

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 22. 'Lock Them Up'

PAGE

- 274 *cold, gray Friday*: Weather forecast, (*Alexandria, VA*) *Gazette*, April 13, 1917, 1.
- 274 *its chairman*: No one else was interviewed for the post. Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, "The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917–19," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1939), 8.
- 274 *150,000*: George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 5.
- 274 *two press conferences*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2013), 450.
- 275 *Addressing a joint session*: WW, Third Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1915, *PWW*, 35:293.
- 275 *"ministry of propaganda"*: Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 75.
- 275 *"muckrakers" ... "hack"*: Mark Sullivan, "Creel—Censor," *Collier's Weekly*, vol. 60, no. 9 (November 10, 1917), 13, 36. The *New York Times* criticized the choice of a man without "any evidence of the ability, the experience, or the judicial temperament" such a sensitive post required. "Censorship and Publicity," *New York Times*, April 6, 1917, 12.
- 275 *organized a Wilson club*: George Creel, *Rebel at Large* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), 148–49.
- 275 *personal correspondence*: George Creel to Cedric Larson, July 18, 1938, quoted in Larson and Mock, "Lost Files of the Creel Committee," 8.
- 275 *campaign book*: James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 409.
- 275 *Jefferson, and Lincoln*: George Creel, *Wilson and the Issues* (New York: The Century Co., 1916), 123, 157.
- 275 *no criticism*: Creel devoted an entire chapter to defending Wilson's white supremacist Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels from such imagined "offenses" as the integration of white officers and Black enlisted sailors at meals. "No such order was ever made or even contemplated," Creel assured his readers. *Ibid.*, 91.
- 275 *"Democratic dailies"*: Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 149, 153.
- 276 *film industry*: Creel had experience working for a film studio that was later acquired by Warner Brothers. Their cowboy star, "Bronco Billy," was a nationwide sensation. In Colorado, Creel not only wrote scenarios but acted in one of the Bronco Billy shorts, *The Heart of a Cowboy* (1910). (He played the blackhearted villain.) Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 132–41; David Kiehn, *Broncho Billy and the Essanay Film Company* (Berkeley, CA: Farwell Books, 2003), 19–20, 305. Creel's wife was an actress who had appeared in films by Cecil B. DeMille and Paramount. "Blanche Bates," n.d., *Internet Movie Database*, imdb.com.
- 276 *feature film*: Josh Glick, "Wilson and the War Effort: Film, Pedagogy, and the Presidency," in Jeff Menne and Christian B. Long, eds., *Film and the American Presidency* (New York: Rutledge, 2015), 72–95, at 76. The film's ponderous title, *Motion Picture Portrait Studies of the President of the United States and the Cabinet*, is evidence that while the campaign's use of film was cutting-edge, its marketing techniques were not. Nonetheless, journalists of the time mentioned the film's important role in the race. *Ibid.* The Hughes campaign produced its own feature-length film, a two-reel production more simply titled *A Reunited Party*. *Ibid.*, 91n21.
- 276 *movie theaters*: "History of Film, The Silent Years, 1910–27: Pre–World War I American cinema," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. That figure compares to fewer than 6,000 in 2019 before the 2020 pandemic resulted in the permanent closure of many U.S. theaters. National Association of Theatre Owners, "Data—Number of U.S. Cinema Sites," www.natoonline.org. Wilson's 1916 film appeared in over forty theaters in Chicago alone. "Forum Film in Forty Houses," *Motography*, vol. 16, no. 18 (October 28, 1916), 959.
- 276 *endorsement*: Glick, "Wilson and the War Effort," 91n22.

