## WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

## Extended Notes

## 39. 'The Last Thing to Be Brought About'

**PAGE** 

- 479 most important event: Frank Newport, David W. Moore, and Lydia Saad, "The Most Important Events of the Century From the Viewpoint of the People," *Gallup News Service*, December 6, 1999.
- 479 jumble of cables ... revolt in the Senate: "Four Telegrams from Joseph Patrick Tumulty," June 5[4], 1919, PWW, 60:155.
- 479 June 7: "Senate Demands Treaty, Votes Inquiry," New York Times, June 7, 1919, 1; "Borah to Bare Text of Treaty," New York Herald, June 5, 1919, 1.
- 480 bipartisan vote: The senators were further antagonized when they learned that Wilson had cabled Tumulty with specific instructions to prevent the Senate from seeing the document. "Peace Treaty Made Public by Senate After Warm Debate," New York Times, June 10, 1919, 1.
- 480 tentative schedule: JPT to WW, June 28, 1919, PWW, 61:350; Wilson to Begin Tour Early in July," New York Times, June 18, 1919, 1. Although he would extend his brief stay in Washington slightly, remaining through Labor Day, during that time he continued to prioritize the treaty and the League of Nations to the near exclusion of all other public business.
- 480 "earliest opportunity": WW, Address to the Senate, July 10, 1919, PWW, 61:426.
- 481 "first time": "Ovation to the President," New York Times, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 "ripple of laughter": "President Treats of Pact From Many Angles in General Terms," New York Sun, July 11, 1919. 1.
- 481 "no spontaneous applause": "Wilson Tells Congress League Alone Can Ensure World Peace," Washington Post, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 "generalities": "Senate Is Not Satisfied With Treaty Speech," New York Sun, July 11, 1919, 1.
- 481 "hand of God": WW, Address to the Senate, July 10, 1919, PWW, 61:426.
- 481 presidential attention: "America was anything but totally engrossed in the dream of its president," given the "many other immensely difficult problems that demanded attention." Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, Woodrow Wilson: A Life for World Peace, trans. Herbert H. Rowen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 375.
- 481 *epidemic of lynchings*: Douglas O. Linder, "Lynching Statistics by Year" (summary of data from Tuskegee Institute archives), University of Missouri–Kansas City School of Law, https://famous-trials.com/sheriffshipp/1084-lynchingsyear.
- 481 Each of them: Cameron McWhirter, Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2012), 1–11, 41, 51–52, 73, 82–85, 90–92, 125–29, 174–77, 183, 194–200, 207, 211–13, 234, 241–45; Peter Perl, "Nation's Capital Held at Mercy of the Mob," Washington Post, July 16, 1989, 19 (online); "Service Men Beat Negroes in Race Riot at Capitol," New York Times, July 21, 1919, 1; "Capital Clashes Increase," New York Times, July 22, 1919, 1; "Troops Act; Halt Rioting," Chicago Tribune, July 31, 1919, 1; Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis, "Extraordinary Isolation? Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement," Studies in American Political Development, vol. 36, no. 2 (November 29, 2017), 193–217; Tom Lewis, "How Woodrow Wilson Stoked the First Urban Race Riot," Politico Magazine, November 2, 2015; Patricia O'Toole, The Moralist (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 410–11; Gillian Brockell, "The Deadly Race Riot 'Aided and Abetted' by The Washington Post a Century Ago," July 15, 2019 (online).
- 481 more than one hundred ... Two men were shot: "Score of Negroes Hurt as Race Riot Spreads," Washington Herald, July 21, 1919, 1; Patrick Sauer, "One Hundred Years Ago, a Four-Day Race Riot Engulfed Washington, D.C.,"

- Smithsonian Magazine, smithsonianmag.com, July 17, 2019 (online); "Two Shot; 4 Hurt in D.C. Race Riots," Washington Herald, July 20, 1919, 1.
- 481 arrested no one: David F. Krugler, 1919: The Year of Racial Violence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 73–75.
- 481 *no disciplinary actions*: Ibid., 75; McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 99; Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie*, 258, 270. In 2020, the statue of Daniels in Raleigh's Nash Square was taken down in recognition of "his reprehensible stand on race." "Family Removes Statue of Racist Ancestor," (*Raleigh, NC*) News & Observer, June 17, 2020, A1.
