

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

23. 'You Ought Not to Have the Vote'

PAGE

- 287 *page—one stories*: 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), 17.
- 287 "*not in the least*": "Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today," *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 287 "*meant business*": "Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden; Question of Rights to Be Fought Out in the Courts," *Washington Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 287 "*German money*": "Capital Police Stop Picketing," *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 287 *news from London*: "Women Win in England—Commons Passes Electoral Reform Bill Dealing with Suffrage," *New York Times*, June 20, 1917, 3.
- 288 *Burns and Morey*: "Police Censor Banner Mottoes of Suffragists," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1917, 2; "Police Suppress Women Rioters at White House," *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1917, 1; "Mob Led by Woman Rips Suffrage Flags to Bits," *Washington Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 288 "*paled into insignificance*": "Police Suppress Women Rioters," *Los Angeles Times*.
- 288 *10,000 men and women*: "Police Censor Banner Mottoes," *San Francisco Chronicle*.
- 288 "*We shall fight*": "Two Suffragists Arrested," *Washington Times*.
- 288 *mob rushed*: "Mob Led by Woman," *Washington Times*.
- 288 *ripped the banners*: Ibid.; "Police Suppress Women Rioters," *Los Angeles Times*; "Brave Third Day Riot—White House Pickets Will Fly More Banners This Morning," *Washington Post*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 289 "*went down instantly*": "Mob Led by Woman," *Washington Times*.
- 289 "*motion picture men*": "Suffrage Banners Torn from Frames," *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 289 "*police did not wait*": "Police Censor Banner Mottoes," *San Francisco Chronicle*; "Brave Third Day Riot," *Washington Post*.
- 289 "*quickly stripped it*": "Woman Leads Attack On White House Pickets," *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1917, 1; "Brave Third Day Riot," *Washington Post*.
- 289 *ultimatum*: "Suffrage Banners Torn from Frames," *Los Angeles Times*; Raymond W. Pullman, Report of the Major and Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia (Washington, DC, 1916), 6; *JFF*, 93–94.
- 289 *disdainful lede*: "Brave Third Day Riot," *Washington Post*.
- 289 a "*hero*": "Mob Led by Woman," *Washington Times*.
- 289 "*little short of treason*": "A Study in Contrasts," *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1917, 4.
- 289 *earlier threat ... would be arrested*: "Suffrage Banners at White House Forbidden," *St. Louis Post–Dispatch*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 290 "*no matter what*": "Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden; Question of Rights to Be Fought Out in the Courts," *Washington Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 290 *immediately arrested*: "Suffrage Banners at White House Forbidden," *St. Louis Post–Dispatch*; "Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden," *Washington Times*; "Boston Suffragist Put Under Arrest," *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1917, 10; "Police Arrest Suffrage Pickets," *Hartford Courant*, June 23, 1917, 10; "White House Pickets Gone, But Women Hint at New Move," *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1917, 9; "Woman Arrests Suffrage Pickets," *New York Times*, June 23, 1917, 9.
- 290 "*police were instructed*": "Woman Arrests Suffrage Pickets," *New York Times*.

- 290 “*White House folks are happy*”: “White House Pickets Gone, But Women Hint at New Move,” *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1917, 9.
- 290 *blockade*: “Two Suffragists Under Arrest,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 23, 1917, 5.
- 290 *obstructing traffic*: Ibid.
- 290 *dozen women*: “More Suffragists Booked for Trial,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 26, 1917, 3.
- 290 *nine more*: “Nine New Suffs Arrested After Charge on Police,” *Washington Times*, June 26, 1917, 1.
- 291 “*greatest obstacle*”: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 291 “*lack of patriotism*”: “State Suffragist President Denounces Washington Pickets,” *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 22, 1917, 3.
- 291 “*no shadings*”: Mark Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 60, no. 9 (November 10, 1917), 13.
- 291 “*fists, feet, fingers, teeth, nails*”: Nor did he see any need for “time-wasting with the rights and wrongs” or “fussing with facts.” Ibid., 13, 37. Creel became *Collier’s* Washington editor during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s second term. Betty Houchin Winfield, *FDR and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 62.
- 291 *twenty-one more*: Catherine J. Lanctot, “‘We Are at War and You Should Not Bother the President’: The Suffrage Pickets and Freedom of Speech During World War I,” Villanova University School of Law, Working Paper Series 116 (May 2008), 17.
- 291 *not in itself unlawful*: Peaceful demonstrations on public property, including sidewalks, have “from ancient times, been a part of the privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties of citizens.” *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496 (1939). The suffrage protesters had been so advised by their legal counsel. A year after the first suffragists were arrested, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals held that the suffragist protesters had been unlawfully indicted for sidewalk obstruction. *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918). See text at p. 396 and accompanying notes.
- 292 *forty-foot width*: At oral argument in the suffragists’ appeal of their convictions on January 9, 1918, Judge Josiah Van Orsdel stated that “it is commonly known there is a forty-foot sidewalk” in front of the White House. “Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 9. Washington, DC pedestrian traffic in 1917 was, of course, very light compared to the 21st century. Fifty years after the 1917 arrests, when the advent of jet travel had dramatically increased the volume of tourists in Washington, the maximum number of pedestrians using the sidewalk in front of the White House during peak summer periods was 3,260 per hour, according to a 1968 study. If demonstrators used five feet of the then 35-foot-deep sidewalk, the study determined, this would leave ample room for demonstrators as well as over 30,000 pedestrians per hour—10% of the entire population of the District of Columbia in 1917. Vasant H. Surti and Thomas J. Burke, “Investigation of the Capacity of the White House Sidewalk for Orderly Demonstrations,” Highway Research Board, Committee on Pedestrians, Washington, DC, 1968, at 22, 24.
- 292 *relevant provisions*: Police Regulations of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: July 31, 1915), §§ 40(b), (c).
- 292 *chief legal officer*: Syme’s background was similar to that of many others in the Wilson administration: his father was a volunteer infantryman for the Confederacy in the Civil War, and his mother worked for the Confederate cause “with unceasing devotion ... often incur[ring] personal danger” to do so. In Washington he worked for several years for a Democratic senator, later becoming a Democratic party officer in West Virginia and a surrogate speaker for both of Wilson’s presidential campaigns. J.R. Cole, *History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: J.R. Cole, 1917), 166–171.
- 292 *Washington correspondent*: Gilson Gardner, “Why Arresting Suffragists Is Stupid: A Word of Advice for the Administration,” reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 7.
- 293 “*control discretion*”: Charles D. Breitel, “Controls in Criminal Law Enforcement,” *University of Chicago Law Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1960), 427–35.
- 293 “*ought not to have the vote*”: “Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 5; Prison Register, April 1917–September 1918, Washington Asylum and Jail, District of Columbia Department of Corrections, at Lucy Burns Museum, Lorton, VA.
- 293 “*admission of guilt*”: *JFF*, 95.