- 276 *Confederate officer*: Carla Waal and Barbara Oliver Korner, eds., *Hardship and Hope: Missouri Women Writing about Their Lives, 1820–1920* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 81.
- 276 “two classes of men”: Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, 13.
- 276 *pro-suffrage*: Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 145.
- 276 “corrupt and self-seeking”: George Creel and Ben B. Lindsey, “Measuring Up Equal Suffrage,” *The Delineator*, vol. 77, no. 2 (February 1911), 85, at 152.
- 276 “not only to the United States”: Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 277 “self-censorship”: Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 277 “The Censor”: “Creel: An Announcement,” *Everybody’s Magazine*, vol. 40, no. 1 (January 1919), 25.
- 277 “hostility”: “Censorship and Publicity,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1917, 12.
- 277 “absolutist tendencies”: Jonathan Auerbach, *Weapons of Democracy: Propaganda, Progressivism, and American Public Opinion* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 60.
- 277 *led the opposition*: Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 172.
- 277 *head off similar protests*: Nancy Gentile Ford, *The Great War and America: Civil–Military Relations During World War I* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 29–30.
- 277 “propaganda”: Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 5, 351. Ironically, Creel’s innovations in the war for democracy furnished a model for Nazi propagandists in the 1930s. After the war, both Walter Lippman and Edward L. Bernays, who worked for the CPI in New York and at the Paris Peace Conference, published books based on their experiences with propaganda. Lippman’s work, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), recognized the dangers—explaining, for example, how during the war, propaganda convinced the public that the “racial” differences between uncivilized “Teutons” and civilized “Anglo-Saxons” or “French” were “eternal.” Nonetheless he argued for an enlightened government-led “manufacture of consent.” *Public Opinion*, 145, 248. Bernays, in *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1923), demonstrated how the CPI’s wartime approach could be used to manipulate “malleable public opinion” in peacetime. *Ibid.*, 76, and passim. In 1933, Joseph Goebbels told a reporter he was “particularly fond” of *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, kept it in his personal library, and relied upon it in constructing the Nazi Party’s propaganda campaign. Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 111. The World War, Hitler wrote, had demonstrated “the tremendous results which could be obtained by a propagandist system.” Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 176.
- 278 *party of dignitaries*: *SWP*, 207; Charles Hanson Towne, ed., *The Balfour Visit: How America Received Her Distinguished Guest* (New York: George H. Duran, 1917), 15–17, 26.
- 278 *from Wilson’s war message*: *Ibid.*
- 278 *minor political parties*: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, May 14, 1917, *LL*, 7:67.
- 278 *endorsed the Anthony Amendment*: Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment,” by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, University of California, Berkeley (1973), 154.
- 278 “will you not”: *JFF*, 86.
- 278 *had come from NAWSA*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, May 10, 1917, *PWW*, 42:269–70; WW to Rep. Edward W. Pou, May 14, 1917, *PWW*, 42:293.
- 279 “another committee”: *JFF*, 87.
- 279 *moved to Washington*: “Mrs. George Bass to Head Woman’s Democratic Bureau,” *Daily Oklahoman*, February 1, 1917, 7.
- 279 *Her perspective*: “Elizabeth Bass,” obituary, *Manitowoc Herald Times*, August 26, 1950, 2; “Judge George Bass Dies at Chicago,” *Manitowoc Herald News*, February 21, 1930, 1.
- 279 *gently nudged*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 3, 1917, *PWW*, 42:208.
- 279 *child labor law*: Keating–Owen Child Labor Act of 1916, Pub. L. 98–449, 39 Stat. 675.
- 280 *led the NWP delegation*: *JFF*, 29; Jana Brubaker, “Biography of Elizabeth Glendower Evans, 1856–1937,” in *Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States*, Thomas Dublin and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2015) (online).

