 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:520
- 92 *press notices Dixon mailed*: EAW to WW, July 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:533–34.
- 92 *“Wear it long”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, June 11, 1887, *PWW*, 5:516.
- 92 *source of his claim*: Joseph Wilson’s actual terminal degree was an A.B. from Jefferson College (PA) in 1844. The honorary degree was from Oglethorpe University in central Georgia in 1857.
- 92 *“I am grieved”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, September 22, 1887, *PWW*, 5:592.
- 92 *pathetic circumstances*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, March 5, 1888, *PWW*, 5:705.
- 92 *a telegram*: Joseph R. Wilson, Jr., to WW, telegram, April 15, 1888, *PWW*, 5:718.
- 92 *“only the servant” ... “almost broken”*: WW to EAW, April 18, 1888, *PWW*, 5:718.

8. Aryan Men

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- 93 *a professorship*: John Monroe Van Vleck to WW, June 6, 1888, *PWW*, 5:734; WW to Van Vleck, June 7, 1888, *PWW*, 5:735; Van Vleck to WW, June 21, 1888, *PWW*, 5:738; Edson Wyllys Burr to WW, June 30, 1888, *PWW*, 5:748.
- 93 *“more directly interested”*: WW letter of resignation to the President and Trustees of Bryn Mawr College, June 29, 1888, *PWW*, 5:743–47. The “almost” referred to the fact that at the time there were “five or six women” in each year’s class. William Bayard Hale, *Woodrow Wilson—The Story of His Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1912), 102.
- 93 *“cordially detested”*: Wilson confided this to his publicity director in the 1912 presidential campaign. Frank Parker Stockbridge to Ray Stannard Baker, December 11, 1927, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, reel 83, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress; Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 140.
- 93 *for good*: Ironically, his sponsor Herbert Baxter Adams had thought that at Bryn Mawr, Wilson would be “as near Paradise as a young man could expect to come.” Adams to WW, April 8, 1887, *PWW*, 5:484.
- 93 *“numb with grief”*: Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 242.
- 93 *a class of men*: WW to Robert Bridges, August 26, 1888, *PWW*, 5:763 (Wilson’s emphasis).
- 94 *“shall not interfere”*: Robert Bridges to WW, July 12, 1888, *PWW*, 5:751.
- 94 *confided it to Bridges*: WW to Robert Bridges, August 26, 1888, *PWW*, 5:763.
- 94 *“your siege with girls”*: Thomas Dixon to WW, November 8, 1888, *PWW*, 6:19.
- 94 *interested in Bryn Mawr*: Thomas Dixon to WW, July 18, 1887, *PWW*: 5:529; EAW to WW, July 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:533.
- 94 *since Johns Hopkins*: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 34–41. Dixon sent Wilson a printed announcement listing his forthcoming lecture topics. Dixon to WW, November 8, 1888, *PWW*, 6:19 (editor’s note). His subjects included the public school system, the “open saloon,” and protective tariffs. “Sunday Services—Boston Music Hall,” *Boston Globe*, December 1, 1888, 6; “American School System,” *Boston Globe*, December 3, 1888, 8; “‘No License’ Rally,” *Boston Globe*, December 10, 1888, 4; “The Struggle of Life,” *Boston Globe*, December 24, 1888, 5. His social gospel mixing religion and politics reflected the view he shared with Wilson that “politics . . . is but religion in action.” Thomas Dixon, *The Failure of Protestantism in New York and Its Causes* (New York: Strauss & Rehn Publishing Co., 1896), 125; Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, “Gender and Race in Dixon’s Religious Ideology,” in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, Michelle K. Gillespie and Randal L. Hall, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 82.
- 94 *an invitation*: In the face of Wilson’s complaints to Dixon about “what an anchor a baby is,” the Dixons (who had two young children of their own) promised to come visit the Wilsons. Thomas Dixon to WW, November 8, 1888, *PWW*, 6:19.
- 94 *faculty whom he respected*: *LL*, 1:299–301.
- 94 *“attacked his college work”*: *Ibid.*, 300.
- 94 *“Every man in his class”*: *Ibid.*, quoting C.F. Price in the Wesleyan University *Alumnus*, March 1924.
- 95 *not at all athletic . . . improbable victory*: *LL*, 1:304–05.
- 95 *“hot seriousness”*: *LL*, 1:303–04.
- 95 *“what a partisan I am”*: WW to EAW, March 15, 1889, *PWW*, 6:151.
- 95 *“to laugh or to rage”*: WW to EAW, March 6, 1889, *PWW*, 6:131.
- 95 *equal access to education*: Homer Edward Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 65–66; George Sinkler, “Benjamin Harrison and the Matter of Race,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 65, no. 3 (September 1969), 197–213, at 204–05; Allen J. Going, “The South and the Blair Education Bill,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1957), 267–290, at 283.
- 95 *“almost every idea”*: WW to EAW, March 2, 1889, *PWW*, 6:123.
