## WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

## Extended Notes

## 13. The Suffrage Inaugural

PAGE

- 168 August 5: "New Party Opens Convention Today as Colonel Comes," Chicago Tribune, August 5, 1912, 1.
- "I feel like a bull moose!": "Convention Echoes," Atchison Daily Globe, June 24, 1912, 4. According to press accounts, Roosevelt offered multiple variations of the statement. For example: "Several times since he has been here [at the Chicago Republican convention] he has described himself as 'bully as a bull moose." "Bully as a Bull Moose," (UK) South Wales Echo, June 24, 1912, 2.
- 168 front of the pack: "Jane Addams Speaks," Chicago Tribune, August 8, 1912, 2; "Coast to Coast Nominees Chosen by Progressives," ibid., 1; Victoria Bissell Brown, The Education of Jane Addams (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 4–5.
- "men and women"... "we favor woman suffrage!" "Roosevelt Sole Convention Star," New York Times, August 7, 1912, 1; "Theodore Roosevelt's Confession of Faith Before the Progressive Party Convention, Chicago, Illinois," pamphlet (New York: Progressive Party, 1912), Harvard College Library, Theodore Roosevelt Collection (emphasis added); "Roosevelt Asks Suffragists Aid," Chicago Tribune, August 7, 1913, 7.
- 168 forty-minute demonstration: Kathleen Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 391.
- 169 "greatest applause": "Roosevelt Sole Convention Star," New York Times, August 7, 1912, 1-2.
- 169 half-page photograph: "Many Women in the Picture at the Roosevelt Convention," New York Times, August 7, 1912, 2.
- 169 *telegram*: Theodore Roosevelt to Jane Addams, August 5, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 169 reprinted as a leaflet: Theodore Roosevelt to Oscar K. Davis, August 12, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 169 advocate for equal rights: Geoffrey Cowan, Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 275.
- "best white men": Theodore Roosevelt to Julian Harris, August 1, 1912, in Arthur S. Link, ed., "Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party's 'Lily White' Policy in 1912," Journal of Southern History, vol. 10, no. 4 (November 1944), 480–490, at 487; "Roosevelt Insists He's Negro's Friend," New York Times, August 3, 1912, 3.
- 169 "better whites": For several examples, see HAP, 5:44–50, 72, 82, and passim.
- 169 "much disturbed": "Trouble Breaks Out for Platform Makers," New York Tribune, August 6, 1912, 4.
- 169 reluctant support: "Negroes Indorse Roosevelt Stand," Chicago Tribune, August 7, 1912, 1.
- 169 refused to budge: "No Third Party Seats for Southern Negroes," New York Tribune, August 6, 1912, 4. In addition to the several Black delegates from the South, the Credentials Committee "refused to seat delegates representing Asian Americans from Hawaii." Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life, 394.
- 169 "rights of the negroes": "Trouble Breaks Out for Platform Makers," New York Tribune, August 6, 1912, 4.
- 169 had none: Jane Addams, "The Progressive Party and the Negro," The Crisis, vol. 5, no. 1 (November 1912), 30. The first Black delegate to a Democratic National Convention was credentialed in 1936. There was one Black alternate delegate in 1924; there were ten in 1932. Hanes Walton, Jr. and C. Vernon Gray, "Black Politics at the National Republican and Democratic Conventions," 1868–1972, Phylon, vol. 36, no. 3 (3rd Quarter, 1975), 269–278, at 269.

