

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

3. Georgia Memories

PAGE

- 29 *private school*: LL, 1:42.
- 29 *supremacist platform*: Tali Mendelberg, *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 45–46.
- 29 “*null and void*”: Francis P. Blair, Jr., quoted in Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 51 and n22.
- 29 “*man of high character*”: HAP, 5:55. But to northerners such as Wendell Phillips who had fought slavery for decades, Seymour’s election would amount to “Lee’s triumphing at Appomattox.” Wendell Phillips on the Canvass,” *New York Tribune*, October 28, 1868, 1.
- 29 *Wilson theorized*: HAP, 5:57.
- 29 *staked his campaign*: Ibid., 5:55.
- 29 “*too lazy*” ... Constitution *called it*: “Bureau for the Fabrication of Negro Votes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 23, 1868, 1.
- 30 *full name*: “An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees,” 13 Stat. 507 (March 3, 1865).
- 30 *40,000 Black troops*: “New Estimate Raises Civil War Death Toll,” *New York Times*, April 3, 2012, D1.
- 30 *chiefly women*: Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 146.
- 30 *war-torn buildings*: Ibid., 101.
- 30 *self-sufficiency*: Ibid., 102; Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen’s Bureau: Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 14.
- 30 *Oliver Howard*: During the Civil War, Howard literally gave his right arm. John A. Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 32. His later achievements as founder and president of Howard University proved that his devotion to the well-being of his Black fellow citizens was lifelong and sincere. Ibid., 180.
- 30 *damages*: While in theory the murderer could be criminally prosecuted, charges were rarely if ever brought. “Slaves are better protected as property than they are as sentient beings,” observed a leading legal commentator of the day. William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* (London: Clarke, Beeton & Co., 1853), 185–86.
- 30 *reports Howard received*: “Report of Freedpeople who have been murdered or attacked with intent to kill in the counties of Richmond, Columbia, Lincoln and Wilkes during the year commencing January 1st and ending October 31, 1868,” Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, 1865–69, Series 6, NMAAHC–007676440_00402, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington, DC. The report to the Commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau lists just as many fatal and near-fatal attacks on Black men.
- 31 *report to Congress*: Report of Carl Schurz on the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2 (December 19, 1865); “Grant and Schurz on the South,” pamphlet (1872), YA Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress.
- 31 *in 1866*: Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 29–31.
- 31 *strategically aimed*: Under the initiation rites established by the Klan’s “Grand Wizard” Nathan Bedford Forrest, aspiring Klan members were to place one hand on the Bible and answer the question, “are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Radical Republican Party?” After solemnly denying any Republican affiliation, they

- then swore to support a “white man’s government.” John C. Lester and Daniel L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan: Its Origin, Growth and Disbandment* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1905), 171.
- 31 *what happened to jurists*: Charles Stearns, *The Black Man of the South and the Rebels* (New York: American News Co., 1872), 217–20; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 291.
- 31 *an empty coffin*: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 301–02.
- 31 “*beaten nearly to death*”: J.W. Alvord, *Letters from the South, Relating to the Condition of the Freedmen* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1870), 22; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 291.
- 31 *castrated him*: Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 154; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 294–95.
- 31 “*pimps and tools*”: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 313.
- 32 *1,207 schools ... 150,000 students*: Ibid., 137.
- 32 “*did in fact do mischief*” ... “*self-assertion*”: HAP, 5:58–63. Wilson’s hostility to the Freedmen’s Bureau schools was, according to the American Freedmen’s Commission, shared by many of his southern contemporaries who believed that educating Black adults and children gave them “a desire to render themselves equal to the whites.” This, in turn, “encouraged directly or indirectly insolence to employers.” W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 645; Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class, and Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), 36.
- 32 *13 million*: Mary Farmer-Kaiser, “‘With a Weight of Circumstances like Millstones about Their Necks’: Freedwomen, Federal Relief, and the Benevolent Guardianship of the Freedmen’s Bureau,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 115, no. 3 (2007), 412–442, at 417.
- 32 “*to feed them*”: HAP, 5:17.