- 95 *textbook he had begun*: WW, *The State* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1889).

- 95 *all the world's governments*: Ibid., 2–3.
- 96 *most of the world's population*: Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 175.
- 96 *“hurtful to their health”*: WW, *The State*, 663.
- 96 *“collusive” divorce*: Ibid., 493.
- 96 *“more civilized”*: Ibid., 6.
- 96 *“loose multiple marriages”*: Ibid., 4.
- 96 *non-Aryan family*: Ibid., 3–6.
- 96 *special significance*: Dann, *Gerrit Smith*, 367; Cathleen D. Cahill, *Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 76.
- 96 *lived with the Iroquois ... “was paid to her”*: Sally Roesch Wagner, *The Untold Story of the Iroquois Influence on Early Feminists* (Aberdeen, SD: Sky Carrier Press, 1996), 26. Iroquois women had the right to choose successors to office in their clans in the mid-1600s. Nancy Shoemaker, “The Rise or Fall of Iroquois Women,” *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Winter 1991), 39–57.
- 96 *Mott visited ... Iroquois culture*: Wagner, *Iroquois Influence*, 2–3.
- 96 *“rights to property and decision-making”*: Dann, *Gerrit Smith*, 367.
- 96 *Puck would jab*: Joseph Keppler, artist, “Savagery to ‘Civilization,’” *Puck*, vol. 75, no. 1941 (May 16, 1914), 4. In the 21st century, the Iroquois are commonly referred to as Haudenosaunee.
- 96 *“fact book”*: WW to Richard Heath Dabney, October 31, 1889, and to Horace Elisha Scudder, March 31, 1889, *PWW*, 6:409 and 8:658.
- 97 *aggressive marketing ... did not even read*: Davis Rich Dewey to Daniel Collamore Heath, June 26, 1891, *PWW*, 7:239; Heath to WW, June 8, 1889, *PWW*, 6:313.
- 97 *staple of history courses*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 178.
- 97 *not a bestseller*: D.C. Heath & Co. to WW, March 3, 1891, *PWW*, 7:172. The book was first published September 23, 1889.
- 97 *haggling*: WW to D.C. Heath & Co., July 8, 1920, *PWW*, 65:503.
- 97 *he was stung*: WW to Robert Bridges, January 6, 1890, *PWW*, 6:472.
- 97 *advertisement*: Wilson, *The State*, title page.
- 97 *string of initials*: Wilson also convinced Bryn Mawr to list him in its 1886 catalog as “Woodrow Wilson, A.B., Princeton College, 1879; A.M., 1882.” *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1885–1886* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1885), 3. At the time, Princeton did not even have a graduate school. Wilson did not study at Princeton after receiving his undergraduate degree in 1879. In 1882, he was living in Georgia. “We do not consider Wilson to hold a graduate degree from Princeton in the modern sense,” the university reported in 2023. But prior to the establishment of the graduate school, simply by writing and asking three years after graduation, Princeton graduates could receive a master’s degree that Princeton considered honorary. Daniel J. Linke, University Archivist, Princeton University Library, to the author, August 11, 2023. Beginning with his election to the Princeton faculty until the present day, Princeton University has never listed Wilson as an 1882 master’s graduate. But he is listed as such on the formal register of Wilson’s credentials published by his brother-in-law after his death. John Randolph Bolling, *Chronology of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1927), Appendix A, 175.
- 97 *lunch with the president*: Robert Bridges to WW, July 15, 1889, *PWW*, 6:330; WW to Bridges, July 16, 1889, *PWW*, 6:331.
- 97 *fundamentalist*: His religious views were later set forth in Francis L. Patton, *Fundamental Christianity* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).
- 98 *“committed himself”*: WW to Robert Bridges, August 9, 1889, *PWW*, 6:363.
- 98 *Wilson heard nothing*: WW to Bridges, November 6, 18, 1889, *PWW*, 6:41 and 6:427.
- 98 *opposition to his candidacy*: Bridges to WW, November 5, 1889, *PWW*, 6:410; Francis Landey Patton to James Waddel Alexander, November 21, 1889, *PWW*, 6:428.
- 98 *worried about Wilson’s patriotism*: Bridges to WW, November 29, 1889, *PWW*, 6:430.

- 98 “*he’ll make trouble*”: *LL*, 2:5.
- 98 *offer letter*: Francis Landey Patton to WW, February 18, 1890, *PWW*, 6:526.
- 98 *lower salary*: Patton to WW, March 5, 1890, *PWW*, 6:542; WW to Bridges, February 18, 1890, *PWW*, 6:528; Bridges to WW, February 20, 1890, *PWW*, 6:529.
- 98 “*four hours a week*”: WW to Bridges, February 18, 1890, *PWW*, 6:528.
- 98 “*deliriously happy!*”: WW to EAW, March 10, 1890, *PWW*, 6:548.
