

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

32. The Long Fortnight

PAGE

- 393 “archenemy”: “The Senate Prospect,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 8 (January 19, 1918), 145.
- 393 “counting their chickens”: “Better Late,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 3 (January 19, 1918), 4.
- 393 “Unless the advocacy”: “Suffragists Must Gain Four Votes to Win Victory for Amendment in Senate,” *New York Evening World*, January 11, 1918, 7.
- 394 his “bully pulpit”: “Democratic Tide Turns in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 4 (January 30, 1918), 5.
- 394 rallies: “Roosevelt Centre of Suffrage Host,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1913, 1.
- 394 *Gardener asked Wilson*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 20, 1918, reel 210, ##59964–65, images 543–45, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 394 “not at all be willing”: JPT to WW, January 23, 1918, reel 210, #59973, image 555, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; WW to JPT, *ibid.*, #59974, image 556.
- 394 *parties were whipping*: “Suffragists Must Gain Four Votes to Win Victory for Amendment in Senate,” *New York Evening World*, January 11, 1918, 7. The story provides the breakdown of commitments for and against by party, and states that the amendment was “seven votes short of two-thirds.” The seven vote gain could be accomplished with as few as four more votes if they came from senators switching from yes to no.
- 394 “anything is being started”: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 290.
- 394 “pressure”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, February 15, 1918 (summary of correspondence), reel 210, #59978, image 560, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 395 *did not ask*: WW to Ollie James, June 24, 1918, *PWW*, 48:404. Wilson asked James only to “give up your pair.” A pair was used by senators who anticipated missing the vote. One absent senator in support of a bill would pair with another absent senator who was opposed. The theory was that since their votes would cancel out, the outcome was unaffected when neither voted. But pairs posed a problem for the Anthony Amendment. Because a two-thirds majority was required to pass a constitutional amendment, it took two senators in favor to cancel out one senator against. The absence of a single senator opposed to the Anthony Amendment would prevent the two senators paired with him from voting “yes,” even though, on the day of the voting, they might be present. For an example of this, see the note *room for doubt* accompanying the text at p. 398.
- 395 *losing his influence*: Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 290–91.
- 395 *infectious diseases*: Eric Sezekorn, “Disease and Dissent: Progressives, Congress, and the WW I Army Training Camp Crisis,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 21, no. 2 (April 2022), 93–110.
- 395 *all manufacturing*: “Garfield’s Regime Staked on Order,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1918, 2.
- 395 “financial problems”: “Want to Keep Up Idle Mondays,” *New York Times*, February 5, 1918, 1.
- 395 “shifting the coal cars”: “Reasons for Coal Crisis,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1918, 63.
- 395 *Jim Crow rules*: “The ‘Jim Crow’ Car,” *Hartford Courant*, January 14, 1918, 8; Mia Bay, *Traveling Black* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021), 104.
- 395 *cost of food*: Tom G. Hall, “Wilson and the Food Crisis: Agricultural Price Control During World War I,” *Agricultural History*, vol. 47, no. 1 (January 1973), 25, citing *U.S. War Industries Board, Price Bulletin Number 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 52, and Milton Friedman and A.J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 205–12.
- 396 “influence is going”: Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 290.
- 396 *page-one headline*: “Suffrage Pickets Win on Appeal,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1918, 1.
- 396 “hardly be contended”: *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918).

