

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 25. 'The Blood Be On Your Head'

PAGE

- 309 *positive headlines*: "Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants, May Advocate 'Votes for Women' as Part of War Emergency Program," *New York Times*, July 19, 1917, 1.
- 309 *rode beside him*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 138; Millard West., Jr., "Interview with Millard West., Jr.," by Marjorie Zapruder and Joan Marsh, Chevy Chase Historical Society Oral History Project, April 19, 1986.
- 310 *pardon order*: Pardon Order, July 19, 1917, box I:72, reel 46, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 310 "[put] the hose on 'em": *JFF*, 117.
- 310 *return home*: According to unnamed Wilson "friends" quoted in the *Post* story, the fact that some of the women "had small children at home needing their care" had been "the determining influence with him." "Fight of Militants Taken to Congress," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 310 "*patriotic action*": "Pardon Pleases Dr. Shaw," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 5.
- 310 *piggyback*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, July 19, 1917, reel 210, #59594, image 153, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 310 "*sudden surrender*": "The Pickets and the President," *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 79 (July 28, 1917), 6.
- 310 *Malone seemed happy*: "Fight of the Pardoned Militants, Before Congress Next, Seems Lost," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 5.
- 310 "*devils in the workhouse*": Alden Hatch, *Edith Bolling Wilson, First Lady Extraordinary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), 80.
- 310 *Alice Hay Wadsworth*: "New Head for the 'Antis,'" *New York Times*, July 1, 1917, 5.
- 310 "*magnanimity*": Alice Hay Wadsworth to WW, July 23, 1917, reel 210, #59623, image 185, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 310 *whip count*: A. J. H. Hopkins to WW, July 18, 1917, *PWW*, 43:212–13.
- 311 *second opinion*: WW to Albert S. Burleson, July 19, 1917, reel 210, #59591, image 150, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 311 *unattributed "poll"*: "Defeat of Suffrage Amendment in Senate Shown by a Poll," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 311 *sink it*: The one-third estimate was a vast understatement, as would be demonstrated even before the next year's midterm election, when the Senate would come within one vote of the needed two-thirds. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987–88.
- 311 *two-thirds of the House*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200).
- 311 *taken "to himself"*: 53 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, 64th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 8, 1916), 12276 (remarks of Sen. Cummins).
- 311 "*application of force*": WW, "Leaders of Men," June 17, 1890, *PWW*, 6:661 (emphasis in original).
- 312 *generous boost*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 *younger brother*: "Theodore Noyes, Washington Star Editor, Succumbs," *Indianapolis Star*, July 5, 1946, 2.
- 312 "*suppress anything*": Mrs. Ellis Meredith to JPT, June 28, 1917, reel 210, #59557, image 114, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 312 *Brisbane explained ... "to the letter"*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 *"one-time socialist"*: W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York: Scribner's, 1961), 390.
- 313 *assassination*: Oliver Carlson, *Brisbane* (New York: Stackpole Sons, 1937), 128–29.
- 313 *moral responsibility*: Patricia O'Toole, *The Moralist* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), xv.
- 313 *"My own suggestion"*: JPT to WW, WW to JPT, both July 21, 1917, reel 210, ##59602–03, images 162–63, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. The July 20 incoming letter from Brisbane is stamped "ack'd July 21, 1917," indicating it had been answered, though not necessarily in writing. Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917.
- 313 *largest crowds*: SWP, 229.
- 313 *back pages*: "On the Suffrage Firing Line," *Lexington Herald*, August 6, 1917, 10.
- 313 *Brisbane had urged*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 313 *"several years"*: "Fight of Militants Taken To Congress," *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 314 *to do "nothing"*: SWP, 229.
- 314 *until midnight ... "on the brink"*: EMH to WW, July 26, 1917, PWW, 43:283; EMH Diary, July 26, 1917, PWW, 43:290.
- 315 *the day he met with House*: Surveillance began on July 25. Leo Stanton Rowe to McAdoo, memorandum dated August 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 315 *chiefly counterfeiting*: "William H. Moran, Aided Presidents; Secret Service Ex-Chief Dies—Counterfeit Expert Had Been With Agency 54 Years," *New York Times*, September 11, 1946, 7.
- 315 *executive order*: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "The U.S. Secret Service During the First World War," World War I Centennial series, vol. 4 (2017).
- 315 *\$100 million*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 9, 1917), 496–98 (remarks of Rep. Mann); Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 178.
- 315 *William J. Flynn*: By 1919, near the end of the Wilson administration, Flynn was head of the Bureau of Investigation within the Department of Justice. At the same time, 24-year-old lawyer J. Edgar Hoover was appointed assistant director of the newly created General Intelligence Division. Steven A. Stinson, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation: Its History, Organization, Functions and Publications," *Government Publications Review*, vol. 6, no. 3 (October 1978), 213–39.
- 315 *personally ordered*: Leo Stanton Rowe to William G. McAdoo, memoranda dated July 30, August 6, August 13, August 20, August 27, and August 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 315 *sent Wilson a report*: M.B. Claggett to WW, September 7, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Wilson may not have needed these official reports since McAdoo, who married Wilson's daughter Eleanor two years before, was a regular at the White House.
- 315 *stays at the Shoreham*: Secret Service report, July 30, 1917, listing Malone arrivals and departures at Shoreham Hotel, Washington, DC, November 1913–July 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The task of collecting this information entirely in secret was challenging. The Chief of the Division of Customs within the Treasury Department, who acted as liaison with the Secret Service special agent in charge of the Malone investigation, complained that it seemed "practically impossible" to accomplish the background investigation "without the Collector learning of it." F. M. Halstead to Leo Stanton Rowe, July 30, 1917, *ibid*.
- 315 *surveilling the NWP*: Investigative report, George Lillard, June 20, 1917, file #25025 (microfilm), Records Group 65.2.2, National Archives. The pursuers had one surprising source of background information on their prey. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leo Stanton Rowe, who provided several of the agents' reports to McAdoo, was Alice Paul's professor when she was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania. Rowe to McAdoo, August 6, 13, 20, 27, 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; archives.upenn.edu/digitized-resources/docs-pubs/alice-paul/alice-paul-transcript.

