

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

33. Toujours de l'Audace

PAGE

- 407 *deadliest battle*: Robert H. Ferrell, *America's Deadliest Battle: Meuse-Argonne, 1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), xi. Death came not only from machine gun and rifle fire, hand-to-hand combat, and poison gas, but also the deadly "Spanish flu." Some 70,000 of Pershing's force at Meuse-Argonne became infected with the virus, many of them dying in makeshift hospitals. John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1931), vol. 2, 327.
- 407 *369th Infantry ... entire unit*: Peter Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle: The Harlem Hellfighters' Struggle for Freedom in WWI and Equality at Home* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009), 104–09, 203–05.
- 407 *proudly reported*: "Privates Bill and Needham," *Pottsville Republican*, May 27, 1918, 4.
- 407 *1.5 million women*: Valerie J. Conner, "The Mothers of the Race in World War I: The National War Labor Board and Women in Industry," in Nancy F. Cott, ed., *History of Women in the United States* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1993), 15:147.
- 407 *Black women now worked ... training camps*: Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "Negro Women in War Work," in Emmett J. Scott, *Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (Chicago: Homewood Press, 1919), 374–97, at 376–77, 379, 396.
- 408 *her daughter ... perspectives and experiences*: Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (Washington, DC: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1968), 143–47, 318–28; Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 128.
- 408 *War Camp Community Service*: "Democracy and the Colored Soldier: War Camp Community Service for the Colored Soldier, Sailor and Marine," *Playground Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 3 (September 1919), W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.
- 408 *into men's positions*: "Democracy for Colored Women," *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 24 (September 14, 1918), 3. Paul had proven on previous occasions that she needed Terrell's reminders. Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 137–41.
- 408 *first words spoken*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 26, 1918), 10769–70.
- 409 *intellectual ... biographer*: Shortly after Wilson's election to the presidency, Williams published a book on Thomas Jefferson, using its preface to honor Wilson. John Sharp Williams, *Thomas Jefferson, His Permanent Influence on American Institutions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), vii. He viewed himself as an intellectual. George C. Osborn, "The Home Life of a Plantation Statesman, John Sharp Williams," *Agricultural History*, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 1941), 129–136; "John Sharp Williams Retired to Live at Home Among Books," *New York Times*, October 2, 1932, 10. James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate for president in 1920, hyperbolically declared Williams one of "the two most scholarly men in the history of the United States Congress"—the other in his estimation being John Quincy Adams. Cox, *Journey through My Years* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946), 103.
- 409 *Wilson's presidential ambitions*: H. C. F. Bell, *Woodrow Wilson and the People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Duran and Co., 1945), 86.
- 409 *"irreparable loss"*: WW to John Sharp Williams, August 2, 1917, *PWW*, 43:344.
- 409 *he would boast*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 78.
- 409 *Williams's recommendation*: Edmond Boudreaux, Jr., *Legends and Lore of the Mississippi Golden Gulf Coast* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 131–38.

- 409 “*doggerel*”: John Sharp Williams to WW, October 4, 1918, box 2, John Sharp Williams Papers, 1902–24, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 409 *apology*: WW to John Sharp Williams, April 2, 1914, *PWW*, 29:394.
- 409 “*white man’s Government*”: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1914), 5104 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*Is it not far better*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener, Address to Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, New Orleans, November 11, 1913, at *ibid.*, 5091 (appended to remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*My good friend and yours*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, June 23, 1918, reel 210, ##6107–08, images 696–97, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 410 “*the word white*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 26, 1918), 10790 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*eliminate the negro*”: *Ibid.*, 10771–72 (remarks of Sen. Vardaman).
- 410 *his own proposal*: *Ibid.*, 10777 (remarks of Sen. Fletcher).
- 410 *Pomerene rose*: *Ibid.*, 10788 (remarks of Sen. Pomerene).
- 410 “*petticoat brigade*”: *Ibid.*, 10848–49 (remarks of Sen. Reed).
- 411 “*earliest possible moment*”: *Ibid.*, 10842–45 (remarks of Sen. Pittman).
- 411 “*would mean the defeat*”: *Ibid.*, 10790 (remarks of Sen. Jones).
- 411 “*without debate*”: *Ibid.*, 10857 (remarks of Sen. Thomas).
- 411 *take Sunday off*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 28, 1918), 10903.
- 411 “*the President desires*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10924 (remarks of Sen. Martin).
- 411 *not his idea ... major headlines*: William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 496–98.
- 411 *that morning*: “President Asks Senate to Adopt Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, September 30, 1918, 1.
- 412 *urgent note*: Carrie Chapman Catt to WW, September 29, 1918, *PWW*, 51:155.
- 412 *private notes*: John Beckham to WW, May 9, 1918, *PWW*, 47:580; Benjamin Tillman to WW, May 10, 1918, *PWW*, 47:597; Lee Slater Overman to WW, May 21, 1918, *PWW*, 48:110; 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; WW to David Baird, July 30, 1918, *ibid.*, #60170, image 761; Baird to WW, August 5, 1918, *ibid.*, ##60184–85, images 775–76; WW to Christie Benet, September 26, 1918, *ibid.*, #60239, image 841.
- 412 “*almost a fatality*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10924; “Wilson Fails to Win Senate for Suffrage,” *New York Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 412 *treated the occasion*: “Wilson Fails to Win Senate for Suffrage,” *New York Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1; “President Asks Senate to Vote for Suffrage as Aid to Winning War,” *Meriden Morning Record*, October 1, 1918, 7 (Associated Press wire story); “Mrs. Wilson and White House Party Hear President’s Suffrage Speech,” *Washington Times*, September 30, 1918, 13.
- 413 *ten-minute speech ... left the chamber*: “President Asks Senate to Adopt Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, September 30, 1918, 1; WW, Address to the Senate, 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10928.
- 413 *cold water*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10931 (remarks of Sen. Underwood).
- 413 *time-sensitive*: Samuel McGowan to JPT, October 1, 1918, reel 210, ##60251–52, images 855–56, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 413 *only a month*: “Both Parties Still Claim Victory in the Elections,” (*Greenwood, SC*) *Evening Index*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 413 *last-minute gesture*: Atlee Pomerene to WW, October 1, 1918, *PWW*, 51:176. An Associated Press report stated that Wilson sent “letters” on October 1, but the letter to Pomerene is the only one reflected in the White House records. “Sends Letters to Senators,” *Corsicana (TX) Daily Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1.

