

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

34. 'Things to Be Done at Once'

PAGE

- 419 *heroic proportions* ... "campaign button": John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 425–29.
- 419 *enormous leverage*: James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), 138–41.
- 420 *six million women*: "Population—Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States," *14th Census of the United States*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), Table 9, 21–33. The states in which women could vote in House and Senate races in 1918 were California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, South Dakota, Michigan, and New York.
- 420 *She herself*: "McCormick, Ruth Hanna," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 421 *women had achieved*: WW, Address to the Senate, 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10928.
- 421 *Wilson himself had put it*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 68.
- 421 *"uncompromising partisan"*: WW, Private Address to Members of the Democratic National Committee, February 28, 1919, in JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 332–34.
- 421 *encouraged it*: *Ibid.*, 326.
- 421 *"boldly ask"*: *Ibid.*
- 421 *"appeal to the country"*: "Text of President Wilson's Appeal," *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, 1.
- 421 *"not a dignified thing"*: EBW to Ray Stannard Baker, in *LL*, 8:510 and n1. Unsurprisingly, Creel would be one of the few to defend it. George Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 133–47.
- 422 *over-the-top*: *LL*, 8:487 and notes 1, 2.
- 422 *"repudiation"*: "Text of President Wilson's Appeal," *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, 1.
- 422 *unwelcome headlines*: "Congress Won by Republicans," *New York Times*, November 6, 1918, 1; "House and Senate Won by Republicans," *New York Sun*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 422 *"we had an election"*: Franklin Lane, "Cabinet Notes," November 6, 1918, in *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political*, Anne Wintermute Lane and Louis Herrick Wall, eds. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), 299.
- 422 *revolution*: Newton Diehl Baker to WW, November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:607.
- 422 *"Russian people themselves"*: WW, aide-mémoire, July 17, 1918, in George F. Kennan, *The Decision to Intervene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 482–485; John M. House and Daniel P. Curzon, *The Russian Expeditions 1917-1920* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2019), 7, 22–23, 41–43, 61–65; Eugene P. Trani, "Woodrow Wilson and the Decision to Intervene in Russia: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 48, no. 3 (September 1976), 440–461. Wilson's decision to intervene in Russia came three weeks after corresponding with Thomas Dixon about the wisdom of doing so. Dixon had strongly urged that course of action. *LL*, 8:233.
- 422 *"practically bankrupt"*: Frank Irving Cobb, memorandum c. November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:613.
- 422 *laying down markers*: Robert Lansing to Hans Sulzer, November 5, 1918, quoting memorandum from Allied governments, in "Text of President Wilson's Note to Germany," *New York Times*, November 6, 1918, 1.

