

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

14. 'Women Should Not Be Kept Waiting Any Longer'

PAGE

- 183 *face-to-face ... attorney general*: "Suffragists See Wilson," *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 183 *almost daily*: "Suffragists Crowd Senate Room Eager to Tell of Insults," *Washington Times*, March 6, 1913, 1; "Suffragist Parade Investigation Begun," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, March 6, 1913, 1; "Probers Seeking 'Man Higher Up,'" *Washington Evening Star*, March 8, 1913, 1; "Stimson Testifies He Had Cavalry Ready for Sylvester's Call," *Washington Times*, March 8, 1913, 1; "To Probe Insults," *Baltimore Sun*, March 6, 1913, 1; "Suffs Sit in Stuffy Hearing," *Tulsa World*, March 9, 1913, 1; "Chief Blames Men," *Washington Post*, March 9, 1913, 1; "Not Foe of Parade," *Washington Evening Star*, March 13, 1913, 4.
- 184 *"like a class"*: SWP, 33.
- 184 *"an autocrat"*: Willis Fletcher Johnson, *George Harvey: A Passionate Patriot* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 177–78.
- 184 *shamrock*: "Wilson Wears a Shamrock," *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 184 *"entirely new" to him*: SWP, 33.
- 184 *Paul spoke first ... equality of suffrage*: "Suffragists See Wilson," *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2; "Suffragists Ask Wilson's Support," *Washington Evening Star*, March 17, 1913, 2.
- 184 *"careful consideration"*: JFF, 23.
- 184 *ten minutes*: "Suffragists See Wilson," *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 184 *its president*: Thomas served as president of the organization from 1908–1917. Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 249–50.
- 185 *"could not be considered"*: "Women Will Persist," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1913, 14; SWP, 34.
- 185 *Cora Smith*: Anne Foster, *Suffragettes in Yellowstone: Dr. Cora Smith Eaton* (Washington: National Park Service, 2015).
- 185 *too busy*: SWP, 34; "President Receives Suffrage Advocates," *Washington Herald*, April 1, 1913, 11.
- 185 *At the opening ... petitions urged*: SWP, 35.
- 185 *"ignored the question"*: Ibid.
- 185 *introduced in the House*: 50 Cong. Rec. pt.1, 63rd Cong., Spec. Sess. (March 4, 1913), 91; "Mondell, Frank," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 186 *bespectacled lawyer*: "Chamberlain, George," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998); William G. Robbins, "George Chamberlain (1854–1928)," *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Oregon Historical Society, ohs.org.
- 186 *His introduction*: 50 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 63rd Cong., Spec. Sess. (March 4, 1913), 57 (introduction of S.J. Res. 1).
- 186 *the speech itself*: WW, Address on Tariff Reform to a Joint Session of Congress, April 8, 1913, PWW, 27:269.
- 186 *official policy*: Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 20.
- 187 *largest employer*: Abhay Aneja and Guo Xu, "The Costs of Employment Segregation: Evidence from the Federal Government Under Woodrow Wilson," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 27798 (August 2021), 72.
- 187 *across the hall*: Noel Grove, *Inside the White House* (Washington: National Geographic, 2013), 81; William Ryan, *The White House: An Architectural History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980); "Temporary Executive Office Building," The White House Museum, www.whitehousemuseum.org.