- 170 doomed to failure: "Roosevelt and Lincoln," *The Crisis*, vol. 4, no. 5 (September 1912), 230 (quoting the *Philadelphia Inquirer*).
- 170 "evasive answer": James D. Startt, Woodrow Wilson and the Press: Prelude to the Presidency (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2004), 192.
- 170 three-hour conference: Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 503.
- 170 "would prefer defeat": Oswald G. Villard to Susan W. Fitzgerald, August 14, 1912, PWW, 25:29.
- 170 "to bear children": WW, Address Delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, in John Wells Davidson, ed., A Crossroads of Freedom: The 1912 Speeches of Woodrow Wilson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 284, 295.
- 170 "weakness of women": WW, Address in Denver Auditorium, Denver, Colorado, October 7, 1912, in Davidson, Crossroads of Freedom, 373.
- 170 final swing ... "monopoly of the suffrage": People v. Malone, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325, 326–27 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913); People v. Malone, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); Linda J. Lumsden, Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 46.
- 171 "modest, quiet, and courteous": "Spreading Gag Rule," The Coming Nation: A Journal of Things Doing and To Be Done, no. 115, New Series (November 23, 1912), 4.
- 171 Maud Malone: Lumsden, Rampant Women, 74.
- incisive rejoinder: People v. Malone, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325, 326 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913) (emphasis added); Alexis J. Anderson, "The Formative Period of First Amendment Theory, 1870–1915," American Journal of Legal History, vol. 24, no. 1 (1980), 56–75, at 73n85 (quoting the Wilson–Malone exchange as reported by the New York Court of Special Sessions); People v. Malone, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, PWW, 25:438; "Cheering Crowd Storms Wilson," New York Times, October 20, 1912, 1; John Milton Cooper, Jr., Woodrow Wilson: A Biography (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 174; Mary Walton, A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 46–47; Jo Freeman, We Will Be Heard: Women's Struggles for Political Power in the United States (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 70–71.
- 171 "I positively decline": WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music, PWW, 25:438.
- 171 officers grabbed Malone: "Cheering Crowd Storms Wilson," New York Times, October 20, 1912, 1.
- 171 "detective seized her": Davidson, Crossroads of Freedom, 468.
- 171 well-dressed woman: "Spreading Gag Rule," The Coming Nation, no. 115, New Series (November 23, 1912), 4.
- 171 convicted: People v. Malone, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913); People v. Malone, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); "Maud Malone Loses," New York Times, March 29, 1913, 11.
- 171 "sorry": WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music, PWW, 25:438; Davidson, Crossroads of Freedom, 472.
- 172 "finer day": "Editorial Comments," Paterson (NJ) Morning Call, November 6, 1912, 4.
- 172 Wilson strolled: LL, 3:407–08. Wilson affectionately referred to Malone as his fidus Achates—meaning "trusted friend." WW to MAH, July 28, 1912, PWW, 24:572.
- 172 "first to congratulate": PWW, 3:408–09.
- 172 *delegate lead*: Roosevelt entered the convention with a delegate lead of 411–201. But Taft's superior party organization precluded Roosevelt's gaining more in Chicago. Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, 388.
- 172 write-in candidate: "May Write on Ballot Taft Electors' Names," Los Angeles Express, November 4, 1912, 9.
- 172 narrowly lost: Presidential Elections 1789-2004 (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 140.
- 172 similar results: Ibid.
- 172 "Divide and rule": John Stuart Blackie, The Wisdom of Goethe (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883), 48.
- 173 thirty-four years: In the 46th Congress, elected in 1878, Democrats controlled the House 150–128 and the Senate 43–33.
- 173 seventy-six years: Gerhard Peters, "Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1824–2004," American Presidency Project (UC Santa Barbara, online); A. Scott Berg, Wilson (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2013), 251.
- 173 more popular votes: David R. Tarr and Jon Preimesberger, eds., Guide to U.S. Elections, 6th ed., vol. 1 (Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2010), 773–74, 775–77.

