

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

#### 38. ‘This Tardy Act of Justice’

PAGE

- 465 *already at sea*: “Wilson Takes Quick Route,” *New York Times*, March 6, 1919, 1.
- 465 *“will not come back”*: WW, Address at the Metropolitan Opera House, March 4, 1919, *PWW*, 55:413.
- 465 *new Senate majority*: “52 Senators Lined Up Against League Plan,” *New York Herald*, March 5, 1919, 3.
- 465 *“certain amendments”*: Gilbert M. Hitchcock to WW, March 4, 1919, *PWW*, 55:437.
- 466 *same answer*: “Criticisms of the ‘Covenant,’” *The Advocate of Peace*, vol. 81, no. 7 (July 1919), 204–06.
- 466 *“no constructive suggestion”*: WW, Address at the Metropolitan Opera House.
- 466 *more seriously*: “Wilson Ready to Compromise With Senate?,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1919, 1. In fact, Wilson’s initial reaction to Hitchcock’s warnings was to seek a way to bypass the Senate altogether. Kurt Wimer, “Woodrow Wilson’s Plan to Enter the League of Nations through an Executive Agreement,” *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4 (December 1958), 800–12; Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002), 163.
- 466 *“spacious philanthropy”*: Winston Churchill, *The Aftermath* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1929), 94.
- 466 *“ignorance”*: WW, Address at the Metropolitan Opera House, *PWW*, 55:415, 418.
- 466 *“gentle knight”*: Norman L. Zucker, *George W. Norris: Gentle Knight of American Democracy* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1966), xii.
- 466 *Norris responded*: “Norris Is Lined Up As Against League,” *Nebraska State Journal*, March 12, 1919, 2.
- 467 *half a year*: Henry B. Hogue, *Recess Appointments: Frequently Asked Questions*, CRS Report RS21308 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2015), 1 and n3.
- 467 *“no necessity”*: WW to JPT, February 21, 1919, *PWW*, 55:222.
- 467 *“under no circumstances”*: “President Not to Call Extra Session of Congress Until He Returns from Europe, He Tells Senators,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1919, 1. Even on the subject of promptly returning the nation to a peacetime footing, Wilson would have faced a battle royal with the Republican Congress had he attempted to push through his favored approach of vast nationalization. Writing to Stockton Axson shortly before losing both houses of Congress in the 1918 midterm election, he confided that his vision of the postwar world was one in which the government would “take over ... all the water power, all the coal mines, all the oil fields. They will have to be government owned.” It was, he said, “the only way we can prevent communism.” WW to Stockton Axson, June 30, 1918, *LL*, 8:241–42.
- 468 *“against all precedent”*: “The Special Session,” *Hartford Courant*, March 3, 1919, 12.
- 468 *source of mischief*: The 20th Amendment was ratified on January 23, 1933. By moving the start of each new Congress eleven months earlier, to January 3, and ending the terms of the president and vice president on January 20 instead of March 4, it slashed the “lame duck” periods for both the executive and legislative branches. A further result was that only a newly elected House of Representatives—not members defeated in the last election—could decide a contested presidential election in the case of an electoral college deadlock, or in the case of no candidate receiving a majority of electoral votes. Edward J. Larson, “The Constitutionality of Lame-Duck Lawmaking: The Text, History, Intent, and Original Meaning of the Twentieth Amendment,” *Utah Law Review*, vol. 2012, no. 2, 707 (2012).
- 468 *Rankin rose*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 4, 1919), 5079 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 469 *not fully well*: Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 186–95, 198–99.
- 469 *Mann’s advice*: “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*, December 4, 1918, 1.

