

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

30. Death Warrant

PAGE

- 371 *proclamation*: Proclamation 1419—Government Assumption of Control of Transportation Systems, December 26, 1917, *PWW*, 45:358.
- 371 “*control every industry*”: “Government Takes Over the Railroads,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 27, 1917, 1.
- 371 “*noisy feminine demonstrations*”: “Southern Democrats and Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 14.
- 372 *congratulatory letter*: Minnie Bronson to WW, January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59910, image 486, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 372 *Tumulty had forgotten ... “control of the House”*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59117–18, images 492–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 373 “*quiet canvass*”: “House Test Shows Suffrage Gains,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 13.
- 373 *Since Friday*: EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:550.
- 373 *released statements*: Carrie Chapman Catt to William Gibbs McAdoo, January 7, 1918, reel 210, #59939, image 516, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Hope for Victory in House Greater,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage Measure Reported to House,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1918, 12; *HWS*, 5:590. Ten days earlier, Wilson had advised that each cabinet secretary should “feel free to write his own views” on the subject. E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for December 28, 1917, 257.
- 373 *round of golf*: “President’s Visit to Capitol Comes as Utter Surprise,” *Washington Times*, January 8, 1918, 2; Edmund W. Starling and Thomas Sugrue, *Starling of the White House* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 101.
- 373 *notify Speaker*: “President’s Visit to Capitol,” *Washington Times*; EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:550, 555.
- 374 *urgent phone calls ... “precipitate manner”* “President’s Visit to Capitol,” *Washington Times*.
- 374 *beginning of December*: EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:558.
- 374 “*speculated*”: *Ibid.*, *PWW*, 45:550, 555.
- 374 *Bolsheviks seized control*: Leon Trotsky, “Publication of the Secret Treaties,” *Izvestia*, no. 221, November 23, 1917, 4, in *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1928, Documents and Materials*, James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 243–44.
- 374 *known about some*: Mary Reno Frear, “Did President Wilson Contradict Himself on the Secret Treaties?,” *Current History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (June 1, 1929), 435–43.
- 374 *Pravda published an article*: Under the terms of the treaty, Italy would receive large swaths of Trieste and Dalmatia in the Balkans as well as the Alpine territory of Tyrol, all of which were currently part of Austria-Hungary. V. I. Lenin, “One of the Secret Treaties,” *Pravda*, no. 53, May 23 [10], 1917, trans. Bernard Isaacs, in *Lenin: Collected Works*, 45 vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 24:380.
- 375 “*colonial thieves*”: Abdul Qadir, Zahir Mengal, Pervaiz Ahmed, and Shazia Jaffar, “Arab Revolt of 1916,” *Journal of Education and Humanities Research*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2017), 53.
- 375 *November 23*: By this time Yakov Sverdlov, chairman of the Bolshevik Party’s Central Executive Committee, had taken over as editor of *Pravda*. Angus Roxburgh, *Pravda: Inside the Soviet News Machine* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1987), 282.