- 187 “*all Departments*”: E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for April 11, 1913, 32.
- 187 “*a great thing*”: Ibid., 33.
- 187 “*adjusted*”: Ibid.
- 187 *described the meeting*: Ibid., 32–33.
- 187 “*subjection of the Negro*”: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 13.
- 187 “*very unpleasant*”: Cronon, *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 32.
- 187 *vice-chairman*: David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924), 72.
- 187 “*confirm a negro*”: Cronon, *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 33.
- 188 “*feelings and sentiments*”: William Gibbs McAdoo to F. I. Cobb, November 26, 1914, *PWW*, 31:361n2.
- 188 *throughout Washington*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 19.
- 188 *makeshift screens*: May Childs Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments at Washington,” September 30, 1913, box I, reel 6, NAACP Records, Library of Congress; Douglas B. Craig, *Progressives at War: William G. McAdoo and Newton D. Baker, 1863–1941* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 121.
- 188 *publicity director*: Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 244–64, at 252n7.
- 188 “*for the white employees*”: Ibid., 251n1.
- 188 “*like wildfire*”: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 19.
- 188 *unsafe and dirty*: Ibid., 20; Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments.”
- 188 *2021 study*: Aneja and Xu, “Costs of Employment Segregation,” 27, 73 (emphasis in original).
- 188 *getting fired*: Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments”; Patler, *Jim Crow*, 22, 45n11.
- 188 *after her visit*: M.P. Sosna, “The South in the Saddle: Racial Politics During the Wilson Years,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Autumn 1970), 30–49, at 33; *The Crisis*, vol. 9, no. 3 (January 1915), 119–27, at 120. Ellen Wilson also objected to white women working alongside Black men. “President Wilson’s Rebuke to a Boston Negro,” *Birmingham News*, November 13, 1914, 6 (“Mrs. Wilson ... observed with her own eyes some of the hardships of white women in having to work beside Negro men. Naturally, with her refined breeding and Southern rearing, she perceived the dangers of that situation”).
- 188 *in their seventies*: *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg* (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1913), 60.
- 189 “*occasion of the rebellion*”: Ibid., 156.
- 189 “*Gladstone or John Bright*”: Ibid., 161.
- 189 “*the experiences*”: WW to EAW, February 24, 1885, *PWW*, 4:286.
- 189 *begged him*: In July 1912, William Monroe Trotter and J. Milton Waldron met with Wilson to urge a statement that “you respect the constitution in its entirety including the amendments.” In a letter following up on the meeting, Trotter assured the president that if he would publicly “say you accept the Amendments as the settlement of the issues arising out of the Civil War, thousands will flock to your standard.” Trotter to WW, July 19, 1912, *PWW*, 24:558.
- 189 “*forgotten*”: WW, Address at the Gettysburg Battlefield, July 4, 1913, *PWW*, 28:23; Evan Preston, “‘All May Visit the Big Camp’: Race and the Lessons of the Civil War at the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion,” *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 2, no. 1, art. 5.
- 189 *page one headline*: “Gettysburg Cold to Wilson’s Speech,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1913, 1.
- 189 “*like lepers*”: Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 33.
- 189 *American Bar Association*: “Wickersham for Lewis,” *New York Sun*, July 25, 1912, 4.
- 189 *Taft’s “Black Cabinet”*: Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 31 and n3.
- 189 *reversed this policy*: Kathleen Long Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson’s Appointment Policy and the Negro,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 24, no. 4 (November 1958), 457–71, at 467–68.
- 190 *exactly what happened*: Among the Black federal officers Wilson dismissed, in addition to Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis, were the following: Assistant U.S. District Attorney James F. Cobb; Register of the Treasury James C. Napier; Assistant Register Cyrus Adams; Receiver of Public Money Nathan Alexander;

- Internal Revenue Collectors Charles W. Anderson, General Robert Smalls, Joseph F. Lee, Charles R. Cotrell, and Jerome B. Peterson; Auditor of the Navy Ralph W. Tyler; and Minister to Haiti Henry Furness. George W. Harris, “Colored Citizens and the Present Campaign,” *Champion Magazine*, September, 1916, 19–20; Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 34.
- 190 *provide a photograph*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 167–68.
- 190 *“no authority”*: Ibid., 43.
- 190 *Protests*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 248–51.
- 190 *“I do approve”*: WW to Howard Allen Bridgman, September 8, 1913, *PWW*, 28:265.
- 190 *20,000 people*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” 252n5.
- 190 *book and stage play*: Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302; Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 217.
- 190 *suffrage association*: *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xxviii.
- 190 *marched*: Wells-Barnett marched with the Illinois delegation, but only after ignoring NAWSA’s ruling that—in deference to southern white women who threatened to boycott the parade—she was to march instead in the “colored” ranks behind. “Illinois Women Feature Parade,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1913, 3; “Marches in Parade Despite Protests,” *Chicago Defender*, March 8, 1913, 1; “300 Women Hurt in Parade Crush,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1913, 1; “Suffrage Paraders,” *The Crisis*, vol. 5, no. 6 (April 1913), 296.
- 190 *“for white ladies”*: *Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad Co. v. Wells*, 85 Tennessee 613 (1887), at 615.
- 190 *reversed her victory*: Ibid.
- 191 *because Wilson was a Democrat*: Further evidence that an appeal to Wilson’s partisanship was part of the group’s message is that Wilson was reminded of Trotter’s appeals to Black voters on his behalf in the recent election; that Trotter arranged for their group to be introduced to the president by a Democratic congressman from Trotter’s home state of Massachusetts; and that Trotter brought with him letters of support from a handful of elected Democrats from Massachusetts.
- 191 *she was a Republican*: McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled*, 308.
- 191 *“acceptable to everybody”*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 139; Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 249; William Monroe Trotter’s Address to the President; Wilson’s Reply and a Dialogue, November 6, 1913, *PWW*, 28:491, 496.
- 191 *“preposterous”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 248.
- 191 *“No one”*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 141–42 and n66.
- 191 *the same day*: “President for Malone,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1913, 1.
- 191 *personal representative . . . old-line Democrats*: “Malone Nominated as Port Collector,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1913, 6. On at least one occasion, Malone’s criticisms of Tammany Hall went beyond what Wilson considered politic, and he disavowed them. *PWW*, 50:528, 534n2.
- 191 *not his father’s*: Malone was born two years after the tragic death of Dudley Field, son of William M. “Boss” Tweed’s famous lawyer David Dudley Field. Only 49 at his death, Dudley Field was referred to as “young Dudley” to distinguish him from his father. Malone’s parents named their son in honor of the young man and his father, who for years defended Tammany’s “Boss” Tweed in his criminal trials. “Wm. M. Tweed’s Trial,” *New York Sun*, January 3, 1873, 3; “The Tweed Case,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1873, 2; “Tweed’s Plea for Liberty,” *New York Sun*, December 23, 1874, 3. “Young Dudley” had been a partner in his father’s firm and co-defense counsel in the Tweed cases. Henry Martyn Field, *The Life of David Dudley Field* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898), 282–85; “The Courts. Technicalities of the Tweed Case,” *New York Tribune*, December 23, 1874, 7.
- 192 *New Jersey women*: “Wilson Sees Suffragists,” *New York Times*, November 18, 1913, 10; Donald L. Haggerty, ed., *National Woman’s Party Papers: The Suffrage Years, 1913–1920—A Guide to the Microfilm Edition*, “Brief History of the National Woman’s Party,” 9.