- 414 *73 percent*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10984.
- 414 *began voting*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987.
- 414 *“they say we lack”*: “Courageous Act, Says Mrs. Bass of Pres. Wilson,” *Buffalo Evening Times*, October 1, 1918, 2.
- 414 *“Long before”*: Rose Young, “Our Own Congressional Record,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 19, October 5, 1918, 368–377, at 377.
- 414 *“unhesitatingly”*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 28, 1918), 10892 (remarks of Sen. Benet).
- 414 *“made no change”*: “Equal Suffrage Lost by Margin of Two Votes,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 2, 1918, 11.
- 414 *recorded vote*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987–88; “Defeat of Suffrage,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 1918, 1. The final vote was 63% in favor. Including Jones as a yes vote, the tally would have been 54–30 (still 63%). The party breakdown (including Jones as a yes) was Republicans 73% yes, 27% no (27–10); Democrats 57% yes, 43% no (27–20). Twelve senators did not vote; all had arranged pairs. Adding the pairs, the vote would have been 63–33 (65%) in favor. See Appendix 3 for details.
- 414 *gas mask*: Cover, *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 38 (October 12, 1918).
- 414 *Inadvertent criticism*: David Lawrence, “Democratic Control of Senate in Peril,” *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 415 *“Wilson’s urgent message”*: “Suffrage Beaten by the Senate,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1918, 1.
- 415 *heart of the matter*: Editorial, *New York Evening Post*, October 2, 1918, 8.
- 415 *Paul personally signed*: “The Defeat in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 38 (October 12, 1918), 4.
- 416 *“toujours de l’audace”*: Editorial, *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1918, 8.
- 416 *met the guillotine*: George-Jacques Danton was a leading force in overthrowing the French monarchy, and president of the notorious Committee of Public Safety. He eventually lost his head in the Reign of Terror that his audacious approach unleashed. Robert Christophe, *Danton: A Biography*, trans. Peter M. Green (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967). He was immortalized in Victor Hugo’s last novel, first published in 1874. Hugo, *Ninety-Three*, trans. Lowell Bair (New York: Bantam Books, 1962).
- 416 *union’s ban on women*: “Conductorets Lose Jobs,” *Cincinnati Post*, September 23, 1918, 1; “Car Women Fight Ousting at Gathering,” September 24, 1918, 1, “Car Women Hear Stand Applauded,” September 25, 1918, 1, “Suffrage Leader Aids Car Protest,” September 27, 1918, 3 (all *Cleveland Plain Dealer*). One week before the November 5 election, the Labor Department suspended its termination order, promising to rule definitively after the election. “Car Women Given Delay of Month,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 28, 1918, 1. It then reissued the termination order less than a month after the election. “U.S. Asks Dismissal of Car Women,” December 4, 1918, 1, “Labor Board’s Recommendation for Dismissal of Conductors,” December 4, 1918, 1, “Strike May Set Women’s Status,” December 12, 1918, 4 (all *Cleveland Plain Dealer*). The following year, after the women’s legal appeals, the War Labor Board reversed itself. But even then the women did not regain their jobs. When the union threatened to strike again to prevent the rehiring of women conductors, the railroad met the union’s demands, and the administration did not enforce its new order. “Company Will Not Reinstale Conductorets,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 19, 1919, 1; “Conductorets Will Not Get Old Jobs Back,” *Springfield Daily News*, March 19, 1919, 18. Finally, in 1921 the Labor Department issued an “emphatic” report determining that “women can be employed on street railways successfully, safely and with due regard to their health and well being.” “Reports Car Work Safe for Women; U.S. Labor Bureau Declares Conductor Job Is Healthful,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 28, 1921, 14; “Conductors’ Strike of 1918-1919,” *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 2022) (online).
- 416 *Revenue Act of 1918*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 10, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 20, 1918), 10548 (roll call on House passage of H.R. 12863).
- 416 *election-year shock*: When voters went to the polls, the retroactive 1918 bill had passed the House but not yet the Senate, where some changes would be made. But the steeper rates were well publicized and the sticker shock was real. Wilson signed the retroactive tax increases into law on February 24, 1919. Roy Gillespie Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, *The Federal Income Tax* (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, 2006), 167, 185–86. Beginning with