- 482 *Pullman called out*: David F. Krugler, *1919*, 71; Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 177.
- 482 "like clansmen": "Four Dead, Scores Wounded in Night of Red Terror Here," Washington Times, July 22, 1919, 2; "Eye-Witness Account of Battles Near 8th Precinct," ibid; "2 Police Officers and 3 Negroes Killed; Scores Hurt as Races Battle in Streets of Washington," Washington Post, July 22, 1919, 1; "4 Dead, 5 Dying, 70 Hurt in New Race Riots in Washington," New York Times, July 22, 1919, 1; Krugler, 1919, 79–89.
- 482 "the very gates": "Washington Is Swept by Race Riots; Many Shot," New York Tribune, July 22, 1919, 1.
- out of touch ... "a complete rest": "Wilson Sailing Back," Washington Post, July 21, 1919, 1; "Wilson on Cruise Despite the Storm," Washington Post, July 20, 1919, 9.
- 482 cramps: "Wilson Stays in Bed," Washington Post, July 22, 1919, 1.
- 482 resumed his work: "President, Better, Resumes G.O.P. Conferences," Washington Times, July 22, 1919, 1.
- 482 open letter: "Negro Pastors and Citizens Call on the President and Officials for Protection," Washington Post, July 22, 1919, 2.
- 482 brief meeting: Krugler, 1919, 89.
- 482 Baker immediately ordered: "2,000 Regular Troops Take Control of Capital," Washington Post, July 23, 1919, 1. When the NAACP learned that all the troops were to be white, they complained to Brownlow. He and Pullman asserted that it would be impossible to include Black troops in the force, albeit they were veterans of the World War. Krugler, 1919, 78–79.
- 482 halt the violence: "Extra Patrols, Closed Streets Are Ordered to Check Rioting," Washington Times, July 22, 1919, 1; "Street Rioting in Check, Is Belief of Authorities, After 4 Are Killed and 11 Are Dangerously Wounded," Washington Evening Star, July 22, 1919, 1; "Negroes Again Riot in Washington, Killing White Man," New York Times, July 23, 1919, 1; "Haan Fears No Further Trouble," Washington Times, July 24, 1919, 1; "Feel Rioting Here Definitely Ended," Washington Evening Star, July 25, 1919, 1; Sauer, "One Hundred Years Ago," Smithsonian Magazine.
- 482 erupted in Chicago: "5 Regiments Begin Patrol of Riot Areas," Chicago Tribune, July 31, 1919, 1; "Snipers Fire Upon Soldiers," ibid; "Mayor's Call for Troops to Stop Riot," ibid.; "Location of Troops in the Riot Zone," ibid; "Chicago Riots Spread to the North Side; Mob of 5,000 Whites Renew Attack on the Negroes," Cook County Herald, August 1, 1919, 3.
- 482 presidential statement: Among those urging the president to speak out were the NAACP, the National Race Congress, and Booker T. Washington's successor as principal of the Tuskegee Institute, Robert Moton. John R. Shillady to WW, July 21, 1919, PWW, 61:576 and n2; Robert Russa Moton to WW, August 8, 1919, PWW, 62:233 and n1; WW to James Edward McCulloch, August 15, 1919, PWW, 62:313; "Negro Pastors and Citizens Call on the President and Officials for Protection," Washington Post, July 22, 1919, 2. Wilson's eventual public statement, two sentences as an aside in a lengthy address on the League of Nations, did not come until months later. WW, Address in Helena, MT, September 11, 1919, PWW 63:180.
- 483 in private, he confessed: WW to James Edward McCulloch, August 15, 1919, PWW, 62:313.
- 483 "completely well again": Cary T. Grayson, Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), 93–94.
- 483 gastric disorders: Ibid., 80–81; A. Scott Berg, Wilson (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2013), 82, 87, 106, 144, 271, 284, 406, 615.
- 483 headaches: Berg, Wilson, 96, 106, 244, 284, 367, 406.
- 483 minor stroke: Ibid., 124.
- 483 arteriosclerosis: Phyllis Lee Levin, Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House (New York: Scribner, 2001), 33.

- 483 kidney failure: Bert Edward Park, The Impact of Illness on World Leaders (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 8.
