

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

8. Aryan Men

PAGE

- 93 *a professorship*: John Monroe Van Vleck to WW, June 6, 1888, *PWW*, 5:734; WW to Van Vleck, June 7, 1888, *PWW*, 5:735; Van Vleck to WW, June 21, 1888, *PWW*, 5:738; Edson Wyllys Burr to WW, June 30, 1888, *PWW*, 5:748.
- 93 *“more directly interested”*: WW letter of resignation to the President and Trustees of Bryn Mawr College, June 29, 1888, *PWW*, 5:743–47. The “almost” referred to the fact that at the time there were “five or six women” in each year’s class. William Bayard Hale, *Woodrow Wilson—The Story of His Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1912), 102.
- 93 *“cordially detested”*: Wilson confided this to his publicity director in the 1912 presidential campaign. Frank Parker Stockbridge to Ray Stannard Baker, December 11, 1927, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, reel 83, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress; Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 140.
- 93 *for good*: Ironically, his sponsor Herbert Baxter Adams had thought that at Bryn Mawr, Wilson would be “as near Paradise as a young man could expect to come.” Adams to WW, April 8, 1887, *PWW*, 5:484.
- 93 *“numb with grief”*: Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 242.
- 93 *a class of men*: WW to Robert Bridges, August 26, 1888, *PWW*, 5:763 (Wilson’s emphasis).
- 94 *“shall not interfere”*: Robert Bridges to WW, July 12, 1888, *PWW*, 5:751.
- 94 *confided it to Bridges*: WW to Robert Bridges, August 26, 1888, *PWW*, 5:763.
- 94 *“your siege with girls”*: Thomas Dixon to WW, November 8, 1888, *PWW*, 6:19.
- 94 *interested in Bryn Mawr*: Thomas Dixon to WW, July 18, 1887, *PWW*: 5:529; EAW to WW, July 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:533.
- 94 *since Johns Hopkins*: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 34–41. Dixon sent Wilson a printed announcement listing his forthcoming lecture topics. Dixon to WW, November 8, 1888, *PWW*, 6:19 (editor’s note). His subjects included the public school system, the “open saloon,” and protective tariffs. “Sunday Services—Boston Music Hall,” *Boston Globe*, December 1, 1888, 6; “American School System,” *Boston Globe*, December 3, 1888, 8; “‘No License’ Rally,” *Boston Globe*, December 10, 1888, 4; “The Struggle of Life,” *Boston Globe*, December 24, 1888, 5. His social gospel mixing religion and politics reflected the view he shared with Wilson that “politics . . . is but religion in action.” Thomas Dixon, *The Failure of Protestantism in New York and Its Causes* (New York: Strauss & Rehn Publishing Co., 1896), 125; Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, “Gender and Race in Dixon’s Religious Ideology,” in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, Michelle K. Gillespie and Randal L. Hall, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 82.
- 94 *an invitation*: In the face of Wilson’s complaints to Dixon about “what an anchor a baby is,” the Dixons (who had two young children of their own) promised to come visit the Wilsons. Thomas Dixon to WW, November 8, 1888, *PWW*, 6:19.
- 94 *faculty whom he respected*: *LL*, 1:299–301.
- 94 *“attacked his college work”*: *Ibid.*, 300.
- 94 *“Every man in his class”*: *Ibid.*, quoting C.F. Price in the Wesleyan University *Alumnus*, March 1924.
- 95 *not at all athletic . . . improbable victory*: *LL*, 1:304–05.
- 95 *“hot seriousness”*: *LL*, 1:303–04.
- 95 *“what a partisan I am”*: WW to EAW, March 15, 1889, *PWW*, 6:151.

- 95 “to laugh or to rage”: WW to EAW, March 6, 1889, *PWW*, 6:131.
- 95 *equal access to education*: Homer Edward Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 65–66; George Sinkler, “Benjamin Harrison and the Matter of Race,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 65, no. 3 (September 1969), 197–213, at 204–05; Allen J. Going, “The South and the Blair Education Bill,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1957), 267–290, at 283.