- 469 *defense of the League*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 11, 1919), 3151 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 469 *extraordinary step*: Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival*, 192–94.
- 469 *heels of his defeat*: Ibid., 194–99.
- 470 *needle-like stabs*: Ibid., 185.
- 470 *cause of his symptoms*: Ibid.
- 470 *three years*: “Congressman Mann Dies; GOP Leader Sudden Victim of Pneumonia,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 1, 1922, 1; “James R. Mann Dies in Washington Home After Week’s Illness, Ending in Pneumonia,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1922, 1.
- 470 *family tragedy*: “Kept Out of War, J. R. Mann’s Son Kills Himself,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1918, 13.
- 470 *“supreme legislative effort”*: “Hays Supports Mann Opponents,” *New York Times*, April 2, 1919, 3.
- 470 *“immediate favorable report”*: “Membership of Suffrage Committee in the New House; Representative Mann Chosen Chairman,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 14 (April 5, 1919), 5.
- 471 *first quarter ... “criminally wasted”*: “A Special Session Immediately,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 6; “The Present Responsibility,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 16 (April 23, 1919), 4.
- 471 *demonstrated in New York ... police station*: “Suffragists Protest at President’s Meeting in New York,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 4–5; “Suffs Fight In Street to Burn Wilson Speech,” *New York Sun*, March 5, 1919, 1; “Six Suffragettes Put Under Arrest,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1919, 1.
- 471 *each passing week*: Caroline Katzenstein to WW, March 21, 1919, reel 210, #60343, image 953, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 471 *“CANNOT proceed”*: “A Special Session Immediately,” *The Suffragist*.
- 471 *“speedily call”*: “A Special Session for Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 6.
- 471 *“For once at least”*: “In Accord With Popular Opinion,” *Burlington (VT) Enterprise*, March 13, 1919, reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 16 (April 23, 1919), 10.
- 471 *“right quarter”*: “The Demand for An Extra Session of Congress,” *Hartford Post*, March 15, 1919, reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 16 (April 23, 1919), 8.
- 471 *“essential to America’s business”*: “Declares Wilson Should Come Home,” *New York Times*, April 30, 1919, 8; “Decide Not to Ask Wilson to Return,” *New York World*, May 2, 1919, 31.
- 472 *dry up by May*: “Bankers Agree to Finance Roads for Another Month,” *New York Tribune*, April 12, 1919, 16.
- 472 *up in arms*: “Imports of Liquor Still to Continue,” *New York Sun*, April 14, 1919, 4.
- 472 *prioritized the League*: JPT to WW, March 13, 1919, *PWW*, 55:493; JPT to WW, March 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:500; WW to JPT, March 15, 1919, *PWW*, 55:532; EMH Diary, March 14, 1919, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 6:95, 97; “Wilson Will Force League Plan,” *New York Sun*, March 16, 1919, 1.
- 472 *“All to do over”*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 248.
- 472 *“integral part”*: “League of Nations Covenant to be Integral Part of the Peace Treaty, President States,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 563, March 17, 1919, 2.
- 472 *“at all hours”*: David Lloyd George, Eulogy to Woodrow Wilson, in “The Death of Woodrow Wilson,” *Current History*, vol. 19, no. 6 (March 1924), 887–895, at 894.
- 472 *At home*: “Call Upon Wilson to Convene Senate,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1919, 2; “Big Four Deadlocked in Paris,” *New York Times*, March 31, 1919, 1.
- 472 *worse note*: “Big Four in Bad Tangle,” *New York Times*, April 4, 1919, 1; “Severe Cold Confines Wilson to Bed,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1919, 1; “President Escapes Influenza Attack,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1919, 2; EBW, *My Memoir*, 248–49.
- 472 *considered going home*: “Wilson’s Ship Starts for Brest April 11,” *New York Tribune*, April 9, 1919, 1.
- 472 *“impatience and petulance”*: The White House secretary was careful to route the criticism through the president’s physician, Admiral Cary T. Grayson, who could be trusted to soften the message. JPT to Cary T. Grayson, April 9, 1919, *PWW*, 57:177.
- 473 *“any necessary sacrifice”*: JPT to WW, April 9, 1919, *PWW*, 57:188.

- 473 *another attempt ... for good*: Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 1998), 27–33.
- 473 *“will not be convened”*: “Congress Not to Meet Until May 19, Is Belief,” *New York Tribune*, April 17, 1919, 4.
- 473 *“might be called”*: “The Stock Market,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 6, 1919, 4; “May Call Extra Session Before June 1,” *ibid.*, 7.
- 473 *“VERY URGENT”*: Carter Glass to WW, March 15, 1919, *PWW*, 55:537; WW to Glass, March 18, 1919, *PWW*, 56:83.
- 474 *“end of its tether” ... “both parties”*: “Congress Called by President to Meet May 19,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1919, 1; “Explains Extra Session,” *ibid.*, 3.
- 474 *Wilson sent a cable*: WW to JPT, May 7, 1919, *PWW*, 58:531.
- 474 *“against his will”*: “Unfinished Business,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 1919, 1.
- 474 *“friends were scarcer”*: “The New Republican Chairmanships and Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 7.
- 474 *NAWSA praised him*: *HWS*, 6:428.
- 475 *privilege of introducing*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1919), 24.
- 475 *The following morning*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 20, 1919), 67.
- 475 *Jim Crow opponent*: “He Speaks for Phil Campbell,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 25, 1910, 3; “Philip Pitt Campbell,” biographical entry, *Kansapedia* (Topeka: Kansas Historical Society, 2022).
- 475 *eighteen House committees*: “The New Republican Chairmanships and Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 11 (March 15, 1919), 7.
- 475 *second day*: “Already Reported Favorably by House Committee,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 20 (May 24, 1919), 5.
- 475 *third day*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 21, 1919), 78–94.
- 476 *“bigness”*: “The Size of the Victory,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 53 (May 31, 1919), 1149.
- 476 *“steamroller”*: “Suffrage Passed by 304–89 Vote in Lower Chamber,” *Washington Herald*, May 22, 1919, 1.
- 476 *little opposition remained*: Of 235 Republicans, 199 voted yes (84%); of 189 Democrats, 101 voted yes (53%). 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 21, 1919), 93–94 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1). See Appendix 5 for a detailed breakdown of the vote.
- 476 *“not a partisan question”*: *Ibid.*, 88 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 476 *underscored the point*: *Ibid.*, 87–88 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Missouri).
- 476 *“fought the good fight”*: *Ibid.*, 92–93 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 476 *special reason*: 74 Cong. Rec. pt. 4, 71st Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 9, 1931), 4408–09 (short biography of Rep. Anthony); “The University in National Affairs: Michigan Graduates in Washington,” *The Michigan Alumnus*, vol. 28 (September 14, 1922), 429–33, at 432; “Anthony, Daniel Read,” in *The American Blue Book of Biography* (Chicago: Men of Nineteen-Twelve, 1913), 22.
- 476 *“tardy act of justice” ... “will be approval”*: “Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Star*, May 21, 1919, 6.
- 476 *for years*: “Hughes and Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, August 2, 1916, 6.
- 476 *every other commentator*: “Senate Filibuster Holds Up Suffrage,” *New York Times*, May 27, 1919, 17; “Senators Puzzle Over Quickest Way to Reach Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1919, 13; “Will Ask Senate Vote on Suffrage Next Week,” *Washington Evening Star*, May 30, 1919, 14; “Important Congress Program,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 1919, 6; “Democrats by Filibustering Delay Suffrage,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1919, 14; “Suffrage May Pass Tuesday,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1919, 12.
- 477 *“shadow of doubt”*: “Women Assured Vote by Senator Curtis,” *Boston Globe*, April 21, 1919, 6; “Predict Suffrage Success,” *New York Times*, April 21, 1919, 19.
- 477 *sixty-six senators*: “Suffrage Majority Assured in Senate,” *New York Times*, May 23, 1919, 4. Shortly before final Senate approval of the Anthony Amendment, Wilson, still in Paris, met with a newly-elected senator who had recently made up his mind to vote for it. Wilson’s press secretary hastily arranged for the senator to speak with reporters in an effort to claim the president had personally won the one vote needed for Senate passage. But the *New York Times* reported no such statement from the senator attributing his decision to Wilson, while adding that suffrage advocates declared the additional vote “not necessary” since they had already received commitments from a two-thirds majority. The editors of the *Papers of Woodrow Wilson* were likewise unable to find any such

