

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 16. 'Not One Step Nearer'

PAGE

- 209 *met with Dixon*: Thomas Dixon to JPT, January 27, 1915, *PWW*, 32:142 and n1.
- 209 *publicity campaign ... McKinley*: "Staging the Clansman," *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1915, 53; *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1915, 1 (two-column, page one advertisement); "California's Early Battle with 'Birtherism': D.W. Griffith, the NAACP, the Ku Klux Klan and the Courts," *California Supreme Court Historical Society Review* (Fall/Winter 2001), 4n2.
- 209 *"bitter and unjust"*: "Censors Edit 'The Clansman,'" *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1915, Part 7, 12.
- 209 *temporarily halted*: "Ban Clansman, City Tells Film Censors," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, February 3, 1915, 8; "Film Is Attacked," *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, February 4, 1915, 5; "Ban Clansman, Council Orders Police Chief," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, February 8, 1915, 2; "Fear Play Might Cause Racial Prejudices; Los Angeles City Council Order Production of 'The Clansman' Stopped," *Pomona Progress*, February 8, 1915, 1 (UPI wire story); "Trouble Over 'The Clansman,'" *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1915, pt. 2, 6; "Fight Against 'The Clansman' Lost by City," *California Eagle*, February 13, 1915, 1.
- 209 *protests and litigation*: Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation: A History of "The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 129–31.
- 210 *opened in Los Angeles*: The film debuted at the 2,700 seat Clune's Auditorium across from Central Park (renamed Pershing Square three years later, after victory in the World War).
- 210 *"greatest picture"*: "Trouble Over the Clansman," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1916, pt. 2, 6.
- 210 *red flag*: Grace Kingsley, "Staging 'The Clansman,'" *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1915, Part 3a, 10.
- 210 *grandiose title*: Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 168; White House program for screening, in John Cuniberti, *"The Birth of a Nation": A Formal Shot-by-Shot Analysis Together with Microfiche* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1979); *New York Times*, February 28, 1915, sec. 7, 6 (advertisement). Griffith copyrighted the film as *The Birth of a Nation; or The Clansman* on February 13. Arthur Lennig, "Myth and Fact: The Reception of 'The Birth of a Nation,'" *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2004), 117–141, at 138n32.
- 210 *joined the president*: "President to See Movies," *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1915, 1; "White House Will Have 'Movie' Show," *Washington Times*, February 18, 1915, 1; "'Movie' for President Shown in White House," (*Salisbury, NC*) *Evening Post*, February 22, 1915, 1; "President Views Pictures," *Erie Sentinel*, February 20 1915, 1.
- 210 *emblazoned*: *The Birth of a Nation*, directed by D.W. Griffith (Los Angeles, CA: David W. Griffith Corp., 1915), intertitles.
- 211 *Newspapers across the country*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 315 n1; "President Witnesses Moving Pictures in the White House," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 19, 1915, 5; "Face Cards View Film," *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1915, pt. 3, 4.
- 211 *"President's interest"*: "President to See Movies," *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1915, 1.
- 211 *Wilson reached out*: Though he would later take political cover from criticism of the movie's racism and his evident endorsement of it, Wilson made no contemporaneous protest, nor did he attempt to warn the members of the Supreme Court, the Congress, the diplomatic corps, and those of his cabinet who had missed the first night, and for whom Dixon arranged a showing the following evening under the auspices of the National Press Club. Arthur Lennig, "Myth and Fact: The Reception of 'The Birth of a Nation,'" *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2004), 117–141, at 122; "Movies at Press Club; Pictures Based on Thomas Dixon's 'Clansman' Shown to Large Gathering,"

- Washington Post*, February 20, 1915, 5; “Birth of Nation’ Has Premiere Here,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1915, 8. Arthur Link, to whose scholarship all Wilson biographers are indebted, nods Homerically when he editorializes that Wilson, along with members of the Supreme Court and both houses of Congress, “fell into Dixon’s trap.” Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 253. Wilson could not have been surprised by the film’s subject matter. He knew far more about Dixon than most people in America, and the public had heard a decade of warnings about *The Clansman*. At the National Press Club screening, attended by Chief Justice White (a former Klansman) and other justices, 38 senators, and some 50 House members, the audience “cheered and applauded throughout the three hours.” “Birth of a Nation Has Premiere Here,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1915, 8. Wilson’s letter to Griffith two weeks after the White House screening gives every indication he enjoyed the film. WW to David W. Griffith, March 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:325; Gary Gerstle, “Race and Nation in the Thought and Politics of Woodrow Wilson,” in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 93–123, at 111 and n69.