- 95 “almost every idea”: WW to EAW, March 2, 1889, *PWW*, 6:123.
- 95 *textbook he had begun*: WW, *The State* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1889).
- 95 *all the world’s governments*: *Ibid.*, 2–3.
- 96 *most of the world’s population*: Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 175.
- 96 “hurtful to their health”: WW, *The State*, 663.
- 96 “collusive” divorce: *Ibid.*, 493.
- 96 “more civilized”: *Ibid.*, 6.
- 96 “loose multiple marriages”: *Ibid.*, 4.
- 96 *non-Aryan family*: *Ibid.*, 3–6.
- 96 *special significance*: Dann, *Gerrit Smith*, 367; Cathleen D. Cahill, *Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 76.
- 96 *lived with the Iroquois ... “was paid to her”*: Sally Roesch Wagner, *The Untold Story of the Iroquois Influence on Early Feminists* (Aberdeen, SD: Sky Carrier Press, 1996), 26. Iroquois women had the right to choose successors to office in their clans in the mid-1600s. Nancy Shoemaker, “The Rise or Fall of Iroquois Women,” *Journal of Women’s History*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Winter 1991), 39–57.
- 96 *Mott visited ... Iroquois culture*: Wagner, *Iroquois Influence*, 2–3.
- 96 “rights to property and decision-making”: Dann, *Gerrit Smith*, 367.
- 96 *Puck would jab*: Joseph Keppler, artist, “Savagery to ‘Civilization,’” *Puck*, vol. 75, no. 1941 (May 16, 1914), 4. In the 21st century, the Iroquois are commonly referred to as Haudenosaunee.
- 96 “fact book”: WW to Richard Heath Dabney, October 31, 1889, and to Horace Elisha Scudder, March 31, 1889, *PWW*, 6:409 and 8:658.
- 97 *aggressive marketing ... did not even read*: Davis Rich Dewey to Daniel Collamore Heath, June 26, 1891, *PWW*, 7:239; Heath to WW, June 8, 1889, *PWW*, 6:313.
- 97 *staple of history courses*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 178.
- 97 *not a bestseller*: D.C. Heath & Co. to WW, March 3, 1891, *PWW*, 7:172. The book was first published September 23, 1889.
- 97 *haggling*: WW to D.C. Heath & Co., July 8, 1920, *PWW*, 65:503.
- 97 *he was stung*: WW to Robert Bridges, January 6, 1890, *PWW*, 6:472.
- 97 *advertisement*: Wilson, *The State*, title page.
- 97 *string of initials*: Wilson also convinced Bryn Mawr to list him in its 1886 catalog as “Woodrow Wilson, A.B., Princeton College, 1879; A.M., 1882.” *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1885–1886* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1885), 3. At the time, Princeton did not even have a graduate school. Wilson did not study at Princeton after receiving his undergraduate degree in 1879. In 1882, he was living in Georgia. “We do not consider Wilson to hold a graduate degree from Princeton in the modern sense,” the university reported in 2023. But prior to the establishment of the graduate school, simply by writing and asking three years after graduation, Princeton graduates could receive a master’s degree that Princeton considered honorary. Daniel J. Linke, University Archivist, Princeton University Library, to the author, August 11, 2023. Beginning with his election to the Princeton faculty until the present day, Princeton University has never listed Wilson as an 1882 master’s graduate. But he is listed as such on the formal register of Wilson’s credentials published by his brother-in-law after his death. John Randolph Bolling, *Chronology of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1927), Appendix A, 175.
- 97 *lunch with the president*: Robert Bridges to WW, July 15, 1889, *PWW*, 6:330; WW to Bridges, July 16, 1889, *PWW*, 6:331.

- 97 *fundamentalist*: His religious views were later set forth in Francis L. Patton, *Fundamental Christianity* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).
