

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

15. 'A Conviction All My Life'

PAGE

- 196 *one thousand*: HWS, 5:379.
- 196 *rupture with Shaw*: HWS, 5:397.
- 197 *"vigorous campaign"*: "Suffragists on Warpath; Plan Fight on Democrats if Congress Doesn't Take Up Amendment," *New York Times*, January 12, 1914, 3.
- 197 *two years*: NACW Convention Minutes, 1912, reel 1, and NACW Conventions, Press Coverage, 1912, reel 5, Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895–1992, UPA microfilm edition (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994); "National Association of Colored Women," *The Advocate* (Charleston, WV), August 8, 1912, 4; Richette L. Heywood, "Still Lifting and Climbing: The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. Celebrates Its 100th Anniversary," *Ebony*, vol. 51, no. 12 (October 1996), 100.
- 197 *meeting in Chicago*: "Suffrage Wins Two Victories," *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1914, 3; Alixandra B. Yanis, Learning to 'Play the Game as Men Do': How the General Federation of Women's Clubs Brought Political Science to Women," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, vol. 52, no. 4 (Cambridge University Press, October 2019), 659–62.
- 197 *"immense impetus"*: "Washington Suffragists Pleased at Biennial Action," *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1914, 3.
- 197 *Paul arranged*: Rose Marie Eckert, *How the Vote Was Won: The Story of Woman Suffrage* (Minneapolis: Mill City Press, 2013), 84.
- 197 *On June 30 ... "slowly filed out"*: "Wilson Won't Let Women Heckle Him," *New York Times*, July 1, 1914, 4; "Women Besiege President Wilson; He Won't Assist Their Plans," *El Paso Herald*, evening ed., June 30, 1914, 1; 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 17, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (July 31, 1914), 860–61 (extension of remarks of Rep. Mondell); WW, Remarks to a Woman Suffrage Delegation, *PWW*, 30:226.
- 198 *Wilson's floor leader*: "Break To Wilson Seems At Hand As Convention Adjourns Till To-Day; He Leads On The 42nd Ballot," *New York Times*, July 2, 1912, 1. Wilson was indebted to Palmer for his willingness to abandon his House Democratic colleague, Speaker of the House Champ Clark, who was Wilson's leading competitor for the nomination.
- 198 *Shafroth was first elected*: "Shafroth, John Franklin," *BD*; "Colorado for Wilson by 20,000, Says Shafroth," *Baltimore Sun*, July 4, 1912, 2; "Convention Nominates Gov. Wilson," *The Comet* (Johnson City, TN), July 4, 1912, 1; "Wilson and Marshall Head Democratic Ticket," *Clay County Patriot*, July 4, 1912, 1. Shafroth had been a serious dark horse candidate for the presidential nomination when the Baltimore convention deadlocked. "Shafroth Good Bet, Says Arch," *Daily Sentinel* (Grand Junction, CO), July 1, 1912, 3; "Big Steve of Denver Unscathed by Chicago," *New York Sun*, July 1, 1912, 5.
- 199 *surprise*: Hearing on Woman Suffrage before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 63rd Cong., 2nd Session, March 3, 1914 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 5–9 (statement of Antoinette Funk, NAWSA Congressional Committee).
- 199 *Shafroth introduced*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 20, 1914), 5162 (Sen. Shafroth introduction of S.J. Res. 128); 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (April 6, 1914), 6313 (Rep. Palmer introduction of H.J. Res. 245).
- 199 *protecting Jim Crow*: B. H. Gilley, "Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 301.
- 199 *"race question"*: HWS, 5:413.