- 173 "What use would he be": Frank Parker Stockbridge, "How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination," Current History, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–72, at 565.
- 173 "most powerful": Charles E. Neu, Colonel House: A Biography of Woodrow Wilson's Silent Partner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), ix.
- 173 smuggling weapons: Ibid., 1–2.
- 173 "my second personality": EMH Diary, August 16, 1913, PWW, 28:178.
- 173 personally interviewed: Neu, Colonel House, 77-86.
- 173 his personal recommendations: House's initial recommendations included Albert Burleson, Postmaster General; William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; and Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. In addition, House's friend Thomas Watt Gregory would become Attorney General in August, 1914. Ibid.; Charles E. Neu, "In Search of Colonel Edward M. House: The Texas Years," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, vol. 93, no. 1 (July 1989), 43 and n17.
- 174 "closest friends": Adrian Anderson, "President Wilson's Politician: Albert Sidney Burleson of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, vol. 77, no. 3 (January 1974), 339–354, at 340.
- 174 floor leader: Ibid., 342; "Wilson Speakers to Ignore Colonel," New York Times, August 11, 1912, 4; "Chooses the Captains for Wilson's Fight," New York Times, July 19, 1912, 1.
- 174 excluded Black students: Texas A&M would not be integrated until 1963, when the first female and Black students were admitted. Henry C. Dethloff, Texas A&M University: A Pictorial History, 1876–1996, 2nd ed. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 163. Black students were not admitted as undergraduates at the University of Texas, where Houston had also been president, until 1956. David Dettmer, ed., The Texas Book Two: More Profiles, History, and Reminiscences of the University (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2012), 112.
- "confirmed misogynist": James E. Bond, I Dissent: The Legacy of Chief Justice James Clark McReynolds (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1992), 48, 126 and passim; Ilona M. Bray, ed., The Judge Who Hated Red Nail Polish, and Other Crazy But True Stories (Berkeley: Nolo Press, 2010), 65.
- "racist" and "anti-Semite": "The list of adjectives that could be used to describe McReynolds includes racist, anti-Semite, misogynist, imperious, lazy, miserly and curmudgeon." Todd C. Peppers, "Cancelling Justice? The Case of James Clark McReynolds," Richmond Public Interest Law Review, vol. 24, no. 2 (2021), 59–77, at 65. After McReynolds was appointed by Wilson as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice Taft described him as "fuller of prejudice than any man I have ever known." Bernard Schwartz, A History of the Supreme Court (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 214.
- did not need Colonel House: McAdoo benefitted from the additional recommendation of Wilson's youngest daughter, Eleanor. Now twenty-three, she had enjoyed the forty-nine-year old McAdoo's flirtations during the campaign. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, ed., *The Priceless Gift* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 276.
- 174 He had served: Lee Allan Craig, Josephus Daniels: His Life & Times (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 215–18.
- 174 "glad to learn": William Jennings Bryan to WW, December 25, 1912, PWW, 25:622.
- 174 "My Dear Dixon": WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, PWW, 25:578–79.
- despite—or because of: Crystal Nicole Feimster, Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 217; Linda O. McMurry, To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302.
- 175 Dixon's leading character: Thomas Dixon, The Sins of the Father (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1912), 201.
- "straight to my heart": WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, PWW, 25:578–79. It appears from the publication date that Wilson got an advance copy. Dixon, The Southerner: A Romance of the Real Lincoln (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1913). Historian David W. Blight summarized The Southerner as "a turgid, 550-page reinvention of Lincoln" as a man whose "greatness lay in his racism, in whiteness"—a man willing to use the Civil War for the "removal of black people from America." David W. Blight, "Hating and Loving the 'Real' Abe Lincolns: Lincoln and the American South," in The Global Lincoln, Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 280. Dixon's racial supremacism was received warmly by a number of prestigious publications, including the New York Times. "The picture drawn by Mr. Dixon is so clear, vivid, and

truthful that, for the sake of it, the book is well worth reading," enthused the *Times Review of Books*. "Lincoln as Hero: Mr. Dixon's Ambitious Attempt in 'The Southerner'," *New York Times*, July 13, 1913, 17. The *Times*'s owner and publisher, Tennessean Adolph S. Ochs, was like Dixon taken with the prospect of a fellow southern Democrat entering onto the nation's highest office. According to the *Times*'s editors, Ochs "had a whole-hearted admiration for Woodrow Wilson," and he made certain the newspaper threw its full support behind Wilson's candidacy. "Adolph S. Ochs," obituary, *New York Times*, April 9, 1935, 20; "Wilson First, Taft Second," editorial, *New York Times*, November. 5, 1912, 12; Gay Talese, *The Kingdom and the Power: Behind the Scenes at the New York Times* (New York: Random House, 2013), 83.

