WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

11. 'The Least Part of It'

PAGE

- 140 authored articles: For example, "Knight Errant of the New Democracy," Harper's Weekly, vol. 55, no. 2824, (February 4, 1911), 4; George Harvey, "The Political Predestination of Woodrow Wilson," North American Review, vol. 193, no. 664 (March 1911), 321-30; "The Problem, the Solution and the Man," North American Review, vol. 193, no. 665 (April 1911), 481-493; George Harvey, "Governor Woodrow Wilson," The Independent, vol. 71, no. 3283 (November 2, 1911), 949-954; William G. McAdoo to George Harvey, December 9, 1911, in Willis Fletcher Johnson, George Harvey: A Passionate Patriot (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), 177. These articles were in addition to Harvey's favorable mentions of Wilson throughout nearly every issue of his publications.
- 140 *Dixon sent*: "Thomas Dixon Was Married Here in 1886 ... Says That Governor-Elect Woodrow Wilson Will Be Next President," *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 23, 1910, 6.
- 141 "rooting for you": Thomas Dixon to WW, November 25, 1910, PWW, 22:96.
- "superior to The Clansman": Advertisement, The Troy (AL) Messenger, November 16, 1910, 7. Wilson would not have objected to Dixon's theme. He had long opposed "intermixture of African and Aryan blood" (WW to ELA, December 11, 1884, PWW 3:532), and continued to do so because it "would degrade the white nations." Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in PWW, 18:386.
- 141 attention-getting attack: "How the Governor Defied the Bosses in New Jersey and Brought Himself Into National Prominence as a Democratic Presidential Possibility," New York Times, December 24, 1911, 34; "A Senatorship Issue of National Concern," Chicago Tribune, December 26, 1910, 10.
- 141 reputation as a surrogate: "Kinkead 'Home Night' to Be a Mammoth One," Hudson County (NJ) Observer, November 7, 1910, 6.
- 141 *star billing*: Advertisements, ibid., November 5, 1910, 2 (advertisement for event at Pavonia Hall, Jersey City), 4 (advertisement for event at St. Patrick's Theater, Jersey City).
- 141 "You, the people": "Great Gathering of Neighbors in Kinkead's Honor," ibid., November 8, 1910, 5.
- 141 campaign manager: Robert Carl Scott, "William McCombs and the 1912 Democratic Presidential Nomination of Woodrow Wilson," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, vol. 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 246–259, at 246–47.
- 141 press agent: Frank Parker Stockbridge, "How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination," Current History, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–72; George Kibbe Turner, "Manufacturing Public Opinion: The New Art of Making Presidents by Press Bureau," McClure's Magazine, vol. 39, No. 4 (August 1912), 316; "F. P. Stockbridge, Author, Editor, Is Dead at 70," Boston Globe, December 8, 1940, 46; "F.P. Stockbridge, Editor, Dead at 70," New York Times, December 8, 1940, 71; "F. P. Stockbridge, Editor, Author, Dies at 70," Editor & Publisher, vol. 73, no. 50 (December 14, 1940), 35.
- 141 not a candidate: WW to MAHP, March 26, 1911, PWW, 22:517; Robert Carl Scott, "William McCombs and the 1912 Democratic Presidential Nomination of Woodrow Wilson," Arkansas Historical Quarterly, vol. 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 246–259, at 249–50.
- 141 "non-political": Stockbridge, "How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination," 562.
- 142 Bryn Mawr alumnae: "Bryn Mawr Heckles Wilson On the Presidential Office At Brilliant Entertainment," Denver Daily News, May 8, 1911, PWW, 23:21.
- 142 "unsexed": Stockbridge, "How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination," 567. Stockbridge did not publish this account until after Wilson's death.