- 211 *like Wilson*: James Hart, ed., *The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D.W. Griffith* (Louisville: Touchstone Publishing Co., 1972), 24–26; Richard Schickel, *D.W. Griffith: An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 15, 19–22, 24, 29.
- 211 *“so impressed”*: Michael Rogin, “The Sword Became A Flashing Vision,” in *Michael Paul Rogin: Derangement and Liberalism*, Alyson Cole and George Shulman, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 99–133, at 102; WW to David W. Griffith, March 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:325. While there is no evidence Griffith accepted this offer of cinematic help from Wilson, there is circumstantial evidence that Wilson later sought and got help from Griffith. Griffith provided his personal endorsement in advertisements for the 1916 feature film “Motion Picture Portrait Studies of President Wilson and His Cabinet—The U.S. Government in Action,” a barely disguised piece of reelection propaganda. Jeff Menne and Christian B. Long, eds., *Film and the American Presidency* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 91n2. Another favor may have come when Wilson was seeking work for Mary Hulbert. With no prior acting experience, she landed a minor part in Griffith’s 1918 movie *The Great Love*. Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 257–58.
- 211 *“at any time”*: Wilson’s cordiality at the White House reception left Dixon and his entourage “wildly enthusiastic.” Thomas Dixon to WW, February 20, 1915, *PWW*, 32:267. Including the pre-screening reception, the president devoted more than four hours to his guests. It is no wonder he hurriedly left the East Room “without saying a word” once the three-hour film ended. *Ibid.*, n1. At the time he was dealing with multiple crises: Germany’s threat to sink merchant vessels around the British Isles, and a four-way dispute involving the U.S., Japan, China, and Britain. “German Reply Friendly in Tone, But Its Substance Causes Concern,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1915, 1; “The German Reply,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1915, 8; “Wilson to Send a Note to Japan,” *New York Times*, February 20, 1919, 1.
- 211 *implicit endorsement*: John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 272; Rogin, “The Sword Became a Flashing Vision,” 100; Edward Douglass White to JPT, *PWW*, April 5, 1915, 32:486.
- 211 *“a man we all revere”*: “Interview with D.W. Griffith,” *New York American*, February 21, 1915, sec. M, 9; Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 117–141, at 122, 139 and n57. An embellished version of this quotation, later attributed to Wilson, is thought to be apocryphal. Mark E. Benbow, “Birth of a Quotation: Woodrow Wilson and ‘Like Writing History with Lightning,’” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 9, no. 4 (October 2010), 522–23, 527–28.
- 211 *worldwide audience*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 125; “Cast of Epic Film Has Reunion,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1930, A3. According to University of California literary scholar James Hart, Vladimir Lenin—who also viewed the film and immediately grasped the medium’s power as propaganda—remarked that *The Birth of a Nation* was “an express train among pushcarts.” Hart, *The Man Who Invented Hollywood*, 109. After the White House screening, Dixon told Tumulty that motion pictures could move public opinion and “the will could be overwhelmed,” which was his true reason for making the film: so that “every man in the audience” might be turned “into a good Democrat.” *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 407; Thomas Dixon to JPT, May 1, 1915, *PWW*,

- 32:142n1. Dixon later made the same comment to Wilson, assuring the president the movie “is transforming the entire population of the North and West into sympathetic Southern voters. There will never be an issue of your segregation policy.” Thomas Dixon to WW, September 5, 1915, WWP, quoted in Link, *The New Freedom*, 253n39.
