

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

31. Who Will Get the Credit?

PAGE

- 381 *ice-cold*: “Weather,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 10, 1918, 1.
- 381 *Green Room ... “write it himself”*: William J. Cochran to JPT, January 22, 1918 (enclosing interview with Rep. Taylor as draft press release), reel 210, ##59970–71, images 550–554, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President Favors ‘Vote’ Amendment,” *Washington Star*, January 10, 1918, 3; “Wilson Declares in Favor of Woman Suffrage,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President Wilson Urges Congress to Vote for Suffrage,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Give Women Vote—Wilson,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 381 *introduced the group*: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 381 *his first campaign*: HWS, 5:356.
- 381 “no” votes in 1915: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1).
- 381 *steering committee*: FDL, images 151–52, MS 188–89.
- 381 *close to the vest ... John Jones*: The fact that Taylor “had not been able to get any Democratic opponents to go” to the White House indicates that Brumbaugh and Jones, along with the others in the group, were supporters by the time they attended the meeting. FDL, image 158, MS 145. But neither had publicly announced his conversion. “Ohio Total for Suffrage,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 9, 1918, 7; “Only Two Texans Favor Suffrage; to Vote Thursday,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 8, 1918, 8.
- 382 *recent convert*: Linthicum had been listed as a likely opponent as recently as early December 1917. “Maryland’s Vote Split,” *Baltimore Sun*, December 3, 1917, 1. He announced his conversion on the first of January. “Linthicum with Suff,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1918, 2.
- 382 *future U.S. senator*: “Carraway, Hattie Wyatt,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 382 *House saw as a fault*: EMH Diary, January 13, 1918, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 6:20.
- 382 “statement as to his position”: “Wilson Favors Suffrage Vote,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Says Wilson Is Won to Suffragist Amendment,” January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59942, image 519, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 382 *urged every Democrat*: “Suffrage Bill Goes to House with O.K. Tag,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 1918, 8.
- 382 “claiming credit”: “Women Expect Big Majority for Suffrage,” *Buffalo Evening News*, January 9, 1918, 13; “Hope for Victory in House Greater,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 383 “every other official action”: The 1916 Democratic platform touted Wilson’s “he kept us out of war” slogan. South Trimble, ed., *Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856–1916, Inclusive* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 204. While support for war grew in the months between the adoption of the Democratic platform in mid-1916 and Wilson’s war message in early 1917, his departure from this neutrality policy is an obvious omission in Wilson’s assertion that he had strayed from the platform only once.
- 383 “seem to be requesting” ... “Democratic opponents”: FDL, image 158, MS 145.
- 383 *discussion continued*: The quoted dialog from this point forward is from a press release drafted by the DNC Publicity Department two weeks later, providing additional detail on what Wilson said in the meeting, based on

- Rep. Taylor's recollection. The reconstruction accounts for only a few minutes' dialog, but crucially it describes how Wilson eventually made the leap. William J. Cochran to JPT, January 22, 1918 (enclosing interview with Rep. Taylor as draft press release), reel 210, ##59970–71, images 550–554, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 383 *Since July*: J. A. H. Hopkins to WW, July 18, 1917, *PWW*, 43:212; WW to Albert Bursleson, July 19, 1917, *PWW*, 43:212; Maud Wood Park to WW, November 30, 1917, *PWW*, 45:169; JPT to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 383 “*policy, not a principle*”: “Wilson Favors Suffrage Vote,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 384 “*write it himself*”: Ibid.
- 384 “*The committee found*”: WW, Statement to Democratic Members of Congress, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59962, image 541, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 384 “*his game of golf*”: “Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist, Part Two,” *McCall's Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 2 (October 1919), 12.
- 384 *persistence of Tumulty*: Tumulty, who had long prodded Wilson on the subject, had been a supporter of women's suffrage since his days at the capitol in Trenton. Delight W. Dodyk, “Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in New Jersey” (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1997), 343n52.
- 384 *opening prayer*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 761–62.
- 384 *raised millions*: Lyle W. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2004), 33–38, 64; Robert F. Martin, *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862–1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), xiii, 121. Sunday's charitable donations to the war effort in 1917 alone were more than \$120,500, equivalent to \$3 million in today's currency. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday*, 60.
- 385 “*destroy the Democratic Party*”: “Today: Woman's Day – Justice at Last – Advice to Representatives – Respect Your Mothers,” *Washington Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 “*go over in droves*”: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 “*unanimous vote*”: “Wilson Out for Federal Amendment on Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 *give Republicans credit*: “Women Win Wilson's Indorsement for the Federal Amendment,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 *Cantrill*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 764 (remarks of Rep. Cantrill).
- 385 *Moon*: Ibid., 765–67 (remarks of Rep. Moon).
- 386 *Hersey*: Ibid., 777 (remarks of Rep. Hersey).
- 386 *Norton*: Ibid., 801 (remarks of Rep. Norton).
- 386 *Lenroot*: Ibid., 768 (remarks of Rep. Lenroot).
- 386 *Langley*: Ibid., 780–81 (remarks of Rep. Langley).
- 386 *Clark*: Ibid., 781–86 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Florida).
- 387 *Mansfield*: Ibid., 800 (remarks of Rep. Mansfield).
- 387 “*I don't believe it*”: Ibid., 784–85 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Florida).
- 387 *Greene*: Ibid., 768 (remarks of Rep. Greene).
- 388 “*pale and weak*” ... “*joy be unconfined*”: “The Story of January Tenth,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 8 (January 19, 1918), 148.
- 388 “*Brother Mann*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 804 (remarks of Speaker Clark).
- 388 “*since the Declaration*” ... “*every conceivable point*”: Ibid., 773 (remarks of Rep. Raker).
- 388 “*women of California*”: Ibid., 773 (remarks of Rep. Kearns).
- 388 “*For 70 years*”: Ibid., 771–72 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 389 “*glorious day*”: Ibid., 804 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 389 *Clyde Kelly*: Ibid., 769; “Kelly, Melville Clyde,” BD.
- 389 *often quoted it*: Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 14, 162, 219, 242, 326, 416, 418–19, 532, 593.
- 389 *Richard Elliott*: “Elliott, Richard Nash,” BD; “Elliott Makes Maiden Speech for Suffrage,” *Richmond Palladium and Sun-Telegram*, January 14, 1918, 3.