- 142 more liberal: After he left the Wilson campaign at the end of 1911, Stockbridge wrote positively about women's suffrage. Frank Parker Stockbridge, "A University That Runs A State," The World's Work, vol. 25, no. 6 (April 1913), 699. During Wilson's second term, he worked with W. E. B. DuBois on a plan for a three-volume history of the Black soldier in the World War. W. E. B. Du Bois to F.P. Stockbridge, December 2, 1918, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, series 1A, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Libraries.
- 142 "reporters of both sexes"... "dodging the issue": Stockbridge, "How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination," 566–67.
- 142 never felt comfortable: Terri Bimes and Stephen Skowronek, "Woodrow Wilson's Critique of Popular Leadership: Reassessing the Modern-Traditional Divide in Presidential History," Polity, vol. 29, no. 1 (Autumn 1996), 27–63.
- 142 Fifteen years earlier: Susan Englander, "We Want the Ballot for Different Reasons," in California Women and Politics from the Gold Rush to the Great Depression, Robert W. Cherny and Mary Ann Irwin, eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 209–36; Donald G. Cooper, "The California Suffrage Campaign of 1869: Its Origin, Strategies, Defeat," Southern California Quarterly, vol. 71, no. 4 (1989), 311–25, at 322.
- 143 campaign headquarters: HWS, 4:487.
- 143 leadership was backing: Walter N. Parrish and L.B. Mallory, Final Calendar of Legislative Business, California Legislature, 39th Sess. (1911), 300.
- "The mother's influence": California State Senator John Bunyan Sanford, "Argument Against Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 8," June 26, 1911, California Voters' Information Manual, 1911 Special Election, Secretary of State Elections Papers, California State Archives.
- 143 "Woman Suffrage is a disease": Senator J. B. Sanford, "Woman Suffrage Means Disruption of the Home," Los Angeles Times, October 1, 1911, pt. 5, 19.
- 143 "do not repeat": WW, "An Address to the Jefferson Club in Los Angeles," May 12, 1911, PWW, 23:33–34.
- 143 long been a staple: From the first, slavery's defenders argued that the preamble to the Declaration must not be taken literally. Early examples are Maryland Sen. William Pinkney's contention that "the self-evident truths announced in the Declaration of Independence are not truths at all, if taken literally," 35 Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess. (February 15, 1820), 405; Delaware Rep. Louis McLane's assertion that "the Declaration of Independence had no reference to those persons who were at that time held in slavery," ibid. (February 7, 1820), 1154; and Virginia Sen. John Randolph's insistence that the idea "all men were born free and equal" is "a most pernicious falsehood," 2 Register of Debates, 19th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 2, 1826), 126.
- 144 "gross dishonesty": "Freedom for Women," Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq., at the National Woman's Rights Convention, Worcester, MA, October 16, 1851 (New York: American Equal Rights Association, 1851), 2–3.
- 144 "show to the world": 48 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, Appendix, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess. (April 24, 1912), 176–193, at 188–89 (extension of remarks of Rep. Taylor).
- 144 "clear in my mind": WW to George Harvey, June 6, 1911, PWW, 23:134.
- 144 rely on Dudley Field Malone: For example, William F. McCombs to WW, September 13, 1911, PWW, 23:324 and n2; McCombs to WW, September 23, 1911, PWW, 23:355 (Malone surrogate speech in Boston).
- 144 shared the platform: "Trenton True American," June 29, 1911, PWW, 23:177 (joint appearance); WW, "Campaign Address in Jersey City," Jersey Journal, September 22, 1911, PWW, 23:342 (joint appearance); "Wilson Holds Nation's Ills Due to Taft," Newark Evening News, October 12, 1911 (joint appearance); "Wilson Says Taft Disturbs Business," New York Times, October 12, 1911, 18 (joint appearance); "Governor Wilson Cheered by Over 6,000 in Wirlwind [sic] Tour of Monmouth County," Long Branch (NJ) Daily Record, October 12, 1911, 1 (joint appearance); "Governor Lashes the Plunderers of County," Atlantic City Review, November 2, 1911, PWW, 23:522 (joint appearance).
- 144 "gives encouragement": "Wilson Says Taft Disturbs Business," New York Times, October 12, 1911, 18; "New Jersey's Reputation Is Now at Stake," Newark Evening News, October 21, 1911, 5.
- 144 control of both houses: "Republicans Capture Control," November 9, 1911, Camden Daily Courier, 1; "Jersey Returns to Republican Fold," Monmouth Inquirer, November 9, 1911, 6; "Wilson Puts Blame of Defeat on Smith," New York Times, November 9, 1911, 3.
- 145 repudiated: Johnson, George Harvey, 184.

