

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

6. Old Maids and Peeping Toms

PAGE

- 66 *did not love him*: Editorial Note: Wilson's Proposal to Hattie Woodrow, *PWW*, 2:84.
- 66 *gossip*: WW to Harriet (Hattie) Woodrow, October 5, 1880, *PWW*, 1:678.
- 66 *too close a relative*: Wilson's Proposal to Hattie Woodrow, *PWW*, 2:84; WW to Harriet (Hattie) Woodrow, September 25, 1881, *PWW*, 2:83; *LL*, 1:129–30.
- 66 “*may I call you that?*”: WW to Harriet (Hattie) Woodrow, *PWW*, 2:87.
- 66 *a new plan*: *LL*, 1:138–40.
- 67 *opinion pieces*: WW, “Stray Thoughts from the South,” c. February 22, 1881, *PWW*, 2:26–31.
- 67 *ridiculed “ignorant”*: William Henry Trescot, “The Southern Question,” *North American Review*, vol. 123, no. 253 (October 1876), 249–280, at 273.
- 67 *floor speech*: 4 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 44th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 2, 1876), 5087–94, 5090 (remarks of Rep. Lamar), reprinted as Lucius Q.C. Lamar, “The Policy of the Republican Party in the South, and the Condition of Southern Affairs,” in Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q.C. Lamar: His Life, Times, and Speeches, 1825–1893* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1896), 682–697, at 689. In 1888, Grover Cleveland would appoint Lamar to the U.S. Supreme Court. The words Lamar quoted on the House floor were originally spoken by the Republican governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, in an 1865 speech that became notorious. The speech set out what Indiana congressman George Julian called a “ghastly policy” of denying the ballot to illiterate Black citizens. Within months Morton recanted, and the state’s Republicans “gathered together and cremated all the copies of his famous speech which could be found,” Julian recorded in his *Recollections*. That served only to give the remark more currency, as “the disowned document was printed as a campaign tract by the Democrats for a dozen successive years afterward” in a dishonest attempt to claim bipartisan support for the policy. Wilson was one of those who exhumed it, in his case 16 years after its author disowned it. Within two years after Morton’s notorious speech, his conversion was so complete that he was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Radical Republican supporting universal suffrage and the 15th Amendment. By attributing the long disavowed quotation to “Senator” Morton, who held the opposite position throughout his entire service in the Senate, Wilson was more than shading the truth. George Julian, *Recollections*, 267, 269.
- 67 *rejected his submission ... third version*: Editor’s note, *PWW*, 2:31.
- 68 “*political opportunities*”: Robert Bridges to WW, March 12, 1882, *PWW*, 2:105–06.
- 68 *left North Carolina for Georgia*: *LL*, 1:140.
- 68 *Coudert Brothers*: B.F. Harlow, Jr., *The Renicks of Greenbrier* (Lexington, VA: B.F. Harlow, Jr., 1951), 10–11.
- 68 *found lodgings ... political journals*: *LL*, 1:142–43; Edward Ireland Renick to WW, June 23, 1883, *PWW*, 2:371 (discussing their shared subscription to *The Nation*).
- 68 *reworking his critique*: WW, “Government by Debate” (unpublished essay), c. December 4, 1882, *PWW* 2:159; WW, “Committee or Cabinet Government,” *Overland Monthly*, vol. 2, no. 3 (January 1884), 17–33, in *PWW*, 2:614 (published while Wilson was at Johns Hopkins but written in August and September 1883 while he was still in Atlanta).
- 68 *1882 essay*: WW, “Government by Debate,” *PWW* 2:159, subsequently recast as “Committee or Cabinet Government,” *PWW*, 2:614, but nonetheless rejected by the *Princeton Review*, *PWW*, 2:640.
- 68 *only paying client*: *LL*, 1:151.
- 69 *power of attorney*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, June 13, 1882, *PWW*, 2:133.