- 32 “*insolent, dangerous*”: Ibid., 5:18–22.
- 32 “*be bound*” ... “*went the farthest*”: Ibid.
- 32 “*veritable apotheosis*” ... “*not look into the facts*”: Ibid., 5:22.
- 32 “*under the negroes’ heels*”: Ibid., 5:38.
- 32 “*insolence*” ... “*intolerable burden*”: Ibid., 5:49, 58.
- 33 *disenfranchised*: No records survive indicating whether Joseph Wilson voted between 1866 and 1868. Unlike most Confederate officers, he had never served in the United States military and so had not previously sworn “to support the Constitution of the United States.” In that case, he would not have violated a previous oath and would not for that reason have been automatically excluded from the franchise by operation of the Reconstruction Acts. 14 Stat. 428–429, chap. 153 (First Reconstruction Act, March 2, 1867); 15 Stat. 2–4, chap. 6 (Second Reconstruction Act, March 23, 1867). However, voting requirements under Reconstruction’s military rule, administered locally, frequently required an oath affirming that the prospective voter had not participated in rebellion. For example, Georgians wishing to vote for delegates to the state constitutional convention in 1867 were required to deny under oath “participation in any rebellion or civil war against the United States.” Reconstruction Registration Oath Books, Executive Dept., Governor, RG 1–1–107, Georgia Archives. Joseph Wilson could not truthfully take such an oath.
- 33 “*would not take the oath*”: HAP, 5:44.
- 33 “*the most ignorant blacks*”: Ibid., 5:82.
- 33 *staunchest ally*: Sargent was first elected to Congress from California in 1860, serving one term in the House. He did not run for reelection until 1868. Within days of his second victory, several California newspapers promoted him for Speaker of the House or a member of Grant’s cabinet. “Condition of the State,” *Sacramento Bee*, December 7, 1868, 2; “Sargent for Speaker,” *Weekly Trinity Journal*, December 12, 1868, 1; “Sargent for Speaker of the House,” *ibid.*, November 28, 1868, 2. His wife Ellen founded the Nevada County Woman’s Suffrage Association in 1869. (Constitution of the Nevada County Woman’s Suffrage Association, 1869, MS 1552, North Baker Research Library, California Historical Society.) In 1871 the Sargents arranged for free rail travel for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on their West Coast tour, hosted Anthony in their California home, and traveled with her in their first-class Pullman car back to Washington, DC in the winter of 1871–72. Ellen Sargent was then elected treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, while Aaron Sargent was soon

- elected to the Senate, commencing his term in March 1873. There, before authoring what eventually would become the 19th Amendment, he promoted other suffrage legislation, presented Anthony's petitions, and successfully lobbied President Grant to pardon the election officials who had been criminally convicted for allowing Anthony to vote for him in 1872. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:405–08 and n62, 450, 452, 486, 507–08; *HWS* 2:483, 546–48, 555–76, 698–701, 714, 949–50, 3:757; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 262, 268, 302, 374; "Sargent Nominated by the Republican Caucus," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1871, 1; "Woman Suffrage; Miss Susan B. Anthony at Platt's Hall," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 14, 1871, 3; "The Next Senator," *San Francisco Examiner*, December 18, 1871, 1; "Woman Suffrage; The Arrest of the Rochester Inspectors," *New York Times*, March 2, 1874, 2; "The Woman Suffrage Cases," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 7, 1974, 4; "Sargent, Aaron Augustus," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998). For additional background on Aaron Sargent, including his three remarkable round-trips from Boston to California around Cape Horn and his authorship of the Pacific Railway Act, 12 Stat. 489 (1862), see Rhoda F. Milnarich, "The Public Career of Aaron Augustus Sargent" (MA thesis, Texas Western University, 1961); Gary Noy, "Area Couple Fought for Women's Rights; Sen. Aaron Sargent Wrote Words That Became 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution," *Sacramento Union*, June 17, 2004.
- 33 "dominance of the negroes" ... "real leaders": *HAP*, 5:57–59.
