

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

21. The ‘Firm Hand of Stern Repression’

PAGE

- 264 *spoke with pride*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 411; David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865–1965* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 26–27.
- 265 *kiss the holy book*: “The Lord Is Our Refuge,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 3; Frederick B. Jonassen, “Kiss the Book ... You’re President ... : ‘So Help Me God’ and Kissing the Book in the Presidential Oath of Office,” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, vol. 20, no. 3 (2012), 853.
- 265 *kill his bill*: The five objecting Democratic senators were Kirby (AR); Lane (OR); O’Gorman (NY); Stone (MO); and Vardaman (MS). Six Republicans opposed the bill: Clapp (MN); Cummins (IA); Gronna (ND); La Follette (WI); Norris (NE); and Works (CA). “Bitter Wrangle As Senate Closes,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1.
- 265 *“only legislative body”*: WW statement, March 4, 1917, *PWW*, 41:318; “Text of the President’s Statement to the Public,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “Bitter Wrangle as Senate Closes,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “President Takes Oath,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “Armed Ship Bill Beaten,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1. The Senate’s decision four days later to adopt the first-ever cloture rule (making it possible to end a filibuster) was a direct response to this incident.
- 265 *one thousand marchers ... “turned them away”*: *JFF*, 75–79; *SWP*, 207–212.
- 266 *“forty centuries”*: Advertisement for Carnegie Hall lecture by Jeannette Rankin, March 2, 1917, Carnegie Hall Rose Archives. The best box seats went for \$18 (\$440 in today’s currency).
- 266 *“special duty”*: James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 140.
- 266 *“mild sensation”*: “Senate’s Sacred Precincts Invaded by Miss Rankin,” *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, April 5, 1917, 12. Until her election, Senate rules prohibited women on the floor, even as guests, for any purpose except the funeral ceremony of a senator. “Miss Rankin Stirs Senate,” *New York Sun*, December 2, 1916, 1.
- 266 *men’s sensibilities*: “Our Busy ‘Congresswoman,’” *Literary Digest*, vol. 55, no. 6, August 11, 1917, 41–44, at 44.
- 267 *discouraged her*: Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America’s Conscience* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 98–99, 109; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6, 140–43.
- 267 *“How long”*: *JFF*, 80.
- 267 *escorted to the floor ... ever witnessed*: Call of States, 55 *CR* (65th Cong., 1st Sess., April 2, 1917), 105–06; “Jeannette Rankin Pledges Her Best to Women’s Cause,” *Daily Missoulian (MT)*, April 7, 1917, 7; Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 108–110; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 141; “America’s First Woman Congress” (*sic*), *Salisbury (NC) Evening Post*, April 2, 1917, 1.
- 267 *former congressman*: “Trimble, South,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 268 *called her name*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 106–08 (election of Speaker).
- 268 *prohibition amendment*: “Institute Applauds Carrie Chapman Catt, As She Discusses Modernity and Prohibition,” *Columbia (NY) Spectator*, November 8, 1926, 1; “Prohibition Analyzed by Carrie Catt,” *Sterling (IL) Daily Gazette*, July 9, 1930, 1; 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 17, 1917), 469.
- 268 *House Joint Resolution 1*: “Public Bills, Resolutions, and Memorials,” 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 128.
- 268 *“Nature’s rarest”*: John Muir, *Nature Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1997), 813.