- statement. WW to JPT, May 13, 1919, *PWW*, 59:120 and n1; Cary T. Grayson Diary, May 8, 1919, *PWW*, 58:535; JPT to Cary T. Grayson, May 9, 1919, *PWW*, 58:606; “Georgia Senator to Swing Suffrage,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1919, 7.
- 477 *changes in chairmanships*: 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 28, 1919), 326 (listing chairs of Senate committees). There was one especially notable exception: Anthony Amendment opponent Thomas Martin, Democrat of Virginia, who chaired the majority Democratic Caucus in the 65th Congress, was replaced in the 66th Congress by Senate Majority Leader and Republican Conference Chairman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, one of nine Republicans who were also opposed.
- 477 *supporter of many years*: “Suffragists Given Rousing Welcome,” *Des Moines Register*, October 31, 1915, 6.
- 477 *Indiana’s James Watson*: “Senate Filibuster Holds Up Suffrage,” *New York Times*, May 27, 1919, 17. The purpose of the filibuster was to block the motion to proceed—the key procedural step in bringing House Joint Resolution 1 to the Senate floor. The filibuster was carried on by two southern Democrats, Michael H. Smith of Georgia and Oscar Underwood of Alabama, joined by New York Republican James W. Wadsworth. Eventually, the motion was approved by unanimous consent. 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 3, 1919), 556.
- 477 *“action and not speech”*: *Ibid.*, 557 (remarks of Sen. Watson).
- 477 *“white citizens”*: *Ibid.* (amendment offered by Sen. Harrison).
- 477 *“a mistake”*: *Ibid.*, 563 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 477 *“half of that race”*: *Ibid.* (June 4, 1919), 618 (remarks of Sen. Smith).
- 477 *“nobody intends”*: *Ibid.* (June 3, 1919), 561–63 (remarks of Sen. Borah).
- 477 *“well-known fact”*: *Ibid.*, 634 (remarks of Sen. Gay).
- 478 *77 percent*: *Ibid.*, 634 (roll call on Gay amendment).
- 478 *two-thirds plus two*: *Ibid.*, 635 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1).
- 478 *cheers and wild applause*: “Galleries Cheer As Vote of 56 to 25 Is Announced at Close of Long Debate,” *Washington Herald*, June 5, 1919, 1; “Suffrage Is Winner,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1919, 1; “Suffrage Wins in U.S. Senate,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 5, 1919, 1. Immediately following the Senate vote on June 5, signing ceremonies prearranged by NAWSA’s Helen Hamilton Gardener took place in the Capitol. First, on the House side, Speaker Gillett signed the joint resolution, with a small group that included Gardener and Maud Wood Park standing beside him. That same afternoon, across the Rotunda, Vice President Thomas Marshall signed the Anthony Amendment in his capacity as president of the Senate. For both ceremonies, Gardener’s handpicked guest list excluded any NWP members. “Speaker Gillett Signs Woman Suffrage Amendment Immediately After Its Passage by the Senate,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 5, 1919, 2; “Marshall Signs Suffrage Measure,” *New York Herald*, June 6, 1919, 9; Kimberly A. Hamlin, *Free Thinker: Sex, Suffrage, and the Extraordinary Life of Helen Hamilton Gardener* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2020), 275-77.