- 145 "socialistic, populistic": WW to Adrian Hoffman Joline, April 29, 1907, PWW, 17:124; "To Knock Mr. Bryan into a Cocked Hat," New York Sun, January 8, 1912, 1.
- 145 introductory dinner: WW to MAH, March 13, 1911, PWW, 22:500; Stockton Axson, "Brother Woodrow": A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 269n19. In Ellen's view, "that dinner put Mr. Wilson in the White House." James Kerney, The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson (New York: Century Co., 1926), 163.
- 145 key advisers ... peace offering: Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 354–55; Ray Stannard Baker, "Memorandum of an interview with Dudley Field Malone, November 1, 1927," manuscript in Baker Papers, quoted in ibid., 355.
- 145 bonded in 1909: Josephus Daniels, The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 3–9.
- 145 trip to North Carolina: WW to Josephus Daniels, June 13, 1911, PWW, 23:140.
- 145 "he believed it": Baker interview with Malone, quoted in Link, Road to the White House, 355.
- 145 "best modern example": "Bryan Considers Wilson Did Right," Omaha World-Herald, January 31, 1912, 10.
- 146 "For President": The first such issue was Harper's Weekly, vol. 55, no. 2864 (November 11, 1911), 4, which also featured Wilson on the cover.
- 146 particularly in the West: Wilson's remarks are quoted in Harvey's notes written immediately after the meeting. Johnson, George Harvey, 180, 186; LL, 3:249.
- "economically disastrous": WW, Baccalaureate Address, Princeton University, June 13, 1909, PWW, 19:242, 245;
 "Woodrow Wilson Hits Labor Unions; They Give the Least Possible for Wages, He Tells Princeton Graduates,"
 New York Times, June 14, 1909, 5.
- 146 dismissing progressive reforms: Ten weeks later, the Washington Post would publish a page-one opinion piece by William Randolph Hearst challenging the sincerity of Wilson's conversion to progressivism because he "formerly ridiculed and reviled the initiative, referendum, the recall and direct nominations." The op-ed was reprinted in newspapers across the country. "No Democrat, This," Washington Post, March 14, 1912, 1.
- 146 "from all sides": "National Leaders Attack Wilson from Every Side," Newark Evening Star, January 8, 1912, 8.
- 146 Times pointed out: "Gov. Wilson's Inaugural," New York Times, January 18, 1911, 8.
- 146 could only be solved: Johnson, George Harvey, 186; LL, 3:249.
- 146 retired as managing editor ... recruited him: Johnson, George Harvey, 49-78.
- 147 "real, practical owner": Gustavus Myers, "How Capitalist Parties Are Financed," International Socialist Review, vol. 13, no. 2 (August 1912), 144.
- 147 *under the influence*: Harvey's biographer called this surmise, repeated as fact in in *LL*, 3:246–47, "a very foolish misstatement." Morgan, he wrote, had "little or nothing to do with" either Harvey's magazine acquisitions or their operation. Johnson, *George Harvey*, 68–69.
- 147 little confirmation: Writing more than two decades after the fact in his hagiography of Wilson, Josephus Daniels offered the same conclusory statements: Harper & Brothers was "controlled by Morgan" and was "Pierpont Morgan's agent." Daniels, The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 22. But the New York Times, reflecting on these events in 1938, wrote that "there has been no evidence to indicate that it was true" that Harvey shared the views of Morgan and "the money interests." "Colonel House Dies Here at Age of 79," New York Times, March 29, 1938, 1. Ellen Wilson's cousin Robert Ewing (no relation to the influential Louisiana Democratic newspaper publisher of the same name), who published an apologia for the Harper's Weekly episode at her request, stressed that J.P. Morgan's services were furnished "years ago" and that the editorial policy of the magazine was "utterly untrammeled" by it. "Editors' Break With Wilson Is Explained," Nashville Banner, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 147 letter of apology: WW to George Harvey, December 21, 1911, WWP, series 14: supplement, 1880–1946; 30, George B. M. Harvey, 1906 to 1912, #50, image 60.
- 147 Harvey thanked Wilson: George Harvey to WW, January 4, 1912, ibid., #52, image 64.
- 147 "disappearance of the name": "Tale of Wilson-Harvey Rift," New York Times, January 5, 1912, 2.
- 147 "no breach": "No Breach,' Gov. Wilson on Harvey," Jersey Journal, January 5, 1912, 1.
- 147 confirmed ... "no foundation": "The Wilson-Harvey Letters," New York Times, January 31, 1912, 10; "Wilson Dropped! Harvey Tells Why," Newark Evening Star, January 17, 1912, 6; Johnson, George Harvey, 195–96.