- 423 “*friendship and admiration*”: Jouett Shouse to WW, November 7, 1918, *PWW*, 51:623.
- 423 “*It distresses me*”: WW to Charles William Eliot, November 8, 1918, *PWW*, 51:637.
- 423 “*sick at heart*”: Key Pittman to WW, November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:611.
- 423 “*unfair burden*”: WW to Key Pittman, November 7, 1918, *PWW*, 51:620.
- 423 “*no longer have been entitled*”: David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 349.
- 423 “*talked almost continuously*”: Homer Cummings to WW, November 8 or 9, 1918, *PWW*, 51:646.
- 423 *to-do list*: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920,” memorandum to WW, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:23.
- 424 *enough new Anthony Amendment supporters*: As of election day, the changes at the margin that made the difference in the Senate were the victories of Walter Edge (R-NJ), L. Heisler Ball (R-DE), and David Walsh (D-MA), all Anthony Amendment supporters who replaced opponents; and the victories of Pat Harrison (D-MS) and Nathaniel Dial (D-SC), both Anthony Amendment opponents who replaced supporters. The net result was that the amendment picked up the one additional supporter needed. *FDL*, images 254–55, MS 240–41. Before the new Congress voted on the Anthony Amendment in June 1919, William Harris (D-GA) and Eugene Hale (R-ME), both of whom replaced amendment opponents, also publicly committed to vote yes, further increasing the Anthony Amendment supermajority. The final, successful vote would be 56–25, representing 69% in favor. 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 4, 1919), 635.
- 424 *detailed analysis*: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920.”
- 424 “*almost certain*”: EMH to WW and Robert Lansing, telegram no. 74, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:4–5.
- 425 *3:00 a.m.*: “World War Ends as Germany Signs Armistice,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1918, 1; “Armistice Is Signed; War Is Over,” *New York Sun*, November 11, 1918, 1.
- 425 *Three telegrams*: EMH to WW, telegrams nos. 85–87, November 11, 1918, *PWW*, 53:33–34.
- 425 *one o’clock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (November 11, 1918), 11541–43.
- 425 *Pedestrians cheered him ... took a bow*: “Truce Electrifies Congress,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1; “Truce Leaves Germany Helpless,” *New York Sun*, November 12, 1918, 1.
- 425 *empty seats*: The Associated Press photo of Wilson addressing the chamber shows approximately one-third of the seats on the floor empty.
- 426 “*no small anxiety*”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, speaking copy, November 11, 1918, *PWW*, 53:35.
- 426 *himself as chairman*: WW to EMH, telegram no. 14, *PWW*, 53:66.
- 426 *who might be appointed*: Bipartisan representation, the *Tribune* said, would ensure that the “Senate was not asked to approve a document of which its members know nothing” and that they were “not left out in the cold.” “America at the Peace Table,” *New York Tribune*, November 11, 1918, 8.
- 427 “*presented*”: U.S. Const., art. I, sec. 7, cl. 2–3.
- 427 *parchment*: This remains the custom today, except in extraordinary cases. *Jefferson’s Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, H.R. Doc. No. 110–162, § 573, 301 (2009), provides that “When a bill has passed both Houses of Congress, the House last acting on it notifies its passage to the other, and delivers the bill to the joint committee of enrollment, who see that it is truly enrolled in parchment.” Despite the rapid development of technology throughout the 20th century, the presentment clause was not definitively interpreted to allow the use of electronic facsimiles until the second decade of the 21st century. “Whether Bills May Be Presented by Congress and Returned by the President by Electronic Means,” Memorandum Opinion for the Counsel to the President, May 3, 2011, 35 Op. O.L.C., at 8–9 (2011).
- 427 *met with his cabinet*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 427 “*unwise*”: Robert Lansing, State Department memorandum, November 12, 1918, *PWW*, 53:65–66.
- 427 “*domestic affairs would suffer*”: Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: World Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 206.
- 427 “*Chief Executive abroad*”: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 427 *definitely leaving*: “Text of the Official Announcement of the President’s Plan to Go to Europe,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1918, 1. The CPI announcement indicated that Wilson would not participate in the formal peace

- conference itself or serve as a delegate on the U.S. Peace Commission, but that he would participate only in preliminary discussions concerning the “greater outlines” of the eventual treaty before returning to the United States.
- 428 “*who will be in charge*”: “President Going to Europe for Peace Preliminaries,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1918, 1.
- 428 “*organ of Wilsonianism*”: “The Ebb Tide,” *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1918, 8.
- 428 “*lengthy critique*”: “Wilson Faces Crisis in His Leadership,” *New York Post*, November 25, 1918, 1.
- 428 “*practically demanding*”: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 428 “*practically unanimous*”: EMH to WW, November 14, 1918, *PWW*, 53:71.
- 428 “*two to one*”: “On Wilson at the Peace Table the ‘Noes’ Have It,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1918, 1.
- 429 “*Just destroy*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, November 27, 1918, reel 210, ##60307, image 912, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, November 27, 1918, *ibid.*, ##60308–09, images 914–915.
- 429 “*what shall we say*”: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 2, 1918), 13.
- 429 “*I welcome this occasion*”: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 2, 1918), 15.
- 429 “*cool reception*”: “Address Fails to Stir,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1.
- 430 “*pick up the phone*”: “Wilson Guards His Speech,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1918, 1.
- 430 “*Bitter resentment*”: “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 1; “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*, December 4, 1918, 1.
- 430 “*Senate observers*”: “Would Vacate Wilson’s Office,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1; “Wilson Guards His Speech,” *New York Times*; “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*.
- 430 “*executive sabotage*”: “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*.
- 430 “*Republican defenders*”: “Taft Defends Wilson’s Trip as Essential,” *St. Louis Star*, December 5, 1918, 1; WW to James R. Mann, December 3, 1918, *PWW*, 53:308 and n1.
- 430 “*Marshall as president*”: The Senate debated but did not adopt a resolution offered by Senator Lawrence Sherman of Illinois declaring Wilson’s purposeful long absence from the country while Congress was in session an “inability to discharge the powers and duties” of the presidency within the meaning of the Constitution and the Presidential Succession Act. 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3d Sess. (December 3, 1918), 23, 24–31; “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*; “Would Vacate Wilson’s Office,” *New York Times*.
- 430 “*No one in America*”: EMH Diary, October 13, 1918, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 5:307.