- 211 *Wilson’s first attempt*: At the end of March, when a Wilson friend pressed him to publicly disown the film, he resisted, instructing Tumulty to say only “I have expressed no opinion about it.” WW to Warren Forman Johnson, March 29, 1915, *PWW*, 32:454; Margaret Blaine Damrosch to JPT, March 27, 1915, *PWW*, 32:455.
- 211 *10,000 people*: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 116.
- 211 *Trotter succeeded*: “Birth of Nation Causes Near Riot,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 1915, 1; “Trotter Attacks the Play,” *ibid.*, 3; “Say Box Office Discriminated,” *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1915, 8; “Hit by Officer, Trotter Says,” *Boston Globe*, May 3, 1915, 5; “Heard Trotter Make Threats,” *Boston Globe*, April 30, 1915, 5; “Trotter on the Stand,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 3, 1915, 2; “Puller Freed, Trotter Fined,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 5, 1915, pt. 2, 12; “Trotter Fined \$20, Appeals,” *Boston Globe*, May 5, 1915, 1.
- 212 *attacked Wilson personally*: Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900–1942* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 60; “Protests at Faneuil Hall,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 19, 1915, 5; “Name of Wilson Hissed,” *Boston Globe*, April 19, 1915, 3; “Protest by Mr. Jordan,” *ibid.*
- 212 *Democratic governor ... growing chorus*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 140–41, 148. Moorfield Storey was president of the American Bar Association from 1896 to 1896, and president of the Massachusetts Bar Association from 1913 to 1914. At the time of the Boston protests against *The Birth of a Nation* he was president of the NAACP. *Ibid.*, 141.
- 212 *2,000 Bostonians*: “State House Affairs—Negroes Hear Opponents—Throng Listens to ‘Birth of Nation’ Supporters,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 26, 1915, 2; “Colored People to Storm State House,” *Boston Globe* (morning edition), April 19, 1915, 1; “Gov. Walsh and O’Meara Will Appeal to Courts on ‘Nation’ Film,” *Boston Globe* (evening edition), April 19, 1915, 12; “Trotter Addresses the Crowd,” *ibid.*
- 212 *sensed a crisis ... same chief justice*: Edward D. White to JPT, April 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:486; Rogin, “The Sword Became a Flashing Vision,” 102–03; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 149; Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 171–72; Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 411.
- 212 *president “approved”*: Rep. Thomas Chandler Thacher to JPT, April 17, 1915 (with enclosures), WWP, Series 4, Executive Office File, 1913–21, Case File 2247, images 420–22. According to two witnesses present at the hearing, a lawyer for Griffith and Dixon testified the film “had received the endorsement and approval of the president.” Franklin T. Hammon and J. Mott Hollowell to Annie Fisher, April 15, 1915 (enclosed with Thacher to JPT). Griffith himself testified at the hearing, leaving “the impression that the president favored it,” according to another witness who attended the hearing. Griffith “went on to say that he would not read what Woodrow Wilson had said,” indicating that the president had remarked favorably on the film and that he had written down what Wilson said. Statement of Anna Phillips Williams re April 7, 1915 hearing at Boston City Hall (enclosed with Thacher to JPT). The April 7 clipping Thacher enclosed has not been identified, *PWW*, 33:86n1, but other stories reported similar witness statements. For example, “Name of Wilson Hissed,” *Boston Globe*, April 19, 1915, 3, quoted the chairman of the hearing as stating “the President is credited with approving ‘The Birth of a Nation.’”
- 212 *Tumulty had an idea*: JPT to WW (via Warren F. Johnson), April 24, 1915, *PWW*, 33:68.
- 212 *“unspeakable fellow”*: WW to JPT, April 24, 1915, *PWW*, 33:68.
- 212 *“entirely unaware”*: WW to JPT, April 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:86. For the entirety of his presidency, and his life, Wilson never said a word in public against the movie. Even when, at the height of the World War, he was informed that plans to reprise it in Washington, DC were “hurting the Liberty Loan and Red Cross subscriptions among colored people,” he offered no public expression of concern. In private to Tumulty, three years after his White House screening, he said that he had “always felt” the movie was “very unfortunate.” But the concern he expressed at that time was that it not be shown “in communities where there are so many colored people.” WW to JPT, c. April 22, 1918, *PWW*, 47:388n3. This recalls the approach taken during the 1915 Boston protests against the film, when the exhibitors refused to sell tickets to Black people. “Say Box Office Discriminated,” *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1915, 8.

