

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

19. 'We Might as Well Lie Down and Die'

PAGE

- 241 *“promised nothing”*: “Inez Hayes Irwin” in Lina Mainiero, ed., *American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1994), 2:370; *SWP*, 171.
- 241 *campaign swing*: “Mrs. Boissevain Off Today,” *New York Times*, October 4, 1916, 4.
- 241 *“a little while”*: “Last Appeal from Unenfranchised Women,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 42 (October 14, 1916), 7–9, at 9.
- 241 *“transcontinental”*: “Illness Halts Tour of Noted Suffragist,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 24, 1916, 6.
- 242 *unable to finish*: “Faints at Her Highest Point; Inez Milholland Boissevain Falls on Platform,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1916, 15; “Illness Halts Tour of Noted Suffragist,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 24, 1916, 6; “Mrs. Boissevain Faints on Stage,” *Los Angeles Record*, October 24, 1916, 7.
- 242 *martyr*: “Lays Down Life for Women’s Cause,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1916, 1; “Long Struggle Is Vain; Mrs. Boissevain Is Dead,” *Los Angeles Times*, *ibid*; Linda J. Lumsden, *Inez: The Life and Times of Inez Milholland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 174.
- 242 *volcano*: Hannah Kimberley, *A Woman’s Place Is at the Top: A Biography of Annie Smith Peck, Queen of the Climbers* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2017), 286–87.
- 242 *Robins ... Elliott*: “Nation’s Brightest Women Plead the Cause of Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, part 2, 1.
- 243 *Bankrolled*: “Trainload of Prominent Women Will Tour the United States to Campaign for Hughes,” *San Jose Mercury Herald*, September 23, 1916, 1. Hearst re-registered as a Republican for the 1916 election, as a protest against Wilson’s stand on suffrage. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst*, 412–13.
- 243 *Hughes’s example*: “Charles Evans Hughes: Glens Falls–Bred Civil Rights Hero,” *Glens Falls (NY) Chronicle*, January 18, 2016.
- 243 *Black churches*: Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 77.
- 243 *votes on the train*: J. Leonard Bates and Vanette M. Schwartz, “Golden Special: Republican Women Campaign for Charles Evans Hughes for President in 1916,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 37, no. 3 (Summer 1987), 26–35, at 27.
- 243 *to discredit*: Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 79.
- 243 *already visited*: Bates and Schwartz, “Golden Special,” 32.
- 243 *rotten eggs*: Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 170.
- 243 *most luxurious venue*: Ruth Wallach, et al., *Historic Hotels of Los Angeles and Hollywood* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 52.
- 243 *taunted*: “Women Hoodlums Fail to Mar Great Ovation,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, pt. 2, 6.
- 243 *“mass meeting”*: “To Give Women Warm Welcome,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Hats Fly as Hughesettes Reach L.A.,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Wilson Women Heckle Hughes Special Party,” *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, October 18, 1916, 1; “When Greek Meets Greek Then—,” *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Nation’s Brightest Women Plead the Cause of Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, part 2, 1.
- 243 *invaluable positive press*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 78.