- 98 “*committed himself*”: WW to Robert Bridges, August 9, 1889, *PWW*, 6:363.
- 98 *Wilson heard nothing*: WW to Bridges, November 6, 18, 1889, *PWW*, 6:41 and 6:427.
- 98 *opposition to his candidacy*: Bridges to WW, November 5, 1889, *PWW*, 6:410; Francis Landey Patton to James Waddel Alexander, November 21, 1889, *PWW*, 6:428.
- 98 *worried about Wilson’s patriotism*: Bridges to WW, November 29, 1889, *PWW*, 6:430.
- 98 “*he’ll make trouble*”: *LL*, 2:5.
- 98 *offer letter*: Francis Landey Patton to WW, February 18, 1890, *PWW*, 6:526.
- 98 *lower salary*: Patton to WW, March 5, 1890, *PWW*, 6:542; WW to Bridges, February 18, 1890, *PWW*, 6:528; Bridges to WW, February 20, 1890, *PWW*, 6:529.
- 98 “*four hours a week*”: WW to Bridges, February 18, 1890, *PWW*, 6:528.
- 98 “*deliriously happy!*”: WW to EAW, March 10, 1890, *PWW*, 6:548.
- 98 *fifteen VIPs*: “President Patton Entertained,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1890, 1.
- 98 *New York Tribune*: Charles Andrew Talcott to WW, February 17, 1890, *PWW*, 6:525.
- 98 *Major dailies*: For example: “The National American Association,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1890, 2; “All In One Party Now; The Two Factions of Woman Suffragists United,” *New York Sun*, February 19, 1890, 3; “Suffrage Associations Consolidated,” *Brooklyn Standard Union*, February 18, 1890, 1; “United Suffragists,” *Los Angeles Herald*, February 19, 1890, 3; “Suffrage Associations Combine,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1890, 6; “One Hundred Fair Delegates,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 18, 1890, 8. While it was page one news in Atlanta, the headline added heavy-handed commentary: “The Sorry Sisters Who Feel Out of Place Because They Are Not Men,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 24, 1890, 1.
- 99 *Connecticut journals*: “Woman Suffrage—Consolidation of the Various Associations,” *Hartford Courant*, February 18, 1890, 1; “Woman Suffragists Meet,” *The Day* (New London, CT), February 18, 1890, 1.
- 99 *rose in the ranks*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 57–58.
- 99 *NAWSA set to work*: *HWS*, 4:162.
- 99 “*duty of Congress*”: *Ibid.*, 4:162–63.
- 99 “*immediate action*”: *Ibid.*, 4:163.
- 99 *another invitation*: Thomas Dixon to WW, May 12, 1890, *PWW*, 6:628.
- 99 *mixing politics and religion*: In one recent sermon, Dixon opposed a bill by Republican U.S. Representative Henry Cabot Lodge providing for federal enforcement of voting rights in federal elections. “The negro,” Dixon preached, should vote only when he has established himself “on the solid basis of real manhood,” and the “bayonet cannot help him to that end.” “The Force Bill Condemned,” *New York Times*, September 22, 1890, 8.
- 100 “*success of the year*”: Thomas Dixon to WW, May 12, 1890, *PWW*, 6:628.
- 100 *rented housing*: EAW to WW, June 17, 1890, *PWW*, 6:672.
- 100 “*had done more*”: Seminary minutes, February 28, 1890, *Records of the Historical and Political Science Association and of the Seminary of History and Politics*, vol. 1, 1877–92, Special Collections, Johns Hopkins University Library, 678-85, at 683; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 237. Link has disputed Bragdon’s reading of the seminary minutes, preferring to attribute the quoted remark to a guest lecturer that day. But whereas in other passages the minutes expressly identify the lecturer’s words, this remark—delivered *after* the lecturer had concluded his presentation—is not so attributed to him. Rather, it is immediately followed by the words “Dr. Woodrow Wilson explained” Against this written record, Link asserts it is “perfectly clear” the remark should be attributed to the lecturer. But at best, there is only ambiguity. Arthur S. Link, review of *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years*, by Henry W. Bragdon, *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1 (March 1968), 118-21, at 119.
