

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

10. 'Shall I Not Accept?'

PAGE

- 125 “*frost to flowers*: Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), 251; “Go to Bermuda” (advertisement), *The Travel Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 5 (February 1910), 254; *New York Times*, November 26, 1909, 13.
- 125 *annual report*: WW, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, December 13, 1906, *PWW*, 16:506.
- 125 *separate vacations*: WW to Robert Bridges, May 27, 1896, *PWW*, 9:507 and n1; WW to EAW, August 18, 19, 20, 21, 1896, *PWW*, 9:573–75; EAW to WW, August 3, 1897, *PWW*, 10:283 and n1; WW Diary, August 6, 7, 1897, *PWW*, 10:305–06; WW to EAW, June 16, 17, 18, 21, 1898, *PWW*, 10:558, 559, 562, 567; WW to EAW, September 9, 10, 11, 12, 1898, *PWW*, 579–82; WW to EAW, June 25, 1899, *PWW*, 11:132; “Record of a Tour through the British Isles, July 5–August 26, 1899,” *PWW*, 11:146; WW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, August 21, 1902, *PWW*, 38:682; WW to EAW, May 5, 1903, *PWW*, 14:453; EAW to WW, May 1, 1904, *PWW*, 14:302; *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, January 21, 1905, 249, in *PWW*, 15:579; WW to EAW, January 14, 1907, *PWW*, 17:3; WW to EAW, June 26, 27, 29, 1908, *PWW*, 18:343–47 and n10.
- 125 “*securing rest*”: “President Wilson Sails for Bermuda Tomorrow,” *Daily Princetonian*, January 11, 1907, in *PWW*, 16:559. Ellen was in the midst of a “marked depression” at this time, spanning 1906 to 1910. The causes were several. In April 1905, her brother Edward, his wife, and their infant son were all drowned in a ferry accident. WW to Robert Bridges, April 28, 1905, *PWW*, 16:86 and n1. The tragedy left Ellen “utterly crushed” and unable to perform normal daily tasks, according to her daughter Nell. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo and Margaret Y. Gaffey, *The Woodrow Wilsons* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), 87. Her brother Stockton, deeply disturbed by memories of their father’s suicide in a mental hospital, suffered chronic mental breakdowns. EAW to Anna Harris, March 11, 1905, *PWW*, 16:28; Florence Stevens Hoyt to WW (enclosure), September 12, 1914, *PWW*, 31:28 and n2; Arthur S. Link, “Editor’s Introduction,” in Stockton Axson, “*Brother Woodrow*”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), x; Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 31; Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 36–37. Wilson’s diagnosis of hardening of the arteries and prescription of vacation and rest, EAW to Florence Stevens Hoyt, June 27, 1906, *PWW*, 16:429, “overwhelmed” Ellen because now “[b]oth Stock and Woodrow needed me to be strong all the time.” Florence Stevens Hoyt to WW (enclosure), September 12, 1914, *PWW*, 31:28 and n2.
- 125 *machine controlled*: *PWW*, 16:560n1. “Sugar Jim” was not an affectionate nickname, alluding to his stalwart defense of the Sugar Trust when he was a U.S. senator. “Break in Jersey Hurts House Democrats,” *Washington Times*, September 9, 1908, 3. Harvey had been managing editor of the *Newark Journal*, owned by Smith, in the late 1880s. Ferdinand Lundberg, *America’s 60 Families* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1937), 116.
- 126 *turned down*: WW to Charles Clarke Black, January 11, 1907, *PWW*, 16:560; WW to George Harvey, January 7, 1907, *PWW*, 16:549. The offer was, in any event, not the sure thing Wilson believed it to be. According to the editor of the *Trenton Evening Times*, “the Harvey proposal was flatly rejected by the minority Democrats.” James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 28.
- 126 *proposed Wilson*: “George Harvey at the Dinner to Woodrow Wilson,” February 3, 1906, in *Speeches at the Lotos Club*, John Elderkin, Chester S. Lord, and Charles W. Price, eds. (New York: Lotos Club, 1911), 309.
- 126 *publicity*: *New York Sun*, 6; *Chicago Tribune*, 4; *Washington Post*, 11; all February 4, 1906.
- 126 “*empty honor*”: George Harvey to WW, January 10, 1907, *PWW*, 16:554.