- 212 *signed it*: Tumulty sent it the day Wilson approved the text. JPT to Thomas Chandler Thacher, April 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:86n2; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 149.
- 212 *box office records*: Joel Waldo Finler, *The Hollywood Story* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003), 47; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 287n1.
- 213 *normalized it*: Helen Klein Ross, “Hatred Endorsed by a President,” *Lapham’s Quarterly*, November 8, 2018.
- 213 *new life*: William Simmons, “How I Put Over the Klan,” interview with William G. Shepherd, *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 82, no. 2 (July 14, 1928), 35.
- 213 *inaugural cross burning*: David B. Freeman, *Carved in Stone: The History of Stone Mountain* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 52.
- 213 *flaming crosses*: Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 146.
- 213 *five million members*: “Religious and Patriotic Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan,” pamphlet (Waco, TX: Rev. W.C. Wright, 1926), 13.
- 213 *written constitution*: Ibid.
- 213 *anti-suffrage novel*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 189. Like Dixon’s book *The Clansman*—which had attracted the attention of filmmaker D.W. Griffith, a southern Democrat and Wilson admirer—*The Foolish Virgin* would soon be sold to Lewis J. Selznick for production as a motion picture. Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 109–10. Selznick was notable not only as a pioneer Hollywood filmmaker but as the father of David O. Selznick, who would later produce the definitive paean to the Confederacy, *Gone with the Wind*. Margaret Mitchell would credit Dixon as her inspiration for the novel on which the movie was based. Richard Harwell, ed., *Margaret Mitchell’s Gone With the Wind Letters 1936–1949* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976), 52; Mark Calney, “D.W. Griffith and ‘The Birth of A Monster,’” *The American Almanac*, January 11, 1993. In turn, *Gone with the Wind* would finally break the box office records set by *Birth of a Nation*.
- 213 *sole heir*: Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 65, 69–70. Edith was the sole executor and legatee of her first husband’s will. She received all of the profits from the business until she sold it in 1918, ten years after his death, inheriting as her share \$85,705, approximately \$1.8 million in current dollars. Ibid., 70.
- 213 *anti-suffragist*: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 19, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library; “Gives Joy to Suffragists: Mrs. Wilson, Once Counted Among Antis, Hears President’s Speech,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1918, 13; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 165, 180–81; Rebecca Boggs Roberts, *Untold Power: The Fascinating Rise and Complex Legacy of First Lady Edith Wilson* (New York: Viking, 2023), 117–19.
- 213 *slave-owning family*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 58–59; Roberts, *Untold Power*, 10.
- 214 *invite her*: Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 108; Roberts, *Untold Power*, 74–75; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 52–54.
- 214 *he proposed*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 60–61.
- 214 *constant attentions . . . presidential yacht*: James S. McCallops, *Edith Bolling Galt Wilson: The Unintended President* (New York: Nova History Publications, 2003), 13–15; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 81.
- 214 *daily*: Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 66; August Heckscher, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1991), 349.
- 214 *purposeful secrecy*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 56; Cooper, *Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 283.
- 214 *“the very inside”*: WW to MAH, September 20, 1914, *PWW*, 31:59.
- 214 *“think about you”*: WW to MAH, March 14, 1915, *PWW*, 32:371.
- 214 *“unable to answer”*: WW to MAH, April 4, 1915, *PWW*, 32:475.
- 214 *begged off again*: WW to MAH, April 21, 1915, *PWW*, 33:60.
- 214 *secret marriage proposal*: WW to EBG, May 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:278; EBG to WW, May 28, 1915, *ibid.*; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 56.

- 214 “*stop over*” ... *interrupted by business*: Helen Woodrow Bones to MAH, May 29, 1915, *PWW*, 33:286 and n1; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 23–26, at 25.
- 215 *several letters*: MAH to WW, June 10, 1915, *PWW*, 33:382; MAH to WW, June 16, 1915, *PWW*, 33:412; MAH to WW, June 20, 1915, *PWW*, 33:424.