- 148 After consulting: Johnson, George Harvey, 188; William Frank McCombs, Making Woodrow Wilson President (New York, Fairview Publishing Co., 1921), 57.
- 148 another letter to Harvey: WW to George Harvey, January 11, 1912, PWW, 24:31.
- 148 "have to print a word": George Harvey to WW, January 16, 1912, PWW, 24:45.
- 148 proof page: Johnson, George Harvey, 192–93; "To Our Readers," Harper's Weekly, vol. 56, no. 2874 (January 20, 1912), 4.
- 148 correct the record: "Watterson Calls Wilson an Ingrate," New York Times, January 18, 1912, 1; "Watterson Prays Party May Be Protected from Leaders Like Wilson," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, January 30, 1912, 2 (reprinting in full Watterson's statement, "To the Democrats of the United States").
- 148 "threatened to wreck it": Link, Road to the White House, 359.
- 148 previously editorialized: Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., "James Calvin Hemphill: Southern Critic of Woodrow Wilson, 1911–1912," *The Georgia Review*, vol. 13, no. 4 (Winter 1959), 378–392, at 380.
- "personal infidelity": J. C. Hemphill to W. H. Taft, January 5, 1912, William Howard Taft Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 367n75; J. C. Hemphill to W.H. Taft, January 1, 1912, ibid., n78.
- 149 exactly matched: "Why Watterson Deserted Wilson—Shocked by Governor's Cold Avowal He Thought Col. Harvey's Support Was Injurious," *Detroit Free Press*, January 18, 1912, 1.
- 149 "besieged all afternoon"... "owned by J.P. Morgan": "Watterson Nice Old Gentleman'—Wilson," New York Times, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 149 two thousand attendees: "Gov. Wilson Calls for Majority Rule," Detroit Free Press, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 149 same words: "Feared for Harvey's Job," New York Sun, January 19, 1912, 2.
- 149 bore fruit: New York World, January 19, 1912, quoted in Link, Road to the White House, 371-72.
- 150 tough questions: "The Wilson-Harvey Letters," New York Times, January 31, 1912, 10.
- seven separate stories: "Colonel Harvey Was Hurt"; "Wilson Says He Is Sorry"; "Some Striking Paragraphs"; "No Tainted Money for Him"; "Bryan Wilson's Friend"; "Wilson Manager Talks"; "Out of Wilson Committee," all Baltimore Sun, January 31, 1912, 1.
- 150 suffrage campaign: "Suffrage Meeting a Good One," Baltimore Sun, January 31, 1912, 1.
- 150 "his ablest advocate": EAW to Robert Ewing, January 12, 1912, PWW, 24:40 (emphasis in original).
- 150 "days of enlightenment" ... "exercise their prerogative": George Harvey, Women, Etc. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1908), 94–98.
- 150 book he wrote: Harvey, Women, Etc., 98.
- 150 women should not vote: "An Interview with Dr. Woodrow Wilson," (Hamilton, Bermuda) Royal Gazette, March 3, 1908, in PWW, 18:3.
- 150 "My chief argument": WW to Frederic Yates, September 5, 1908, PWW, 18:417.
- 151 calls for women's voting rights: Hugh H. Lusk, "The Woman's Vote. Some Side-Lights from New Zealand's Experience," North American Review, vol. 192, no. 656 (July 1910), 107–116; Max Eastman, "Is Woman Suffrage Important?," North American Review, vol. 193, no. 662 (January 1911), 60–71; Bertha Damaris Knobe, "The March of 3,000 Women—The Great Parade by Which the Women of New York Emphasized Their Demand for Voters' Powers," Harper's Weekly, vol. 55, no. 2839 (May 20, 1911), 8; Gwendolen Overton, "Woman Suffrage," North American Review, vol. 194, no. 669 (August 1911), 271–281.
- 151 four major bills: Edmund D. Potter, "Path to Power: Wilson as President of Princeton and Governor of New Jersey," in Ross A. Kennedy, ed., A Companion to Woodrow Wilson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 68.
- 151 five more states: Washington did so in 1910, California in 1911, and Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas in 1912. "Women Win Notable Victory," Tacoma Daily Ledger, November 10, 1910, 6; "Women Who Fought for Suffrage Express Elation Over Victory," San Francisco Examiner, October 13, 1911, 2; "4 Out of 5 States Go for Suffrage," Daily East Oregonian, November 7, 1912, 5.
- 151 "strongly against it": WW to Witter Bynner, June 20, 1911, PWW, 22:160.
- 151 seeking his support: Clara Schlee Laddey (President, New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association) and Mary Loring Colvin (Corresponding Secretary) to WW, January 2, 1911, PWW, 289–90.
- 151 Throughout his tenure: "Woman's Party Orator Makes Final Appeal," Chicago Tribune, November 6, 1916, 17.