- 192 “*stay a month*”: “Suffrage Deputation Interviews President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 22, 1913), 13; 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 17, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (July 31, 1914), 856 (remarks of Rep. Frank Mondell, including text of article from *The Suffragist*).
- 192 *heartened*: “Wilson Heartens Jersey Women,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 44, no. 47 (November 22, 1913), 369.
- 192 “*non-committal*”: “Suffrage Deputation Interviews President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 22, 1913), 13.
- 192 *adopted resolutions*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage,” unpublished 1913 NAWSA manuscript, NAWSA Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; *HWS*, 5:374.
- 192 *all testified*: *HWS*, 5:383–97.
- 193 *tried to beg off*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 193 *embarrass him*: *Ibid*.
- 193 *he was powerless*: “Wilson Not Free to Advise Suffrage,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1913, 9; “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 193 *quickly diagnosed*: “Takes President on Own Ground,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 44, no. 51 (December 20, 1913), 402.
- 193 *her assessment*: *HWS*, 5:373–74.
- 193 *not-so-subtle headline*: “Wilson Not Free to Advise Suffrage,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1913, 9.
- 193 *Wilson’s own writings*: “Wilson Versus Wilson,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 44, no. 51 (December 20, 1913), 404.
- 194 “*sixty years*”: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 194 *a tie*: *HWS*, 5:397. The vote, on January 24, 1914, was as follows. Ayes: Lenroot (R-WI), Foster (D-IL), Campbell (R-KS) and Kelly (R-PA). Nays: Hardwick (D-GA), Pou (D-NC), Cantrill (D-KY) and Garrett (D-TN).
- 194 *anti-suffrage resolution*: *HWS*, 5:397; Andrew Glass, “Cotton Tom’ Heflin addresses the Senate, April 26, 1932,” *Politico*, April 26, 2017 (online); Rose Marie Eckert, *How the Vote Was Won: The Story of Woman Suffrage* (Minneapolis: Mill City Press, 2013), 82–83.
- 194 *Caucus intervened*: David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 80. The Senate’s Democratic Caucus was formally established by rule a decade earlier, in 1903. From that point, a distinction was made between the terms “caucus” and “conference”: senators were in caucus when they discussed whether to bind the party’s vote on a given issue; they were in conference when considering election of officers or general legislative business. U.S. Senate, *Minutes of the U.S. Senate Democratic Conference, 1903–1964*.
- 194 *repeated his evasion ... “not for it”*: *JFF*, 29.
- 195 *undecided*: “Women Use Sharp Terms to Wilson,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1914, 5.
- 195 *killed*: “Suffrage Loses in Senate Vote,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1914, 1. The Senate roll call was 21 Republican ayes, 12 nays; 14 Democratic ayes, 22 nays.