

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

29. 'Any Direction Fraught'

PAGE

- 361 *shortly after noon*: WW, Annual Message on the State of the Union, December 4, 1917, *PWW*, 45:194; "Wilson, Urging War on Austria-Hungary, Says U.S. Will Fight Till Wrongs Are Ended," *Baltimore Sun*, December 4, 1917, 1. In addition to ignoring her repeated pleas for help on the Anthony Amendment, Wilson had recently rebuffed Bass's efforts to include a woman on his Peace Commission. Elizabeth Bass to WW, November 18, 1918, *PWW*, 53:125; WW to Bass, November 19, 1918, *PWW*, 53:129.
- 362 "*virtually adopted*": "House Will Follow Wilson's Program," *New York Times*, December 6, 1917, 4.
- 362 *That very day*: "House Resolution Provides War Upon Austria-Hungary," *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 1; "Congress May Extend Price-Fixing Power," *New York Times*, December 5, 1917, 2; "Act Quickly on President's Proposal in House," *Santa Ana Register*, December 5, 1917, 1; "Unlimited Control of Prices Forecast," *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 3.
- 362 *the following Tuesday*: "To Vote on Amendments," *New York Times*, December 5, 1917, 6.
- 362 *Kitchin further promised*: "Chairman Kitchin Outlines Program," *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 1; "Suffrage and Dry Vote Dec. 19 and 20," *New York Sun*, December 5, 1917, 14.
- 362 *more than a month*: "Close of Suffrage Battle Predicted," *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 98 (December 8, 1917), 6; "President Wilson Endorses National Suffrage," *ibid.*, 6. The five states granting voting rights to women in 1917 were New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Arkansas (primary suffrage only), and Rhode Island (presidential suffrage).
- 362 *planning its national convention*: "Pre-Convention Activities," *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 2 (December 8, 1917), 28; "Program for the Great Washington Convention," *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 1 (December 1, 1917), 9.
- 363 "*the coming session*": "Acknowledgements," *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 25 (November 17, 1917), 469.
- 363 *since January*: "National Advisory Council Organizes," *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 99 (December 15, 1917), 5.
- 363 *no useful data*: Maud May Wood Park to Helen Hamilton Gardener, November 24, 1917, *PWW*, 45:121.
- 363 *Wilson was grateful*: WW to Maud May Wood Park, November 27, 1917, *PWW*, 45:129.
- 363 "*the right hands*" ... "*what theaters*": Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 2:406.
- 364 *party measures*: Randall B. Ripley, "The Party Whip Organizations in the United States House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 58, no. 3 (September 1964), 561–76, at 562 and n8. In fact, herding members into the party position, as opposed to simply counting votes yea and nay, was the quintessential function of the whip organization. The term "whip" came from the British parliament, where it originated as a metaphor borrowed from fox hunting. (The "whipper-in" was the man responsible for keeping the hounds from leaving the pack.)
- 364 *infected*: Since Oscar Underwood of Alabama became the first Democratic Whip when the post was created in 1900, the organization had grown to its current size and stature under southern Democratic management. Ripley, "Party Whip Organizations," 562–64.
- 364 *current majority whip*: "Tube Appropriation Is Passed by House," *Boston Globe*, January 17, 1917, 16; "Democratic Whip Indicates Chances for Extra Session," *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 2, 1917, 1; "Tariff Increase on Sugar Is Again Up as Suggestion," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 17, 1917; "Rouse Made Assistant Whip by Speaker Clark," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 16, 1917, 3. Each of these articles identifies Bell as Democratic whip in the 64th and 65th Congresses.

- 364 “*political equality*” ... *anti-lynching*: U.S. House of Representatives, Report of the Committee on the Judiciary to Accompany H.R. 13, 67th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Digest*, vol. 1, no. 6 (October 31, 1921), 11 (minority views of Rep. Bell of Georgia).
- 364 *Bell had led a division*: “Harrison Again Heads Veterans,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 8, 1917, 1.
- 364 “*had it classified*” ... “*party expediency*”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 7, 1917, *PWW*, 45:242.
- 365 “*I realize the circumstances*”: WW to Elizabeth Bass, December 8, 1917, *PWW*, 45:242.
- 365 *brief note*: WW to Albert S. Burluson, December 8, 1917, Reel 210, #59874, image 458, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 365 “*next week*”: “Reports Suffrage and ‘Dry’ Measures,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1917, 9.
- 365 *hopes of defeating it*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 365 *poorly drafted*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7369 (text of H. Res. 12, creating Woman Suffrage Committee), 7384–85 (roll call on H. Res. 12).
- 366 “*delay a vote*”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 366 “*no direct aid*”: “Women to Make War on Foes at Polls,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1917, 9; “Suffragists Resolve on Drive at Polls,” *New York Times*, December 11, 1917, 15.
- 367 “*never mentioned*”: “Congress Warned by Suffrage Leader,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1917, 13.
- 367 *friendly terms*: Anti-suffragists jealously guarded the president’s public support of their anti–Anthony Amendment position. Three days before Christmas, the NOAWS wrote Wilson to complain of intimations “that the President of the United States ‘secretly favors’ suffrage methods he has publicly condemned.” Minnie Bronson to WW, December 22, 1917, Reel 210, ##59891, image 476, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 367 *Kitchin announced*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 13, 1917), 258 (remarks of Rep. Kitchin). The Democratic members were John Raker (CA), chairman; Edward W. Saunders (VA); Frank Clark (FL); Benjamin C. Hilliard (CO); James H. Mays (UT); Christopher D. Sullivan (NY); and Thomas L. Blanton (TX).
- 367 *voted against*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res 1). Clark voted no, and Saunders was paired against.
- 367 *pledged to his Texas constituents*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 787 (remarks of Rep. Blanton).
- 367 *six members*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 13, 1917), 258 (remarks of Rep. Gillett). The Republican members were Jeannette Rankin (WY); Frank Mondell (WY); William H. Carter (MA), Jacob E. Meeker (MO), Edward C. Little (KS), and Richard N. Elliott (IN).
- 367 “*chief Father*”: “Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist, Part Two,” *McCall’s Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 2 (October 1919), 12.
- 368 *result was a shock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 18, 1917), 514–15.
- 368 *steering committee* ... “*how much weight*”: *FDL*, images 151–52, MS 188–89.
- 368 *major development*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 18, 1917), 515; “Vote on Suffrage in House on Jan. 10,” *New York Times*, December 19, 1917, 5.