- 396 *the court understood*: In two more months Wilson would sign the Sedition Act, effectively criminalizing lèse-majesté, but as of March 1918 the nation had no such law prohibiting criticism of the president. Sedition Act of 1918, Pub. L. 65–150, 40 Stat. 553 (May 16, 1918). The administration aggressively enforced both the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act, bringing over 1,000 cases to conviction in a matter of two years. Henry N. Scheiber, *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), Appendix, 63.
- 396 *“few men in America”*: Ernestine Evans, “A Suggestion for Mr. Creel,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 11 (March 26, 1918), 5.
- 397 *pushing for a floor vote*: “Gallinger Espouses Suffrage Resolution,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 28, 1918, 2; “Senator Gallinger Supports Suffrage,” *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1918, 2; “The Progress of the Amendment in 1918,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 12 (March 30, 1918), 8.
- 397 *“If I were satisfied”*: “Senator Martin’s Denial,” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 30, 1918, 2.
- 397 *Employees Union*: “Federal Employees Back Suffrage Cause,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 11, 1918, 11.
- 397 *note to Wilson*: JPT to WW, March 12, 1918, reel 210, #59990, image 572, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Sees Victory for Suffrage with Senate,” *Washington Herald*, March 11, 1918, 10.
- 397 *pressure on Florida’s senators*: “The Strategic South for Federal Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol 6, no. 11 (March 26, 1918), 10.
- 397 *replied to Tumulty*: WW to JPT, c. March 12, 1918, reel 210, #59991, image 573, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. At the request of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, Wilson wrote a brief letter on March 8 supporting that state’s primary suffrage bill (incorporating Jim Crow strictures to prevent Black women from voting). WW to Elizabeth Herndon Potter, March 8, 1918, Jane Y. McCallum Collection, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library. He congratulated the group with a telegram when the bill was signed into law. “Wilson Congratulated Suffrage Leaders,” *Houston Post*, March 27, 1918, 12.
- 398 *within two votes*: Irvine Lenroot (R-WI) was elected on April 18 to fill a vacancy. William Stone (D-MO) had been a pickup for the pro-Anthony Amendment forces only weeks before he died on April 14; NAWSA judged his appointed successor, Xenophon Wilfley, to be in favor. Peter Gerry (D-RI) committed after the state legislature formally urged his support. Charles Culberson (D-TX) privately switched in favor after Texas granted women primary suffrage on March 26. Carroll Page (R-VT) committed to NAWSA in April. *FDL*, images 193, 212, MS 180, 198; “Early Skirmish in Senate Shows Suffrage Views,” (*Fall River, MA*) *Evening Herald*, May 8, 1918, 8; “Woman Suffrage Bill Was Signed,” *Houston Post*, March 27, 1918, 5; “Culberson Voted With Sheppard,” *Houston Post*, May 7, 1918, 7. Culberson had long extolled the virtues of the “white primary” for Democrats, because it would be “uninfluenced by the chicanery and intrigue which heretofore defeated the will of the people.” “Satisfactory in Texas,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 26, 1906, 12.
- 398 *a rancher*: “Andrieus Aristeus Jones,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1, 1928), 112.
- 398 *gained the floor*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (May 6, 1918), 6096–97; “Suffrage Motion Beaten in Senate,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1918, 24.
- 398 *room for doubt*: In addition to the many absences, three senators who were present in the chamber refrained from voting to honor their pairs: Porter McCumber (R-ND), Charles McNary (R-OR), and Charles Thomas (D-CO). All three were Anthony Amendment supporters, so the vote of any one of them would have put the Jones motion over the top. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (May 6, 1918), 6097.
- 398 *offering to meet*: JPT to WW, May 7, 1918 (includes WW handwritten note to JPT), reel 210, ##60016–17, images 600–01, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 398 *Kent followed up*: Elizabeth T. Kent to WW, May 8, 1918, reel 210, ##60020–22, images 604–06, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *Catt called*: Staff Memorandum for the President, May 8, 1918, reel 210, #60018, image 602, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, May 8–31, 1918, box 3, reel 3, WWP (reflecting no meetings with Catt).
- 399 *All four men*: John Beckham to WW, May 9, 1918, *PWW*, 47:580; Benjamin Tillman to WW, May 10, 1918, *PWW*, 47:597; Duncan Upshaw Fletcher to WW, May 11, 1918, *PWW*, 47:609; Park Trammell to WW, May 16, 1918, *PWW*, 48:43.