- 69 *once again reported*: Four Republicans voted aye; three Democrats voted no. U.S. Senate, Report of the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage to accompany S. Res. 60, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 686 (June 5, 1882).
- 69 *“larger than a man’s hand”*: “Presidents on Suffrage,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 43 (October 23, 1915), 338; James A. Garfield, Address to Copps Consolidated Business College, Washington, DC, June 29, 1869, in *General Garfield as a Statesman and Orator* (New York: Republican National Committee, 1880), 13; “Commencement Exercises of the Consolidated Business College,” *Washington Chronicle*, June 30, 1869, 4.
- 69 *“nonentity”*: *LL*, 1:145.
- 69 *“chief end of man”*: WW to Richard Heath Dabney, May 11, 1883, *PWW*, 2:350.
- 69 *“isn’t making a cent”*: *LL*, 1:152.
- 69 *“professional income”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, December 15, 1882, *PWW*, 2:276.
- 69 *do his “utmost”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, February 13, 1883, *PWW*, 2:303–04.
- 69 *“with leisure”*: WW to Robert Bridges, May 13, 1883, *PWW*, 2:354, 358.
- 69 *enormously consequential . . . two-year engagement*: J.G.B. Bulloch, “Axson Family,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 2 (July 1914), 2; Stockton Axson, “*Brother Woodrow*”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 51–52; *LL*, 1:159–64; WW to Richard Heath Dabney, May 11, 1883, *PWW*, 2:350; ELA to WW, September 24, 1883, *PWW*, 2:433; WW to ELA, October 11, 1883, *PWW*, 2:465; Editorial Note: the Engagement, *PWW*, 2:426; Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 5.
- 70 *the right words*: ELA to WW, September 24, 1883, *PWW* 2:433. Compare “Sonnets from the Portuguese,” Sonnet 42, *The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 2nd ed. (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1850), 547.
- 70 *Woodrow responded*: WW to ELA, October 2, 1883, *PWW*, 2:449.
- 70 *“bigger than his vocabulary”*: WW to ELA, December 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:609.
- 70 *a world away*: John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (New York: Arno Press, 1946; reprint ed., 1979), 22, 83. During the 1880s, Johns Hopkins met financial pressures in part by increasing enrollment. *Ibid.*, 98.
- 71 *the German system*: Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), 147–49. The Teutonic social history taught at the John Hopkins seminars “paid little attention to blacks as persons” and “interpreted slavery as a positive force.” John David Smith, “‘Scientific’ History at The Johns Hopkins University,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, vol. 115, no. 3 (July 1991), 421–26, at 424–25.
- 71 *eugenics*: Thomas C. Leonard, “Eugenics and Economics in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Fall 2005), 207–224. “The hubris of Progressive Era eugenics,” according to Leonard, was “naive faith” that the state, guided by experts and science, could guarantee human biological progress while curing all social ills. *Ibid.*, 221.
- 71 *malignant form*: Eugenics “contributed to appalling atrocities of the 20th century, including the Nazis’ persecution and murder of Jewish people in World War II.” Delan Devakumar and Rochelle Burgess, “Legacies of Eugenics,” *The Lancet*, vol. 401, no. 10378 (March 4, 2023), 725.
- 71 *distinct human races*: Wulf D. Hund, Christian Koller, and Moshe Zimmerman, eds., *Racisms Made in Germany* (Berlin: Lit Verlag GmbH & Co., 2011), 14.
- 71 *“pride of place”*: Léon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, trans. Edmund Howard (New York: New American Library, 1974), 2.
- 71 *this racialized view*: William A. Link, “The Enduring Worlds of Thomas Dixon,” in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, Michelle K. Gillespie and Randall Hall, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 208; Ido Oren, *Our Enemies and US: America’s Rivalries and the Making of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 45.
- 71 *inspire future historians*: C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951) (1980 printing), 440–43; David W. Southern, *The Progressive Era and Race: Reaction and Reform, 1900–1917* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2005), 54; James S. Humphreys, “William Archibald Dunning: Flawed Colossus of American Letters,” in John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery, ed., *The Dunning School* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 77–105.

