

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 26. 'A Dangerous Man to Cross'

PAGE

- 324 "No man": WW, Address on the Occasion of Robert E. Lee's Birthday, January 19, 1909, University of North Carolina, reprinted as "Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation," in *Journal of Social Forces*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1924), 321–328. Wilson was the president of Princeton University at the time of the address.
- 324 *resignation*: Dudley Field Malone to WW, September 7, 1917, *PWW*, 44:167.
- 324 *front pages*: "Malone Resigns to Aid Suffrage," *Boston Globe*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Resigns As Collector to Aid Suffrage," *New York Times*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Suffragists' Champion Resigns Big Federal Job," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Quits Collector Job," *Washington Herald*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Quits; Suffrage Plea Ignored, Cause," *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Quits Rich Office as Rebuke to President," *Arizona Republic*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Quits Job to Battle for Suffrage," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Dudley Malone Quits," *Wichita Beacon*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Champion of Suffragist Movement Resigns," *El Paso Times*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Customs Collector Peeved, Censures President Wilson," *Shreveport Journal*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Suffragette Champion; Collector Malone Resigns," *Vicksburg Herald*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Quits Office to Aid Suffragists," *Nashville Tennessean*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Dudley Field Malone Resigns," *Orlando Sentinel*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Collector Malone, Suffrage Champion, Quits as Protest," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, September 8, 1917, 1; "Malone Quits Office as Collector of Ports to Fight for Suffrage," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 8, 1917, 1.
- 324 "Dear Mr. President": "Malone Resigns As Collector to Aid Suffrage," *New York Times*.
- 325 *same schedule*: "Wilson at Gloucester Takes a Motor Drive; Col. and Mrs. House Dine with President and Wife on the Mayflower," *New York Times*, September 10, 1917, 12; "President Sees Sights of Salem," *Boston Globe*, September 11, 1917, 1.
- 325 "hub of the universe": John Hays Hammond, *The Autobiography*, vol. 2 (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1935), 653; Lisa Peek Ramos, *Magnolia, A Brief History* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 26.
- 325 *pose ... "not himself"*: EMH Diary, September 10, 1917, *PWW*, 44:184.
- 326 "President's phrase": "The Pickets Jailed," *Washington Herald*, August 19, 1917, 6.
- 326 *hospital*: "Suff" Pickets Go to Hospital," *Washington Herald*, August 31, 1917, 7.
- 327 *99.9 percent*: "Militants Win Re-Trial Order," *Washington Herald*, August 28, 1917, 2 (noting that in the last quarter century, only 65 of the more than 35,000 appeals had been granted).
- 327 "If there should be": 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.
- 327 *terse letter*: WW to Dudley Field Malone, September 12, 1917, *PWW*, 44:190.
- 327 *Rankin rose*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7372 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 327 "do not expect action": 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7370–71 (remarks of Rep. Pou).
- 328 "Federal intermeddling": 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7375 (remarks of Rep. Huddleston).
- 328 *three committees*: The new House rule created jurisdiction over women's suffrage in the new committee, but did not amend the existing rule describing the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, which had long embraced the subject. Nor did it deal with the fact that the Anthony Amendment had already been referred to the Judiciary Committee. H.Res. 12 (H. Rept. No. 163), 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7369. Ultimately the Anthony Amendment did not come to the House floor until both the Judiciary Committee