- 280 “*follow you wherever*”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 3, 1917, *PWW*, 42:208.
- 280 “*hardly necessary*”: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 4, 1917, *PWW*, 42:214.
- 280 *Creel’s protocols*: Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 107.
- 280 *verbatim*: For example, see “Espionage Bill Is Signed; Numerous Prosecutions Expected Under Its Provisions,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1917, 9; “President Signs Espionage Bill,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, June 16, 1917, 2; “President Signs Espionage Bill; Measure Regarded as Most Important Piece of Legislation Since War Started,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 16, 1917, 2; “Espionage Act Now In Effect; Prosecutions Anticipated Following President’s Approval of Bill,” *Salt Lake Herald Republican*, June 16, 1917, 5; “New Espionage Law Is Regarded As Important; Department of Justice Officials Expect Many Prosecutions Under Its Provisions,” *Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 16, 1917; “Much Expected of Espionage Bill Now Signed by President,” *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 16, 1917, 1.
- 280 *detailed regulations*: Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 101–03.
- 281 *unprecedented regime*: According to the editor of the *New York World*, Wilson said privately on the evening before his war message that “every man who refused to conform would have to pay the penalty.” He thought “the Constitution would not survive it. Free speech and the right of assembly would go.” John L. Heaton, comp., Cobb of “The World” (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), 267; Memorandum in Frank I. Cobb Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 281 “*peacetime practice*”: Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 71–72.
- 281 *Division of News ... expense*: Ibid., 74; Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 107–108.
- 281 “*national newspaper*” ... *less difficult*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 126; John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 113.
- 282 “*mind of America*”: Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses*, 101.
- 282 “*censorship*” ... “*suppressive features*”: Ibid., 101–02 (Creel’s emphases).
- 282 “*Ambassador Extraordinary*”: “Mr. Root Envoy to Russia,” *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 43, no. 1 (January 1917), 1353.
- 282 *rejoin the war*: George F. Kennan, *Soviet–American Relations*, vol. 1, *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 21–22.
- 282 *die-hard opponent*: “Root Denounces Suffrage Agitation,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1917, 1.
- 282 *Root told the members*: Elihu Root, “Address to the Council of Ministers, Petrograd, June 15, 1917,” in *The United States and the War—The Mission to Russia—Political Addresses by Elihu Root*, Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 98; Alton Earl Ingram, “The Root Mission to Russia, 1917” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 147–48.
- 282 *Lvov’s formal declaration*: “Declaration of the Provisional Government Reviewing Its Accomplishments and Calling for the Support and Cooperation of All the Vital Forces in the Nation,” Interim Government Meeting Records, No. 40 (April 26, 1917), 1, in *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917—Documents*, vol. 3, Robert Paul Browder and Alexander F. Kerensky, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 1249.
- 283 *one million copies*: David R. Francis to Robert Lansing, June 20, 1917, Records of Governor David Rowland Francis, 1889–1893, Office of Governor, Record Group 3.27, Missouri State Archives, cited in Alton Earl Ingram, “The Root Mission to Russia, 1917” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 147–48.
- 283 *passage was quoted*: “The Real Russia,” *New York Times*, June 19, 1917, 12.
- 283 *Pankhurst met with Root*: “Mrs. Pankhurst Sees Root,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 283 “*universality*”: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 276.
- 283 “*no time for manners*”: *JFF*, 93. The words on the ten-foot sign were: “To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say we are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracies may survive. We, the Women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement. Help us make this nation truly free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim Russia as an ally.” Photograph, *To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root Are Deceiving Russia* (Harris & Ewing, 1917), Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016884713/>.

- 283 *lined with cheering people*: “Washington Cheers Russian Mission,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1917, 3.
- 283 *taunting*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner at White House,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 284 *crowd rushed*: “Obnoxious Banner Is Torn to Shreds,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 20, 1917, 1.
- 284 *police did nothing ... White House usher*: Ibid.
- 284 *personally directed*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*.
- 284 *Wilson’s top aide*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*; “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 284 *pallbearers*: “R.W. Pullman Dead—Washington Police Chief Was Long a Newspaper Man,” *Editor and Publisher*, vol. 52, no. 39 (February 26, 1920), 12.
- 284 *military zone*: *JFF*, 93.
- 284 *direct orders*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 285 *say the word*: “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1; “Crowds Again Rend Suffrage Banners,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1917, 5; “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 285 *served notice*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*; “Flaunt Fresh Banner,” *Washington Post*.
- 285 *carte blanche*: Donald Johnson, “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 46–58, at 46–47.
- 285 *secret directive*: Ibid., 48; Stephen Rhode, “Julian Assange, the Espionage Act of 1917, and Freedom of the Press,” *The American Prospect*, prospect.org, June 19, 2019.
- 285 *defamatory*: “Women’s Banner Torn to Pieces at White House,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1917, 2.
- 285 *encouraging insurrection*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 286 *lock them up*: “Shut Up or Be Locked Up!,” *Chicago Day Book*, June 23, 1917, 21.
- 286 *advertising*: “Flaunt Fresh Banner,” *Washington Post*.