- 126 *should be thinking about*: George Harvey to WW, December 17, 1906, *PWW*, 16:532; WW to George Harvey, December 16, 1906, *PWW*, 16:531.
- 126 *maids ... historic houses*: Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 183.
- 126 *fifteen years*: *Ibid.*, 182.
- 126 *headquarters in Pittsfield*: The J. L. and T. D. Peck Manufacturing Co. was a major employer in Pittsfield even before the Civil War. Edward Boltwood, *History of Pittsfield Massachusetts, 1876–1916* (Pittsfield, MA: Eagle Printing & Binding Co., 1916), 122–23, 252–53; “Thomas Dowse Peck,” *New York Times*, April 29, 1927, 19.
- 126 *“mental and spiritual distress”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 5–9, at 6.
- 126 *snowbirds*: Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 145–54, 175–78, 180–212.
- 126 *she had read about him*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” December 20, 1924, 6.
- 126 *introduced himself ... invited him to dinner*: *Ibid.*, 6, 8. At the time of Wilson’s first visit to the island, the tennis lawn at Happy Valley was a notable local attraction. *The Bermuda Pocket Almanack, Guide and Directory* (Hamilton, Bermuda: The Royal Gazette, 1894), 165.
- 127 *a dinner party*: The wife of William T. James, the mayor of Hamilton, was a friend of Peck’s. MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 158; WW to EAW, January 30, 1907, *PWW*, 17:25, 26 and n2.
- 127 *he left her a note*: WW to MAHP, February 6, 1907, *PWW*, 17:29.
- 127 *He sent her gifts*: WW to MAHP, February 6, 20, March 27, 1907, *PWW*, 17:29, 48, 93; MAHP to WW, February 25, 1907, *PWW*, 17:50.
- 127 *five weeks*: Wilson departed from New York for Bermuda on January 18, 1908, and arrived back in Princeton February 27, 1908. EAW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, January 14, 1908, *PWW*, 40:570; “President Wilson’s Return,” *Daily Princetonian*, February 29, 1918, *PWW*, 17:619.
- 127 *“coddled him”*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 164, 167; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” December 20, 1924, 9; A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 160–61.
- 127 *oblivious*: Kenneth S. Lynn, “The Hidden Agony of Woodrow Wilson,” *Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter 2004), 68.
- 127 *“foolish things”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 9, and vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 12–16, at 13; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 143.
- 127 *tea dances*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 144.
- 127 *he read her poems*: *Ibid.*, 172–73; Lynn, “The Hidden Agony of Woodrow Wilson,” 68.
- 127 *danced*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 144.
- 127 *smoked cigarettes*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 18.
- 127 *did not go to church ... “independent thing”*: *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 8–9. As to Mrs. Peck’s age, she stated in January 1925 that she was 62. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 39 (January 31, 1925), 20–23, at 21. Her *New York Times* obituary stated her age at death in December 1939 as 76. Together these would place her month and year of birth sometime in January 1863. She would therefore have been roughly six years younger than Wilson, or age 44, at the time of their first meeting in Bermuda. (In the same obituary, the *Times* incorrectly stated the year of her first Bermuda meeting with Wilson as 1905, and stated that Ellen Wilson was with him at the time, which was not the case.) “Mrs. Mary Hulbert, Author, Dies at 76,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1939, 23. In her 1912 divorce case, Mrs. Peck stated her age under oath, but spoke so softly that journalists at the reporters’ table could not hear her. “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6.
- 127 *“did not believe possible”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 13.
- 127 *personal question ... “God knows”*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 169–172.
- 127 *“doormat wife” ... “dictatorial tone”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 23–26, at 25.

- 128 *speech in Hamilton*: Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 32; “Lecture,” Hamilton, *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, February 15, 1908, *PWW*, 17:616.
- 128 “*my beloved*”: WW to MAHP, c. February 1, 1908 (salutation on draft letter), *PWW*, 17:611.