- Wilson’s first year in office, the lowest bracket started with incomes of \$23,000 (including a personal exemption of \$3,000). That is equivalent to \$730,000 in 2024 dollars. The top rate of 7% kicked in at a taxable income of \$500,000, equal to \$16 million in today’s dollars. Thereafter income tax rates rose continuously and increasingly hit middle- and low-income workers. The Revenue Act of 1918 dropped the bottom bracket to reach taxable incomes beginning at \$1,000, equivalent to \$20,806 in current dollars, and slashed the personal exemption by two-thirds. Revenue Act of 1913, Pub. Law 63–16, 38 Stat. 114; Revenue Act of 1916, Pub. Law 64–271, 39 Stat. 756; Revenue Act of 1917, Pub. Law 65–50, 40 Stat. 300; Revenue Act of 1918, Public Law 65–254, 40 Stat. 1062; Data Release, “Personal Exemptions and Individual Income Tax Rates, 1913–2002” (Washington, DC: Internal Revenue Service, 2002); Statistics of Income, Appendix to Selected Historical and Other Data Tables, Table 23, U.S. Individual Income Tax: Personal Exemptions and Lowest and Highest Bracket Tax Rates, and Tax Base for Regular Tax, 1913–2018 (Washington, DC: Internal Revenue Service, 2024).
- 416 *annual inflation*: U.S. Historical Consumer Price Index for all Urban Consumers (CPI-U): U.S. City Average, All Items (Washington, DC: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019); 1918 CPI and Inflation Rate for the United States, cpiinflationcalculator.com; Kristijan Gavranić and Dejan Miletić, “U.S. Dollar Stability and the Global Currency Reserves,” *Eurasian Journal of Economics and Finance*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 2016), 14–24, at 19.
- 416 *food prices*: “Yearly Price Changes in the United States, 1890–1919,” U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 270, Retail Prices and Cost of Living Series, in H.Doc. 835, Serial Set vol. 7867, no. 3 (66th Cong., 3rd Sess., February 1921), 50.
- 417 *most likely to die*: John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza* (New York: Viking, 2004), 238–40. Worldwide, the 1918–19 influenza pandemic killed vastly more than the COVID-19 pandemic of 2019–23. According to Nancy K. Bristow, *American Pandemic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–4, the “Spanish flu” killed more than 50 million people globally. Barry cites a modern epidemiological study that placed the death toll from the 1918–19 pandemic “in the order of 50 million” but noted that possibly “as many as 100 million died.” *The Great Influenza*, 96–98, 397, 453–56. In comparison, the 2019–23 pandemic resulted in nearly 7 million deaths. WHO Covid-19 Dashboard, December 31, 2023; “WHO Chief Declares End to COVID-19 as a Global Health Emergency,” *United Nations News*, May 5, 2023.
- 417 *ignoring the advice ... mere minutes*: Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 303–06. Often men without dog tags died anonymously because they were “too sick and too delirious to identify themselves” before they succumbed. Alfred W. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 129.
- 417 *“groans and cries”*: Account of Col. Ernest W. Gibson Sr., commander of the 57th Pioneer Infantry, quoted in John T. Cushing and Arthur F. Stone, eds., *Vermont and the World War, 1917–1919* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Co., 1928), 6.
- 417 *dumped into the ocean*: The military requirement that those who died at sea be returned to America was abandoned of necessity. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 124; Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 306.
- 417 *instruct him to obey*: Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 306–08.
- 417 *“not been on the job”*: *Ibid.*, 316.
- 418 *worst month*: *Ibid.*, 313.
- 418 *bedridden*: “Champ Clark, Kitchin Catch Spanish Flu,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, September 28, 1918, 1.
- 418 *a “heavy cold”*: “J. F. C. Talbott Dies at Home,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1918, 16.
- 418 *“alarming proportions”*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 7, 1918), 11164 (remarks of Rep. Rainey).