- 243 *failing to vote*: “A Message of Cheer and Goodwill for Woodrow Wilson” (advertisement), *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, October 18, 1916, 6. From 1911 to 1916, Hughes and his family lived in the home they built at 2100 16th Street, NW, in the District of Columbia. At the time, he intended to live there with his family “for the remainder of their days.” Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 1:276. Today the impressive structure is the Embassy of Angola.
- 243 *“futile and foolish”*: “Mrs. George Bass at the Helm,” *Rock Island Argus*, August 29, 1916, 3.
- 244 *male politicians*: Antoinette Carter Hughes, the wife of the candidate, was the first to break this barrier when she campaigned alongside her husband on his cross-country whistlestop campaign in 1916. “Why Hughes Really Believes in Suffrage,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 27, 1916, 4.
- 244 *“integrity of principle”*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Contemporary Notes,” *Vassar Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (February 1, 1916), 66.
- 244 *interfering in Mexico*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Nelson O’Shaughnessy and Wife,” summary accompanying photograph, item 2014700506, Library of Congress.
- 244 *“unprecedented pitch”*: *JFF*, 45. Jane Addams, torn between her strong support for the Anthony Amendment and her pacifism, finally opted for Wilson and peace only weeks before the election. But at the same time she told the press she would not “make any statement formally declaring myself.” “Woodrow Wilson Is Good Enough for Jane Addams,” *Day Book* (Chicago), October 14, 1916, 3.
- 244 *“seen everywhere”*: Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 54.
- 244 *political winds*: The film’s opening came just weeks after more than 100,000 marchers and one million spectators in New York City clamored for war preparedness and cheered the flag. “135,683 Serious, Earnest Americans Emphasize Demand for Preparedness in Parade That March-es for 12 Hours,” *New York Times*, May 14, 1916, 1; Brooke Kroeger, *The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 182–83.
- 244 *first movie sequel*: “America Is Invaded Again in the Films; ‘The Fall of a Nation’ Another Sensational Photoplay Plea for Preparedness,” *New York Times*, June 7, 1916, 11.
- 245 *how to influence*: Historian Joel Williamson concluded that Thomas Dixon probably did more to shape the lives of modern Americans than most presidents. Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 140.
- 245 *enemies of preparedness*: Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense: American Women and World War I* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 230.
- 245 *“thirty million”*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 422.
- 245 *“America first”*: WW, Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, DC, October 11, 1915, *PWW*, 35:47.
- 245 *beat the women*: “Wilson Exhorts the Foreign Born ... Crowd Routs Suffragists,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1916, 1.
- 245 *“petulant tut tut”*: “Banners Torn; Hughes Women Lose Battle,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1916, 1.
- 245 *Hotel Manhattan ... “didn’t choose”*: Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 261–64.
- 246 *\$8 million*: In 1916 dollars, Hulbert said she was offered first \$200,000 and then \$300,000, equivalent to \$5.8 million and \$8.6 million, respectively, in today’s currency. *Ibid.*, 263.
- 246 *doubted it*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 264.
- 246 *“does not know of anyone”*: Draft of EBW to MAH, c. November 1, 1916, *PWW*, 38:589. Link’s commentary indicates this letter was sent, and Hulbert’s memoir makes clear it was received. *Ibid.*, n1; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 264.
- 246 *more than once*: After the large checks Wilson wrote in the summer of 1915, and another he had his cousin Helen Bones send that Mary did not cash, she impatiently prodded him to become involved in promoting her California property sale in the fall: “I ... for the last time am asking you to give the necessary help ... unless you are indifferent.” MAH to WW, November 22, 1915, *PWW*, 35:237 and notes. Wilson did involve himself, including