- one of the hottest musicals: Gerald Martin Bordman and Richard Norton, American Musical Theater: A Chronicle, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 299–30.
- 152 "Shoulder to shoulder": "Weak Little Woman, or, The Militant Suffrage Song" (1909), lyrics by George Ade; music by Gustave Luders.
- 152 rulers are women: Nancy Tystad Koupal, "The Wonderful Wizard of the West: L. Frank Baum in South Dakota, 1888–91," Great Plains Quarterly, vol. 9, no. 4 (Fall 1989), 203–215.
- 152 had long editorialized: Katharine M. Rogers, L. Frank Baum, Creator of Oz: A Biography (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 28–33. Feminist though he was, at an early point in his career Baum's views on Native Americans were decidedly racist—by contemporary standards as well as our own. Ten years before the first publication of The Wonderful Wizard of Oz, two of his editorials in the Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer called for the "annihilation of the few remaining Indians" as the best way to secure the frontier. Tragically, the first of these editorials was published just two weeks before the slaughter of more than 250 men, women, and children by the U.S. 7th Cavalry at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Though nothing like his editorial endorsement of genocide, Baum's fantasy fiction contains stereotypical representations of Black, Irish, and Chinese people. Hunter Liguore, "Sympathy or Racism?: L. Frank Baum on Native Americans," Great Plains Quarterly, vol. 37, no. 2 (Spring 2017), 77–82; Richard Tuerk, Oz in Perspective: Magic and Myth in the L. Frank Baum Books (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 68–75.
- 152 influenced by his wife ... advice from his mother-in-law: Sally Roesch Wagner, "The Wonderful Mother of Oz," The Baum Bugle, vol. 47, no. 3 (Winter 2003), 7–13; Rogers, Baum, Creator of Oz, 50–54; Michael O. Riley, Oz and Beyond: The Fantasy World of L. Frank Baum (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 29.
- 152 most successful stage musical: Riley, Oz and Beyond, 98.
- 152 golden age of the postcard: Kenneth Florey, American Woman Suffrage Postcards: A Study and Catalog (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2015), 2–4, 185–87, 217, and passim.
- 152 advice column: "When Women Vote," San Francisco Examiner, September 7, 1909, 24; "For Suffragists and Others," San Francisco Examiner, April 23, 1909, 22; "Arms and the Women," San Francisco Examiner, November 1, 1909, 18; "Woman Asks Her Half," San Francisco Examiner, September 18, 1909, 20; "Dorothy Dix Talks," Washington Times, April 14, 1910, 1; "Editorial Pen Points," Los Angeles Times, April 18, 1910, 16 (all articles by Dorothy Dix). Though based in New York, Dix (pen name of Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer) was born, raised, and for years pursued her journalism career in the South. She occasionally wrote her columns in the voice (and cartoon dialect) of "Mirandy," an "old Negro mammy." See, for example, "Mirandy on Ogling," Buffalo Enquirer, April 15, 1910, 5.
- 153 Cleveland insisted: "The relative positions to be assumed by man and woman," he added, "were assigned long ago by a higher intelligence than ours." Grover Cleveland, "Would Woman's Suffrage Be Unwise?," Ladies' Home Journal, vol. 22, no. 11 (October 1905), 7–8. Ironically, thirteen years earlier in the presidential election of 1892, Cleveland was the first president since Jefferson to be elected in a contest in which women voted. Wyoming, where women had voted since 1869, had recently been admitted to statehood. Unfortunately for Cleveland, the women of Wyoming voted for his Republican opponent, Benjamin Harrison.
- 153 senior thesis: Roosevelt's thesis argued a perfect State would "at once" grant women equal access to the ballot, equal rights of inheritance, and an unfettered right to education, including the right to go to law school. All of these were denied women at the time. Kathleen Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 75; Doris Groshen Daniels, "Theodore Roosevelt and Gender Roles," Presidential Studies Quarterly, vol. 26, no. 3 (Summer 1996), 648–65, at 656.
- 153 high school graduation: Jonathon Lurie, William Howard Taft: The Travails of a Progressive Conservative (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.
- 153 As a teenager: HWS, 5:270. His father, who had been Secretary of War and then Attorney General in President Grant's cabinet, was a champion of the cause of votes for women, and the younger Taft was proud to be following in his father's footsteps.
- 153 Years later: Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3:1403–04.
- 153 his first year: HWS, 5:259.

• NOTES TO PAGES 153-154 •

- 153 On April 14 ... "actually oppose me": "Suffragettes Hiss Taft, Their Guest," New York Times, April 15, 1910, 1; "Taft Is Hissed by Suffragists," Washington Post, April 15, 1910, 1.
- 154 as he predicted: HWS, 5:269–74.