

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

36. Sex, Race, and Paris

PAGE

- 442 *joint meeting*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 9, 1919), 3038–3046.
- 442 *“national ceremonies”*: “Nation Honors the Life Work of Col. Roosevelt,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 1; “Lodge Eulogy Stirs Congress,” *New York Sun*, February 10, 1919, 1.
- 442 *his own blueprint*: “Mr. Roosevelt’s Nobel Address on International Peace,” *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1910), 700–03, at 702; “Roosevelt Wants League of Peace,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1910, 4.
- 442 *“anything or nothing”*: Theodore Roosevelt, “The League of Nations,” *Metropolitan Magazine* (January 1919), in William Griffith, ed., *Newer Roosevelt Messages*, vol. 3 (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1919), 1046–51, at 1046–47. In private correspondence with Rudyard Kipling he was more direct: Wilson’s ideas for the League were “a sloppy sea of universal mush.” Theodore Roosevelt to Rudyard Kipling, quoted in Peter Vansittart, ed., *Voices from the Great War* (London: Frankline Watts, 1984), 259.
- 442 *risen dramatically*: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 38.
- 443 *briefest of messages*: WW to John Sharp Williams, January 14, 1919, *PWW*, 54:56.
- 443 *“please rebuke me”*: WW to Williams, November 29, 1918, *PWW*, 53:244.
- 443 *stood pat*: Williams to WW, January 15, 1919, *PWW*, 54:90.
- 443 *Daniels cabled*: Josephus Daniels to WW, January 26, 1919, *PWW*, 54:281.
- 443 *terse sentences*: WW to Trammell, January 27, 1919, *PWW*, 54:302.
- 443 *fell short*: Wilson had previously sent a brief cable to Trammell on January 14, the same day he wrote Williams. *PWW*, 54:56. Neither that nor Wilson’s two sentences on January 27 changed Trammell’s position.
- 443 *understood why*: Williams, like his other southern Democratic colleagues, remained opposed on racial grounds, as he repeatedly explained on the Senate floor. But choosing to avoid that fundamental objection in his cabled reply to Wilson, he blamed the NWP demonstrations at Lafayette Square for his opposition—as if denying voting rights to the women of Mississippi were a logical way to punish the protestors in Washington with whom he was upset. John Sharp Williams to WW, January 15, 1919, *PWW*, 54:90.
- 443 *“force action”*: JPT to WW, February 4 [3], 1919, *PWW*, 54:471.
- 443 *a week’s notice*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 3, 1919), 2591 (remarks of Sen. Jones).
- 443 *“do not fail us”*: JPT to WW, telegram no. 37, February 7, 1919, *PWW*, 54:555 (Tumulty’s emphasis).
- 443 *“strong letter”* ... *“main defender”*: JPT to WW, February 6, 1919, *PWW*, 54:519.
- 444 *“on the fence”*: JPT to WW, telegram no. 42, February 8 [7], 1919, *PWW*, 54:555.
- 444 *already said no*: WW to JPT, January 25, 1919, *PWW*, 54:274.
- 444 *“real possibility”* ... *two telegrams*: JPT to WW, telegram no. 37, February 7, 1919, and JPT to WW, telegram no. 42, February 8 [7], 1919, both *PWW*, 54:555.
- 444 *“pardon me”*: WW to Lee Slater Overman, February 9, 1919, *PWW*, 55:37.
- 444 *over two hours*: “Balk Democratic Test on Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, 1.
- 445 *Pollock ... endorsement*: Ibid.; “Bourbons Dodge Suffrage Vote,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February 6, 1919, 4; *HWS*, 5:565–66; “Democrats Have Trouble,” (*Waterloo, IA*) *Evening Courier and Reporter*, February 10, 1919, 4.

