

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 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/](http://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.
- 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: Hough-ton Mifflin Co., 1924), 30.
- 20 *used his church ... wartime atrocities*: *LL*, 1:51; Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 11; Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), passim. Reverend Wilson also traveled to Richmond to confer with high-ranking Confederate officials including Vice President Alexander Stephens. Corley, *Confederate City*, 63–64. Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle, James Woodrow, oversaw munitions manufacturing for the Confederate armies. Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; White, *Wilson*, 73.
- 20 *“weak nature” ... “future of their children”*: Joseph R. Wilson, *Female Training* (Augusta: Steam Power Press of the Chronicle and Sentinel, 1858), 6, 8, 10.
- 21 *“refined women”*: *HWS*, 2:2.
- 21 *One-third*: Kari A. Cornell, *Women in the Civil War* (Minneapolis: Abdo Publishing, 2016), 66.
- 21 *women were killed*: Brian Bergin, *The Washington Arsenal Explosion: Civil War Disaster in the Capital* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 13–14, 41–42.
- 21 *espionage*: DeAnne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 26, 68–69, 188–22; Karen Abbott, *Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy: Four Women Undercover in the Civil War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013); Thomas B. Allen, *Harriet Tubman, Secret Agent: How Daring Slaves and Free Blacks Spied for the Union During the Civil War* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2006); Curtis Carroll Davis, ed., *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison, Written by Herself* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1968).
- 21 *four hundred women*: Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 6–7; Cornell, *Women in the Civil War*, 28.
- 21 *Enslaved women ... war matériel*: Willi Coleman, “Architects of a Vision: Black Women and Their Antebellum Quest for Political and Social Equality,” in Ann D. Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, ed., *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 25–26.
- 21 *fled to England*: Douglass fled first to Canada and then Britain to escape prosecution as a conspirator with John Brown. David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 305–9. He made his escape on a horse borrowed from New York’s former lieutenant governor, who later defended Susan B. Anthony in her criminal trial for illegally voting. Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (London: Christian Age, 1882), 270–71.
- 22 *met with President Lincoln*: Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 203–07.
- 22 *enter the public arena*: Cultural taboos had long existed against women speaking in public. J. Matthew Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc: The Life of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.
- 22 *invitation was signed*: “Words for the Hour,” advertisement for address by Anna E. Dickinson, *Washington Evening Star*, January 15, 1864, 1. The vice president, twenty-four senators and seventy-eight representatives signed the invitation, including the elected leadership of both chambers.
- 22 *Among the dignitaries*: “Miss Dickinson’s Address,” *Cleveland Morning Leader*, January 18, 1864, 1; Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc*, 36–37.

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