- 399 *Wilson agreed*: WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, May 8, 1918, box 3, reel 3, WWP.
- 399 *“postponed indefinitely”*: “Puts Off Senate Vote on Suffrage Question,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1918, 9; *FDL*, images 212–216, MS 198–202.
- 399 *“more disturbed”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 21, 1918, reel 210, #60038, image 621, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *“left nothing undone”*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60041, image 627, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *“literally impossible”*: JPT to Florence Bayard Hilles, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60042, image 628, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *“overwhelmed with business”*: WW to JPT, May 25, 1918, reel 210, #60050, image 636, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *meet with Bass*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60041 image 627, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *reinforcement he needed*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 300–01; Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 320–21. Wilson would keep up his routine of daily automobile rides almost until his death. Though he never learned to drive, he thoroughly enjoyed being chauffeured in the Pierce-Arrows that he used in the White House years and the post–presidency. And with good reason: the top-end Pierce–Arrows made available to him were at the time arguably the finest automobiles in the world. The 825-cubic inch engine of the 1916 Pierce-Arrow 66 A-4 was the largest ever in any production passenger car, before or since. Its cast aluminum body, aluminum crankcase, and 93-inch wheelbase made it the limousine of choice, with a 1916 price tag of \$7,213 (approximately \$208,000 in current dollars)—more than ten times the average annual household income in America at the time. Wilson took delivery of two of them in 1917, replacing his earlier version. In 1919 he would acquire a newer model, the Series 51; Wilson friends purchased it for his personal use in the post–presidency. Marc Ralston, *Pierce-Arrow* (San Diego: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1980), 87; “Pierce-Arrow Limousine,” Wilson Presidential Library (online); Richard F. Weingrof, “On the Road with President Woodrow Wilson,” *Highway History* (Washington, DC: Federal Highway Administration, n.d.) (online).
- 400 *May 28*: David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 227–32.
- 400 *Belleau Wood*: *Ibid.*, 248–49.
- 400 *Catt pressed*: Staff Memorandum to the President, June 10, 1918 (relaying NAWSA request for “a sentence” recommending that the Senate “act at this session”), reel 210, #60073, image 661, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *“my earnest hope”*: WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 13, 1918, *PWW*, 48:303 and n1; “Wilson Spurs Fight for Women’s Vote,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1918, 10; Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 292.
- 400 *briefly reported*: “Wilson Spurs Fight for Women’s Vote,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1918, 10.
- 401 *notifying the Senate*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 20, 1918), 8040–41 (remarks of Sen. Hollis).
- 401 *pressed him to meet*: JPT to WW, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60105, image 694, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *rejected the idea*: WW to JPT, c. June 22, 1918, reel 210, #60106, image 695, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *agreed to write*: WW to John Shields, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60104, images 692–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *ibid.* #60115–17, images 705–07; WW to Shields, June 26, 1918, *ibid.* #60120, image 710.
- 401 *“I have said so much”*: WW to Helen Hamilton Gardener, June 24, 1918, reel 210, #60109, image 698, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *forced to withdraw*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 9, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (July 13, 1918), 8343–55.
- 401 *“most important measure”*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 27, 1918), 8355 (remarks of Sen. Shafroth).