- 445 *one vote shy*: “Suffs Shy One Vote in Senate,” *Washington Herald*, February 9, 1919, 4; “Suffrage Needs One Vote,” *Kansas City Star*, February 9, 1919, 3; “Suffrage Before Senate Tomorrow,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 9, 1919, 3.
- 445 *more than forty ... Police Court*: “Suffragists Burn Wilson in Effigy; Many Locked Up,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 1; “Sixty-Five Women Held for Burning Wilson in Effigy,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1919, 2.
- 445 *statutory authority*: D. M. Corrigan, “Military Police Authority Over Civilians—They Look Like Police, They Act Like Police, But Are They the Police?” (MMAS thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1978), *passim*.
- 445 *voted “no” the last time*: The seven were Saulsbury and Wolcott of Delaware; Smith of Maryland; Reed of Missouri; Hitchcock of Nebraska; Pomerene of Ohio; and King of Utah. The latter was paired against. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987.
- 445 *Pollock rose ... “any race question”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3052–55 (remarks of Sen. Pollock on H.J. Res. 200).
- 446 *keep them apart*: “Senate Again Beats Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 11, 1919, 1.
- 446 *prickly response*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3052–55 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 447 *“great speech”*: FDL, images 272, 274, MS 259, 261.
- 447 *speech in full*: “Senator Pollock’s Idea of State Rights,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 42 (March 15, 1919), 868.
- 448 *considerable length*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3056–60 (remarks of Sen. Frelinghuysen).
- 448 *“friendly influence”*: WW to Robert Ewing, December 2, 1918, PWW, 53:287.
- 448 *“still optimistic”*: “Women Not Discouraged by Attitude of Senator Gay,” *Bogalusa Enterprise and American*, January 2, 1919, 3; “Louisiana Branch Holds Suffrage Conference,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 5.
- 448 *“I favor”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3061 (remarks of Sen. Gay on H.J. Res. 200); “Senate Again Beats Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 11, 1919, 1.
- 448 *eleven southern Democrats*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3062 (roll call on H. J. Res. 200). See Appendix 4 for the partisan breakdown of the vote.
- 448 *Tuesday in Paris*: JPT to WW, February 11, 1919, PWW, 55:94.
- 448 *the Official Bulletin*: “Proceedings of the Congress of the United States Briefly Told,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 535, February 11, 1919, 5.
- 449 *floated an idea*: “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *Shreveport Times*, February 12, 1919, 2; “News Nubs for Hasty Reading: Louisiana,” *Bossier (LA) Banner*, February 13, 1919, 1; “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *(Monroe, LA) Weekly News-Star*, February 13, 1919, 1.
- 449 *“to the hilt”*: Interview with Harry Gamble Jr., item 19, side A, July 28, 1988 (New Orleans: Tulane University, Amistad Research Center). In this interview, Gamble Jr. speaks of his father, who served as assistant attorney general in the administration of Louisiana Governor Ruffin G. Pleasant.
- 449 *“Open Letter”*: Harry Gamble, “An Open Letter to U.S. Senator Ransdell Opposing the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” January 26, 1918, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Women’s Suffrage and Equal Rights Collection, box 3, folder 16; “Senatorial Bee Buzzes Around Harry J. Gamble,” *Shreveport Times*, February 3, 1918, 1; Elna C. Green, “The Rest of the Story: 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 182–83.
- 449 *“happy time”*: “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *Shreveport Times*, February 12, 1919, 2.
- 449 *“instantly accept”*: *Ibid*.
- 449 *“double-headed articles” ... “mass meeting”*: Florence Murphy Cooley to JPT, February 17, 1919, reel 210, #60324, image 934, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 449 *two dozen veterans ... unanimously*: “Suffragists Off in ‘Prison Special,’” *New York Times*, February 16, 1919, 16; “Charleston Crowds Hear Suffragettes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 17, 1919, 10; “Columbia Suffragists Will Not Hear Members of Woman’s Party Speak,” *Columbia Record*, February 17, 1919, 5; Julius Cahn, *Julius Cahn’s Official Theatrical Guide*, vol. 3 (New York: Empire Theater Publication Office, 1898), 620. This contemporary theatrical guide lists the capacity of Charleston’s Owens Academy of Music at 1,400.
- 450 “30 years”: “Democracy Drowned in the Senate,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 38 (February 15, 1919), 777–78.
- 450 *editorial comments*: “The Democrats’ Blunder,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 41 (March 8, 1919), 837–38.
- 450 *parade*: JPT to WW, February 11, 1919, *PWW*, 55:94; JPT to Cary T. Grayson, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:218; WW to JPT, February 21, 1919, *PWW*, 55:222.
- 450 “Democratic city”: “Wilson to Lead Big Parade and Make a Speech,” *New York Sun*, February 24, 1919, 1.
- 450 *friendly crowd*: Newton D. Baker to WW, January 1, 1919, *PWW*, 53:580–81; JPT to WW, January 6, 1919, *PWW*, 53:625–26; EMH Diary, February 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:193–94; James J. Kenneally, “‘I Want to Go to Jail’: The Woman’s Party Reception for President Wilson in Boston, 1919,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Winter 2017), 102–133, at 106.
- 451 *for the first time*: Hankey’s Notes of a Meeting of the Council of Ten, January 22, 1919, *PWW*, 54:204.
- 451 *paid little attention ... “against racial prejudice”*: Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 1998), 16–17 and n19.
- 451 *getting time with Wilson*: Ibid., 17.
- 451 “I took occasion”: Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, vol. 4 (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1928), 320–21.
- 451 “amour-propre”: Ibid., 323.
- 452 *drafted a proposal ... abandoned the idea*: Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 17–21 and n33. Wilson’s unwillingness to devote serious time to the proposal reflected, as historian Mary Renda put it in connection with Wilson’s military interventions in Mexico and Haiti, the fact that he shared “basic assumptions about white racial superiority with European imperialists.” Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 113.
- 452 *new language ... “not proposed”*: Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 20.
- 452 “absurdly mild”: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, March 8, 1919, *PWW*, 55:463.
- 453 *Times had already warned*: “Delays May Force Wilson to Sail Without League Plans,” *New York Times*, February 12, 1918, 1.
- 453 *The same day ... unanimous*: “Draft to Conference Today,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1919, 1; Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 21 and n46.
- 453 *foundational principle*: The insult to Japanese national pride provoked widespread public hostility to Wilson in Japan, “exposing the hypocrisy and emptiness of Wilson’s slogans on the equality of nations.” Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 182.