- 128 *intimate letters*: According to Gene Watson of *Munsey’s Magazine*, who was sympathetic to Wilson, there were originally “400–500 letters” in total, all of which he claimed to have read. (Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 21, 1940, WWC.) Today only 227 remain. For seven months following Wilson’s return from this trip to Bermuda, there is no surviving correspondence. (Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson*, 25.) Weinstein suggests the missing letters “were destroyed by Wilson himself, or by a member of his family after his death.” (Weinstein, *ibid.*, 185 and n25.) Another possibility is raised by Hulbert in her memoir. She claimed to have been “robbed” of all the letters she shipped from Bermuda to New York during Wilson’s second White House term. That shipment, she wrote, was “mysteriously stopped” and “Secret Service men” instructed the consignees that “all documents and letters found among my household effects were to be forwarded to Washington! Naturally I had known I was robbed.” MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 265–66. Yet another explanation, offered by historian Frances W. Saunders, is that the consortium of Wilson friends who purchased the letters from Hulbert in 1928 did so in order to destroy those that were “incriminating.” Saunders, “Love and Guilt,” *American Heritage* (April/May 1979), n.p. See text at 246 and corresponding endnote “*For the time being.*”
- 128 “*emotional love*” . . . “*cruel judgment*”: WW to EAW, July 20, 1908, *PWW*, 18:369. None of Ellen’s letters to her husband during his time in Bermuda have survived, and only two of Wilson’s to her, but one of those makes it clear she had issued a warning to him. “Of course I am seeing a great deal of Mrs. Peck,” he wrote. “But I am remembering your injunction.” WW to EAW, February 4, 1908, *PWW*, 17:611; Frances Wright Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson: First Lady between Two Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 188.
- 128 *introducing her*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 222; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 128.
- 128 *family friend*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 130.
- 128 *neither liked nor admired*: Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 202.
- 128 “*only unhappiness*”: Breckinridge Long Diary, January 11, 1924, *PWW*, 68:527.
- 128 “*interest in Mrs. Peck*”: Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 103. To maintain appearances, the First Lady initiated a family visit with Mary so as to “give countenance of her approval.” *Ibid.* A handful of further such visits followed in subsequent years. The ongoing Woodrow–Mary relationship “caused a crisis” in their marriage, Wilson biographer Link concluded. *Ibid.*, 268–69n17.
- 128 “*risk the appearance*”: WW to MAHP, November 2, 1908, *PWW*, 18:478; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 38.
- 128 *tempered by her worries*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 242; Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 219–20.
- 128 “*a hundred fold!*”: WW to MAHP, May 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:191.
- 129 *Peck’s apartment*: WW to MAHP, July 26, 1910, *PWW*, 21:26 and n1.
- 129 *bought her jewelry*: WW to MAHP, May 25, 1909, *PWW*, 19:214.
- 129 “*constant touch*”: WW to MAHP, September 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:382.
- 129 “*perfectly satisfying*”: WW to MAHP, February 21, 1910, *PWW*, 20:148 (emphasis in original).
- 129 “*lonely wherever I go*”: WW to MAHP, February 18, 1910, *PWW*, 20:138.
- 129 “*Why, why*”: MAHP to WW, February 18, 1910, *PWW*, 20:141 (emphasis in original).
- 129 “*Discord begot hate*”: White, *Wilson*, 160–61.
- 129 *precise location*: Andrew F. West, Memorandum to the Princeton University Board of Trustees, Committee on the Graduate School, May 13, 1907, *PWW*, 17:142. Wilson’s “combativeness,” biographer John Milton Cooper concluded, “bordered on obsession.” Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 95.
- 129 *turned down the presidency*: News Item, *Princeton Press*, October 20, 1909, *PWW*, 16:464; Andrew F. West to WW, October 30, 1906, *PWW*, 16:478.
- 129 *honorary doctorate*: “Oxford Honors Americans,” *New York Times*, October 10, 1902, 9.
- 129 *matching gift*: WW to Melancthon Williams Jacobus, *PWW*, 19:124n1.
- 129 *to choose sides*: The dispute over location reflected competing visions for the graduate school. West wanted space for a graduate campus modeled on Cambridge University, a distinct “residential college devoted solely to the

- higher liberal studies.” Andrew F. West, *The Graduate College of Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1913), 28. Wilson wanted the graduate school fitted into the space among the buildings of the existing campus. Cooper, *Wilson*, 104.
- 129 *solid majority*: The vote was 14–10 in favor of accepting the \$500,000 gift (Wilson voting no), and 17–4 in favor of revoking Wilson’s choice of location (Wilson not voting). Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, October 21, 1909, *PWW*, 19:435. The amount of the gift in current dollars was \$17.3 million.
- 129 *phoned Mary*: WW to MAHP, October 24, 1909, *PWW*, 19:442.