- 33 *too remote*: In fact, even at the height of Jim Crow, no action would ever be taken under the 14th Amendment to reduce a state's representation in Congress.
- 33 *seize control*: "The Platform and the Nomination," *The Nation*, vol. 6, no. 152 (May 28, 1868), 424–25, at 425.
- 33 *platform*: Thomas Hudson McKee, *The National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties, 1789–1905*, 6th ed. (Baltimore: The Friedenwald Co., 1906), 132–36, at 135.
- 34 "fair or foul": *HAP*, 5:58.
- 34 "If colored men": Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (New York: Robert J. Johnston, Printer, 1867), 20.
- 34 "equally to woman": Susan B. Anthony, Address at Ottumwa, Kansas, July 4, 1865, in Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:960–67, at 966; *ibid.*, 1:248–49.
- 34 *first pioneers*: Charles S. Gleed, ed., *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15–16, 1879* (Kansas City, MO: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880), 108; Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: E.F. Caldwell, 1895), 47; Horace Andrews, Jr., "Kansas Crusade: Eli Thayer and the New England Emigrant Aid Company," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4 (December, 1962), 497–514, at 501–02 and n2.
- 34 *led the defense*: Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, 99–103; Leverett Wilson Spring, *Kansas, Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887), 121–128; "Kansas: The Sacking of Lawrence," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 7, 1856, 2; "The Sacking of Lawrence," *New York Daily Times*, May 31, 1856, 2; "The War in Kansas," *New York Daily Times*, May 30, 1856, 1–2.
- 34 *proposed 15th Amendment*: *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 7, 1868), 6 (introduction of S.R. 180 by Sen. Pomeroy). Pomeroy first called for the amendment in a speech to the American Equal Rights Association in Washington the previous year. Samuel C. Pomeroy, Address to the American Equal Rights Association, Washington, DC, July 19, 1867, excerpted in "Senator Pomeroy and Female Suffrage," *New York Times*, July 22, 1867, 5.
- 35 "All honor": "Now's The Hour," *The Revolution*, vol. 2, no. 23 (December 10, 1868), 360.
- 35 *named sex*: *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 8, 1868), 21 (introduction of H.R. 371 by Rep. Julian); George Washington Julian, *Political Recollections* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1884), 324–25. Six days later, Rep. Julian introduced H.R. 1530, providing for immediate women's suffrage in the District of Columbia, and H.R. 1531, providing for immediate enfranchisement of women in all U.S. territories. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 14, 1868), 69. In the next Congress, he reintroduced these bills as H.R. 67 and H.R. 68, respectively. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess. (March 15, 1869), 72. On

- that same day in 1869 he introduced a revised version of his nationwide women’s suffrage amendment. Designated H.R. 15, it struck the words “race” and “color” (since the 15th Amendment approved by Congress two weeks earlier already included these as illegitimate grounds for discrimination) and specified only “sex.” Ibid. On April 4, 1870, he reintroduced it as H.R. 230, redesignating it as the proposed 16th Amendment to the Constitution, since in the interim the 15th Amendment had been ratified. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 2401; *HWS*, 3:553.
- 35 *before he came to Congress ... fugitive slave cases*: Julian, *Political Recollections*, 163–4; *HWS*, 3:552–53; Patrick W. Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian: Radical Republican* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1966), 13–15; Charles H. Money, “The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1921), 159–98, at 177; Money, “The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana (Concluded),” *ibid.*, no. 3 (September 1921), 257–97.
- 35 “*next grand movement*”: Julian, *Political Recollections*, 324–25.
- 35 *suffrage convention*: *HWS*, 2:346.
- 35 *both men had sponsored*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess. (December 11, 1866), 55–56 (statement of Sen. Anthony); *ibid.*, 62–63 (statement of Sen. Wade). At the same time, Massachusetts Republican Henry Wilson, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, introduced his own bill to immediately grant voting rights to women in the District of Columbia. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 14, 1868), 61 (introduction of S. 688).