- 483 *hypertension*: Arthur S. Link, "Woodrow Wilson: A Cautionary Tale," *Wake Forest Law Review*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1995), 585–92, at 585.
- "several little strokes": According to Wilson biographer Gene Smith, "Grayson said he knew that the President had had several little strokes—some of them before he left for Paris." Gene Smith to James F. O'Toole, M.D., c. 1987, described in O'Toole, "Some Observations on Wilson's Neurologic Illness," PWW, 58:635.
- "" "Wilson's Neurologic Illness at Paris—Editors' Commentary," PWW, 58:639. Beginning with his early April bout of influenza in Paris, those around him noticed subtle changes in his behavior and personality, suggesting to some that the virus may have had neurological ramifications. Historians and physicians have speculated for years about whether what Wilson contracted was the "Spanish flu," and what its effects were on the president. Bert Edward Park, The Impact of Illness on World Leaders (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 33–25; Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic, 190, 192–95.
- 483 noticed the changes: Edwin A. Weinstein, Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 344–49; Grayson, An Intimate Memoir, 85; JPT, Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 438; James O'Toole, "Some Observations on Wilson's Neurologic Illness," PWW, 58:636–38; Edmund W. Starling and Thomas Sugrue, Starling of the White House (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 138; Jaffray, Secrets of the White House, 71; Irwin Hood Hoover, Forty-Two Years in the White House (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 99; Herbert Hoover, The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: The Years of Adventure, 1874–1920 (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 468; EBW, My Memoir (New York: Bobbs–Merrill Co., 1939), 273; Levin, Edith and Woodrow, 290–99.
- 483 "grimmer and grimmer": JPT, Wilson As I Know Him, 434–35.
- 483 "not lose a moment": Robert Lansing, memorandum, August 11, 1919, PWW, 62:258.
- 484 "take its medicine": Wilson made the remark to the French ambassador, Jean Jules Jusserand. Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York: Macmillan, 1945), 15.
- 484 "consent to nothing": Ibid. Wilson similarly shunned the advice of former President Taft, his strongest Republican ally in support of the treaty and the League. "Taft Proposes Six Interpretations of League to Win Republican Votes and Ratify Peace Treaty; Wilson Sees Four More Senators, Opposes Changes," New York Times, July 24, 1919, 1.
- 484 "last thing": EMH Diary, June 29, 1919, PWW, 61:354.
- 484 broke off relations: Honoring her husband's wishes, Edith made certain House was not invited to Wilson's funeral. Charles E. Neu, Colonel House: A Biography of Woodrow Wilson's Silent Partner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 456–57; William Allen White, Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 483.
- 484 would not require: Steven P. Mulligan, Reservations, Understandings, Declarations, and Other Conditions to Treaties, CRS Report IF12208 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2022), 2.
- 484 virtually assured: White, Wilson, 455–56.
- 484 "as sometimes happens": WW, Constitutional Government in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 139–40.
- 484 private train: "President Starts His Long Tour," Washington Herald, September 4, 1919, 1.
- 484 telegrams: WW to Thomas Erby Kilby, July 12, 1919, PWW, 61:464; WW to Henry Paul Merritt, July 12, 1919, PWW, 61:464; WW to Hugh Manson Dorsey, July 15, 1919, PWW, 61:480; WW to Benjamin Franklin Buchanan, August 22, 1919, PWW, 62:462; WW to James Campbell Cantrill, September 2, 1919, PWW, 62:615; "Asks Kentucky State Convention to Indorse Federal Amendment," New York Times, September 3, 1919, 10.
- 484 ignored the telegrams: "2 States Reject Suffrage," New York Times, September 4, 1919, 14.
- 484 poll of state legislatures: "Suffrage Index of Good and Bad Governors," New York Times, September 7, 1919, 71.
- 485 "greatest day": "State Women Celebrate as Suffrage Wins," Minneapolis Tribune, September 9, 1919, 1.
- 485 single sentence: WW, Address to a Joint Session of the Minnesota Legislature, September 9, 1919, PWW, 63:125.

- 485 *movie cameras*: "Cheering Throngs Hail President As He Parades Through Streets on Way to Auditorium for His Speech," *Bismarck Tribune*, September 10, 1919, 1.
- 485 sixteenth state: "Anthony Amendment Is Passed," Portsmouth Herald, September 10, 1919, 1.