- 175 Dixon's encomiums ... gushed back: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, PWW, 25:578–79. Daniels would in turn lionize Wilson upon his death, in a biography that borders on hero worship. Josephus Daniels, The Life of Woodrow Wilson (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1924).
- 175 less than a quarter: In 1913 the population of the United States was 97.2 million. The population of the states of the former Confederacy was 22.2 million, as follows (in millions): Florida 0.7; Georgia 2.6; North Carolina 2.2; South Carolina 1.5; Virginia 2.0; Alabama 2.1; Mississippi 1.8; Tennessee 2.2; Arkansas 1.6; Louisiana 1.6; Texas 3.9. Source: U.S. Census Bureau.
- 175 only two came: The two were Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, from Nebraska, and Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, from California.
- 175 "more attention": "Wilson Is Urged to Snub Tammany," New York Times, April 11, 1913, 2.
- 176 down to two: "Wilson Asked About Pay," New York Times, January 5, 1913, 3; "No Appointments Offered," New York Times, January 17, 1913, 5.
- 176 houseguest: "Wilson Plans to Run a Business Campaign," New York Times, July 15, 1912, 1; "Look For A Wilson Blow at Murphy," New York Times, Sept 23, 1912, 1.
- 176 constant presence: "Clark Men Stand Firm," New York Times, July 1, 1912, 2.
- 176 important role: "Wilson Won't Resign at Once," New York Times, July 4, 1912, 1.
- 176 singled out Malone: "Wilson Men Always Certain of Victory," New York Times, July 3, 1912, 3.
- "long as he wished": Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 471–72; Joseph L. Grabill, "Cleveland Dodge, Woodrow Wilson, and the Near East," Journal of Presbyterian History, vol. 48, no. 4 (Winter 1970), 249–64, at 251; Berg, Wilson, 234; "A Damnable Slander of Tucson," Tucson Citizen, December 12, 1911, 4 (listing Cleveland Dodge as president of Phelps Dodge). Dodge had been Wilson's classmate at Princeton and his supporter on the Princeton board. Dodge's aunt, Josephine Jewell Dodge, was the founder and current president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS). Susan Goodier, No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 29–31; Phyllis B. Dodge, Tales of the Phelps-Dodge Family: A Chronicle of Five Generations (New York: New York Historical Society, 1987) (endpapers).
- 176 "close to Prof. Wilson": "Wilson Not a Teetotaler," New York Times, September 28, 1913.
- 176 *a long walk*: "The President-Elect Responds to Victory," *New York Times*, November 6, 1912, 6; "Wilson Has 15,000 Cheering Messages," *New York Times*, November 9, 1912, 5.
- 176 Malone's future position: "Cabinet Queries Upset Wilson's Calm," New York Times, February 4, 1913, 1.
- 177 "the prize plum": "George W. Aldridge Dies at Golf Game," New York Times, June 14, 1922, 1.
- 177 if Mitchel won: "Malone for Collector," New York Times, November 5, 1913, 18; "Fight Just Begun, Mitchel Says," New York Times, November 5, 1913, 3; "Fusion Carries In Mitchel, Republicans Win Assembly, Sweep State," New York Times, November 5, 1913, 1; "Malone Is Slated for Mitchel's Post," New York Times, November 6, 1913, 3; "Mitchel to Go Away to Study His Slate," New York Times, November 6, 1913, 2.
- 177 In the meantime: "Tammany Braves Turning On Murphy," New York Times, March 13, 1913, 9; "La Follette to Act as Wilson Adviser," New York Times, March 14, 1913, 2; "Malone to Be Bryan Aid," New York Times, April 10, 1913, 1; "Wilson Is Urged To Snub Tammany," New York Times, April 11, 1913, 2; "Malone and Moore Named," New York Times, April 13, 1913, 2; "Mitchel Nominated for Port Collector," New York Times, May 8, 1913, 1.
- 177 backed Shaw: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, New Women of the New South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 137.