- 130 *called on “Sugar Jim” ... stepping stone*: William Otto Inglis, “Helping to Make a President,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 58, no. 4 (October 7, 1916), 14, at 16, 37; *LL*, 3:45–46; Editorial Note: Colonel Harvey’s Plan for Wilson’s Entry Into Politics, *PWW*, 20:146.
- 130 *“greatest one-man politician”*: “James Smith, Jr., Fails in Business,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1915, 1.
- 130 *three Princeton sons*: Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 18.
- 130 *“certain ideals”*: WW to Herbert B. Brougham, February 1, 1910, *PWW*, 20:69.
- 130 *publicly shamed*: “Princeton,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1910, 8. The donor was William C. Procter, president of Procter & Gamble. “Col. W.C. Procter Dies in Cincinnati,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1934, 19.
- 130 *promptly withdrew*: “Procter Withdraws Gift to Princeton,” *New York Times*, February 7, 1910, 1.
- 130 *“wounded”*: WW to MAHP, February 8, 1910, *PWW*, 20:87.
- 130 *immediately left Princeton*: “Woodrow Wilson Sails,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1910, 3.
- 130 *just before he left*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126.
- 130 *from shipboard*: WW to MAHP, February 12, 1910, *PWW*, 20:122.
- 130 *after he landed*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, March 4, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126, 138, 148, 150, 178, 185, 210.
- 130 *he assured Ellen*: WW to EAW, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:125.
- 130 *“too desperately lonely”*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126 (WW emphasis).
- 130 *“if only I were there”*: MAHP to WW, February 15, 1910, *PWW*, 20:127 (MAHP emphasis).
- 130 *“delightful little visit”*: EAW to WW, February 24, 1910, *PWW*, 20:172.
- 130 *“hate and ugliness”*: WW to EAW, February 20, 1910, *PWW*, 20:144.
- 131 *“does appeal to me”*: EAW to WW, February 28, 1910, *PWW*, 20:188.
- 131 *nationwide publicity*: “Princeton in Tennessee,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 8, 1910, 8; “Princeton Trustees Uphold President,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 11, 1910, 1; “Wilson Upheld,” *Fredericksburg (VA) Daily Star*, February 11, 1910, 1; “The Midwinter Outlook,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 14, 1910, 4; “Woodrow Wilson,” *Shreveport Journal*, February 17, 1910, 4; “Col. Henry Watterson Writes on The Midwinter Outlook,” *Jackson (MS) Daily News*, February 19, 1910, 6; “Watterson on the Political Outlook,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 20, 1910, 1.
- 131 *coast-to-coast*: The following are examples of the scores of dailies that carried the AP article, all under the identical headline “Woodrow Wilson”: *The Independent* (Santa Barbara, CA), February 19, 1910, 4; *Evansville (IN) Press*, February 19, 1910, 4; *Bridger (MS) Times*, March 4, 1910, 4.
- 131 *“real motives”*: “Suspicion That Princeton University Is the Seat of a Big Political Game,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 1910, 1; “Outcome of the Controversy,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 7, 1910, 6. The syndicated columnist was E. J. Edwards, writing under his *nom de plume*, “Holland.” “Newspaper Veteran Dies; Dr. Elisha J. Edwards Was Author of ‘Holland’s Letter,’” *Editor & Publisher*, vol. 56, no. 49 (May 3, 1924), 30; Matthew Algeo, *The President Is a Sick Man* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011), 138–39.
- 131 *blaming Wilson*: For example, “Princeton President Blamed for Loss of \$500,000 Gift,” *Mount Vernon Argus* (White Plains, NY), February 08, 1910, 7.
- 131 *“an exhumation”*: Editorial, *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1910, 6.
- 131 *“supreme indifference”*: “Regents Are Considering Woodrow Wilson Again,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, February 15, 1910, 1.
- 131 *“better than the Republicans”*: WW, Address to Democratic Dollar Dinner, March 29, 1910, *PWW*, 20:297; “Time Ripe for Political Change, Says Dr. Wilson,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, March 30, 1910, 1; “President Wilson Predicts Democratic Administration,” *Hawaiian Star*, April 18, 1910, 4.

- 131 “*scholarly vocation*”: “Woodrow Wilson on Colleges,” *Brooklyn Times*, April 18, 1910, 6.
- 131 *the “classes” and the “masses”*: “Seymour Given Big Ovation ... Wilson Is for True Democracy,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 17, 1910, 1.