- paying for McAdoo's former secretary to travel to California to inspect the property. Horace Herbert Clark to WW, January 19, 1916, *PWW*, 35:503 and n1.
- 246 *For the time being*: Hulbert would make another pitch for funds in a Los Angeles meeting with Wilson, Edith, and Grayson on September 21, 1919. WW to MAH, September 20, 1919, *PWW*, 419; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 267–77; EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 281; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 42 (February 21, 1925), 25–27. Her final, and most successful, financial exploitation of the relationship came in 1928, when through an agent she successfully negotiated with the former president's close advisers Bernard Baruch, Ray Stannard Baker, and Josephus Daniels to sell them her cache of Wilson letters. On June 5, 1928, she signed a contract of sale for \$31,500 (over \$575,000 in 2024 currency). The money was provided by Baruch, a wealthy Wall Street financier, under conditions of complete secrecy for the purpose of keeping the letters off the market. According to Hulbert's memoir, Baker personally took delivery of the letters and paid her for them. Even then, as she later confessed to him, she had held back some letters, claiming to have subsequently destroyed them. After an extensive review of the record, historian Frances Saunders's explanation for why “most” of the letters “were destroyed or have otherwise disappeared” was that “Wilson's frequent outpourings were apparently so incriminating.” Frances W. Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979); MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 283–84; Jonathan Daniels, *The End of Innocence* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1954), 292.
- 246 “*a shadowed woman*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 19–22, at 21–22.
- 246 “*showing letters*”: *Ibid.*, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 8.
- 246 “*Justice sent men*”: *Ibid.*, 6.
- 246 “*mysteriously stopped*”: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 265–66.
- 246 *confronted Wilson*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 12–16, at 15; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 261–64.
- 247 “*vital to the success*”: Paul made this declaration in a letter to Gertrude Hill Cuthbert, daughter of Republican U.S. Senator Nathaniel Hill. Alice Paul to Gertrude Hill (Mrs. Lucius M.) Cuthbert, August 23, 1916, National Woman's Party Papers, 1891–1940, reel 1, Library of Congress.
- 247 *long-distance*: *SWP*, 178.
- 247 “*kept us out of suffrage*” “Call to the Women Voters,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 46 (November 11, 1916), 7; “Woman's Party Orator Makes Final Appeal,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1916, 17.
- 247 *invaded*: Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 270.
- 247 *freshman reformer*: Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War: Shaping an American City* (London: Routledge, 2016), 133.
- 247 *conventional wisdom*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:360.
- 247 *flashed the news*: Spencer C. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911–1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 157.
- 247 *prepared to concede*: JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 218–19; Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:361.
- 247 *finally rested*: Lisa G. Materson, *For the Freedom of Her Race: Black Women and Electoral Politics in Illinois, 1877–1932* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 98–107.
- 248 “*rebuke to Wilson*”: “Women, Register!” *Chicago Defender*, October 7, 1916, 3.
- 248 *Stevens's reports*: *JFF*, 46.
- 248 “*prairie fire*”: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:359, 363.
- 248 *Malone had spearheaded*: Dudley Field Malone to WW, September 7, 1917, *PWW*, 44:167.
- 248 *speaking for Hughes*: Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons*, 149.
- 248 *endorsed Hughes*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 141.
- 248 *3,421: Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington: CQ Press, 2005), 141.
- 248 *war skeptic*: Howard A. De Witt, “Hiram Johnson and World War I: A Progressive in Transition,” *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 3 (Fall 1974), 295–305.

- 249 *“lie down and die”*: Kathleen Morey to Alice Paul, November 15, 1916, reel 35, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 249 *“race is in peril”*: “The Race Is in Danger,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 4 (December 1916), 170.
- 249 *women defecting*: “Votes of Women and Bull Moose Elected Wilson,” *New York Times*, November 12, 1916, 1.
- 249 *“quavering slogan”*: “Why Wilson Won” (*Literary Digest* advertisement), *New York Tribune*, November 18, 1916, 7.
- 249 *“dedicated pacifist”*: Richard Nixon, Remarks at the Dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, February 18, 1971, *Public Papers of the Presidents, 1971* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 187–88.
- 249 *South Dakota*: “South Dakota,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1916, 2.
- 249 *leading role*: David Oks, “The Election of 1916, ‘Negrowumpism,’ and the Black Defection from the Republican Party,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 20, no. 4 (October 2021), 523–547, at 528.
- 249 *“two to one”*: JFF, 46.
- 250 *“mass peace meeting”*: “New Year Plea for Peace,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1917, 1.
- 250 *“no conviction whatever”*: “The New Situation in Suffrage,” *New Republic*, November 25, 1916, 85.
- 250 *“calamity”*: “Mr. Wilson’s Reelection,” *New York Age*, November 16, 1916, 4. Lucy Burns, speaking for the National Woman’s Party, regarded Wilson as the man who “for four years treated with open contempt the movement for the enfranchisement of women.” “Congressional Union Bitter Against Wilson,” *New-York Tribune*, August 12, 1916, 9.