- 35 “*Like Mahomet’s coffin*”: “Our Washington Correspondence,” *National Antislavery Standard*, vol. 29, no. 42 (February 20, 1869), 2.
- 35 *Chinese*: Stacey L. Smith, “Beyond North and South: Putting the West in the Civil War and Reconstruction,” *Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 6, no. 4 (December 2016), 566–591, 631, at 570.
- 36 “*treachery*”: *HWS*, 2:322.
- 36 “*forgotten that women existed*”: *Ibid.*, 3:74.
- 36 *had long warned*: Jen McDanel, “White Suffragist Dis/Entitlement: *The Revolution* and the Rhetoric of Racism,” *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2013), 243–64, at 247.
- 36 “*ignorant African*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Revolution*, vol. 3, no. 19 (May 13, 1869), 289–292, at 290.
- 36 *Douglass offered*: Frederick Douglass, Address to the American Equal Rights Association, May 12, 1869, in *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition*, John R. McKivigan, IV, Julie Husband, and Heather L. Kaufman, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 269, 270–71; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 235.
- 36 “*We are lost*”: *HWS*, 2:383.
- 36 “*entire people*”: *Ibid.*
- 36 “*separate and apart*”: “The Woman’s Suffrage Association,” *New York Times*, May 18, 1869, 5.
- 36 *Stone led over one thousand*: “Woman Suffrage. The Convention at Cleveland,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1869, 1.
- 36 *Black women ... choose sides*: Margaret Hope Bacon, “‘One Great Bundle of Humanity’: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911),” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 113, no. 1 (January 1989), 21–43, at 38–39; “Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin,” *Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3:613. Susan B. Anthony was present, but was not allowed to participate as a delegate. “National Woman Suffrage Convention,” *Elyria Independent Democrat*, December 1, 1869, 2.
- 37 *new constitution’s requirements*: White v. Clements, 39 Ga. 232, 266–68 (1869); William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction*, 1869–79 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 85–87; *HAP*, 5:57–58, 72.
- 37 *military rule*: An Act to Promote the Reconstruction of the State of Georgia, 16 Stat. 59, 60 (December 22, 1869).
- 37 “*Lightfoot Baseball Club*”: *PWW*, 1:5, 56n1; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 12.
- 37 *in her own name*: Suzanne D. Lebsack, “Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (May 1977), 195–216, at 195.

- 37 “wonderful reform”: Letter to the Editor, June 23, 1870, *The Revolution*, vol. 6, no. 1 (July 7, 1870), 10.
- 37 page-one headline: (*Cheyenne*) *Wyoming Tribune*, December 11, 1869, 1.
- 38 “not repealed”: “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Atlanta Constitution*, December 21, 1869, 4.
- 38 “enlightened progress”: “Female Voters at Last—The New Paradise of the Strong-Minded,” Lancaster, PA *Daily Evening Express*, December 17, 1869, 1 (quoting the *Philadelphia North American*).
- 38 congratulatory telegrams: “Esther Morris and Her Equality State,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 46, no. 3 (July 2004), 310n57.
- 38 “attracted more attention”: S. Doc. 86–69, 86th Congress (1960), 38.
- 38 correspondence and other writings: James Bryce to WW, February 25, 1888, *PWW*, 5:707; WW to Munroe Smith, December 17, 1888, *PWW*, 6:31; WW to Robert Underwood Johnson, February 25, 1896, *PWW*, 9:448; WW, “State Rights,” chap. 13 in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 7, A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903), reprinted in *PWW*, 11:303, at 321.
- 38 “protect all voters”: *HAP*, 5:74.
- 38 territorial governor: Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1933), 1:207n1.
- 38 September 2, 1869: John A. Campbell Diary, 1869, *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 1938), 5n1.
- 38 a violent affair: *HWS*, 3:729; Jennifer Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” in *Equality at the Ballot Box: Votes for Women on the Northern Great Plains*, ed. Lori Ann Lahlum and Molly P. Rozum (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019), 47–48.
- 38 “large knives” ... “knocked down”: Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926), 76.
- 38 “repudiated the Reconstruction policy”: Michael A. Massie, “Roots of Woman Suffrage,” *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 62, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 5; Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” 51.