- 316 *negotiate directly ... daily basis*: Minutes of meeting, National Executive Committee, NWP, August 10, 1917, box 4:4, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 127.
- 316 *"Kaiser Wilson"*: "Banner Torn from Hands of Picket at White House," *Washington Post*, August 10, 1917, 12.
- 316 *"type of government" ... "liar or thief"*: Lucy Burns to Aline E. Solomons, August 13, 1917, reel 46, National Woman's Party records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 317 *to his face*: "Quotes Wilson's Views," *New York Times*, August 13, 1917, 9.
- 317 *"the autocratic ruler"*: Suffragists Ask A Picketing Law," *New York Times*, August 10, 1917, 8.
- 317 *rushed at Burns*: "Banner at White House Torn from Standard in Afternoon," *Washington Post*, August 11, 1917, 4.
- 318 *off the front pages*: "Tears Suffrage Banner," *New York Times*, August 11, 1917, 16.
- 318 *following day ... No arrests*: "Suffragettes Lose Two More Banners," *New York Times*, August 12, 1917, 6.
- 318 *"four men" ... "did not interfere"*: Ibid. ("With one exception, the offenders were sailors in uniform. The exception was James Delaney").
- 318 *wore the uniform*: "President Onlooker at Mob Attack on Suffragists," *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 82 (August 18, 1917), 7.
- 318 *reach the sidewalk ... "bowed to the crowd"*: "Three More Banners Lost by Suffragists," *New York Times*, August 14, 1917, 9.
- 318 *"Men in uniform"*: "Washington Crowd Eggs Suffragettes," *New York Times*, August 15, 1917, 3.
- 319 *.38 caliber round*: JFF, 126.
- 319 *"policemen watched"*: "Naval Reservists Attack Suffrage Banner Bearers," *Washington Times*, August 15, 1917, 3.
- 319 *kidney ailment*: The diagnosis was subsequently changed to idiopathic digestive ailment. Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 270.
- 319 *lone policeman*: "Washington Crowd Eggs Suffragettes," *New York Times*.
- 319 *"jeering mob"*: "'Suffs' Buy Gun and 50 Bullets; Militants Take Measures for Defense Following Riot at Cameron House," *Washington Herald*, August 16, 1917, 1.
- 319 *graduation ceremony*: "Three More Banners Lost by Suffragists," *New York Times*.
- 319 *twice that week*: "Pickets' Comic Riot a Regular Feature," *New York Evening Post*, August 17, 1917, 3.
- 320 *fifth day ... "no specific information"*: "'Suffs' Buy Gun and 50 Bullets," *Washington Herald*.
- 320 *five thousand*: "Suffrage Banners Seized by Throng," *Washington Post*, August 17, 1917, 7; "Pickets' Comic Riot," *New York Evening Post*.
- 320 *phoned Wilson*: Brownlow, more than 40 years later, wrote "I do not recall" the exact date of this phone call. Since the subject of the call was his intention to make arrests, it stands to reason it was at or near the time that arrests resumed. It was assuredly beforehand. Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 79.
- 320 *"several members of the cabinet"*: Ibid., 77.
- 320 *"do something"*: Ibid.; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 274.
- 320 *green light*: Brownlow, *Passion for Anonymity*, 79.
- 320 *ordered the arrests*: "Suffrage Banners Seized by Throng," *Washington Post*, August 17, 1917, 7; "Six Suffragists Arrested," *New York Times*, August 18, 1917, 3.
- 320 *"blocking traffic"*: "Six Suffragists Arrested," *New York Times*.
- 320 *crime to insult the president*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (August 18, 1914), 6145 (introduction of S. 2810 by Sen. Myers); "Asks Special Law to Stop Picketing," *New York Times*, August 19, 1917, 1. The bill did not become law.
- 320 *government version*: "Senate," *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 86, August 20, 1917, 5.
- 320 *Democratic bill*: "House," *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 40, June 26, 1917, 5.
- 321 *simply quoting*: SWP, 236–37.
- 321 *twenty-two more*: The first six women were sentenced to 30 days on August 18. "Pickets at Occoquan," *Washington Post*, August 19, 1917, 1. Another half-dozen were sentenced on August 24, also to 30 days. "Six Pickets Are