- 401 *adjourned at four o'clock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 26, 1918), 8310.
- 401 *“unwise”*: WW to Helen Hamilton Gardener, June 24, 1918, reel 210, #60109, image 698, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Far from honoring women’s war service, the Wilson administration on February 5, 1917 revoked the only Medal of Honor ever bestowed on a woman. It was on President Lincoln’s recommendation that honors medical school graduate Mary Edwards Walker received the award for her service as a battlefield surgeon in Civil War campaigns from Bull Run to Chickamauga and for her work as a Union spy, captured and imprisoned for four months as a POW in one of the Confederacy’s most notoriously harsh prisons. After Lincoln’s assassination, Andrew Johnson signed the formal citation. Historians have long speculated whether Walker’s suffrage activism, her testimony before Congress, and her criticism of Wilson’s war policies played a role in her inclusion on a long list of non-meritorious winners first compiled in 1916—especially since several white males who saw no combat were allowed to keep their medals. In 1977, during the Carter administration, the Army reviewed the matter, found Walker displayed “front-line gallantry and bravery” at Bull Run and Gettysburg, stated explicitly that she had been a victim of sex discrimination, and restored her to the list of winners. She remains to this day the only woman ever to receive the Medal of Honor. Act of March 3, 1863, 12 Stat. 751, sec. 6 (setting forth the standard in place when her medal was granted, restricting it to those who “most distinguish themselves in action”); “Medal Restored!,” *Boston Globe*, June 3, 1977, 2; “Battlefield Surgeon Vindicated,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 30, 1977, 36; Sharon M. Harris, *Dr. Mary Walker: An American Radical, 1832-1919* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009) 12, 58, 72-73.
- 401 *“not to take a recess”*: “The Suffrage Measure,” *Washington Post*, July 2, 1918, 6.
- 402 *deny permission*: After Tumulty privately told a suffragist in Tennessee that Wilson had asked Tennessee’s U.S. senator John K. Shields to vote for the amendment, she wrote asking Wilson’s permission to publicize the fact. The senator was running for reelection on the strength of his support for the president. Lucy L. Branham to WW, July 17, 1918, reel 210, ## 60151–53, images 741–42, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Wilson said no to this request. WW to JPT, July 19, 1918, reel 210, #60153, image 743, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Later, however, Senator Shields himself published Wilson’s letter to him. “Suffrage Is World Issue, Wilson Says,” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 2, 1918, 3. Even after that, Wilson authorized Tumulty to state only this: “The President has written Senator Shields as he has written other senators.” The statement carefully avoided any mention of the Anthony Amendment. JPT to WW (including WW notations), July 30, 1918, reel 210, #60166, image 757, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 402 *Senate adjourned*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 9, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (July 13, 1918), 9096.
- 402 *final offensive*: David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 277–91.
- 402 *“protest the continued delay”*: Alice Paul, “Dear Suffragist” letter, July 28, 1918, reel 210, ##60176–77, images 767–68, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 402 *Wilson had successfully insisted*: “Congress Recess Held Up by Fight on Wire Control,” *New York Times*, July 7, 1918, 1.
- 402 *This demonstration*: SWP, 355–56.
- 403 *“does not seem likely”*: Paul, “Dear Suffragist” letter.
- 403 *“prevent this”*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to Rudolph Forster, August 2, 1918, reel 210, #60175, image 766, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 403 *“most helpful”*: FDL, image 188, MS 175.
- 403 *police informed them*: “Women’s Protest Against Disfranchisement Broken Up by Federal Police,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 30 (August 17, 1918), 5; “What Did Ben Lindsey Mean?,” *The Woman Patriot*, vol. 1, no. 18 (August 24, 1918), 5; JFF, 272.
- 403 *sixty-eight more ... District Workhouse*: SWP, 356–63; JFF, 272.
- 404 *“the next bunch”*: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 80.
- 404 *Brownlow claimed*: Ibid.; SWP, 359–60.
- 404 *more publicity*: “Suffragettes in Prison Ill,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 19, 1918, 4; “22 Suffragettes Go on Hunger Strike, Held Incommunicado, No Visitors Being Allowed,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 17, 1918, 4; “Suffragettes in Jail Begin Hunger Strike,” *Washington Herald*, August 17, 1918, 1.

- 404 *congressional outrage*: “Women Protest Against Action of Democrats,” *Evansville Journal*, August 17, 1918, 2.
- 404 *“withdraw the orders”*: *JFF*, 274–75.
- 404 *abruptly released*: “Free 23 Suffragists After Six-Day Fast,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1918, 9.
- 404 *“Too Weak to Stand”*: “Suffragists Are Given Freedom—Too Weak to Stand,” *Trenton Evening Times*, August 21, 1918, 10.
- 404 *stood at the pulpit*: “Cabot Lodge Delivers Eulogy,” *Portsmouth Herald*, August 21, 1918, 2; “Gallinger’s Body in State,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1918, 9.
- 404 *sixty-one*: *FDL*, images 224–25, MS 210–11.
- 404 *four days later*: “Lodge Demands a Dictated Peace, Won by Victory,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1918, 1.
- 405 *“out of respect”*: Writing in 1922, the authors of *History of Woman Suffrage* described the appointed senator, Irving Drew, as “an avowed ‘anti.’” *HWS*, 6:406. But this only became clear on the eve of the vote, when to the surprise of Republican whips he declared against the amendment. *FDL*, images 224–25, MS 210–11.
- 405 *“liberal views” ... Amendment was won*: *FDL*, images 224–25, MS 210–11. Tillman of South Carolina was succeeded by Christie Benet; James of Kentucky was succeeded by George B. Martin.
- 405 *“Senate will soon end”*: “The September Suffrage Demonstrations,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 34 (September 14, 1918), 7.
- 405 *her appointment ... “he would not”*: *SWP*, 363.
- 405 *“all that I can”*: *Ibid.*; “Women Will Open Vote Drive Today at the White House,” *New York Tribune*, September 16, 1918, 7.
- 405 *Lafayette’s statue ... allowed this protest*: *SWP*, 363–65.
- 406 *“great crowd cheering”*: “Wilson Words Empty, Charge Suffragists,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 17, 1918, 3.
- 406 *changed his mind*: *FDL*, image 225, MS 211.
- 406 *Jones rose*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 10, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 17, 1918), 10407.