- 200 *never reported*: Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer, Politician* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 86.
- 200 *reversed*: HWS, 5:452–53.
- 200 *his Senate race*: Coben, *Palmer, Politician*, 86.
- 200 *New Orleans convention*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 118.
- 200 *decade that followed ... endorse*: Ibid., 125–32. Catt recruited Gordon, engineering her election as corresponding secretary in 1901 and her appointment to the national board at the same time. In 1909, Gordon resigned as corresponding secretary to protest Catt's 1909 "Great Petition" urging Congress to approve the federal amendment. Even so, she was elected the next year as a vice president of NAWSA. Elna C. Green, "The Rest of the Story: Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–89, at 175, 176n13.
- 200 *"staunchest allies"*: Anna Howard Shaw, *The Story of a Pioneer* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1915), 309.
- 200 *Four-inch tall headlines*: "England Declares War on Germany," *New York Times*, 1; "England at War with Germany," *Chicago Tribune*, 1; "Great Britain Declares War," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1; all August 5, 1914.
- 201 *Shafroth announced*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 13, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (August 5, 1914), 13293.
- 201 *U.S. securities holdings*: David Glassner, ed., *Business Cycles and Depressions* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 135–37.
- 201 *halted trading*: While generations of Wilson and McAdoo biographers have claimed that it was McAdoo who "shut down Wall Street," based on the former Treasury secretary's own assertion to that effect many years later, the "evidence for this is extremely thin," and indeed contradicted by the records of the NYSE itself. Mary A. O'Sullivan, *Dividends of Development: Securities Markets in the History of U.S. Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 313–14 and n9.
- 201 *verge of collapse*: Leland Crabbe, "The International Gold Standard and U.S. Monetary Policy from World War I to the New Deal," *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, vol. 75, no. 6 (June 1989), 424.
- 201 *warning against panic*: WW, Statement to the Press, August 3, 1914, *PWW*, 50:535.
- 201 *American neutrality*: "President Wilson Proclaims Neutrality," *New York Times*, August 5, 1914, 7.
- 201 *Americans stranded*: "Americans, Marooned by War, Lack Food and Clothing," *New York Evening World*, August 7, 1914, 3; Walter Hines Page to WW, August 9, 1914, *PWW*, 30:366.
- 201 *lay suffering*: LL, 4:475; "Eleanor Wilson Weds W. G. McAdoo," *New York Times*, May 8, 1914, 1.
- 201 *Wilson was certain*: WW to MAH, August 2, 1914, *PWW*, 30:327.
- 201 *"come directly"*: WW to Stockton Axson, August 5, 1914, *PWW*, 30:345.
- 201 *holding her hand*: LL, 4:479. Ellen Wilson's deathbed wish was for passage of the so-called "slum clearance" bill she had championed. Congress soon passed it in her honor and Wilson signed it into law on September 25, 1914. While contemporary press coverage and a century of biographers have credited both Wilson and the First Lady for this supposedly humanitarian law, in actuality it called for wholesale condemnation of "the homes of the servant class" while making no provision for relocating the predominantly Black residents of Washington's poorest areas. New Hampshire Democrat Eugene Reed denounced the "rank injustice" of legally confiscating the homes of "poor people who have invested their money in alley property" while the bill's supporters admitted it "makes no provision for payment to the owners." 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 15, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 14, 1914), 15106, 15110 (statements of Rep. Borland on H.R. 13219); *ibid.*, 15110 (statements of Rep. Reed); *ibid.*, 15197, 15305 (House and Senate passage of H.R. 13219); "Mrs. Wilson's Bill Signed," September 26, 1914, 10.
- 201 *lowered its flags*: "Whole Country in Mourning for President's Wife," *Newark Star-Eagle*, August 7, 1914, 1, 8.
- 201 *"all the people"*: "Mrs. Wilson No Anti," *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, vol. 45, no. 34 (August 22, 1914), 242. NAWSA acknowledged that "Mrs. Wilson never ranged herself definitively in favor of woman suffrage," but insisted that she was "not an anti."
- 201 *"exhausted"*: WW to MAH, August 23, 1914, *PWW*, 30:437.
- 201 *"nothing left"*: EMH Diary, August 30, 1914, *PWW*, 30:461.
- 201 *"no heart"*: Ibid., November 6, 1914, *PWW*, 31:274.
- 201 *"kill him"*: Ibid., November 14, 1914, *PWW*, 31:317.