- Sentenced,” *New York Times*, August 25, 1917, 7. On August 28, four more women (along with the previous half-dozen, who were out on bail pending appeal) were sentenced to 30 days. On September 4, twelve more women were arrested, and subsequently sentenced to 60 days. (A thirteenth woman included in this sentencing had already been arrested on August 23; she was given the longer sentence.) *SWP*, 238.
- 321 “*family of Democrats*”: “Pickets at Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, August 19, 1917, 1.
- 321 *committee to investigate*: H. Res. 130, “To Investigate Mob Violence in Washington, D.C.,” 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 17, 1917), 6144 (introduced by Rep. Baer).
- 321 *began lobbying*: “Hopkins Pleads for Suffragists,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 22, 1917, 4. The article was distributed widely via the *New York Times* wire service.
- 322 *counseled his readers*: Charles A. Lindbergh, *Why Is Your Country at War and What Happens to You after the War, and Related Subjects* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1917), 6. Lindbergh’s resume in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* states that in 1916, he “was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate on the Non-Partisan League ticket.” But because the Non-Partisan League was not then sufficiently organized in Minnesota to field its own slate, Lindbergh ran as a peace candidate in the Republican primary. He finished fourth in a field of four candidates.. “Lindbergh, Charles August,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998); “Minnesota Politics,” *Minneapolis Journal*, July 3, 1916, 6; Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1998), 45.
- 322 “*happened to be in the City*”: Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. to WW, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:108.
- 323 *final chapter*: Lindbergh, *Why Is Your Country at War*, 195–99.
- 323 “*very little confidence*” ... “*or not*”: WW to Newton Diehl Baker, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:108. While in Congress, Lindbergh had taken another political position that irritated Wilson. He had been in the minority that voted against arming merchant ships. 54 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 64th Cong., 2nd Sess., March 1, 1917, 4692 (roll call on H.R. 544). And while he had voted in support of the creation of the Federal Reserve, 50 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 1st Sess., September 18, 1913, 5129 (roll call on H.R. 7837), he argued in *Why Is Your Country at War* that it was the “money trust” dominated by New York bankers, now enshrined as the Federal Reserve, that most benefitted from the war. Therefore, despite his call for patriotic support of America in the war, and his stated purpose “to avoid the discussion of any subject that might give any satisfaction to our military foe” (*Why Is Your Country at War*, 8), the Wilson administration decided to ban his book. As recounted in the introduction to the second edition of the book when it was finally printed under a different title nearly two decades later, federal agents appeared at the offices of the National Capital Press in Washington in the spring of 1918 and demanded that the publisher destroy “all the Lindbergh plates in your plant.” Charles A. Lindbergh, *Your Country at War and What Happens to You after a War* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1934), 7. Forced to comply, the publisher destroyed the plates for not only *Why Is Your Country at War* but also Lindbergh’s earlier book, *Banking and Currency and the Money Trust* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1913).