- 98 *fifteen VIPs*: “President Patton Entertained,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1890, 1.
- 98 New York Tribune: Charles Andrew Talcott to WW, February 17, 1890, *PWW*, 6:525.
- 98 *Major dailies*: For example: “The National American Association,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1890, 2; “All In One Party Now; The Two Factions of Woman Suffragists United,” *New York Sun*, February 19, 1890, 3; “Suffrage Associations Consolidated,” *Brooklyn Standard Union*, February 18, 1890, 1; “United Suffragists,” *Los Angeles Herald*, February 19, 1890, 3; “Suffrage Associations Combine,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1890, 6; “One Hundred Fair Delegates,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 18, 1890, 8. While it was page one news in Atlanta, the headline added heavy-handed commentary: “The Sorry Sisters Who Feel Out of Place Because They Are Not Men,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 24, 1890, 1.
- 99 *Connecticut journals*: “Woman Suffrage—Consolidation of the Various Associations,” *Hartford Courant*, February 18, 1890, 1; “Woman Suffragists Meet,” *The Day* (New London, CT), February 18, 1890, 1.
- 99 *rose in the ranks*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 57–58.
- 99 *NAWSA set to work*: *HWS*, 4:162.
- 99 “*duty of Congress*”: *Ibid.*, 4:162–63.
- 99 “*immediate action*”: *Ibid.*, 4:163.
- 99 *another invitation*: Thomas Dixon to WW, May 12, 1890, *PWW*, 6:628.
- 99 *mixing politics and religion*: In one recent sermon, Dixon opposed a bill by Republican U.S. Representative Henry Cabot Lodge providing for federal enforcement of voting rights in federal elections. “The negro,” Dixon preached, should vote only when he has established himself “on the solid basis of real manhood,” and the “bayonet cannot help him to that end.” “The Force Bill Condemned,” *New York Times*, September 22, 1890, 8.
- 100 “*success of the year*”: Thomas Dixon to WW, May 12, 1890, *PWW*, 6:628.
- 100 *rented housing*: EAW to WW, June 17, 1890, *PWW*, 6:672.
- 100 “*had done more*”: Seminary minutes, *Records of the Historical and Political Science Association and of the Seminary of History and Politics*, vol. 1, 1877–92, Special Collections, Johns Hopkins University Library; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 237.
- 100 *writing projects*: Theodore L. Flood to WW, April 30, 1890, *PWW*, 6:618.
- 100 *a multi-author series*: Longmans, Green & Co. to WW, June 28, 1889, *PWW*, 6:327.
- 100 *after he became president*: The title page of *Constitutional Government*, for example, read: “By Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., LL.D, President of Princeton University.” For the title page of each volume of the *History of the American People* he added the honorary “Litt.D.” he had just received from Yale, again with no indication it was not an earned academic degree.
- 100 *happiest of his life*: *LL*, 2:41; Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 95.
- 100 *European travel, and long vacations*: *LL*, 2:51, 67–97.
- 100 *family thrived*: WW to EAW, January 26, 1894, *PWW*, 8:433 and notes 3, 4; EAW to WW, January 26, 1894, *PWW*, 8:434 and n1; *LL*, 2:41.
- 100 *nicknamed Nell*: Her birth certificate reads “Ellen Randolph Wilson,” and she was baptized and christened with the same name, but subsequently she or her parents changed her first name to Eleanor, adding the informal “Nell” and “Nellie.” “Was Christened ‘Ellen,’” *Boston Globe*, May 7, 1914, 2.
- 101 “*had not added*”: H. C. F. Bell, *Woodrow Wilson and the People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Duran and Co., 1945), 43.
- 101 *withering assessment*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 124.

- 102 *appraisal of Reconstruction*: Stephen Skowronek, “The Reassociation of Ideas and Purposes: Racism, Liberalism, and the American Political Tradition,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 100, no. 3 (August 2006), 385–401, at 391.
- 102 “*nicely modulated statement*”: WW (unsigned), “Anti-Slavery History and Biography,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 72, no. 430 (August 1893), 268–77, at 272. Although the review is credited to Wilson, Link states that Horace Scudder wrote the portion covering Wilson’s *Division and Reunion*. *PWW*, 8:294n1.
- 102 “*pro-southern bias*”: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 237.
- 102 *far-reaching*: Arthur S. Link, “The Progressive Movement in the South, 1870–1914,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 2 (April 1946), 172–195, at 173.
- 102 *very foundation*: C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 91.
- 102 “*White Supremacy*” campaign: Lee Allen Craig, *Josephus Daniels: His Life and Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), chaps. 4, 5; Zucchini, *Wilmington’s Lie*, 65–69, 74–76.
- 102 “*every act and argument*”: *Final Report of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2006), chap. 3, “Practical Politics: Writing, Speaking and Riding in the 1898 Campaign,” 61.
- 103 “*campaign of prejudice*”: *Ibid.*, 61n22.