- 215 “*moment’s hesitation*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 19–22, at 21.
- 215 *a loan*: Horace Herbert Clark to WW, July 28, 1915, *PWW*, 34:39 and n1.
- 215 “*bank after bank*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 21.
- 215 “*a Jew gentleman*”: MAH to WW, June 16, 1915, *PWW*, 33:412.
- 215 *Hulbert notified* ... “*excellent investments*”: Sufficient documentation survives for these transactions to piece together the whole thing. Mary recounted that when she first wrote Wilson asking for money, she proposed that he “advance \$7,500, taking the mortgages for \$15,000 [the face value of the mortgage notes] as security.” She added that Wilson immediately sent “a check or draft.” The loan documentation followed. Wilson met with Mary’s financial agent on two occasions; a third conference between the two men took place by telephone on July 19, the day Wilson signed a receipt for the mortgages that served as loan collateral. Mary’s signed promissory note was mailed to Wilson on July 28. Shortly after signing her promissory note, Mary determined it would be “impossible for [her] to meet the obligation.” On August 6, Mary’s agent confirmed Wilson’s agreement to convert the loan to a purchase of the mortgage collateral. The agent calculated that Wilson would then owe Mary an additional \$7,500, less the amount of unpaid interest to date on the loan. He also offered Wilson “a discount of 2-1/2%,” which he said equaled \$375, on the face value of the mortgages. Since \$375 is 2-1/2% of \$15,000, this confirms the purchase price for all of the mortgages was at par, i.e., \$15,000. Wilson declined the proffered discount, waived the unpaid interest on the loan, and paid full face value for the mortgages. MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 21; Receipt dated July 19, 1915, Wilson Papers, Series 14, Mary Allen Hulbert (Peck), 1907–1919, Manuscript Division, image 205, Library of Congress; Horace Herbert Clark to WW, July 28, 1915, *PWW*, 34:39 and n1; Clark to WW, August 6, 1915, *PWW*, 34:117. That Wilson wrote not one but two checks is further evidenced by the fact that Mary refers to multiple payments from Wilson (“these checks”). Colonel House recorded in his diary, immediately following Wilson’s telling him so, that the amount Wilson sent was \$15,000. House also recorded that McAdoo’s understanding was that Wilson had sent this amount. EMH Diary, September 22, 1915, *PWW*, 34:506. Measured in 2024 dollars, the amount Wilson paid Mary Hulbert was \$466,227. For further corroborating analysis, see Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 296–97, notes 71, 84.
- 215 “*neglecting practically everything*”: EMH Diary, July 31, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:199.
- 215 *secretly accepted*: EBG to WW, June 29, 1915, *PWW*, 33:458.
- 215 “*everything that is in me*”: WW to EBG, August 13, 1915, *PWW*, 34:190.
- 215 *New Jersey campaign*: New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, “Campaign Statement: A Resume of Campaign Activities and an Analysis of the Vote on the Woman Suffrage Amendment in the State of New Jersey,” October 19, 1915, Ann Lewis Women’s Suffrage Collection.
- 216 *public assurances*: “Wilson to Tell Stand in Time,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 20 (May 15, 1915), 158; “President Will Take Stand Soon,” *ibid.*, no. 30 (July 24, 1915), 231.
- 216 “*salacious and incriminating*”: Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 65.
- 216 “*implicated*”: WW to MAH, September 29, 1912, *PWW*, 25:284; MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 35 (January 3, 1925), 8–12, at 12.
- 216 “*quite possible*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 15.
- 216 “*apothecary’s clerk*”: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 269.
- 216 “*amiable Mrs. Peck*”: “Saunterings,” *Town Topics, The Journal of Society*, vol. 73, no. 6 (February 11, 1915), 1.
- 216 “*so persistent*”: *Ibid.*, vol. 74, no. 10 (September 2, 1915), 1.
- 216 *confronted him*: House believed the tip, contained in an anonymous letter, was “not genuine,” but that McAdoo used the letter to get the President to discuss the payments to Hulbert. EMH Diary, September 22, 1915, *PWW*,

- 34:506–07; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 431 and n2.