- and the Woman Suffrage Committee had reported it out. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 15, 1917), 345–49 (debate regarding competing jurisdiction of Judiciary and Woman Suffrage committees); “The Tide Turns,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 98 [100] (December 22, 1917), 5.
- 328 “old suff mossbacks”: James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 135.
- 328 *her close friends*: Ibid., 142; Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America’s Conscience* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 121.
- 328 *Worms in the soup*: *JFF*, 141–46; *SWP*, 268.
- 329 *Harvey Wiley*: “Dr. Wiley Protests at Treatment of Picket Prisoners,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 93 (November 3, 1917), 9; *JFF*, 149–51.
- 329 *sworn affidavits ... “cries and blows”*: *JFF*, 144–48.
- 329 *exonerated him*: “Whittaker Keeps Job,” *Washington Post*, October 12, 1917, 4. The perfunctory “inquiry” that exonerated Whittaker was conducted by the Board of Charities, which reported to the Board of Commissioners, and refused to allow Malone or any other counsel for the inmates the opportunity to appear and present evidence. *JFF*, 230–32.
- 329 “not made up of suffragists”: “Woman Leader in Loan Campaign Is A Portland Visitor,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, October 29, 1917, 3.
- 330 *investigate conditions*: “Pickets Condemn Food,” *Washington Post*, August 26, 1917, 7; “Investigation of Occoquan,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 91 (October 20, 1917), 4; 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), 238.
- 330 “In all my years”: *JFF*, 142.
- 330 *sound the alarm*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 12, 1917), 7062 (remarks of Rep. Timberlake); “The West Interprets the ‘Militant’ Picket,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 80 (August 4, 1917), 4.
- 330 *her resolution*: H. Res. 171, 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 5, 1917), 7872.
- 330 “not a war measure”: *JFF*, 171; “Proceedings of the Congress of the United States Briefly Told,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 72, August 8, 1917, 5.
- 330 “side by side”: *JFF*, 109.
- 331 *fellow inmates ... “treason”*: Ibid., 111–14.
- 331 *enforcers*: Ibid., 155.
- 331 “hope you get it”: Ibid., 112. The author’s inexpert attempt at dialect is omitted.
- 331 *daughter, Phyllis*: Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 128. When Terrell’s husband, Robert Heberon Terrell, was appointed as a judge on the District of Columbia municipal court, he became the first Black federal judge in the United States. An honors graduate of Harvard, he was reappointed by Wilson in 1914 only after a nationwide campaign was mounted in his behalf. “Judge Terrell,” *The Crisis*, vol. 16, no. 2 (June 1, 1918), 66; M. Sammy Miller, “An Unpublished Letter from Dr. Charles B. Purvis to Judge Robert Heberon Terrell,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 63, no. 3 (July 1978), 235.
- 331 *200,000 members*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 90–93. By 1916, the National Association of Colored Women included some 300 clubs. Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women and Gender in the New South: 1865–1945* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 90.
- 331 *Fifth Avenue*: “Negroes in Protest March in Fifth Av.,” *New York Times*, July 29, 1917, 12.
- 332 “Another great class” ... “all the people”: “Negro Unrest,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 83 (August 25, 1917), 3.
- 332 “East St. Louis riots”: “Anti-Negro Riots Due to Labor Causes,” *New York Times*, July 8, 1917, 67.
- 332 *another sentencing hearing ... left civilization*: “Militants Given 6 Months in Jail,” *Washington Post*, October 17, 1917, 10; “Pickets Get Maximum Sentence from Administration,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 91 (October 20, 1917), 4; Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 189–90.
- 332 *Three times*: *SWP*, 238–48.

- 333 *traffic ordinance*: Police Regulations of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: July 31, 1915), §§ 40(b), (c).
- 333 *novel legal theory*: “Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 5.
- 333 *“this obstruction clause” ... “We shall continue”*: Transcript of Proceedings, Police Court for the District of Columbia, October 21 [22], 1917, reel 50, National Woman’s Party records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 333 *Three days later ... longest sentences yet*: Ibid.; “Militants Jailed for Seven Months,” *Boston Daily Globe*, October 23, 1917, 1.
- 334 *his own crackdown ... for this purpose*: “Militants Jailed for Seven Months,” *Boston Daily Globe*, October 23, 1917, 1; “Seven Months Sentence for National Suffrage Leader,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 92 (October 27, 1917), 4; “Political Prisoners,” *The Suffragist*, *ibid.*, 8.
- 334 *Burns in solitary*: *JFF*, 177.
- 334 *Winslow squatted ... “psychopathic ward”*: *JFF*, 188–89.
- 335 *malnutrition ... “choking down”*: “Horrors of Jail Life Revealed by Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1917, 1; *SWP*, 263; Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 282–83.
- 335 *no prison riots*: “‘Like Rat in a Trap,’ Says Jailed Militant,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1917, 1; “Jail Horrors,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 4, 1917, 21; *SWP*, 284–85; “Why They Put Alice Paul in Solitary Confinement,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 94 (November 10, 1917), 7.
- 335 *“No, indeed” ... “Revolting”*: Alice Paul Talks, *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 10, 1910, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, NAWSA Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress.
- 335 *released from jail*: “The November Tenth Protest,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5., no. 93 (November 3, 1917), 5.
- 335 *begin a hunger strike*: “Miss Alice Paul on Hunger Strike,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1917, 13; “Will Use Force to Feed Suff,” *Washington Herald*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 336 *devised other means*: Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 285.
- 336 *letters and telegrams*: Reel 210, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP, *passim*.