- 103 *two thousand Black residents*: Craig, *Josephus Daniels*, 187.
- 103 “*precipitator of the riot*”: *Final Report of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission*, chap. 3, 61n22.
- 103 *all of civil society*: Woodward, *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 97–100.
- 103 “*most proud*”: U.S. Senate, Hearings Before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on S. 2712, 87th Cong., 2nd Sess. (February 6–August 7, 1962), 58.
- 104 “*Discrimination!*”: Report of the Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, State of Virginia (Richmond: Heritage Press, 1906), 2:3076; Michael Perlman, *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 176–77.
- 104 *less than 8 percent*: Perlman, *Pursuit of Unity*, 177.
- 104 “*black Republican press*”: Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), 5.
- 104 *replacing the tariff*: *Ibid.*, 33, 51, 158.
- 104 *bimetallism*: *Ibid.*, 34–40, 59–62, 99.
- 104 *white supremacist norms*: *Ibid.*, 93–94.
- 104 *promotional vehicle*: *Ibid.*, 41, 52–53, 72, 89–90, 112, 169.
- 104 “*grave mistake*” ... “*make for himself*”: Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 257. See also Mary Frances Berry, “Repression of Blacks in the South 1890–1945: Enforcing the System of Segregation,” in Robert Haws, ed., *The Age of Segregation* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1978), 39 (quoting Bryan that white supremacy is “absolutely essential to the welfare of the youth”).
- 104 *unabashedly racial grounds* ... “*contact with the whites*”: “The White Man’s Burden,” Address by William Jennings Bryan at the Independence Day Banquet of the American Society of London, July 4, 1906, in *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan*, vol. 2 (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1909), 212, at 214–16.
- 105 “*The very progress*”: “Bryan Says North Would Act as South on Negro Question,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1923, sec. 8, 1; Angie Maxwell, *The Indicted South: Public Criticism, Southern Inferiority, and the Politics of Whiteness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 40.
- 105 *state option*: Bryan did not support the Anthony Amendment until after Wilson’s endorsement. William Jennings Bryan, “Democracy’s Duty and Deeds,” address at Washington, DC, December 6, 1916, in Donald K. Springen, *William Jennings Bryan: Orator of Small Town America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 149–71, at 161–64; Paolo E. Coletta, *William Jennings Bryan* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 3:82. His first acceptance of the state method can be dated to 1910. Kazin, *A Godly Hero*, 177. During the 1914 statewide suffrage initiative in Nebraska, Bryan visited Omaha to speak in support. Laura McKee Hickman, “Thou Shalt Not Vote: Anti-Suffrage in Nebraska, 1914–1920,” *Nebraska History* vol. 80, no. 2 (1999), 55–65, n21.

- 105 *Roosevelt's dinner invitation*: Willard H. Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and Racism," *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 54, no. 2 (April 1969), 127–149, at 140; Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in *PWW*, 18:386.
- 105 *ambassador to Haiti*: Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and Racism," 143.
- 105 *Bryan endorsed Klansmen*: Glenn Feldman, *Politics, Society and the Klan in Alabama, 1915–1949* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 65.
- 105 *"thousands of devout Klansmen"*: John M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924), 115.
- 105 *a 1923 op-ed*: "Bryan Says North Would Act as South on Negro Question," *New York Times*, March 18, 1923, sec. 8, 1; Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and Racism," 144–45.
- 105 *warned the delegates*: Jason Roberts, "The Biographical Legacy of Calvin Coolidge and the 1924 Presidential Election," in Katherine A.S. Sibley, ed., *A Companion to Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover* (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 201. Even Oscar Underwood, the Democratic senator from Alabama, was willing to condemn the Klan—it was he who sponsored the resolution to do so. Springen, *Bryan*, 67.
- 105 *"stirred the hearts"*: William Jennings Bryan, address to Democratic National Convention, New York City, June 28, 1924, in Springen, *Bryan*, 173–77, at 174–75.
- 105 *led by Wilson's son-in-law*: Arnold S. Rice, *The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1962), 78–79.
- 105 *Klan held memorial services*: Coletta, *Bryan*, 3:275; Michael W. Schuyler, "The Ku Klux Klan in Nebraska, 1920–1930," *Nebraska History*, vol. 66, no. 3 (Fall 1985), 234–56, at 250; "Thousands Pay Last Tribute to W.J. Bryan," "Klan Purposes to Burn Cross," both *Wilmington News-Journal*, Wilmington, Ohio, July 31, 1925, 1; Angus Gunn, *Intelligent Design and Fundamentalist Opposition to Evolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006), 109; Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and Racism," 133–34. Despite earning the Klan's undying support, as far as is known Bryan was not himself a member. Smith, 134. But delegates at the 1924 Democratic Convention "believed that he was anti-Catholic [and] an actual member of the K.K.K." Coletta, *Bryan*, 3:182.
- 106 *grim essay*: "Memoriam, W.J.B.," in H.L. Mencken, *Prejudices*, 5th Series (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 64–74.

