

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 35. 'The Apex of My Glory'

PAGE

- 431 *honeymoon*: "Bridal Pair Is Hidden," *Washington Post*, November 27, 1913, 1.
- 431 *troop transport*: Albert Gleaves, *A History of the Transport Service: Adventures and Experiences of United States Transports and Cruisers in the World War* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921), 93–101, 240–46, 264, 294. The passenger capacity was 2,700, the highest of any U.S.-registered ship.
- 431 "*pleasantest voyages*": WW, epigraph, *The Hatchet of the U.S.S. George Washington* (New York: J.J. Little & Ives Co., 1919).
- 431 *Husband and wife ... a thousand*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 172–75; "Nation Awaits Peace Plan," *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 1.
- 432 *Louis Seres*: "Wilson Sails Tomorrow," *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1; "Louis G. Seres, Chef to President Wilson," *New York Times*, November 27, 1948, 17; Stephen T. Moskey, "The Pilgrim's Passage," *White House History Quarterly*, no. 51 (Fall 2018), 39–53, at 47.
- 432 *three-hour nap ... "undisturbed"*: EBW, *My Memoir*, 173.
- 432 *frequently slept in*: Daily logs, December 4–13, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP. Even so, Edith would claim years later that the president "worked every morning." EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 432 "*guests to lunch*": EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 432 "*Fourteen Specific Articles*": "Fourteen Points Urged for Race," *Washington Star*, December 7, 1918, 10; John R. Hawkins, "What Does the Negro Want: Fourteen Articles Setting Forth What the American Negro Expects after Helping to Win the War for Democracy," pamphlet (Washington, DC: NAACP, 1918), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
- 432 *Democracy Congress*: "City Briefs," *Washington Post*, December 17, 1918, 8.
- 432 *southern-born educator*: Hawkins also served as chief financial officer of Washington, DC's African Methodist Episcopal Church, the head of its Department of Education, and editor of its *Centennial Encyclopedia*. "History of John R. Hawkins," [thejohnrhawkins.org/about-us](http://thejohnrhawkins.org/about-us).
- 432 *observer*: "Race Congress Appoints Peace Meeting Delegates," *Washington Herald*, December 4, 1918, 3; "Names Delegates to Paris," *Washington Star*, December 4, 1918, 19.
- 432 "*What does the Negro want?*": "Fourteen Points Urged for Race," *Washington Star*
- 433 *quickly lost touch*: An indication of the extreme time lag for communications with Wilson is a letter from Jeannette Rankin, written a few days before the president left Washington. It was not stamped "received" until more than a month later, on January 9. Wilson may never have seen her request for him to speak "in this last hour" with the "many doubting Members" on the Anthony Amendment, as he did not reply. Jeannette Rankin to WW, December 8, 1918, reel 210, #60313, image 920, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 433 *Fosdick ... "went on with his story"*: Raymond Blaine Fosdick Diary, December 8, 1918, PWW, 53:340–41. Fosdick later became president of the Rockefeller Foundation. "Raymond B. Fosdick Dies at 89," *New York Times*, July 19, 1972, 41. On his return voyage to Washington, Wilson frequently entertained the members of the ship's crew with "stories in negro dialect." "Mrs. Wilson Says Trip to Europe Was 'Lots of Fun'," *Boston Globe*, February 26, 1919, 2.
- 433 "*determine this question*": JPT, "Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920," memorandum to WW, November 9, 1918, PWW, 53:23.
- 433 "*profound convictions*": John K. Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, PWW, 48:427.