- 71 *Hegel's assertion*: G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right*, trans. T.M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 166.
- 71 *Hegel's assessment of "The Negro"*: G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. John Sibree (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1956), 98, quoted in Poliakov, *Aryan Myth*, 241.
- 72 "*necessary qualification*": Immanuel Kant, *On the Old Saw*, trans. E.B. Ashton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 63.
- 72 *his philosophy of history*: Hund, Koller, and Zimmerman, *Racisms Made in Germany*, 4.
- 72 *Of six courses*: "Schedule of Exercises at the Johns Hopkins," *PWW*, 2:448–49.
- 72 *Adams was a proponent*: Southern, *The Progressive Era and Race*, 53–54; Oren, *Our Enemies and US*, 44.
- 72 "*progress of our race*": Herbert Baxter Adams, *Methods of Historical Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1884), 126.
- 72 *particular genius*: Melvyn Stokes, *D.W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32.
- 72 *Wilson's own views*: Despite accepting the racial premises prevalent in German universities, Wilson remained an Anglophile for his entire life. He would later privately confess personal contempt not only for Germany but the German people, while denouncing German philosophy as "lacking in spirituality." EMH Diary, August 30, 1914, *PWW*, 30:461. From the first he fashioned his theories of government according to the views of English writer Walter Bagehot—who promoted his own pseudo-scientific racial theories of Aryanism and English racial superiority. Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 63; WW, "A Wit and a Seer: A Celebration of the Life and Career of British Writer and Economist Walter Bagehot," *The Atlantic*, vol. 82 (October 1898) (the English are "a race singularly enriched with genius").
- 72 "*Bluntschli Library*": WW to EAW, November 27, 1883, *PWW*, 2:550; Herman Paul, "German Thoroughness in Baltimore: Epistemic Virtues and National Stereotypes," *History of Humanities*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Fall 2018), 337.
- 72 "*fighting for slavery*": Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, "An Impartial Opinion on the *Alabama* Question and the Manner of Settling It," trans. from *Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée*, T. II, 1870, pt. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), 6–7.
- 72 "*claims to the ownership*": *Ibid.*, 9.
- 72 "*the colored races*": Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, *Lehre vom modernen Stat* [1875] (*The Theory of the State*), auth. trans. of 6th German ed. (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books, 2000), 152. Wilson cited Bluntschli as an authority in his own book on the theory of the state. WW, *The State* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1889), 419.
- 72 *commentary from Bluntschli*: Minutes of the Johns Hopkins Seminary of Historical and Political Science, March 15, 1889, *PWW*, 6:152 notes 1 and 2; WW, Notes for Lectures on Public Law, c. September 22, 1894–January 20, 1895, *PWW*, 9:5–49 and n5. He would later make *The Theory of the State* assigned reading for his students at Princeton. WW, "Collateral Reading in Public Law," *Daily Princetonian*, October 25, 1894, in *PWW*, 9:99.
- 72 *Ely argued*: Clifford F. Thies and Ryan Daza, "Richard T. Ely: The Confederate Flag of the AEA?," *Econ Journal Watch*, vol. 8, No. 2 (May 2011), 147–56. In 2020, the American Economic Association, of which Ely was president in 1900–01, decided to disassociate itself from him because of his support for slavery, segregation, and eugenics, and because of his animus toward immigrants. The AEA removed Ely's name from its Distinguished Lecture Series and announced that it was encouraging other institutions with distinctions named after Ely to consider renaming them. American Economic Association, Announcement, October 1, 2020; Report of AEA Committee regarding Renaming the Ely Lecture Series, April 24, 2020.
- 73 *on Wilson's right*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 230–31; Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 34. Cook places Dixon on Wilson's left, but Dixon's autobiography is the better source.
- 73 "*intimate friends*" ... *common bond*: Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 230–31; Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 51.
- 73 *highest student honors*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 49.
- 73 *sons of ministers ... chivalry towards women*: *Ibid.*, 3–34; Cook, *Thomas Dixon*, 19–31; Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, 3–4.