9. 'Greatest Since Seneca Falls'

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- 107 *"a very dark night"*: Francis Lynde Stetson to President Grover Cleveland, October 7, 1894, in Allan Nevins, ed., *Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850–1908* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), 369.
- 107 *Cleveland's confidant*: "Francis L. Stetson, Lawyer, Dies at 74," *New York Times*, December 6, 1920, 15; "Francis Lynde Stetson," *New York Times*, November 5, 1896, 8.
- 107 *depression it kicked off*: The depression of 1893–94 began in January 1893 and reached its trough in June 1894, spanning 17 months. It was followed by another steep contraction from December 1895 to June 1897. Robert A. G. Monks and Alexandra Reed Lajoux, *Corporate Valuation for Portfolio Investment* (Bloomberg Press, 2011), Appendix R, 527–529, summarizing data from National Bureau of Economic Research, *U.S. Business Cycle Expansions and Contractions* (Cambridge, MA: NBER, 2003); David Whitten, "The Depression of 1893," Yale School of Management, Program on Financial Stability Resource Library (2001); Charles Hoffman, "The Depression of the Nineties," *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (June 1956), 137–164, at 138.
- 107 *"Democratic administrations anywhere"*: Nevins, *Letters of Grover Cleveland*, 369.
- 107 *Unemployment*: Gerald W. McFarland, "Depression of the 1890s," in Daniel Leab, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Recessions and Depressions* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 284; Henry F. Graff, *Grover Cleveland* (New York: Times Books/Henry Holt & Co., 2002), 114–15.
- 107 *more than 10 percent*: Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, et al., eds., *Historical Statistics of the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Table Ca9–19 – Gross domestic product: 1790–2002. The figure cited is nominal GDP, continuous annual series. Real GDP and GNP estimates for these years vary widely.

- 107 *wealth destruction ... Erie*: Lauck, *The Causes of the Panic of 1893*, 85–109; Milton Friedman and A.J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 104–113; Richard H. Timberlake, Jr., “Panic of 1893,” in *Business Cycles and Depressions: An Encyclopedia*, David Glasner and Thomas F. Cooley, eds. (NY: Garland Publishing, 1997), 516–18, at 518; “The Great Depression of 1893–1897,” in Mark Zachary Taylor, *Presidential Leadership in Feeble Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2024), 308–09; Douglas Steeples and David O. Whitten, *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 37. In addition to the bank failures there were over 100 bank closures during the crisis. A total of 548 banks closed between May and October 1893. Randall E. Parker and Robert Whaples, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Major Events in Economic History* (New York: Routledge, 2013), Table 5.2, 45.
- 108 *To make matters worse*: United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894); David Ray Papke, *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999).
- 108 “*saving the party*”: EAW to WW, July 31, 1894, *PWW*, 8:635.
- 109 “*can’t do any worse*”: Elizabeth Purdy, ed., *Industrialization and Political Activism: 1861–1899* (New York: Facts on File, 2020), 58.
- 109 *lost 120 seats*: Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789–1989* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989), 148–49; Jamie L. Carson and Jason M. Roberts, “Strategic Politicians and U.S. House Elections, 1874–1914,” *Journal of Politics*, vol. 67, no. 2 (May 2005), 474–496, at 480.
- 109 *all-time record*: Martis, *Political Parties in the United States Congress*, 148–49; Michael J. Dubin, *United States Congressional Elections, 1788–1996: The Official Results of the Elections of the 1st Through the 105th Congresses* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1998).
- 109 *nowhere in the South*: Andrew E. Busch, *Horses in Midstream: U.S. Midterm Elections and Their Consequences* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), 64; Boris Heersink and Jeffery A. Jenkins, *Republican Party Politics and the American South, 1865–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 128–29.
- 109 *political dividends*: Joseph G. Brown, *The History of Equal Suffrage in Colorado, 1868–1898* (Denver: News Job Printing Co., 1898), 43.
- 109 “*whether to accept*”: WW to EAW, July 24, 1894, *PWW*, 8:624–25.
- 109 “*too hungry*”: WW to EAW, July 30, 1894, *PWW*, 8:633–34.
- 109 “*lack of inspiration*”: WW to Horace Elisha Scudder, March 31, 1889, *PWW*, 8:658.
- 110 *Lecturing on “Democracy”*: “A Report of Wilson’s Address at Vassar College,” *Vassar Miscellany*, vol. 22 (January 1893), in *PWW*, 8:76–77; Editorial Note: “Democracy,” *PWW*, 7:344; “A Lecture,” *PWW*, 7:345, 368.
- 110 *Elmira Female College*: “Commencement,” (*Elmira, NY*) *Sibyl*, vol. 20 (July 1893), 171–72, in *PWW*, 8:275.
- 110 *five years later*: “College Notes,” (*South Hadley, MA*) *Mount Holyoke*, vol. 7 (April 1898), 359, in *PWW*, 10:491.