- 485 arrived in Los Angeles: Cary T. Grayson Diary, September 20, 1919, PWW, 63:396–97; "Los Angeles Shrieks Approval of the President," Los Angeles Times, September 21, 1919, 1.
- 485 "a rather tired man": "Great Throng Greets President Wilson," Deseret News, September 24, 1919, 1.
- 485 "choke up and cough": Cary T. Grayson Diary, September 23, 25, 1919, PWW, 63:446, 487; Weinstein, Woodrow Wilson, 353.
- 485 "collapse" ... "mouthed certain words": Starling and Sugrue, Starling of the White House, 152.
- 485 most aggressive attack: "Wilson Will Hold Treaty Rejected by Senate Change," New York Times, September 26, 1919, 1.
- 485 face twitched ... cancelled: Cary T. Grayson Diary, September 26, 1919, PWW, 63:518.
- 486 back to Washington: "President Suffers Nervous Breakdown, Tour Cancelled," New York Times, September 27, 1919, 1; Bert E. Park, M.D., "Woodrow Wilson's Stroke of October 2, 1919," PWW, 63:639. Park theorized that Wilson suffered from hypertension, which modern medicine has linked to periodontitis. See, for example, Rodrigo Martin-Cabezas, et al., "Association between Periodontitis and Arterial Hypertension: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis," American Heart Journal, vol. 180 (October 2016), 98–112. Photographs of Wilson during his presidency provide evidence of serious gum disease and severely rotted teeth, adding periodontitis to the growing number of possible causes of or contributors to his strokes.
- 486 paralyzed... "great mind": Irwin Hood Hoover, "The Facts About President Wilson's Illness" (unpublished manuscript, undated), handwritten, PWW, 63:632–38, at 635; Grayson, An Intimate Memoir, 100, 108; Bert Edward Park, Ailing, Aging, Addicted (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 95–117; Park, The Impact of Illness on World Leaders (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 3–63; Park, "Wilson's Neurologic Illness at Paris," PWW, 59:613–14; Ray Stannard Baker Diary, November 5, 1919, PWW, 63:620; Statement by Dr. Cary T. Grayson, October 15, 1919, PWW, 64:497.
- 486 "since last October": Ray Stannard Baker Diary, January 23, 1920, PWW, 64:320.
- 486 "trivialities" ... "stubborn immovability": Ibid., January 23 and February 3, 1920, PWW, 64:320, 359.
- 486 urged compromise: WW to Gilbert M. Hitchcock, March 8, 1920, PWW, 65:67; WW to Hitchcock, c. March 11, 1920, PWW, 65:80; John Milton Cooper, Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 261.
- 486 vote "no": Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York: Macmillan, 1945), 259–270; Cooper, Breaking the Heart of the World, 260–62, 318, 323, 345–47, 367; Henry Cabot Lodge, The Senate and the League of Nations (New York: Scribners, 1925), 214; 59 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1920), 4598–99 (roll call on resolution of ratification).
- 487 February 24: WW to Tom C. Waldrep and Martin Edwin Trapp, February 24, 1920, PWW, 64:466 and n2.
- "critical importance": All PWW: WW to Julius Edgar Frazier and Milton Burr, March 1, 1920, 65:36 (WV); WW to John Milliken Parker, May 18, 1920, 65:295 (LA); WW to John J. Mulvena, June 1, 1920, 65:351 (DE); WW to Albert Houston Roberts, June 23, 1920, 65:445 (TN); WW to William Little Frierson, June 24, 1920, 65:450 (acting U.S. Attorney General, regarding TN legal question); WW to Thomas Walter Bickett, June 24, 1920, 65:450 (NC).
- 487 movies every day: Hoover, Forty-Two, 107; Gene Smith, When The Cheering Stopped (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1964), 138–39.
- 487 not to discuss business: White, Wilson, 457.
- 487 "in a trance": Irwin Hoover, "The Facts About President Wilson's Illness," 637; Hoover, Forty-Two, 104–05.
- 487 split exactly evenly: "Suffrage Amendment Adopted by House," Nashville Tennessean, August 19, 1920, 1; Elaine Weiss, The Woman's Hour (New York: Viking, 2018), 303.
- 487 "national harmony": WW to Seth M. Walker, August 13, 1920, PWW, 66:30.