- 39 “barbarism and rebelism”: Meredith Rathbone, “Equivocal Equality: Women’s Suffrage and Its Legacy in Wyoming,” unpublished manuscript (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Law Center, 2001), 3.
- 39 largest newspaper: Douglas C. McMurtrie, “Early Printing in Wyoming,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter, 1942), 267–304.
- 39 “characteristic of the election”: Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 77.
- 39 “force negro suffrage”: Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” 51.
- 39 ban on interracial marriage: Beard, *Wyoming*, 1:212.
- 39 “never heard a woman speak”: “Wyoming and Woman,” *The Revolution*, vol. 5, no. 3 (January 13, 1870), 21.
- 39 “for half a century”: Beard, *Wyoming*, 1:215.
- 39 front-page coverage: “Humbugging,” *Cheyenne Leader*, vol. 2, no. 94 (January 9, 1869), 1.
- 39 Cheyenne welcomed her: “Miss Anna Dickinson,” *Cheyenne Leader*, vol. 3, no. 6 (September 25, 1869), 1; T. A. Larson, “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 2 (April 1965), 57–66, at 58.
- 39 two months later: “Miss Redelia Bates,” *Cheyenne Leader*, November 5, 1869, 4.
- 39 use of the House: “Legislative Summary,” *ibid.*, November 4, 1869, 1.
- 39 Bright announced: *Council Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (November 12, 1869), 66. According to Wyoming historian T.A. Larson, circumstantial evidence indicates that the pro-suffrage Territorial Secretary, Edward M. Lee, actually wrote the bill and persuaded Bright to introduce it. Larson, *Wyoming: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), 80.
- 40 years younger: “Funeral of W.H. Bright,” *Washington Evening Star*, April 28, 1912, 5; “The Town Crier,” *Washington Herald*, November 20, 1915, 14.
- 40 “superior”: T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 93; John W. Kingman, “Wyoming,” *HWS*, 3:730; Hon. Ben Sheeks to Dr. Grace R. Hebard, August 20, 1920, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
- 40 even more deserving: Julia Bright to Grace R. Hebard, undated, cited in Grace Raymond Hebard, “How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming,” pamphlet (New York: William Dean Embree, 1940; originally published by University of Wyoming, 1920), 9.

- 40 “ring in the women”: *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 28, 1870, 1, col. 3.
- 40 *only two votes*: *Council Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (November 30, 1869), 122.
- 40 *tailored his arguments ... “support their pet schemes”*: Larson, *Bicentennial History*, 79–80.
- 40 *outnumbered them*: At the time, males outnumbered females four to one in Wyoming. Superintendent of Census, *Ninth Census*, June 1, 1870, vol. 1, Table 22, “The Table of Sex” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 606.
- 40 “greatest hilarity” ... “expectation of a veto”: “They Buildded Wiser Than They Knew,” (*Cheyenne*) *Wyoming Tribune*, vol. 1, no. 47 (October 8, 1870), 2.
- 40 “colored women and squaws”: *House Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (December 6, 1869), 207.
- 40 *Woman’s Suffrage Convention*: Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 78–79.
- 40 “without distinction”: Robert W. Audretsch, ed., *Proceedings of the Salem, Ohio 1850 Women’s Rights Convention* (Salem, OH: Salem Area Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 17.
- 41 “as gladly as Abraham Lincoln”: John A. Campbell Diary, December 10, 1869, *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1938), 70; “Address of Governor John W. Hoyt Upon Experience of Women’s Suffrage in Wyoming, U.S.A.,” (*London, UK*) *Woman’s Signal*, vol. 5, no. 119 (April 9, 1896), 227–28; Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 79.
- 41 *Effective immediately*: “Female Suffrage Act,” Session Laws of Wyoming, chap. 31 (1869).
- 41 *advice of his physician*: Parker McCobb Reed, *The Bench and Bar of Wisconsin* (Milwaukee: P.M. Reed, 1882), 132–33.
- 41 “knotty Mormon question”: John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 21:104–110.