- 375 *translated and published*: “Jordan-Syria Boundary,” *International Boundary Study No. 94* (Washington: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1969), 9; F. Seymour Cocks, ed., *The Secret Treaties and Understandings: Text of the Available Documents* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1918), 18.
- 375 *another secret agreement*: James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, eds., *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1928, Documents and Materials* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 24. Other secret agreements among the Allies included the Treaty of Bucharest (1916), by which Romania agreed to join the war; the Treaty of Saint Jean de Maurienne (1917), partitioning Asiatic Turkey; various agreements between France and Russia concerning German borders; and notes between Japan, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy awarding Japan certain Pacific islands and Shantung in China. Mary Reno Frear, “Did President Wilson Contradict Himself on the Secret Treaties?,” *Current History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (June 1, 1929), 435–443.
- 375 *“keyed upon the secret treaties” ... “conceded”*: Walter Lippmann, “The Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann,” Columbia University Oral History Collection, Columbia University Library, pt. 2, no. 118, 108; Godfrey Hodgson, *Woodrow Wilson’s Right Hand: The Life of Colonel Edward M. House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 163 (quoting the “Reminiscences”); Mark Thomas Edwards, *Walter Lippmann: American Skeptic, American Pastor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 73.
- 375 *“Open covenants”*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:534.
- 375 *“delusion”*: Hodgson, *Right Hand*, 173.
- 375 *morning after*: “Tyranny and Crime Reign in Petrograd,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 375 *separate peace*: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918, in U.S. Department of State, *Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference*, Texts of the Russian “Peace” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 13–21.
- 376 *other themes*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:534.
- 376 *Emery Building*: The court occupied temporary quarters there between November 1916 and the fall of 1919. “Courts Well Fixed in Emery Building,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 30, 1916, 18; Washington Topham, “First Railroad into Washington and Its Three Depots,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 27 (1925), 175–247, at 243; F. Regis Noel, “The Court-House of the District of Columbia,” *Journal of the District of Columbia Bar Association*, vol. 5, no. 2 (February 1938), 47–88, at 82; Theodore R. Newman, Jr., “The State of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals,” *Catholic University Law Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1978), 453–68, at 453–54 and n3; “District of Columbia Courthouse,” Form 10–300 (July 1969), National Register of Historic Places, Record Group 79, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC.
- 376 *like brothers ... judicial wisdom*: Photograph of Judges of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, 1917, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 376 *oldest judge*: “Justice C. J. Smyth,” *New York Times*, April 16, 1924, 23; “Constantine Joseph Smyth,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 377 *youngest judge*: “Mr. Justice Charles H. Robb,” *Washington Law Reporter*, vol. 34, no. 41 (October 12, 1916), 637; “Charles Henry Robb,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 377 *other senior judge*: “Josiah Van Orsdel, U.S. Justice, Dead,” *New York Times*, August 8, 1937, 40; “Josiah Van Orsdel,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit. Van Orsdel’s service in the Wyoming state legislature commenced in 1894, four years after the territory’s admission to statehood. Only beginning with statehood in 1890 could women vote in presidential and congressional elections, although as the first territory in the U.S. to enact women’s suffrage in 1869, Wyoming had long given women the right to vote in elections for the territorial legislature.
- 377 *an extensive brief*: Hunter v. District of Columbia, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918) (summary of brief for plaintiffs in error).
- 377 *“forty-foot sidewalk” ... disbelief*: “Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 9.
- 378 *left him a memo*: JPT to WW, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59961, image 540, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 378 *note from Elizabeth Bass*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:542.

- 378 *positive headlines*: “President Specifies Terms as Basis for World Peace,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 1; “Freedom of World Is U.S. Aim in War, Wilson Tells Congress,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Memorable Speech Delivered by Executive to Congress in Joint Session,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1918, 1; “United States Will Continue in Fight to End,” *Houston Post*, January 9, 1918, 1; JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 153.
- 379 *Billy Sunday*: “Women Share Burdens; Give Them the Vote, Says Billy,” *Washington Times*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *page one*: “Suffrage Will Pass the House,” *Buffalo Enquirer*, January 9, 1918, 4; “Suffrage Will Win in House, Say Leaders,” *Dayton Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage Likely to Win in the House,” *Allentown Leader*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage May Be Enacted; House Practically Certain to Vote in Favor of Bill; Senate Not So Sure,” *Huntington Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *twenty-two states*: “Suffrage Measure Reported to House ... Passage Thursday Likely,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1918, 12. In the actual voting the next day, 25 states unanimously supported the Anthony Amendment. See Appendix 2.
- 379 *Conspicuously absent*: “Forces Line Up for Big Suff Fight,” *Montgomery Times*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *called a conference*: “Suffrage Bill Goes to House with O.K. Tag,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 1918, 8.
- 379 *dozen votes*: “Says Suffrage Will Win in House Tomorrow,” *New York Evening World*, January 9, 1918, 7; “House to Vote Tomorrow Afternoon on Suffrage,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 2.
- 379 *every member*: “Suffrage May Be Enacted,” *Huntington Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *two letters*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:545; WW to Rep. Jouett Shouse, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59960, image 539, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 379 *seeking the president’s answer*: Rep. Jouett Shouse to WW, January 8, 1918, reel 210, #59944, image 521, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 380 *without getting any encouragement*: “Congress Warned by Suffrage Leader,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1917, 13.
- 380 *you may readily conjecture*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:545.
- 380 *urging a decision*: JPT to WW, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59961, image 540, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 380 *close of business*: Ibid. Wilson handwrote “OK” on the memo; Tumulty handwrote “5:00 today the 9th.”