- 132 *“an ingrate and a liar”*: Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 14, 1940, Woodrow Wilson Collection, MC168, Public Policy Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- 132 *“cruel hands”*: “Seymour Given Big Ovation,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 17, 1910, 1; WW, Address to Princeton Alumni Association of Western Pennsylvania, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 10 (April 20, 1910), 467–71, *PWW*, 20:373.
- 132 *“bloody revolution” ... “exclusiveness”*: “Disaster Forecast by Wilson,” *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, April 17, 1910, *PWW*, 20:366; “Dr. Wilson Scores Church and College,” *New York Times*, April 18, 1910, 9.
- 132 *startled audience*: “Says Pews Are Put Above Souls,” *Tyrone Daily Herald*, April 18, 1910, 1.
- 132 *issues du jour*: Biographer John Milton Cooper noted that three years earlier, Wilson had lectured businessmen in Cleveland that “if you want to win” in politics, you “must be an opportunist ... opportunism, that is politics.” WW, Address to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, November 16, 1907, *PWW*, 17:497; Cooper, *Wilson*, 106.
- 132 *“evil corporations”*: “Princeton’s Head Pleads for More Stringent Law for the Evil Corporations,” *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Times-Leader*, May 21, 1910, 15; “Wilson Urges Whack at Evil-Doing Corporations,” *Lincoln (NE) Journal Star*, May 21, 1910, 7; “Wilson Hits Corporations,” *Pasaic (NJ) Daily Herald*, May 21, 1910, 1.
- 132 *front page*: “Gift of \$10,000,000 Left to Princeton; Isaac C. Wyman of Salem, Mass., Bequeaths Bulk of Estate to Graduate School,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1910, 1. The headline estimate of the size of the gift was wrong. The eventual distributions to Princeton from the estate, completed in 1917, totaled approximately \$800,000. *PWW*, 20:464n3. William Procter almost immediately reinstated his previously revoked pledge, however, bringing the total for the two gifts to \$1.3 million, equivalent to over \$30 million today. William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, June 6, 1910, *PWW*, 20:506.
- 133 *unanimously*: During the same June 6 meeting at which they acknowledged the new gift, the board voted unanimously to accept Procter’s prior \$500,000 offer under its original stipulation to erect the graduate school buildings a mile from campus adjacent to the golf links. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, June 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:509; William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, June 6, 1910, *PWW*, 20:506. Facing the board’s unanimous sentiment, Wilson told them “I feel it to be my duty no longer to oppose.” WW, Remarks to the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:507.
- 133 *“accept defeat”*: WW to Thomas D. Jones, May 30, 1910, *PWW*, 20:483. Wilson’s presidency of the university “really ended at Commencement in June 1910,” wrote his early biographer Ray Stannard Baker. *LL*, 3:352.
- 133 *“most humiliating”*: WW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, October 21, 1907, *PWW*, 38:685.
- 133 *studied painting*: Jim Lamos and Michaelle Pearson, *Remarkable Women of Old Lyme* (Columbia, SC: The History Press, 2015), 36–39.
- 133 *“out of the world”*: WW to MAHP, June 19, July 11, 1909, *PWW*, 19: 261, 307.
- 133 *“plunge back”*: WW to MAHP, July 18, 1909, *PWW*, 19:311.
- 133 *Sunday night dinner*: WW to George Harvey, June 25, 1910, *PWW*, 20:541n1.
- 133 *for months*: Henry Watterson, “The Midwinter Outlook,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 14, 1910, 4.
- 133 *aide to Nathan Bedford Forrest*: “Watterson, Henry,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 133 *Fort Pillow*: Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, “The Fort Pillow Massacre,” S. Rep. No. 38–63, at 1–2 (1864) (“the atrocities committed at Fort Pillow” were the policy of, and directly ordered by, “Forrest and his command”); Bruce Tap, *The Fort Pillow Massacre: North, South, and the Status of African Americans in the Civil War Era* (New York: Rutledge, 2014), 51–65.
- 134 *“mere preliminary”*: WW to David Benton Jones, June 27, 1910, *PWW*, 20:543.
- 134 *“restoration of proper feeling”*: William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, January 30, 1910, *PWW*, 20:65.