- 110 *three occasions*: *PWW*, 7:368–69. Wilson successfully avoided another request to speak to a pro-women’s suffrage group by asking for a steep honorarium plus expenses, which he admitted he had priced so high as to make it “prohibitive.” WW to May Wright Sewall, September 19, 1899, *PWW*, 11:241.
- 110 “*among strangers*”: WW to EAW, August 1, 1894, *PWW*, 8:637.
- 110 *1894 reception ... “any love!”*: WW to EAW, February 4, 1894, *PWW*, 8:453–54.
- 111 *nearly 70 percent*: John L. Rury, “Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling,” in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society*, vol. 1, Paula S. Fass, ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 213.
- 111 “*gratuitous folly*” ... “*admitting women*”: WW to Charles William Kent, May 20, 1894, *PWW*, 8:583. Wilson’s correspondent was the future literary editor of the *Library of Southern Literature*. Joseph M. Flora and Amber Vogel, eds., *Southern Writers: A New Biographical Dictionary* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 232.
- 111 “*colleges of their own*”: WW to Charles William Kent, May 20, 1894, *PWW*, 8:583.
- 111 *concentrated in the South*: Nancy E. Durbin and Lori Kent, “Post-secondary Education of White Women in 1900,” in Julia Wrigley, ed., *Education and Gender Equality* (London: The Falmer Press, 1995), 77.

- 111 *“female cranks”*: EAW to WW, February 22, 1895, *PWW*, 9:219–20 and n1.
- 111 *“aggressive egotism”*: EAW to WW, July 26, 1893, *PWW*, 8:292–93 and n1 (Ellen Wilson’s emphasis).
- 111 *“I despise her”*: WW to EAW, February 21, 1895, *PWW*, 9:213–14 and n1. The woman’s letter, bearing the difficult news that she had been diagnosed with a form of mental illness, indicates that she trusted and respected the Wilsons. Ellen mocked the letter as a “little *billet doux* [love letter].” Two years later, the young woman was admitted to a psychiatric hospital, where she died. EAW to WW, February 22, 1895, *PWW*, 9:219 and n2.
- 112 *“art of persuasion”*: WW to EAW, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:499.
- 112 *well-known suffragist*: Clara Bewick Colby, “Helen M. Gougar,” *The Woman’s Tribune*, vol. 24, no. 12 (June 29, 1907), 1.
- 112 *“proper sphere”*: “Mrs. Gougar Mr. Dixon’s Equal,” *New York Times*, July 13, 1896, 8.
- 112 *“opening prayer”*: Richard Franklin Bensel, *Passion and Preferences: William Jennings Bryan and the 1896 Democratic National Convention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 32.
- 113 *monetary policy dominated*: *Ibid.*, 26.
- 113 *losing both*: Karl Rove, *The Triumph of William McKinley* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 363–64.
- 113 *glowing appraisal*: WW, “Mr. Cleveland as President,” *The Atlantic*, vol. 79, no. 473 (March 1897), 289–300.
- 113 *“his due commendation”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, April 12, 1897, *PWW*, 10:215.
- 113 *suffrage sympathizer*: H. Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004), 38; Gerald W. Johnson, “Dynamic Victoria Woodhull,” *American Heritage*, vol. 7, no. 4 (June 1956), 44; *HWS*, 2:443–48; “Local News,” (*Canton, OH*) *Stark County Democrat*, November 11, 1875, 5.
- 113 *argued before Congress ... ran for president*: M. M. Marberry, *Vicky: A Biography of Victoria Woodhull* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), 18–20, 85–92; Johanna Johnston, *Mrs. Satan* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1967), 83–93, 142–47.
- 113 *presidential appointments*: *HWS*, 4:367, 608, 1010.
- 113 *He would sign*: “Approved by the President,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 1896, 4; An Act to Amend the Laws of the District of Columbia as to Married Women, R.S.D.C. § 727 (1896); *HWS*, 4:569–70.
- 113 *eightieth birthday*: *HWS*, 4:384; Eleanor Clift, *Founding Sisters and the Nineteenth Amendment* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 2003), 79.
- 113 *personally greet*: *HWS*, 4:384.
- 113 *“greater successes”*: *Ibid.*, 4:272.
- 113 *plank on women’s rights*: George D. Ellis and William Tyler Page, *Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928), 98–104.
- 113 *did not mention*: *Ibid.*, 91–97.
- 114 *“No Democratic national platform”*: *HWS*, 4:437.
- 114 *never “a real leader”*: WW, Address to Virginia State Bar Association, August 5, 1897, *PWW*, 10:288.
- 114 *positive review*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 122.
- 114 *job at the Navy Department*: Theodore Roosevelt to WW, April 27 and April 29, 1887, *PWW*, 10:238–39.
- 114 *met briefly in 1896*: “A Public Warning,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 4, 1896, 8 (event at which both Roosevelt and Wilson spoke); John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 73.