- 201 *detailed Dudley Field Malone*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 459.
- 202 *worsening economy*: The economic expansion ushered in during the period of American neutrality in the war did not begin until December 1914. Hugh Rockoff, “Until It’s Over, Over There: The U.S. Economy in World War I,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 10580 (June 2004), 4, 38.
- 202 *every state*: *HWS*, 5:474–75.
- 202 *“an enemy”*: Florence Brewer Boeckel, “New Women in Politics,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (November 1916), 432, 435–37.
- 202 *directly attributed*: 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), 67–68.
- 202 *“certain of election”*: “Bitter Contests in Many States,” *Brooklyn Daily Standard Union*, November 1, 1914, 4.
- 202 *“thoroughly frightened”*: Charles A. Beard, “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, vol. 7, no. 91 (July 29, 1916), 329.
- 202 *field representatives*: “Results of the Election Campaign,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 2, no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 5.
- 203 *“I don’t want politics”*: 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), 257.
- 203 *“absolute fair dealing”*: WW to Alexander Walters, October 21, 1912, *PWW*, 25:448.
- 203 *“traitors”*: “Mr. Trotter and Mr. Wilson,” *The Crisis*, vol. 9, no. 3 (January 1915), 119–27, at 120.
- 203 *“made plain enough”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” 256.
- 203 *“My own individual life” ... “could laugh aloud”*: WW to MAH, November 8, 1914, *PWW*, 31:280.
- 203 *her 1912 divorce*: Peck’s petition for divorce was granted on July 10, 1912. At her request, the judge approved her name change to Mary Hulbert—reverting to the last name of her deceased first husband. “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6. The judgment was entered by default—only she and her son testified; her husband did not appear—but she was granted no alimony. “Mrs. Peck Knows of No Other Woman in Case,” *Berkshire County Eagle* (Pittsfield, MA), July 10, 1912, 3; “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6.
- 203 *“best interests of both races”*: “President Resents Negro’s Criticism,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1914, 1.
- 203 *“fifty years”*: “Mr. Trotter and Mr. Wilson,” *The Crisis*, 120.
- 203 *“to be continued”*: “President Resents Negro’s Criticism,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1914, 1.
- 204 *objected on racial grounds*: Eric S. Yellin, *Racism in the Nation’s Service* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 108–110. The objecting senators were James K. Vardaman (D-MS), “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman (D-SC), and Hoke Smith (D-GA).
- 204 *“spoken to each”*: William G. McAdoo to WW, July 18, 1913, Office of the Appointment Clerk, Secretary of the Treasury, published in *The Arapaho Bee*, October 10, 1913, 1.
- 204 *only days*: Wilson announced the nomination on July 24 and withdrew it on August 2. “Fight Negro for Register,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1913, 4; “Drops Negro as Candidate,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1913, 35.
- 204 *“You say” ... “no suggestion of mine”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 250.
- 204 *all my life*: “Drops Negro as Candidate,” *New York Times*. Despite publicly opposing a Black appointee, Democratic senators privately promised not to block the nomination. Senator Robert L. Owen (D-OK) explained that, if “the administration had concluded” it would leave “a Negro in the office,” this “would be agreeable” to him. But he also wished the administration to know he “did not approve of the policy.” Robert L. Owen to William H. Murray, September 16, 1913, Office of the Appointment Clerk, Secretary of the Treasury, published in *The Arapaho Bee*, October 10, 1913, 1.
- 204 *“Negro men over white women”*: WW to Thomas Dixon, July 29, 1913, *PWW*, 28:94.
- 204 *Dixon had complained*: Thomas Dixon to WW, July 27, 1913, *PWW*, 28:88–89.
- 204 *“plan of concentration”*: WW to Thomas Dixon, July 29, 1913, *PWW*, 28:94.
- 204 *never again be welcome*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 260.
- 204 *turn his support*: *Ibid.*, 263n6.
- 204 *“damn fool enough”*: *Ibid.*, 263n5.