- 134 *contacting his closest supporters*: In the weeks immediately following his meeting with Harvey, Smith, and Watterson on June 26, Wilson corresponded with supporters including the following men about whether he should leave Princeton for the governor’s race (all *PWW*, 1910): WW to David B. Jones, July 1, 14, 20:552, 578, Thomas

- D. Jones, July 1, 20:552, Robert Garrett, July 9, 20:569, Winthrop M. Daniels, July 9, 20:569, Henry B. Thompson, July 14, 20:578, Walter Hines Page, July 16, 21:5, Archibald S. Alexander, July 20, 51:649, Adolphus Ragan, July 20, 21:14, Edward Field Goltra, July 21, 21:17, and Dan Fellows Platt, July 23, 21:23; to WW from David B. Jones, June 30, 20:550, 551, Cyrus H. McCormick, July 14, 18, 20:577, 21:10, Cleveland H. Dodge, June 30, July 1, 11, 20:551, 553, 573, Edward W. Sheldon, June 30, July 1, 11, 20:551, 554, 572, and Melancthon Williams Jacobus, July 16, 21:6.
- 134 *“hurry up to see you”*: WW to MAHP, July 26, 1910, *PWW*, 21:26. See also WW to MAHP, July 11, 1910, *PWW*, 20:575.
- 134 *dodging reporters*: George Harvey to WW, August 3, 1910, *PWW*, 21:35.
- 134 *“knew nothing”*: “Dr. Wilson Not Asked Yet,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1910, 1.
- 134 *“deem it [his] duty”*: WW, Press Statement, July 15, 1910, *PWW*, 20:581.
- 134 *yachting*: Cleveland H. Dodge to WW, July 12, 1910, *PWW*, 20:576; WW to MAHP, August 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:38.
- 134 *playing golf*: WW Interview, *Newark Evening News*, July 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:567; George Harvey to WW, August 6, 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:40, 53; WW to Harvey, August 8, 1910, *PWW*, 21:40; WW to MAHP, August 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:50.
- 134 *Princeton alumni*: *PWW*, 21:81n1.
- 134 *“very hungry”*: WW to MAHP, August 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:38.
- 134 *Peck did write*: MAHP to WW, August 10, 1910, *PWW*, 21:48.
- 134 *“the happier I shall be”*: WW to MAHP, August 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:50.
- 134 *“hour to hour”*: WW to MAHP, August 31, 1910, *PWW*, 21:64.
- 135 *Nugent*: “Ex-Senator Smith Runs Exciting Convention,” (*New Brunswick, NJ*) *Daily Home News*, September 16, 1910, 10; “Jersey Democrats Out for a Victory,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1910, 19.
- 135 *had yet to meet*: In fact, Wilson had never in his life attended a political convention. White, *Wilson*, 205, 212.
- 135 *“duck” the issues*: George Harvey to WW, September 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:85.
- 135 *“discussing important issues”*: (*Trenton*) *True American*, July 21, 1910, *PWW*, 21:14.
- 135 *playing golf ... “stood in their seats”*: “Wilson Named Governor in New Jersey,” *New York Times*, September 16, 1910, 3.
- 135 *“A Universally Hailed Nomination”*: *Newark Evening Star*, September 16, 1910, 18; “The Right Democrat Might Win in Jersey,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1910, 6.
- 135 *“Derided and Hissed” ... “without waiting”*: “For Woodrow Wilson,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 16, 1910, 1. In the runup to the convention, Wilson declined to answer this question put to him by the *Trenton Evening Times*: “Do you favor the direct primary for Governor and Congressman, as well as for the county and city offices?” James Kerney to WW, July 30, 1910, *PWW*, 21:31; WW to James Kerney, August 2, 1910, *PWW*, 21:34.
- 135 *resignation as president*: “Personal,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 19, 1910, 8.
- 136 *especially George Harvey*: Wilson and Harvey worked out the campaign details throughout July, August, and September in phone calls and personal meetings as well as through the following correspondence (all *PWW*, 1910). George Harvey to WW: July 7, 20:563, July 8, 20:564, July 21, 21:17, August 6, 21:40, August 9, 21:46, August 12, 21:52, August 23, 21:61, September 6, 21:85, September 9, 21:87, September 12, 21:89, September 13, 21:90; WW to George Harvey: July 7, 20:561, July 14, 20:576, July 16, 21:5; July 26, 21:24; August 8, 21:40, 41, September 10, 21:88.