- 73 *once turned down*: Thomas Dixon, Sr. declined the offer in 1863. Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 6.
- 73 *their seminar colleagues*: Albert Shaw, another classmate sitting with Dixon and Wilson at that fall's first seminar, later published a volume of his own lectures at Columbia University that echoed Ely's and Adams' themes. He claimed that the "legal disfranchisement of negro illiterates paved the way for a more stable political condition in the South," and saw "social and political advantage in leaving to men the more formal errands and functions of politics" and restricting women to "domestic and social activities." This, he said, would "avoid duplication of effort." Albert Shaw, *Political Problems of American Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907), 63, 123, 125.
- 73 *"strength and dash and mastery"*: WW to ELA, November 27, 1883, *PWW*, 2:551.
- 73 *German scholarship, Teutonic superiority*: James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan & Co, 1899), 366, 466, 476–77; Keith G. Robbins, "Lord Bryce and the First World War," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1967), 255–277, at 255.
- 73 *would be republished*: James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1888), quoted in broadsheet published by the New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women (1900), printed ephemera, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress. Bryce would later publish a favorable review of Wilson's first book. Patricia O'Toole, *The Moralists* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 64. As president of Princeton University in 1907, Wilson would confer an honorary degree on Bryce. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, October 17, 1907, *PWW*, 17:443. On Wilson's first full day as president, Bryce (then the British ambassador) would be the first foreign dignitary he received at the White House. Daily log, March 5, 1913, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 74 *even Adams*: WW to ELA, January 1, 1884, *PWW*, 2:641; WW to Robert Bridges, December 15, 1883, *PWW*, 585.
- 74 *Congress of Women*: The event was sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of Women, whose president was the celebrated writer Julia Ward Howe, at this time also the coeditor of the AWSA national magazine, *Woman's Journal*. Souvenir program, *15th Annual Convention of the Association for the Advancement of Women* (New York: Fleming, Brewster & Alley, 1887), 19 (summary of 12th Congress in Baltimore, with list of 1884 speakers and topics). Charles B. Wright, who joined Wilson at this event, was Wilson's fellow graduate student in 1884. "Check List of Students," *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. 4, no. 34 (November 1884), 10. A year later, as Wilson was appointed an "associate" at Bryn Mawr, Wright became Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric at Middlebury College. *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. 4, no. 41 (July 1885), 125.
- 74 *irreverent commentary*: WW to ELA, October 31, 1884, *PWW*, 3:389.
- 74 *"chilled, scandalized feeling" ... "old maids"*: Ibid.
- 74 *Howe*: Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott, *Julia Ward Howe, 1819–1910* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915) 187–91, 365.
- 74 *Harper*: Melba Joyce Boyd, *Discarded Legacy: Politics and Poetics in the Life of Frances E.W. Harper* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 197–227; Kerri Lee Alexander, "Frances Ellen Watkins Harper," monograph (Washington, DC: National Women's History Museum, 2020).
- 74 *Cheney*: "Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney," *The Woman's Column*, vol. 17, no. 24 (November 26, 1904), 1–2.
- 74 *Mitchell*: Dorothy G. Rogers, *America's First Women Philosophers: Transplanting Hegel, 1860–1925* (London: Continuum, 2005), 104–14.
- 74 *Her lecture*: Ellen Mitchell, "A Study of Hegel," lecture delivered to the Congress of Women in Baltimore, October 30, 1884, John Hay Library, Brown University.
- 75 *this learned person*: Wilson's reference to the "old maid" as a "dialectic Amazon"—a play on Hegel's terminology—makes clear that Mitchell was the target of the barb. Mitchell's paper on Hegel was the last one read on the day Wilson visited, and the "old maid" is the last of the speakers he described. WW to ELA, October 31, 1884, *PWW*, 3:389; "The Woman's Congress," *Baltimore Sun*, October 31, 1884, 1.
- 75 *marked contrast*: "The Woman's Congress," *Baltimore Sun*, October 31, 1884, 1; "The A.A.W.—Close of the Twelfth Congress—Interesting Papers Read," *Baltimore Sun*, November 1, 1884, 1; "For the Advancement of Women," *New York Times*, October 30, 1884, 1; "The Advancement of Women," *New York Times*, November 1, 1884, 3.

- 75 “*little volume*”: Preface to 15th edition, WW, *Congressional Government* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900), v.
- 75 “*endless grinding*”: WW to ELA, September 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:318; Editorial Note: Wilson and His Caligraph, *PWW*, 2:366.
- 75 *only months earlier*: U.S. Senate, Report of the Committee on Woman Suffrage to accompany S.R. 19, 18 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 27, 1884), 2361; “History of the Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 28 (July 10, 1915), 4.
- 75 *Dixon had won*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 39–40.
- 75 *fallen short*: *LL*, 1:75–76, 85–86, 93–95, 98, 105–06; Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 22, 31–32, 43–45.
- 75 *sympathetic portrayal*: Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 19. The play was based on the real-life 1872 case of 18-year-old David S. Ramseur, who joined the Klan after graduating from Wake Forest and was convicted in federal court of conspiracy. George Washington Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, vol. 2, 1865–1905 (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1943), 48–52.
- 76 *touted Dixon’s prowess* ... Richard III: Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 230–31; Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 51–54; Slide, *American Racist*, 20.