- 178 stumped for Roosevelt: Edith Finch, Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 250. Roosevelt kept up his campaigning for women's suffrage after his defeat. Two months after Wilson's inauguration, he addressed thousands at a rally at New York's Metropolitan Opera House, where according to newspaper reporting the enthusiastic cheers in response "made the echoes ring." "Roosevelt Centre of Suffrage Host," New York Times, May 3, 1913, 1.
- 178 headed by Elizabeth Kent: Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 19. Rep. William Kent was first elected to Congress as a Progressive Republican, his party affiliation at this time. In subsequent Congresses he was an Independent. "Kent, William," Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774—Present (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 178 only member: Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 78.
- 178 eager to move on: Ibid., 19, 78.
- 178 begged Shaw: Shaw at first rejected them, but later agreed. Christine Lunardini, From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910–1928 (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 21, 35; Mary Walton, A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52.
- 178 The two had met: SWP, 7–9; Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 5–15; JFF, 356, 366; Sidney R. Bland, "Never Quite as Committed as We'd Like': The Suffrage Militancy of Lucy Burns," Journal of Long Island History, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1981), 4–23.
- 179 pattern their strategy: Pankhurst was notorious for her roving mobs that smashed windows, blew up mailboxes, set fire to the Theater Royal, and shattered porcelains at the British Museum. Robin W. Winks, World Civilization: A Brief History (San Diego: Collegiate Press, 1993), 356. True to her Quaker heritage, Paul insisted on nonviolent methods. Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 27.
- 179 annual budget: Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 78.
- 179 same desk: Walton, A Woman's Crusade, 60.
- 179 "totally unsuitable": Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 80.
- 179 enlisting the support: Walton, A Woman's Crusade, 56.
- 179 *Ebeneezer Hill*: For an example of Rep. Hill's advocacy for women's suffrage, see Ebenezer J. Hill, "Government by Consent of the Governed," Address to the Connecticut Branch of the Congressional Union for Equal Suffrage, June 8, 1915, Hill Family Manuscript Collection, box 1, folder 4, Norwalk Public Library.
- 179 his department's funding: Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 80.
- 179 New Year's Eve meeting: Walton, A Woman's Crusade, 56-57.
- 180 "there is no reason": Ibid., 57.
- 180 "ragamuffin pageant": "Coxey's Arrival," Kate Field's Washington, vol. 9, no. 19 (May 9, 1894), 292; Jon Grinspan, "How a Ragtag Band of Reformers Organized the First Protest March on Washington, D.C.," Smithsonian Magazine, May 1, 2014 (online).
- 180 quarter-million: Lynda G. Dodd, "Parades, Pickets, and Prison: Alice Paul and the Virtues of Unruly Constitutional Citizenship," Journal of Law and Politics, vol. 24, no. 4 (Fall 2008), 339, 354; Jean H. Baker, Sisters: The Lives of America's Suffragists (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), 185.
- 180 special reviewing stand: "300 Women Hurt in Parade Crush ... Mrs. Taft Held Up," New York Sun, March 4, 1913, 1; Walton, A Woman's Crusade, 76.
- 180 Fifteen minutes: Ibid., 73.
- 181 transplanted Virginian: Biography of Walter L. McCorkle in The University Magazine, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 1894), 276–77; Oren F. Morten, A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999), 290.
- 181 racial stereotypes: For examples, see Augustus Thomas, Alabama: A Drama in Four Acts (New York: R.H. Russell, 1900). See also the discussion of Augustus Thomas in Rhonda S. Pettit, A Gendered Collision: Sentimentalism and Modernism in Dorothy Parker's Poetry and Fiction (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), 66.
- 181 "duty of the men": Yearbook of the New York Southern Society 1913–1914 (New York: Robert Stillson Co., 1913), 36–37.

- 181 "our own way of life": Ibid., 44-45.
- 181 *shouts and screams ... "howling mob"*: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia, United States Senate, 63rd Congress, March 6–17, 1913, pt. 1, 496.
- 181 police complicity: "Police Idly Watched Abuse of Women," New York Times, March 7, 1913, 1.
- 182 six o'clock tea: Berg, Wilson, 273.
- 182 equal billing: "Woman's Beauty, Grace, and Art Bewilder the Capital," Washington Post, March 4, 1913, 1; "100 Are in Hospital ... No Arrests, Despite Disorder," ibid. The New York Times, though opposed to women's suffrage, reported that many anti-suffrage men believed the preceding day's events were an "insult to American womanhood and a disgrace to the Capitol City of the Nation." "Parade Protest Arouses Senate," New York Times, March 5, 1913, 8.
- 182 "As you ride today": "Returning Suffragists Bitter in Comments on Monday's Parade," New York Times, March 4, 1913, 8; Adams and Keene, Alice Paul, 92–93.
- 182 "efficiently officered": "Telegraphed to Wilson," Baltimore Sun, March 6, 1913, 1; Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch (New York: Putnam, 1940), 197 (emphasis added).