- 100 *writing projects*: Theodore L. Flood to WW, April 30, 1890, *PWW*, 6:618.
- 100 *a multi-author series*: Longmans, Green & Co. to WW, June 28, 1889, *PWW*, 6:327.
- 100 *after he became president*: The title page of *Constitutional Government*, for example, read: “By Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., LL.D, President of Princeton University.” For the title page of each volume of the *History of the American People* he added the honorary “Litt.D.” he had just received from Yale, again with no indication it was not an earned academic degree.

- 100 *happiest of his life*: LL, 2:41; Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 95.
- 100 *European travel, and long vacations*: LL, 2:51, 67–97.
- 100 *family thrived*: WW to EAW, January 26, 1894, *PWW*, 8:433 and notes 3, 4; EAW to WW, January 26, 1894, *PWW*, 8:434 and n1; LL, 2:41.
- 100 *nicknamed Nell*: Her birth certificate reads “Ellen Randolph Wilson,” and she was baptized and christened with the same name, but subsequently she or her parents changed her first name to Eleanor, adding the informal “Nell” and “Nellie.” “Was Christened ‘Ellen’,” *Boston Globe*, May 7, 1914, 2.
- 101 *“had not added”*: H. C. F. Bell, *Woodrow Wilson and the People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Duran and Co., 1945), 43.
- 101 *withering assessment*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 124.
- 102 *appraisal of Reconstruction*: Stephen Skowronek, “The Reassociation of Ideas and Purposes: Racism, Liberalism, and the American Political Tradition,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 100, no. 3 (August 2006), 385–401, at 391.
- 102 *“nicely modulated statement”*: WW (unsigned), “Anti-Slavery History and Biography,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 72, no. 430 (August 1893), 268–77, at 272. Although the review is credited to Wilson, Link states that Horace Scudder wrote the portion covering Wilson’s *Division and Reunion*. *PWW*, 8:294n1.
- 102 *“pro-southern bias”*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 237.
- 102 *far-reaching*: Arthur S. Link, “The Progressive Movement in the South, 1870–1914,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 2 (April 1946), 172–195, at 173.
- 102 *very foundation*: C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 91.
- 102 *“White Supremacy” campaign*: Lee Allen Craig, *Josephus Daniels: His Life and Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), chaps. 4, 5; Zucchini, *Wilmington’s Lie*, 65–69, 74–76.
- 102 *“every act and argument”*: *Final Report of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2006), chap. 3, “Practical Politics: Writing, Speaking and Riding in the 1898 Campaign,” 61.
- 103 *“campaign of prejudice”*: *Ibid.*, 61n22.
- 103 *two thousand Black residents*: Craig, *Josephus Daniels*, 187.
- 103 *“precipitator of the riot”*: *Final Report of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission*, chap. 3, 61n22.
- 103 *all of civil society*: Woodward, *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 97–100.
- 103 *“most proud”*: U.S. Senate, Hearings Before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on S. 2712, 87th Cong., 2nd Sess. (February 6–August 7, 1962), 58.
- 104 *“Discrimination!”*: Report of the Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, State of Virginia (Richmond: Heritage Press, 1906), 2:3076; Michael Perlman, *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 176–77.
- 104 *less than 8 percent*: Perlman, *Pursuit of Unity*, 177.
- 104 *“black Republican press”*: Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), 5.
- 104 *replacing the tariff*: *Ibid.*, 33, 51, 158.
- 104 *bimetallism*: *Ibid.*, 34–40, 59–62, 99.
- 104 *white supremacist norms*: *Ibid.*, 93–94.
- 104 *promotional vehicle*: *Ibid.*, 41, 52–53, 72, 89–90, 112, 169.