- 136 *cautious plan ... easily workable*: “Few Speeches for Wilson,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1910, 2. While New Jersey was the fourth smallest state in terms of land area in 1910, in 1959, Hawaii claimed this position. New Jersey then became the fifth smallest.
- 136 *as little as possible*: On October 24, with two weeks left in the campaign, Wilson issued written answers to a list of questions propounded by a prominent New Jersey progressive Republican, George L. Record. “Wilson’s Reply to Mr. Record,” *Pasaic Daily News*, October 25, 1910, 1.
- 136 *promotional pieces*: For example, “Wilson’s Views,” *New York Evening Post*, September 24, 1910, 1; “Woodrow Wilson, Prophet and Defender of the Old Faiths,” *ibid.*; “Wilson—A Tilden, But A Tilden Up to Date,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1910, 7.

- 136 *“a half hour”*: WW to MAHP, September 25, 1910, *PWW*, 21:163.
- 136 *Vivian M. Lewis*: William Starr Myers, ed., *The Story of New Jersey* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1945), 4:435.
- 136 *embraced progressive proposals*: “Lewis Nominated by Jersey Republicans,” *New York Tribune*, September 21, 1910, 4; “Fort Defends His Administration at Lewis Meeting,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, October 29, 1910, 4; “Citizens Cheer Vivian M. Lewis at Monster Republican Meeting,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 1.
- 136 *Lewis himself*: “Citizens Cheer Vivian M. Lewis at Monster Republican Meeting,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 1.
- 136 *Payne-Aldrich Tariff*: An Act to Provide Revenue, Equalize Duties and Encourage the Industries of the United States, and for Other Purposes, Pub. L. 61–5, 36 Stat. 11, 61st Congress, 1st Session (August 5, 1909).
- 136 *against the protective tariff*: Minutes of the American Whig Society, May 24, November 12, 1878, *PWW*, 1:377, 434.
- 136 *agricultural tariffs*: WW, Testimony Before the Tariff Commission, September 23, 1882, *PWW*, 2:140.
- 136 *criticized protective tariffs*: 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); WW, Address to National Democratic Club (press release), c. April 13, 1908, *PWW*, 18:263; “Silent on Bryan at Jefferson Feast,” *New York Times*, April 14, 1908, 2; WW, Address to Toledo Chamber of Commerce, November 27, 1908, *PWW*, 18:647; “Democratic Opportunity,” *Jackson Daily News*, December 24, 1909, 5; “The Democratic Opportunity,” *National Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 9 (January 1910), 249, 253.
- 137 *“tariff of abominations”*: WW to MAHP, August 8, 1909, *PWW*, 19:330. Wilson’s allusion was to the Tariff of 1828, derided in the South as the Tariff of Abominations for its harmful effects on the region’s agricultural economy, then heavily dependent on two-way trade with Britain. Five years later it infamously gave rise to the Nullification Crisis in which South Carolinian John C. Calhoun, who was Vice President at the time, supported his state’s assertion of the power to nullify federal laws it deemed unconstitutional by preventing their enforcement. William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816–1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 1–3.
- 137 *“ugly face”*: WW, “The Tariff Make-Believe,” *North American Review*, vol. 190, no. 647 (October 1909), 535–56, at 547.
- 137 *waning days*: For example, “A Chance for the Democrats,” *Newark Evening News*, October 30, 1909, *PWW*, 19:461; WW, Address to Democratic Dollar Dinner, March 29, 1910, *PWW*, 20:297; WW, Address to the New Jersey Bankers’ Association, May 6, 1910, 20:414.
- 137 *“red-hot”*: It was Harvey who had urged Wilson to write the attack on the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in the *North American Review*. George Harvey to WW, May 10, 1909, *PWW*, 19:191.
- 137 *“I have always been opposed”*: “Woodrow Wilson Scores the Tariff,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1910, 7.
- 137 *promised to lower rates*: Stanley D. Solvick, “William Howard Taft and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 50, no. 3 (December 1963), 424–442.
- 137 *the final vote*: 44 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 61st Cong., 1st Sess. (July 31, 1910), 4755 (House roll call on conference report for H.R. 1438); *ibid.* (August 5, 1910), 4949 (Senate roll call on conference report for H.R. 1438); “Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill Signed by the President,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 6, 1909, 1.
- 137 *retaliatory tariff*: Geoffrey Robert Little, “Print Paper Ought to Be as Free as the Air and Water: American Newspapers, Canadian Newsprint, and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1903–1913,” *American Periodicals*, vol. 32, no. 1 (May 2022), 53–69, at 63.