- 205 *to the states*: Johanna Neuman, *Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites Who Fought for Women’s Right to Vote* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 119. The State Historical Society of Missouri has observed that “Although Clark championed the causes of his constituents and the Democratic party, he failed to sponsor any significant legislation during his time in office.” “Historic Missourians: Champ Clark,” State Historical Society of Missouri, shsmo.org. For Clark’s earliest views on women’s suffrage, see text at 156 and corresponding endnote “for thirty years.”
- 205 *suffrage opponent*: “Plans of the Rules Committee,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 2, no. 50 (December 12, 1914), 2. In 1919, Henry would found a men’s organization in Texas pledged “to combat woman suffrage in Texas and to take from women the right they now have.” Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 118.
- 205 *do just that*: HWS, 5:449.
- 205 *convened a hearing*: HWS, 5:469.
- 205 *friendly group ... “all my life”*: “President Refuses to Aid Suffragists,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1915, 12; “Suffragists to Call on Wilson Wednesday,” *Titusville (PA) Herald*, January 4, 1915, 3.
- 206 *party position ... “individual states”*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1420 (remarks of Rep. Underwood).
- 206 *“Disorder, chaos, crime”*: Ibid., 1448 (remarks of Rep. Bartlett).
- 206 *stubbornly repeated*: In the same week that the House Rules Committee reported out Rep. Mondell’s Anthony Amendment, Wilson met with the president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, Anne Martin, who lobbied him to support it. He declined, insisting that women should pursue the franchise in each separate state, not in Washington through a constitutional amendment. “That is the way,” Wilson instructed, “it should be done—by States.” Martin’s protestations that amending so many different constitutions presented “immense difficulty” did not move him. “President Talks to Anne Martin,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 45, no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 1.
- 206 *leadoff Republican*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1408 (remarks of Rep. Campbell).
- 207 *“shot into the Constitution”*: Ibid., 1430 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 207 *party lines ... nays included*: Democrats voted 171–86 against; Republicans voted 74–30 in favor. (Other parties provided the balance of the nays.) 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1); Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 125; “Suffrage Meets Defeat in House,” *Washington Post*, January 13, 1915, 1; Eileen McDonagh, “Issues and Constituencies in the Progressive Era: House Roll Call Voting on the Nineteenth Amendment, 1913–1919,” *Journal of Politics*, vol. 51, no. 1 (February 1989), 126; David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 95.
- 207 *“consistently maintained”*: “Believe Wilson Will Come Out,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 4 (January 23, 1915), 25; “Expect to Win Wilson: Women Think He Will Support Suffrage in New Jersey,” *Washington Post*, January 15, 1915, 4.
- 207 *In private*: Nancy Saunders Toy Diary, January 15, 1915, *PWW*, 32:21–22; Virginius Dabney, “The Human Side of Woodrow Wilson,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Fall 1956), 508–523, at 513; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Crawford Howell Toy: The Man, The Scholar, the Teacher* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2019), 247. In an entire chapter devoted to Nancy Saunders Toy, biographer Parsons evaluates speculation that Toy may have been putting her own thoughts into Wilson’s words in this diary entry. See Victoria Bissell Brown, “Did Wilson’s Gender Politics Matter?,” in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 141. For reasons including Toy’s “progressive stance on most social issues,” her friendship with Wilson’s suffragist daughter Margaret, and her own career in higher education, Parsons concludes “it is unlikely that she was projecting her own view onto Wilson.” Parsons, *Crawford Howell Toy*, 248.
- 208 *“solidly and conclusively”*: “The Attitude of the President—and the Suffragists,” *The Woman’s Protest* (New York: National Organization Against Woman Suffrage, January 1915), 6.