- 104 *“grave mistake”* ... *“make for himself”*: Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 257. See also Mary Frances Berry, “Repression of Blacks in the South 1890–1945: Enforcing the System of Segregation,” in Robert Haws, ed., *The Age of Segregation* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1978), 39 (quoting Bryan that white supremacy is “absolutely essential to the welfare of the youth”).
- 104 *unabashedly racial grounds* ... *“contact with the whites”*: “The White Man’s Burden,” Address by William Jennings Bryan at the Independence Day Banquet of the American Society of London, July 4, 1906, in *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan*, vol. 2 (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1909), 212, at 214–16.

- 105 “*The very progress*”: “Bryan Says North Would Act as South on Negro Question,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1923, sec. 8, 1; Angie Maxwell, *The Indicted South: Public Criticism, Southern Inferiority, and the Politics of Whiteness* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 40.
- 105 *state option*: Bryan did not support the Anthony Amendment until after Wilson’s endorsement. William Jennings Bryan, “Democracy’s Duty and Deeds,” address at Washington, DC, December 6, 1916, in Donald K. Springen, *William Jennings Bryan: Orator of Small Town America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 149–71, at 161–64; Paolo E. Coletta, *William Jennings Bryan* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 3:82. His first acceptance of the state method can be dated to 1910. Kazin, *A Godly Hero*, 177. During the 1914 statewide suffrage initiative in Nebraska, Bryan visited Omaha to speak in support. Laura McKee Hickman, “Thou Shalt Not Vote: Anti-Suffrage in Nebraska, 1914–1920,” *Nebraska History* vol. 80, no. 2 (1999), 55–65, n21.
- 105 *Roosevelt’s dinner invitation*: Willard H. Smith, “William Jennings Bryan and Racism,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 54, no. 2 (April 1969), 127–149, at 140; Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in *PWW*, 18:386.
- 105 *ambassador to Haiti*: Smith, “William Jennings Bryan and Racism,” 143.
- 105 *Bryan endorsed Klansmen*: Glenn Feldman, *Politics, Society and the Klan in Alabama, 1915–1949* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 65.
- 105 “*thousands of devout Klansmen*”: John M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924), 115.
- 105 *a 1923 op-ed*: “Bryan Says North Would Act as South on Negro Question,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1923, sec. 8, 1; Smith, “William Jennings Bryan and Racism,” 144–45.
- 105 *warned the delegates*: Jason Roberts, “The Biographical Legacy of Calvin Coolidge and the 1924 Presidential Election,” in Katherine A.S. Sibley, ed., *A Companion to Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover* (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 201. Even Oscar Underwood, the Democratic senator from Alabama, was willing to condemn the Klan—it was he who sponsored the resolution to do so. Springen, *Bryan*, 67.
- 105 “*stirred the hearts*”: William Jennings Bryan, address to Democratic National Convention, New York City, June 28, 1924, in Springen, *Bryan*, 173–77, at 174–75.
- 105 *led by Wilson’s son-in-law*: Arnold S. Rice, *The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1962), 78–79.
- 105 *Klan held memorial services*: Coletta, *Bryan*, 3:275; Michael W. Schuyler, “The Ku Klux Klan in Nebraska, 1920–1930,” *Nebraska History*, vol. 66, no. 3 (Fall 1985), 234–56, at 250; “Thousands Pay Last Tribute to W.J. Bryan,” “Klan Purposes to Burn Cross,” both *Wilmington News-Journal*, Wilmington, Ohio, July 31, 1925, 1; Angus Gunn, *Intelligent Design and Fundamentalist Opposition to Evolution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006), 109; Smith, “William Jennings Bryan and Racism,” 133–34. Despite earning the Klan’s undying support, as far as is known Bryan was not himself a member. Smith, 134. But delegates at the 1924 Democratic Convention “believed that he was anti-Catholic [and] an actual member of the K.K.K.” Coletta, *Bryan*, 3:182.
- 106 *grim essay*: “Memoriam, W.J.B.,” in H.L. Mencken, *Prejudices*, 5th Series (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 64–74.