- 433 “disposed to vote”: Richard I. Manning to WW, October 14, 1918, *PWW*, 51:337. Pollock had assured NWP representatives in South Carolina that he would support the Anthony Amendment. *SWP*, 330, 404; “Another Suffrage Vote,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 41 (November 2, 1918), 7.
- 434 *twenty-five years*: Elna C. Green, “Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–189, at 179.
- 434 “intimate friends”: “Colonel Ewing, Publisher, Dead,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1931, 27. He is not to be confused with Judge Robert Ewing of Nashville, TN, Ellen Wilson’s cousin who featured in the 1912 *Harper’s Weekly* drama. EAW to Robert Ewing, January 12, 1912, *PWW*, 24:40; “Editors’ Break With Wilson Is Explained,” *Nashville Banner*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 434 *Ewing was instrumental*: “Robert Ewing Dies Suddenly,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 28, 1931, 1; “Robert Ewing,” *Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*, Carl A. Brasseaux and James D. Wilson, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association, 1999).
- 434 “You know Senator Gay”: WW to Robert Ewing, December 2, 1918, *PWW*, 53:287.
- 434 *state constitutional amendment*: B.H. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 303.
- 434 “concise way of expressing”: Kate Gordon to Laura Clay, December 3, 1908, Laura Clay Papers, 1906-1920, box 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Libraries.
- 434 *lost narrowly*: Report of the Secretary of State to His Excellency the Governor of Louisiana, January 1, 1919 (Baton Rouge, 1919), 275; “Republicans Get House; Senate Doubtful,” (*Alexandria, LA*)*Weekly Town Talk*, November 9, 1918, 1; “New Orleans Kills Woman Suffrage,” *New Iberia (LA) Enterprise*, November 9, 1918, 3.
- 434 “white female”: B. H. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 296.
- 435 “pull its teeth out”: Kate Gordon to Laura Clay, November 13, 1918, Laura Clay Papers, Special Collections, University of Kentucky Library.
- 435 *remained a member*: Despite occasional ruptures in the relationship, both Gordon sisters were life members of NAWSA. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” 289–306, at 304 and n61; Kenneth Johnson, “Kate Gordon and the Woman-Suffrage Movement in the South,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 38, no. 3 (August 1972), 365–392, at 391.
- 435 “entirely out”: *HWS*, 6:224.
- 435 *Harper dutifully reported ... “save the situation”*: Ida Husted Harper to Kate Gordon, November 18, 1918, Laura Clay Papers, 1906-1920, box 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Libraries.
- 436 “looked very fit”: “President Wilson Welcomed at Brest,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1918, 1.
- 436 “a real holiday”: EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 436 “All these movies”: Michael Sragow, *Victor Fleming: An American Movie Master* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 66–74.
- 436 “go to Paris”: George Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 152, 156.
- 436 “why George Creel”: “Wilson Faces Crisis in His Leadership,” *New York Evening Post*, November 25, 1918, 1.
- 436 *planned Wilson visits*: Sragow, *Victor Fleming*, 66–67 and n71.
- 436 *Wilson’s tour*: Daily logs, December 14-29, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915-1924, WWP; “Wilson Fete Outdoes Armistice Night,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1918, 2; “Paris Welcomes Wilson,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1918, 1; “Wilson Sorbonne Guest,” *New York Times*, December 22, 1918, 1.
- 437 *touring the palace*: “President Wilson Makes Visit to Versailles; Makes Arrangements to Play Golf as Often as Time Will Permit During Peace Conference,” *Deseret News*, December 17, 1918, 1; “President Breaks Two Precedents,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 1.
- 437 *Trotter arrived ... Wells-Barnett*: “Colored Men Choose Peace Table Envoys,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, December 17, 1918, 5; “Appoints 11 to Versailles,” *Washington Post*, December 20, 1918, 5; “Boston Delegates to Big Colored Congress Return,” *Boston Globe*, December 22, 1918, 6; “Colored Peace Envoys,” *The (St. Paul, MN) Appeal*, December 28, 1918, 2; Kerri K. Greenidge, *Black Radical: The Life and Times of William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Liveright, 2020), 261-62.

- 437 *under surveillance*: Theodore Kornweible, Jr., *Investigate Everything: Federal Efforts to Ensure Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 50, 60, 270–71; A’Lelia Bundles, *On Her Own Ground: The Life and Times of Madam C. J. Walker* (New York: Scribner, 2002), 264.
- 437 *State Department denied*: Greenidge, *Black Radical*, 263.
- 437 *“immediate threat”*: Act of May 22, 1918, 40 Stat. 559, chap. 81.
- 437 *executive order*: Executive Order 2932 (August 8, 1918), reprinted in 12 *American Journal of International Law*, Supp. (1918), 331–43; Presidential Proclamation No. 65, 40 Stat. 1829 (1918).
- 437 *refused passports*: Jeffrey D. Kahn, “International Travel and the Constitution,” 56 *UCLA L. Rev.* 271 (2008), at 313–14. To evade these restrictions, Trotter shaved his trademark mustache and traveled to France disguised as a ship’s cook using a laborer’s passport under a false name. Even so, he did not arrive in time for the conclusion of the peace agreement. Greenidge, *Black Radical*, 265–66. The Wilson administration did issue passports to the NAACP’s W. E. B. Du Bois and Robert Russa Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington as president of the Tuskegee Institute, to attend the second Pan-African Congress that was taking place in Paris alongside the peace conference. *Black Radical*, 262.
- 437 *summarily revoked . . . “embarrassed”*: Clara Wold, “Making Paris Safe for the President,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 6–7.
- 438 *three hundred . . . “this old fight”*: Kate Heffelfinger, “The Demonstration,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 49 (December 28, 1918), 5; “Wilson’s Words Are Burned by Suffragists,” *New York Tribune*, December 17, 1918, 7; “Burn Wilson’s Messages,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 12.
- 438 *“how hollow”*: “Women Burn Wilson Book and Speeches,” *Minneapolis Journal*, December 17, 1918, 14.
- 438 *another suffrage story*: “All Voters in Britain—Equal Suffrage Is Established,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1918, 1.
- 438 *England*: Representation of the People Act, February 6, 1918, 8 Geo. 5 chap. 64 (Eng.). The law enfranchised women over 30, subject to certain other requirements.
- 438 *Australia*: Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 (Cth) no. 8 (Austl.).
- 438 *New Zealand*: Electoral Act of 1893, 57 Vict., no. 8 (N.Z.). New Zealand was the first democracy in the world to grant women’s suffrage on a national basis.
- 438 *Canada*: An Act to Confer the Electoral Franchise upon Women, S.C. 1918, c. 20 (Can.). Uruguay was also cited by suffragists at the time as having granted women’s suffrage in 1918. But while Article 10 of the 1918 Constitution made explicit provision for women’s right to vote, it specifically required implementation by statute, which did not occur until 1932. Andrea Scoseria Katz, “*La Suiza de América*: Direct Democracy, Anti-presidentialism, and Constitutional Entrenchment in Uruguay’s Constitution of 1918,” *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 19, no. 3 (July 2021), 997–1019, at 1008n46.
- 438 *more than twenty*: Prior to 1919 limited or full voting rights were granted to women in Sweden (1734, expanded 1862, 1918); Tuscany (1848); Denmark (1898, expanded 1908, 1915); Latvia (1905, 1917); Finland (1906); Norway (1913); Belarusian People’s Republic, Estonia, Russian Republic, Ukrainian People’s Republic, and Crimean People’s Republic (all 1917); Netherlands, Democratic Republic of Georgia, Austria, Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, Germany, Hungarian Republic, Poland, Serbia (province of Banat, Bačka and Baranja), Russian SFSR, and Kirghiz SSR (all 1918).
- 438 *shopping with Edith*: Daily log, December 24, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 438 *every bit as regal*: “London Gives Wilson Surpassing Popular Welcome,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1918, 1; “Wilson Explains Plans,” *Boston Globe*, December 27, 1918, 1; Cary T. Grayson, *Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), 62–63.
- 439 *page-one headline*: “Like A King Is Wilson—First Commoner to Use Regal Suite,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 1918, 1. The article noted that the disgraced Kaiser Wilhelm—Queen Victoria’s grandson and the first cousin of England’s current sovereign, King George V—had preceded Wilson as a guest in these same royal apartments shortly before the war.
- 439 *dined alone*: “President and King Have a Long Talk Alone,” *Boston Globe*, December 27, 1918, 2.
- 439 *had met once*: Wilson convened the meeting after prodding by a member of the group, who buttonholed the president in the ship’s movie theater. William C. Bullitt Diary, December 9 [10], 1918, *PWW*, 53:350.