- 137 *thousands of editors*: A notable exception to the publishing industry’s opposition to tariffs on newsprint was William Randolph Hearst, an investor in U.S.-based International Paper—the largest producer of paper in the world—which benefitted from higher newsprint prices and protection from competition. *Ibid.*, 64.
- 137 *54 percent*: Deborah Kalb, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 7th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2016), 1715.
- 137 *57 percent*: Despite the Democrats’ failure to win control of the Senate, their gains in the Assembly ensured election of a Democratic U.S. senator. That was because New Jersey chose its senators by joint ballot, with the Assembly and Senate voting together as one body. Following the 1910 election, Democrats held a 21-vote

- majority on the joint ballot. “Republicans Hold the State Senate,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, November 10, 1910, 9.
- 137 *Democrats added*: Michael J. Dubin, *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 10; Office of the Historian, *Party Divisions of the House of Representatives, 1789 to Present* (Washington: U.S. House of Representatives, 2023); Senate Historical Office, *Party Division, 61st Congress* (Washington: U.S. Senate Historical Office, 2023).
- 138 “*some in this city*”: “Holland’s Letter,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 12, 1910, 1.
- 138 *good friend*: *LL*, 3:121n3. Wilson’s sponsor “Sugar Jim” Smith was notorious for his sugar tariff protectionism as a U.S. senator (and for his graft in profiting from investment in the Sugar Trust at the same time). “Senator Smith’s Investment,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1894, 4.
- 138 *backed the winner*: “James E. Martine Elected Senator,” *Passaic Daily News*, January 25, 1911, 1.
- 138 “*You did exactly right*”: John Sharp Williams to WW, December 14, 1910, *PWW*, 22:197. Neither Wilson nor Williams minded that the winner of the primary, James E. Martine, was an anti-suffragist. Delight W. Dodyk, “Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in New Jersey” (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1997), 316.
- 138 *southern Democratic newspapers*: “Woodrow Wilson and James E. Martine,” *Birmingham Post-Herald*, December 10, 1910, 4; “Democratic Troubles in New Jersey,” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, December 12, 1910, 8; “Woodrow Wilson Is a Leader,” *Birmingham News*, December 14, 1910, 4; “Looking to 1912 for a President,” *Charlotte Evening Chronicle*, December 15, 1910, 8; “First Discordant Sound,” *Jackson (MS) Clarion Ledger*, December 15, 1910, 5; “Wilson Breaks with Machine,” *Staunton Spectator*, December 16, 1910, 2; “Woodrow Wilson Ready for Fight,” *Jackson (MS) Daily News*, December 18, 1910, 1; “Presidential Timber,” *Guymon (OK) Democrat*, December 22, 1910, 1; “Wilson and Practical Politics,” *Miami Record-Herald*, December 23, 1910, 4; “Which Will Be First on Ticket?,” *Staunton Daily Leader*, December 23, 1910, 1; “Three Leaders of Presidential Size,” *Greenville (SC) Daily News*, December 30, 1910, 2; “Not Outside His Duty,” *Miami Herald*, January 4, 1911, 2; “A Leader Against A Boss,” *(Oklahoma City) Evening Free Press*, January 5, 1911, 8; Editorial, *Orangeburg (SC) Times and Democrat*, January 5, 1910, 2.
- 138 *strains of “Dixie”*: Taft, too, was hailed at the event for appointing a Confederate veteran to the Supreme Court. “Jubilee Cheers for Taft,” *New York Tribune*, December 15, 1910, 6.
- 138 “*certainly entitled*”: Woodrow Wilson and the South, *Atlanta Journal*, November 13, 1910, sec. H, 6.
- 138 “*most talked of man*” ... “*time for one’s friends*”: WW to MAHP, January 3, 1911, *PWW*, 22:292.
- 138 “*balm*” ... “*how delightful*”: WW to MAHP, January 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:329.
- 138 *her “beauty”* ... “*miss you dreadfully*”: WW to MAHP, January 15, 1911, *PWW*, 22:333.
- 139 “*desperately lonely*”: WW to MAHP, December 7, 1910, *PWW*, 22: 141.
- 139 “*Do you know*”: MAHP to WW, January 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:331.
- 139 “*Every private comfort*”: WW to MAHP, January 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:329.