

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 17. 'A Towering Rage'

PAGE

- 220 *turned them down*: "Suffragists Renew Siege of President," *New York Times*, December 7, 1915, 13; *SWP*, 115–16.
- 220 *same day*: "Wilson Hears Pleas of Pros and Antis," *New York Times*, December 15, 1915, 8; "President Wilson Sees Suffrage Delegation," *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 51 (December 18, 1915), 2; "Anti-Suffragists See President," *ibid.*
- 220 *"a man believes"*: *HWS*, 5:469. Catt's testimony, delivered on December 16, 1915, was given to the House Committee on the Judiciary, not the Committee on Woman Suffrage as reported in *HWS* by Ida Husted Harper. The House Committee on Woman Suffrage was not created until September 24, 1917, and did not hold its first meeting until January 3, 1918.
- 220 *private ceremony*: "President Wilson Weds Mrs. Galt in Her Home with Simple Ceremony," *New York Times*, December 19, 1915, 1
- 220 *"nothing to do"*: WW to Margaret Randolph Axson Elliott, December 26, 1915, *PWW*, 35:392.
- 220 *cut short*: JPT to WW, January 2, 1916, *PWW*, 35:419; Robert Lansing to WW, January 3, 1916, *PWW*, 35:422.
- 220 *only domestic issue*: Trisha Franzen, *Anna Howard Shaw: The Work of Woman Suffrage* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 167.
- 221 *"long as necessary" ... "like a glacier"*: "Interview with President Wilson," *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 5 (January 29, 1916), 5; "The Deputation to President Wilson," *ibid.*, no. 6 (February 5, 1916), 4; WW Remarks to the Congressional Union, January 27, 1916, *PWW*, 36:3 and n1; "Women Force Wilson to Say No to Suffrage," *New York Times*, January 28, 1916, 2. Wilson brought the meeting to an abrupt end the moment a delegate attempted to ask a question. This "tried his patience." *PWW*, 36:3 and n1.
- 221 *various wordings*: Jennie Bradley Roessing to WW, April 14, 1916, *PWW*, 36:484–85. In reply, Wilson made it clear the process must be "state by state." At the Democratic convention, when the delegates were told that Wilson deemed the "state by state" plank "imperative to his success in November," they passed it by an overwhelming vote. "Convention Harmony Is Upset by Clash Over Suffrage Plank; Majority Upheld on Roll Call," *Washington Post*, June 17, 1916, 4. Three days after the convention, Wilson reiterated in a note to Catt his position that suffrage was a question for "the several states." WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, *PWW*, 37:266.
- 221 *tour of the West ... winning endorsements*: "Farewell Given to Suffrage Envoys," *Washington Times*, April 10, 1916, 5; "Suffrage Heralds Go," *Washington Post*, April 10, 1916, 2; *SWP*, 152; "Review of the Year," *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 54 (January 10, 1917), 4.
- 221 *in the headlines*: "Suffrage Special' Starts on Its Tour," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 10, 1916, 1; "All Women To Have the Vote," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1916, pt. 2, 6; "The 'Suffrage Special' and Its Mission," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1916, pt. 2, 5; "Final Plea Made by Suffragists," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1916, 5; "The Susan B. Anthony Amendment," *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1916, 5; *JFF*, 40–41; Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 237.
- 221 *selecting officers*: "Closing Sessions of the Woman's Party Convention," *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5–7; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 239–40.
- 221 *long roster*: "Woman's Party Convention," *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 23 (June 3, 1916), 3.
- 221 *"flimsy pretext"*: "Woman's Party, First in World, Born in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5.