- 439 *While in Paris*: Daily logs, December 14–29, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 439 *In England he conferred*: “President Closeted Five Hours with Lloyd George and Balfour,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1918, 1.
- 439 *Tumulty prodded*: JPT to WW, December 29, 1918, *PWW*, 53:542.
- 439 *continued to demonstrate*: “Burn Wilson’s Messages,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 12.
- 439 *visit the chapel*: “President Speaks in Carlisle Church,” *Washington Post*, December 30, 1918, 1.
- 439 *“Is there anything else?”*: WW to JPT, January 10, 1919, *PWW*, 53:711.
- 439 *crowds in Italy*: “Must Organize Friendship of World, President Tells Acclaiming Romans,” *New York Times*, January 4, 1919; “Brilliant First Day for Wilson in Rome,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 2; “Wilson Confers with Pope, Leaves Rome for Genoa,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 1; “Rome’s Demonstration Is Wilson’s Greatest,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 1919, 1; “The Visit of President Woodrow Wilson to Italy, January 3, 1919,” National Archives at College Park, MD, U.S. Department of Defense, Historical Films, Record Group 111: Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860–1985, reels 1 and 2; “Citizenship of Rome Conferred on Wilson,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 1919, 2.
- 440 *“apex of my glory”*: Grayson, *Intimate Memoir*, 66.
- 440 *“Paris to rest”*: “Italian Cities Give President Amazing Greeting,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1919, 1.
- 440 *“two-thirds of the time”*: Edith Benham Diary, January 12, 1919, *PWW*, 54:34.
- 440 *first two days*: “Allied Unity Marks Opening of the Peace Congress; Clemenceau Made Chairman,” *New York Times*, January 19, 1919, 1.
- 440 *roster of nations*: “Says Allies Won’t ‘Confer’ With Reds,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 3; “Letts State Terms for Conference,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1919, 2. Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and several other countries later joined the Paris conference as national representatives. But they would later join the United States in the category of non-signatories.
- 440 *considered resigning*: Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), 3, 87.
- 440 *“unwelcome”*: *Ibid.*, 87.
- 441 *he could present it*: “Printed Draft Presented,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1919, 1.
- 441 *immediate disagreements*: “League of Nations with Reservations,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, 1; “Wants Guarantees of France’s Safety,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1919, 2; Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002), 101–03.
- 441 *first week of February*: “Sign of Peace Conference Unity Seen in Lloyd George’s Decision to Go to London,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1919, 1; “Lloyd George Is Leaving Today; Orlando Going Back to Rome,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1919, 1.
- 441 *could not go*: “Wilson in Charge of Conference Work Where Big Issues Now Wait on League; Drops Belgian Trip to Complete Plan,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1919, 1.
- 441 *leave for home*: “French Ask World Army,” *New York Times*, February 12, 1919, 1.