- 114 *a small dinner*: WW Diary, January 21, 1897, *PWW*, 10:120.
- 114 *friendly correspondence*: Theodore Roosevelt to WW, April 27, 29, 1897, November 16, December 23, 1899, March 13, 17, 20, 1900, July 18, 1901, *PWW*, 10:238, 11:277, 352, 516, 520, 523, 12:164; WW to Roosevelt, July 28, 1901, *PWW*, 12:172.
- 114 *“very sane”*: WW to EAW, March 15, 1900, *PWW*, 11:515.
- 114 *Czolgosz*: Pronounced *CHAWL gōsh*. In London, at an international meeting of Anarchists, the assassin was applauded as “Saint” Czolgosz, whose noble deed “opens the eyes of the capitalists.” “Anarchists Meet in London,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1901, 1.
- 114 *electric chair*: Czolgosz was executed in New York on October 30, just shy of two months after the assassination. “Czolgosz Prepared for Chair of Death,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1901, 1; “Taking-Off of Czolgosz,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1901, 2.

- 114 *track record*: HWS, 4:1075; Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 75, 83, 183; Max J. Skidmore, “Theodore Roosevelt on Race and Gender,” *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures*, vol. 21, no. 2 (June 1998), 35, 38; “Theodore Roosevelt and Women’s Suffrage,” interview with John A. Gable, *American Experience* (Arlington, VA: PBS, 1996)(online); Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1931), 470; Wendy L. Rouse, *Her Own Hero: The Origins of the Self-Defense Movement* (N.Y.: NYU Press, 2017), 165.
- 115 *personally inscribed*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3:1123–24.
- 115 *ever-growing roster*: HWS, 4:1076–78. Their 1902 tally listed all supporters by name, office, and state but did not identify them by political party. See Appendix 1 for a complete tabular listing including political party identification.
- 115 “*Americanism*” ... “*without sentimentality*”: WW, Founder’s Day Address at Vassar College, May 3, 1902, quoted in Poughkeepsie, NY *Daily Eagle*, May 3, 1902, reprinted in PWW, 12:359–63.
- 115 “*sentimental*”: This was a favorite theme of Wilson’s. A few months earlier, addressing the Contemporary Club in Indianapolis on “What It Means to Be an American,” Wilson warned that “[w]e need to beware of sentimentality. ... It is sentimental to withhold the infliction of the death penalty [from] the man that has injured society by a foul murder.” WW, Address to the Contemporary Club of Indianapolis, April 26, 1902, PWW, 12:351–54.
- 116 *Wilson was chosen*: Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, June 9, 1902, PWW, 12:398.
- 116 *avoid overtly criticizing*: Stockton Axson, “*Brother Woodrow*”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 119–20; Cooper, *Wilson*, 78.
- 116 *hosted a lunch*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, PWW, 14:6 and n2.
- 116 *lifelong friends*: Garrett would later share Thomas’s official residence on the Bryn Mawr campus as well, after Mamie Gwinn, Thomas’s companion of twenty years with whom she still shared quarters, left to marry Bryn Mawr professor Alfred LeRoy Hodder. Kathleen Waters Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett: Society and Philanthropy in the Gilded Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 225, 233.
- 116 *showered her wealth*: *Ibid.*, 3, 200–37.
- 116 *note to Ellen*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, PWW, 14:6.
- 117 *died of cancer*: Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 216–17.
- 117 *football field*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, PWW, 14:6.
- 117 “*football college*”: WW, Address to Democratic Meeting, Buffalo, NY, September 2, 1912, PWW, 25:80; Platform Talk, Kalamazoo, MI, September 19, 1912, PWW, 25:185.
- 117 “*genuinely pleased*”: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, PWW, 14:6.
- 117 *Garrett continued*: Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 230–37; Claire Gaudiani, *The Greater Good: How Philanthropy Drives the American Economy and Can Save Capitalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2004), 38–40.
- 117 “*delegates of universities*” ... *only three*: Official Program, *Inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of Princeton University, October 25, 1902* (New York: DeVinne Press, 1902), Woodrow Wilson Collection, Princeton University Library; “Wilson’s Inauguration,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, November 1, 1902, 83–86, in PWW, 14:191; Frances Wright Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson: First Lady between Two Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 143; Cooper, *Wilson*, 610n2.
- 118 *Surrounded ... “our movement”*: “Elizabeth Cady Stanton Dies at Her Home; Tribute from Miss Anthony,” *New York Times*, October 27, 1902, 1.
- 118 “*what the nation needs*”: WW, Inaugural Address, October 25, 1902, PWW, 14:170.
- 118 “*under the shadow*”: Alexander Leitch, *A Princeton Companion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 528–29.
- 118 *bestseller*: Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 98.
- 118 *glowing reviews*: Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 112–13.
- 119 *second book*: *Ibid.*, 131.