- 221 *“work, independently”*: “Conference of Officers of the Congressional Union,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 15 (April 15, 1916), 4; Platform of the National Woman’s Party (1916), Broad­sides and Brochures Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis (IUIPI) University Library.
- 222 *heckled him*: “Women Heckle and Ridicule Party Leaders,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1916, 5; “Closing Sessions,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5–7; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 241.
- 222 *laughable ... “towering rage”*: Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul,” by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, UC Berkeley (1973), 153–54, 160–61.
- 222 *“Good heavens”*: Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), 262; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 241.
- 222 *love affair*: After their first meeting in Chicago, the couple’s romantic relationship developed quickly. By August, the married Malone was referring to Stevens as the “love of my heart,” pledging his “perfect and constant devotion,” and craving “the power of your love.” Dudley Field Malone to Doris Stevens, August 12, 1916, Papers of Doris Stevens, MC 546, box 22, folder 5, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 222 *in California*: “Democrats Plagued with Their Record on Suffrage,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 1916, 12; “Patton Coming to Finish Up in South,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. 42, no. 307 (October 24, 1916), 7.
- 222 *on June 7*: “Hughes Named, Accepts, Resigns from Bench,” *Washington Post*, June 11, 1916, 1.
- 222 *just as much ink*: “GOP Committee to Hear Women in Main Coliseum,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5; “Birth of the Woman’s Party,” *ibid.*; “Woman’s Party, First in World, Born in Chicago,” *ibid.*; “Women Expect 30,000 to March in Vote Parade,” *ibid.*; “Great National Conventions Bring Crude Men and Stylish Women,” *ibid.*, 4.
- 223 *second stint*: “Officers Elected for National Association,” *Washington Herald*, December 18, 1915, 1.
- 223 *did not ask*: The language Catt submitted stated only that the party “favors the extension of the suffrage to women.” HWS, 5:710. Senator William Borah, a member of the committee, interpreted the GOP plank as adopted as “an unqualified endorsement of woman suffrage” that “left open” the method, neither rejecting nor endorsing the Anthony Amendment. “Senator Borah Interprets Republican Suffrage Plank,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 3.
- 223 *precisely that*: “G.O.P. Committee to Hear Women in Main Coliseum,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5; “Suffragists Invade Platform Hearing,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1916, 4.
- 223 *easier path*: HWS, 5:709–12.
- 223 *Hughes was “convinced”*: “Hughes to Make Suffrage Issue in His Campaign,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 26 (June 24, 1916), 9.
- 223 *“imperative to his success”*: “Convention Harmony Is Upset by Clash Over Suffrage Plank; Majority Upheld on Roll Call,” *Washington Post*, June 17, 1916, 4. Three days after the convention, Wilson reiterated in a note to Catt his position that suffrage was a question for “the several states.” WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, PWW, 37:266.
- 223 *“deliberate act”*: Charles A. Beard, “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, vol. 7, no. 91 (July 29, 1916), 329–31, at 330.
- 223 *“Wilson’s policy”*: “The Democratic Convention and National Woman Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 26 (June 24, 1916), 6.
- 223 *“strict neutrality”*: “Planks in the Democratic Platform,” *New York Sun*, June 14, 1916, 1.
- 223 *“saved the country”*: “Bryan Extols President,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1916, 1.
- 223 *“single American child”*: Address of Senator Ollie M. James, June 15, 1916, in J. Bruce Kremer, comp., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (St. Louis: Louis Granat, 1916), 79–91, at 88.
- 223 *unwanted headlines*: “Wilson’s Suffrage Views,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1916, 11.
- 223 *“opposed by conviction”*: JFF, 43.
- 223 *“no right” ... “be patient”*: “Suffragist Warns Wilson—Tells President That Women Voters Are Hostile to Him,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1916, 16; SWP, 165–66.
- 224 *personally welcomed*: June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 171.
- 224 *potent fundraiser*: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 246–54; HWS, 5:450, 457–58.