- 293 *established the precedent*: “An Account of the Proceedings of the Trial of Susan B. Anthony” (Rochester, NY: Daily Democrat and Chronicle Book Print, 1874), pamphlet, NAWSA Collection, Library of Congress, 84–85.
- 293 *rats*: “Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 13.
- 294 *personally promised*: Mrs. Ellis Meredith to JPT, June 28, 1917, reel 210, #59557, image 114, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 294 *“a line or two”*: Ibid.
- 294 *NAWSA’s latest criticism ... “their existence”*: “National Woman Suffrage Association States Its Views on Publicity Tactics That It Regards as Harmful to Real Ends Sought,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 46 (July 3, 1917), 2.
- 295 *“defying police”*: “Militants Will Picket Before White House, Defying Police,” *Washington Post*, July 4, 1917, 1.
- 295 *“attacking the president”*: “Militants in Riot; 13 Held for Trial,” *Washington Post*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Washington Crowds Menace Militants,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Hagerstown Exponent*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Injuring the Cause,” *Potter (PA) Enterprise*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Say Militants Hurt the Cause,” *Burlington Weekly Free Press*, July 5, 1917, 9; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Polk County Democrat*, July 5, 1917, 2; “Militants Forced to Wait on Court,” Camden, NJ *Morning Post*, July 5, 1917, 11; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Waterloo Press*, July 5, 1917, 2; “Suffragists Had No ‘Nighties,’” *Dodge City Daily Journal*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Suffragists in White House Riot,” *New Britain Herald*, July 5, 1917, 6. The narrative in this sampling is endlessly repeated in newspaper reporting across the U.S. during the first week of arrests, convictions, and incarceration. An exception was the *Des Moines Register*, which in an article headlined “Suffs Differ on Tactics” patiently laid out both sides of the story. But even it branded the protesters as “militants.” *Des Moines Register*, July 5, 1917, 4.
- 295 *“comedy riot”*: “White House Riot Broken Up By Police,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1917, 9; *JFF*, 96.
- 295 *Clayton Act*: Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, Pub. L. 63–212, 38 Stat. 730, 15 U.S.C. §§ 12–27 and 29 U.S.C. §§ 52–53.
- 295 *“militant picketing”*: Philip Price, “The Effect of the Clayton Act on Picketing,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 70, no.2 (January 1922), 101–05, at 102.
- 295 *the absurdity*: Alva Belmont, “Militancy,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 9.
- 296 *much to the advantage*: The same would be true for the over 1,900 judicial proceedings during and after the war considering issues of free speech, about half of which resulted in convictions. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States: 1829–1925* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 533–34. The Supreme Court cases were all decided after the Armistice on November 11, 1918, while government appeals of the cases it lost were still pending, so the administration effectively had its way throughout the war.
- 296 *“I can’t believe”*: “Militants Go to Jail,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 1917, 2.
- 296 *Bastille Day vigil*: “Protest for Liberty Answered with Sixteen More Suffrage Arrests,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 4.
- 296 *precisely one o’clock ... from a wedding*: “Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 13; *SWP*, 225–26; “60-Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1; “Protest for Liberty Answered with Sixteen More Suffrage Arrests,” *The Suffragist*.
- 297 *recently dined*: *JFF*, 110.