- 390 “*divided politically*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 789 (remarks of Rep. Elliott).
- 390 *passed the House*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200).
- 390 *did not mention*: *Official Bulletin—Complete Topical Index from January 2, 1918, to June 29, 1918, Inclusive* (Washington: Committee on Public Information, 1918), 1–35. One of the few official announcements the White House did make that day was the president’s reappointment of Louis Brownlow to preside over the affairs of the District of Columbia. It was a decision, the wire service report said, that was “justified by ... what the chief executive regards as excellent service.” “Lewis Brownlow Named Commissioner of District,” *Nashville Tennessean*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *easy win*: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage; Victory on House Vote Today Expected as Result of His Belated Conversion,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President for Suffrage—Victory Sure,” *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Wilson Out for Federal Amendment On Suffrage ... Victory for the Anthony Amendment in Senate to Follow, Is Belief,” *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Weight of President Wilson’s Suffrage Statement Is Likely to Carry Proposed Amendment,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 10, 1918, 4; “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment ... Safe Majority Certain,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 390 *nearly called upon*: “House for Suffrage, 274 to 136, Exact Two-Thirds Vote Required, With Clark’s Ballot in Reserve,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *featured tables*: “How Suffrage Vote Was Distributed,” *New York Times*, January 13, 1918; “Revised Suffrage Vote in Congress,” *New York Times*, January 14, 1918, 12; “How the House Voted on Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, January 11, 1918, 2. Among Democrats, 104 of 206 members voted in favor; among Republicans, 165 of 198 members voted in favor. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200). See Appendix 2 for a detailed breakdown of the vote in the House.
- 390 *page-one headline*: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *six-column headline*: “Republican Votes Chiefly Responsible for Women’s Victory,” *New York Sun*, January 11, 1918, 4.
- 390 *each passing day*: “House for Suffrage, 274 to 136, Exact Two-Thirds Vote Required, With Clark’s Ballot in Reserve,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1918, 1; “Woman Suffrage Wins in House by One Vote,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1918; “Suffrage Barely Wins; House Votes 274–136; Victory After 70 Years,” *New York Sun*, January 11, 1918, 1; “Women’s Victory in House Result of Long Struggle,” *New York Tribune*, January 11, 1918, 2; “The President as Party Leader,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 12, 1918; “Suffragists Celebrate at Luncheon,” *San Francisco Examiner*, January 12, 1918, 7; “Thank Wilson for Aiding Suffrage,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 12, 1918, 4; “The Suffrage Victory,” *Oakland Tribune*, January 13, 1918, 36; “What Will the Lady Do to the Tiger?,” *Buffalo Times*, January 13, 1918, 6; “Woman’s Party Storm Bound, Works by Wire,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 13, 1918, 6.
- 390 “*saved his party*”: David Lawrence, “Suffragists Had Faith in Wilson,” *New York Evening Post*, January 10, 1918, 1. A few months’ time would prove Lawrence’s election prediction wrong, as congressional Democrats suffered an historic defeat.
- 391 “*psychological moment*”: Lawrence likely talked with Helen Gardener after Wilson’s announcement, because in her letter to Tumulty on the night of the vote, she credited the president with acting “at the psychological moment.” Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 10, 1918, *PWW*, 45:565. Lawrence used these precise words in his article.
- 391 *NAWSA had publicly declared*: “See Victory for Suffrage If No Opposition Comes From the Administration,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 3, 1918, 1.
- 391 “*succumbed to the pickets*”: “The Suffrage Amendment,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 391 “*undoubtedly will follow*”: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 391 *credit Wilson*: “Suffrage Wins in House,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 10.
- 392 “*no one party*”: “House Adopts Suffrage Bill by One Vote Margin,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 11, 1918, 3.
- 392 “*whether we were sure*”: *FDL*, image 176, MS 163; “Suffragists Thank Wilson,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1918, 12.

392 *“now to the Senate”*: “Woman Suffrage Wins in House by One Vote,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1918, 5.

392 *danger signs*: “The Suffrage Outlook in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 3 (January 19, 1918), 10.

392 *“would result in defeat”*: “Suffrage Drive for Senate Vote Grows Intense,” *New York Evening World*, January 14, 1918, 10.