- 224 *Her plan ... “through this Congress”*: M. Carey Thomas to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 4, 1916, NAWSA Records, General Correspondence 1839–1961, box 29, reel 19, M. Carey Thomas, image 9, Library of Congress.
- 225 *racial prejudice*: Just weeks before, in a speech to Bryn Mawr students and faculty, she had expressed her hope that the “intellectual supremacy of the white races is maintained ... for centuries to come.” M. Carey Thomas, 1916 Address at the Opening of the College, M. Carey Thomas Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections. In 1903, when a Black student graduated as valedictorian from Philadelphia’s Girl’s High School, tradition would have placed her at Bryn Mawr College, but President Thomas “would not consent to the admission.” “The Earliest Black Graduates of the Nation’s Highest-Ranked Liberal Arts Colleges,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 38 (Winter 2002–03), 104–109, at 108.
- 225 *electoral votes*: “How Many of the Four Million Will Vote?” *Ladies Home Journal*, vol. 33, no. 4 (April 1916), 12.
- 225 *arguments in support ... “never yet felt”*: M. Carey Thomas to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 4, 1916, NAWSA Records, General Correspondence 1839–1961, box 29, reel 19, M. Carey Thomas, image 9, Library of Congress.
- 225 *responded immediately*: “Tells Suffrage Demands,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1916, 6; “Pick Six Moose for G.O.P. Committee,” *New York Sun*, July 6, 1916, 5.
- 226 *Alice Carpenter*: “The Women’s Roosevelt League,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1916, 10.
- 226 *“jolly him along”*: Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 245.
- 226 *“sit tight and profit”*: “Tells Suffrage Demands,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1916, 6.
- 226 *announce it to the nation*: “Mr. Hughes Expected to Declare for National Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 31 (July 29, 1916), 7; “Mr. Hughes Accepts Progressive Platform,” *ibid.*, no. 28 (July 8, 1916), 6; “Women Win Hughes to the Amendment,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1916, 1; “Mr. Hughes for the Anthony Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 32 (August 5, 1916), 6.
- 226 *Two weeks later*: HWS, 5:507.
- 226 *Anthony had urged*: “The Susan B. Anthony Amendment in 1916—‘Failure Is Impossible,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 23 (June 3, 1916), 12.
- 226 *On July 27*: JPT to WW, July 27, 1916, PWW, 37:490.
- 227 *five years earlier*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 566–67.
- 227 *“the negro question”*: “Suffragists Seek Fund of \$500,000,” *New York Sun*, August 5, 1916, 1. Blatch provided a substantially identical version of Wilson’s remarks in a later memoir. Blatch and Lutz, *Challenging Years*, 268–69.
- 227 *“still preponderate”*: Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 197.
- 227 *two states*: 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Hearings Before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage on H.J. Res. 200*, January 3, 1918, 19.
- 227 *Catt’s meeting request ... “radical” one*: JPT to WW, July 27, 1916, PWW, 37:490; WW to JPT, PWW, 37:491; JPT to WW, *ibid.*; all July 27, 1916.
- 227 *“cannot defeat”*: Charles Evans Hughes, Speech of Acceptance at Carnegie Hall, New York, July 31, 1916, *Republican Campaign Textbook* (Washington: Republican National Committee, 1916), 2–19, at 17.
- 228 *caryatid maidens*: “Organist at Hotel Astor,” *Diapason*, vol. 1, no. 8 (July 1, 1910), 3.
- 228 *unconditionally embraced ... page-one headline*: “Women Win Hughes to the Amendment,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1916, 1.
- 228 *“women went wild”*: “Republican Candidate for President Endorses Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 32 (August 5, 1916), 7.
- 228 *sculptor’s model*: John N. Serio, “Elsie Stevens, Audrey Munson, and the Model for the 1916 Dime and Half Dollar,” *Wallace Stevens Journal*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Fall 2018), 153–175, at 153.
- 228 *contributed her wages*: “Financial Report,” *Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 72 (June 9, 1917), 11 (listing Audrey Munson as a contributor to the NWP); James Bone, *The Curse of Beauty: The Scandalous and Tragic Life of Audrey Munson, America’s First Supermodel* (New York: Regan Arts, 2016), 3.
- 228 *“embarrassing solitude”*: Florence Brewer Boeckel, “New Women in Politics,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (November 1916), 432–37, at 434.

- 228 *“already declared”*: “Nation-Wide Suffragists Win Hughes; GOP Nominee Would Have Congress Amend Constitution; He Demands Quick Action,” *New York Tribune*, August 2, 1916, 1.
- 228 *full of cordiality ... “unconvinced”*: *HWS*, 5:507.
- 228 *became public*: “Hughes Declares for Woman Suffrage While President Wilson Hesitates,” *San Jose Mercury Herald*, August 2, 1916, 9; “Wilson’s Stand Equal to Denial,” *ibid.*
- 228 *White House statement*: “Wilson Unchanged on Suffrage Issue,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1916, 1.
- 229 *Marshall advised him*: Thomas Riley Marshall to WW, August 2, 1916, *PWW*, 37:516.
- 229 *“cost him the election”*: EMH to WW, August 2, 1916, *PWW*, 37:535.
- 229 *“born suffragist” ... “again and again”*: Ellen Duane Davis to WW, August 3, 1916, *PWW*, 37:522; WW to Davis, August 5, 1916, *PWW*, 37:529.
- 229 *“convictions”*: Mary Wilson Thompson to WW, July 30, 1916, *PWW*, 37:502; WW to Thompson, August 3, 1916, *PWW*, 37:518.