- 487 "honest convictions": Seth M. Walker to WW, August 14, 1920, PWW, 66:35.
- 488 "Dear Son": "Mother's Letter to Son, Representative Burn, Helps Suffrage Cause," (Knoxville, TN) Journal and Tribune, August 19, 1920, 1.

- 488 took effect immediately: The Tennessee legislature completed its ratification of the Anthony Amendment on August 18. Tennessee Governor A. H. Roberts certified the state's ratification on August 24. Tennessee Certificate of Ratification, August 24, 1920, NAID 63546858, folder 3, file #6577777, National Archives. Bainbridge Colby, U.S. Secretary of State, certified the adoption of the 19th Amendment on August 26, 1920. 41 Stat. 1823. In Dillon v. Gloss, 256 U.S. 368, 376 (1921), which involved the effective date of the 18th Amendment establishing prohibition, the Supreme Court held that an amendment becomes part of the Constitution on the day that the number of state ratifications meets the three-fourths threshold. The Anthony Amendment was therefore effective immediately when Tennessee ratified it on August 18, not the later dates of certification by Tennessee and Secretary Colby.
- 488 30 million: U.S. Census Bureau, Estimates of the Population of Voting Age and of the Percent Voting in General Elections, 1920 to 1964, Series P–25, No. 315 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), 1; William C. Hunt, ed., Fourteenth Census of the United States, vol. 3, Population: 1920 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), Table 1, "Color or Race," 15.
- 488 new attorney general: Palmer had run unsuccessfully for the 1920 Democratic presidential nomination, capitalizing on his notoriety for the so-called Palmer Raids that targeted suspected political radicals. Palmer testified before Congress that Black people were especially susceptible to Bolshevism; they were among his department's favored targets. A. Mitchell Palmer, Report to the U.S. Senate in Response to Senate Resolution 213 (November 14, 1919), 7; Adam Hochschild, American Midnight (New York: Mariner Books, 2022), 286, 296, 302–04, 313; William J. Maxwell, "Editorial Federalism: The Hoover Raids, the New Negro Renaissance, and the Origins of FBI Literary Surveillance," in Punishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race Since 1850, George Hutchinson and John K. Young, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 136–155; David Pietrusza, 1920: The Year of the Six Presidents (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 246; Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919–1925 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), xiv–xv.
- 488 sought Wilson's intervention: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, c. October 15, 1920, reel 210, #60525, image 1156, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Blanche Rogers to Maud Wood Park, c. October 15, 1920, ibid., #60526, image 1157.
- 488 Virginia: J. Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht, Counting Women's Votes (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 98–99.
- 488 Florida: Krugler, 1919, 300.
- 488 "a record vote": "Maryland Appears Safely Republican," Washington Post, October 31, 1916, 4.
- 488 "suffrage school": Martha S. Jones, Vanguard: How Black Women Broke Barriers, Won the Vote, and Insisted on Equality for All (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 3–4; Martha S. Jones, "For Black Women, the 19th Amendment Didn't End Their Fight to Vote," National Geographic, nationalgeographic.com/magazine, August 7, 2020.
- 488 voted for Hughes: Linda O. McMurry, To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 312.
- 489 making speeches: Alison M. Parker, Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 151.
- 489 voted by mail: "President's Vote, With That of Wife, Sent to Princeton," Washington Evening Star, October 30, 1920, 1.
- 489 "solemn referendum": WW, Jackson Day Message, January 8, 1920, PWW, 64:257; Richard L. Merritt, "Woodrow Wilson and the 'Great and Solemn Referendum,' 1920," Review of Politics, vol. 27, no. 1 (January 1965), 78–104
- 489 "obsessed": "Wilson Told Cox Will Win and Vindicate Him," Chicago Tribune, November 2, 1920, 3.
- 489 failed to carry: The Cox-Roosevelt ticket failed to carry Tennessee and Oklahoma. Harding won 60.3% of the popular vote nationwide; Cox polled 34.1%. Presidential Elections 1789–2004 (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 142. Since 1920, no presidential candidate has come close to Harding's 26.2% margin of victory in the popular vote.
- 489 lonely convalescence: Smith, When the Cheering Stopped, 210.
- 489 Is it "true": WW to Cordell Hull, October 13, 1922, PWW, 68:155.