- 41 *its own plank*: The 1856 Republican platform declared that “it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.” *The Republican Campaign Textbook, National Platform Analysis, 1856–1884* (New York: Republican National Committee, 1884), 192.
- 41 “to discourage polygamy”: *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess. (March 15, 1869), 72 (introduction of H.R. 64 by Rep. Julian).
- 41 “safe, sure and swift”: “Petticoat Parliament!,” *National Republican*, vol. 11, no. 46 (January 19, 1870), 4.
- 41 *Dickinson’s railroad tour*: “A Lay Sermon: Anna Dickinson’s Lecture on Sunday Evening,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 7, 1869, 3; “The Mormon Question,” *ibid.*, 2.
- 41 *reported the results*: The flamboyant Train was campaigning for president at the time, calling himself “Citizen Train.” Beverly Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1978), 100–120, at 104–05; “Geo. Francis Train at Tammany Hall,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1869, 8.
- 41 *Mormons supported*: Lola Van Wagenen, “Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage” (PhD diss., New York University, 1994), 7, 55–56n21.
- 42 “speak for ourselves”: Rebecca Edwards, “Pioneers at the Polls: Woman Suffrage in the West,” in Jean H. Baker, ed., *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 93.
- 42 *backed them up ... unanimously approved*: Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” 103, 112.
- 42 “without the least difficulty”: “Departure of Gov. Durkee,” *Deseret News*, December 31, 1869, 2.
- 42 *New York lawyer*: George S. Mann, *Mann Memorial: A Record of the Mann Family in America* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1884), 125–26.
- 42 *nine months before*: “Arrived,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 22, 1869.
- 42 “its universal adoption”: Stephen A. Mann to Eliza R. Snow et al., February 19, 1870, published in *Deseret News*, February 23, 1870, 2.
- 42 *municipal elections ... first voter*: Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” 112–13 and n30 (citing *Deseret News*, February 15, 1870); George W. Givens, *500 Little Known Facts in Mormon History* (Springville, UT: Bonneville Books, 2002), 1:197. Once granted their voting rights, Mormon women did not use the franchise to outlaw polygamy as Republicans in Washington had hoped. Unsatisfied with that result, Congress responded with the Edwards-Tucker Act of 1887, repealing Utah’s grant of women’s suffrage as an anti-polygamy measure. “Woman Suffrage,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1572.

- 42 *part of the Constitution*: The amendment took effect immediately when Iowa ratified it on February 3, 1869. President Grant later made a formal announcement of its ratification on March 30, 1870. “Message to Congress Announcing the Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment,” in Kurt T. Lash, ed., *The Reconstruction Amendments: The Essential Documents*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 2:595. See endnote accompanying text at page 488, “took effect immediately.”
- 42 *voted the amendment down*: Georgia was the first state to vote against ratification of the 15th Amendment, on March 17, 1869. Travis Crum, “The Lawfulness of the Fifteenth Amendment,” *Notre Dame Law Review*, vol. 97, no. 4 (April 2022), 1587.
- 42 “eaten up”: “To Be Territorialized,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal and Messenger*, March 22, 1870, 6.
- 42 “ruin of the South”: *HAP*, 5:51–52.
- 42 *reports from witnesses*: H.W. Pierson, “A Letter to Hon. Charles Sumner, with Statements of Outrages Upon Freedmen in Georgia” (Washington: Chronicle Print, 1870), African-American Pamphlet Collection, 1824–1909, Library of Congress.
- 43 “the worst of crimes”: “The Outrages in Georgia; Report of Major General Alfred Terry,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal and Messenger*, December 14, 1869, 3.
- 43 *Grant requested*: Ulysses S. Grant, Special Message to the Senate and House of Representatives, March 23, 1871, in James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 7:127–28.
- 43 *authority he was seeking*: Third Enforcement Act (“Ku Klux Klan Act”), Pub.L. 42–22, 17 Stat. 13 (1871).
- 43 *most aggressive efforts*: Herbert Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January 1964), 34–55, at 34; Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 97 and n42.