- 269 “*last of neutrality*”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 *Finland Station*: Joshua Hammer, “The Road to Revolution,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 10 (March 2017), 66. Lenin had been publicly calling for “armed insurrection” and “mass terror” in Russia for over a decade. Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 170–71. British suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst, who had seen firsthand the threat that Russia’s civil war posed to democracy, offered a more discerning contemporary warning. June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 309–11.
- 269 “*safe for democracy*”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 *continued to play golf*: “Memorable Address Typed by Wilson Himself,” *The Butte (MT) Miner*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 “*preparedness*” *parades*: Ross A. Kennedy, “Preparedness,” in Kennedy, ed., *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson* (Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2013), 271–76; Manuel Franz, “Preparedness Revisited: Civilian Societies and the Campaign for American Defense, 1914–1920,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 17, no. 4 (October 2018), 663–76, at 670.
- 269 *Daily news reports*: H. Schulyer Foster, Jr., “Charting America’s News of the World War,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 15, no. 2 (January 1937), 311–319.
- 269 *papal appeals*: “Pope Makes Appeal for Belgian Children,” *New York Times*, December 6, 1916, 1; “Victorious Peace, Pope’s Word to Italy,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1917, 1.
- 269 *propaganda*: Edward James Thorne, “Aspects of the British and German Campaigns to Win American Sympathy, 1914–1917” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1954), 263–69.
- 269 *Lusitania*: “German Order to Sink Armed Ships Holds Up the Lusitania Settlement,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1916; “Germany Again Fails to Meet Lusitania Demands,” *New York Sun*, January 26, 1916, 1.
- 269 *saboteurs*: “Germans Ruin N.Y. Ships; Loss is \$30,000,000,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1917, 1; “German ‘Sabotage’ – Another Explosion at U.S. Powder Works,” *Manchester Courier*, January 11, 1916, 1; Dwight R. Messimer, *The Baltimore Sabotage Cell: German Agents, American Traitors, and the U–Boat Deutschland during World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2015).
- 269 *Zimmerman telegram*: “Germany Asks Mexico to Seek Alliance with Japan for War on U.S.,” *New York Tribune*, March 1, 1917, 1; “Congress Faces War Demand; Exposure of German Plot Against U.S. Expected to Arouse Nation,” *ibid.*; “Plot Awakens Congress,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1917, 1; “Senate Is Told Officially Zimmerman Note Is Authentic,” *New York Sun*, March 2, 1917, 1; Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmerman Telegram* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1958), 184, 199–200.
- 270 *his direct authority*: The three men whom Wilson appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, were at all times subject to his power to remove them. Their relationship to the president was, according to the U.S. Supreme Court, analogous to that of territorial governors, over whom presidents traditionally exerted significant influence. *District of Columbia v. Thompson*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953). Within this arrangement they held the power to “make and enforce all such reasonable and usual police regulations” for the District of Columbia “as they may deem necessary.” Joint Resolution of February 26, 1892, 27 Stat. 394.
- 270 *banned all demonstrations*: “Pacifists Get Cold Shoulder,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 3. Congress did not begin granting the District of Columbia home rule until 1967, culminating in the Home Rule Act in 1973.
- 270 *Federal law required*: Louis F. Brownlow, *A Passion for Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 584.
- 270 *Newman*: “Oliver Newman, Editor, Reporter,” *New York Times*, September 27, 1956, 35; “Oliver P. Newman Dies: Ex-D.C. Commissioner,” *Washington Post*, September 27, 1956; “‘Ideal City’ Rulers: Newman and Siddons Named District Commissioners,” *Washington Post*, June 27, 1913, 2.
- 270 “*long conversations*”: Fred C. Kelly, “Writing the News,” *Duluth Herald*, July 29, 1914, 8.
- 270 *revive the practice*: David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: George H. Doran, 1924), 81–83.
- 270 *once kept slaves*: Brownlow, *Passion for Politics*, 3–18.
- 270 *admirer and acquaintance*: *Ibid.*, 67–68.
- 270 *Wilson’s articles*: *Ibid.*, 233.
- 270 *cannot even pretend*: *Ibid.*, 82.