- 119 “riot breeder”: “The Clansman,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, November 13, 1905, 4.
- 119 a “nightmare”: “Echoes of the Clansman,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1905, 21 (quoting Alabama Governor William D. Jelks).
- 119 “servant of the devil”: “The Gospel of Turbulence,” Knoxville, TN *Journal and Tribune*, October 20, 1905, 4.
- 119 largest audience ever: Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation: A History of “The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 118.
- 119 “lure of sex”: “The Clansman’ A Play of Power,” Raleigh, NC *News and Observer*, October 5, 1905, 5.
- 119 third volume: Thomas Dixon, *The Traitor: A Story of the Fall of the Invisible Empire* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1907).
- 119 “My sole purpose”: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 52.
- 119 Black men had studied: “African Americans and Princeton University: A Brief History,” African American Studies Research Guide, Princeton University Library; PWW, 15:462n2.
- 119 “temper and tradition”: WW to John Rogers Williams, September 2, 1904, PWW, 15:462 (emphasis added).
- 119 1947: PWW, 15:462n2.
- 120 Black graduates: Robert Bruce Slater, “The First Black Graduates of the Nation’s 50 Flagship State Universities,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 39 (Spring 2003), 118–126; “The Earliest Black Graduates of the Nation’s Highest-Ranked Liberal Arts Colleges,” *ibid.*, no. 38 (Winter 2002–03), 104–109; Slater, “The Blacks Who First Entered the World of White Higher Education,” *ibid.*, no. 4 (Summer 1994), 47–56.
- 120 “I want so much”: G. McArthur Sullivan to WW, November 20, 1909, PWW, 19:529.
- 120 Wilson’s answer: WW to C. W. McAlpin, December 3, 1909, PWW, 19:550; Charles W. McAlpin to G. McArthur Sullivan, December 6, 1909, PWW, 19:557; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 70.
- 120 a Princeton clergyman: Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1958), 10–11, 14–15; Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 70.
- 120 “Jim Crow for America”: Robeson, *Here I Stand*, 15.
- 120 “favorite comic subjects”: Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 78. In private Wilson’s racial commentary was not always in jest. In 1908 while president of Princeton, making a point about the propriety of separating Black people from polite society, he freely referred to them as “darkies” and “n*****s.” He confessed to disciplining one of his Black servants by periodic displays of his “raving bad temper” meant to frighten her. “It is the only way to deal with colored servants,” he claimed. He condemned intermarriage on the ground it “would degrade the white nations.” And he criticized Roosevelt for inviting Booker T. Washington to the White House, and for appointing a Black man as Collector of the Port of Charleston. Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in PWW, 18:386.
- 120 “menial service”: WW to Morgan Poitiaux Robinson, October 30, 1903, PWW, 15:32.
- 120 “least open to blacks”: Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 71.
- 121 “by reason of their race”: Edwin E. Slosson, *Great American Universities* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910), 104.
- 121 policies toward women: *Ibid.*
- 121 “most anti-Semitic”: The other peer institutions in the 1910 study were Harvard, Yale, Stanford, the University of California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Cornell, Penn, Johns Hopkins, the University of Chicago, and Columbia. *Ibid.*; Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 71.
- 121 “Harvard’s ideal is diversity”: Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 104.
- 121 his own daughters ... “Yankee accent”: Margaret attended the Women’s College of Baltimore (renamed Goucher College in 1910) and Peabody Conservatory. Jessie attended the Women’s College of Baltimore. Eleanor (Nell) attended St. Mary’s College in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. “W.G. M’Adoo to Wed Eleanor Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 13, 1914, 1; “Miss Jessie Wilson to Wed F.B. Sayre,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1913, 1; Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 165; Betty Caroli, *First Ladies: From Martha Washington to Michelle Obama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 141.

- 121 *"You have the vote"*: Jessie Wilson Sayre, interview by Ray Stannard Baker, December 1, 1925, quoted in Cooper, *Wilson*, 98. Of the Wilson daughters, Jessie was the earliest to urge her father's support for women's voting rights. (She dated this conversation with her father to sometime during her student years at the Women's College of Baltimore, 1904–08.) A decade later, in 1915, Margaret was pressuring Colonel House to get her father to commit to federal action. EMH Diary, December 15, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:326–27. That same year Margaret was given a prominent place on the dais at the final session of the 1915 NAWSA convention in Washington. *HWS*, 5:440, 459, 724. Wilson's youngest daughter, Eleanor, "was not at first a suffragist." Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson*, 136. But following the 1917 victory for suffrage in New York, Eleanor (then married to Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo) joined the wives of other cabinet secretaries in co-hosting a NAWSA reception in Washington. *HWS*, 5:515. By that time both Jessie and Margaret were actively involved with Alice Paul's National Woman's Party. Christine Lunardini, *Alice Paul: Equality for Women* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013), 102. Jessie, according to Paul, was "completely and absolutely, I think, sympathetic to us." 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), 91–92.