- 216 “*for not waiting*”: EMH Diary, July 31, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:199; Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 452; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Confusion and Crises 1915–1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 4–5. Not just McAdoo but virtually the entire Wilson cabinet, as well as Colonel House and Joe Tumulty, feared that remarrying so soon after his wife’s death could spell political disaster, but they worried even more about Mary Hulbert. Link, *Confusion and Crises*, *ibid.* She sensed as much. When *Munsey’s Magazine* asked why Wilson did not marry her after Ellen died, she answered, “Because Tumulty and McAdoo wouldn’t let him.” Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 21, 1940, Woodrow Wilson Collection, MC168, Public Policy Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- 217 “*stained and unworthy*”: WW to EBG, September 19, 1915, *PWW*, 34:491–92.
- 217 “*contemptible error*”: WW to EBG, September 21, 1915, *PWW*, 34:497.
- 217 “*while it lasted*”: WW, “Analysis of the Statement; Admission,” c. September 20, 1915, *PWW*, 34:496.
- 217 “*deeply ashamed*”: WW, draft statements, *ibid.*
- 217 “*pale and bleeding*”: EBG to WW, September 22, 1915, Edith Bolling Galt Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 115.
- 217 “*make any trouble*”: Even after the public announcement of the engagement, worries persisted over Mary Hulbert. On November 27, 1915, a White House aide who had “personally seen reams of letters from the President go to Mrs. Hulbert” wondered whether she was “going to make any trouble” and questioned whether “the wedding can go on.” MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 19.

- 217 “*political considerations*”: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 120.
- 217 “*lessen political reaction*”: Lewis L. Gould, ed., *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 240; Link, *Confusion and Crises*, 12–13.
- 217 *juxtaposed the two*: “President to Wed Mrs. Norman Galt”; “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage, Will Vote for New Jersey Amendment,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 217 “*she’s against it*”: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 19, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, Box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library. Grayson knew Edith Bolling well; she and his fiancée were friends. Roberts, *Untold Power*, 56–57.
- 218 “*knocked by the women*”: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 12, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, Box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library.
- 218 *plaintive reply*: MAH to WW, October 11, 1915, *PWW*, 35:53.
- 218 *To herself*: Ibid.; Frances Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979), 68.
- 218 *down to defeat*: “Overwhelming Defeat for Suffrage Amendment,” *Plainsfield Courier-News*, October 20, 1915, 1.
- 218 “*settled by the States*”: “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 218 *rebranded*: “National Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 5 (January 30, 1915), 5 (first usage of “the Susan B. Anthony Amendment” in the *Suffragist*); Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 215.
- 218 “*not encourage*”: “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 218 “*helpful statement*”: Ibid.
- 218 *harsh terms ... “Do not send”*: “Women Voters,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 1. Not only those inside the Congressional Union felt this way. “Probably he has no special interest in equal suffrage,” wrote Lucy Salmon in *The Nation*, “no more after having voted for it.” His former graduate fellow, now a professor of history at Vassar, attributed Wilson’s barren record on women’s suffrage to his “natural inhibitions.” “Woodrow Wilson: The President’s Policies Analyzed in the Light of His Natural Inhibitions and His Past Record,” *The Nation*, vol. 103, no. 2672 (September 14, 1916), 256–58, at 257 (pseudonymously signed “A. Neutral”).
- 219 “*hasty line*” ... “*Why?*”: WW to MAH, November 10, 1915, *PWW*, 35:187; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 137; Frances Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979).
- 219 *discussed marriage*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 25; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 137.
- 219 “*I loved him*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 5–9, at 9. In her memoir, she wrote that when she heard the news she clung to the copy of the *Oxford Book of English Verse* that Wilson had given her, and choked up when recalling the lines he had recited to her on Bermuda’s South Shore. “For even the purest delight may pall,” Wilson had read, “And the love of the dearest friends grow small.” MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 172, 279; “Dominus Illuminatio Mea,” no. 883 in A. T. Quiller-Couch, ed., *The Oxford Book of English Verse, 1250–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 1058.