- 270 “several long talks”: Ibid., 400–401.
- 271 “very closest friend”: Ibid., 583.
- 271 appointed them both: Ibid., 593.
- 271 vice-chairmen: “Washington Prepares for Wilson’s Inaugural,” *Austin American Statesman*, March 3, 1917, 5.
- 271 “Doughnut Cabinet”: Brownlow, *Passion for Politics*, 585–86; “Five O’Clock Tidbits,” *The Spur*, vol. 20, no. 6 (September 15, 1917), 25.
- 271 severely beaten: “Jeers Greet Pacifists in Washington,” *The Butte (MT) Miner*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 271 “cowardice and disloyalty”: 79 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 74th Cong., 1st Sess. (July 29, 1935), 12007 (remarks of Rep. Stefan, quoting letter from former Rep. Rankin).
- 271 “all he could”: Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 144.
- 271 “You and I”: Ibid., 146.
- 272 long been active: “Congressman Mann Speaks for Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 3.
- 272 to vote for the: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1420, 1479 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 272 joint appearance: “Mann Pledges Support to Suffrage Amendment,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 27, 1916, 3.
- 272 “No reply”: Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 109.
- 272 made matters worse: Ibid.
- 272 joined forty-nine: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 6, 1917), 413. The Democratic Speaker of the House, Champ Clark, also opposed the war resolution, but by tradition the Speaker does not vote.
- 272 “war-mad moment”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 5, 1917), 332 (remarks of Rep. Kitchin).
- 272 “cannot vote for war”: “Casts Vote Against War, Then Miss Rankin Cries,” *Washington Times*, April 6, 1917, 9.
- 272 Catt took pains: “Suffrage Leaders Pardon Miss Rankin,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1917, 4.
- 272 “a joker”: Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 113 “Peace Party Ousts Mrs. Carrie Catt,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1917, 11.
- 273 moratorium resolution: “Democrats Shun War Prohibition,” *New York Times*, April 20, 1917, 6.
- 273 Woman Patriot Publishing: Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 124, 217n40.
- 273 particularly prohibition . . . exigencies of war: When Congress eventually passed the prohibition amendment, it did so only after declaring it a war measure, based in part on administration testimony. Wilson himself offered muted support for the prohibition amendment, having previously supported the idea of prohibition at state option as a candidate and governor in New Jersey. JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 409–12. In June 1918, Secretary Josephus Daniels, who had already banned all alcohol at Navy yards and stations and on naval vessels, testified before the Senate to “the benefits that have come to the Navy through prohibition,” offering his opinion that “similar benefits would accrue to the industries of the country if prohibition were made general.” Frank O’Hara, “Prohibition in the United States,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 7, no. 28 (December 1918), 596–606, at 596; “‘Bone Dry’ Bill Reported Out to the Senate,” *New York Tribune*, June 28, 1918, 1. In May 1917, shortly before becoming Director of the United States Food Administration, Herbert Hoover testified before the Senate Agriculture Committee in support of prohibition as a war measure. “Prohibition Urged for War by Hoover,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1917, 4. Former Secretary of State Bryan also lobbied actively for the prohibition amendment, directly tying it to the war. “Saloon Halts War Program, Says Bryan,” *Washington Herald*, December 12, 1917, 5; William Jennings Bryan, Address to the 18th National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in *The Saloon Must Go: Proceedings of the Eighteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America* (Westerville, OH: American Issue Publishing Co., 1918), 65. But three weeks after Wilson’s most severe stroke in 1919, when the eighteenth amendment had already become part of the Constitution, a veto message aimed at the Volstead Act’s enforcement of the amendment issued from the White House. “Most likely with Edith’s consent and without Wilson’s knowledge, Tumulty wrote a veto message,” surmised Wilson biographer John Milton Cooper. The brief veto message was vague about its purpose—possibly, it was an encouragement to Congress to define “intoxicating liquors” to exclude beer and wine, or to raise the alcohol content limits in the bill. Whatever its provenance and

purpose, both houses of Congress swiftly overrode the veto. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 537.

273 *supported the moratorium*: “Woman Suffrage and War,” in *The Case Against Woman Suffrage*, Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women (Boston: Anchor Linotype Printing, 1917), 23–24, pamphlet, University of Maine Library.

273 *“no patriotism”*: “Miss Rankin Assailed and Lauded by Women,” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, April 6, 1917, 3.