

WOODROW WILSON

THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

Extended Notes

9. 'Greatest Since Seneca Falls'

PAGE

- 107 *"a very dark night"*: Francis Lynde Stetson to President Grover Cleveland, October 7, 1894, in Allan Nevins, ed., *Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850–1908* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), 369.
- 107 *Cleveland's confidant*: "Francis L. Stetson, Lawyer, Dies at 74," *New York Times*, December 6, 1920, 15; "Francis Lynde Stetson," *New York Times*, November 5, 1896, 8.
- 107 *depression it kicked off*: The depression of 1893–94 began in January 1893 and reached its trough in June 1894, spanning 17 months. It was followed by another steep contraction from December 1895 to June 1897. Robert A. G. Monks and Alexandra Reed Lajoux, *Corporate Valuation for Portfolio Investment* (Bloomberg Press, 2011), Appendix R, 527–529, summarizing data from National Bureau of Economic Research, *U.S. Business Cycle Expansions and Contractions* (Cambridge, MA: NBER, 2003); David Whitten, "The Depression of 1893," Yale School of Management, Program on Financial Stability Resource Library (2001); Charles Hoffman, "The Depression of the Nineties," *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (June 1956), 137–164, at 138.
- 107 *"Democratic administrations anywhere"*: Nevins, *Letters of Grover Cleveland*, 369.
- 107 *Unemployment*: Gerald W. McFarland, "Depression of the 1890s," in Daniel Leab, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Recessions and Depressions* (Santa Barbara: ABC–CLIO, 2014), 284; Henry F. Graff, *Grover Cleveland* (New York: Times Books/Henry Holt & Co., 2002), 114–15.
- 107 *more than 10 percent*: Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, et al., eds., *Historical Statistics of the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Table Ca9–19 – Gross domestic product: 1790–2002. The figure cited is nominal GDP, continuous annual series. Real GDP and GNP estimates for these years vary widely.
- 107 *wealth destruction ... Erie*: Lauck, *The Causes of the Panic of 1893*, 85–109; Milton Friedman and A.J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 104–113; Richard H. Timberlake, Jr., "Panic of 1893," in *Business Cycles and Depressions: An Encyclopedia*, David Glasner and Thomas F. Cooley, eds. (NY: Garland Publishing, 1997), 516–18, at 518; "The Great Depression of 1893–1897," in Mark Zachary Taylor, *Presidential Leadership in Feeble Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2024), 308–09; Douglas Steeples and David O. Whitten, *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 37. In addition to the bank failures there were over 100 bank closures during the crisis. A total of 548 banks closed between May and October 1893. Randall E. Parker and Robert Whaples, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Major Events in Economic History* (New York: Routledge, 2013), Table 5.2, 45.
- 108 *To make matters worse*: United States Strike Commission, *Report on the Chicago Strike* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894); David Ray Papke, *The Pullman Case: The Clash of Labor and Capital in Industrial America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999).
- 108 *"saving the party"*: EAW to WW, July 31, 1894, *PWW*, 8:635.
- 109 *"can't do any worse"*: Elizabeth Purdy, ed., *Industrialization and Political Activism: 1861–1899* (New York: Facts on File, 2020), 58.
- 109 *lost 120 seats*: Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789–1989* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989), 148–49; Jamie L. Carson and Jason M. Roberts, "Strategic Politicians and U.S. House Elections, 1874–1914," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 67, no. 2 (May 2005), 474–496, at 480.

- 109 *all-time record*: Martis, *Political Parties in the United States Congress*, 148–49; Michael J. Dubin, *United States Congressional Elections, 1788–1996: The Official Results of the Elections of the 1st Through the 105th Congresses* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1998).
- 109 *nowhere in the South*: Andrew E. Busch, *Horses in Midstream: U.S. Midterm Elections and Their Consequences* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), 64; Boris Heersink and Jeffery A. Jenkins, *Republican Party Politics and the American South, 1865–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 128–29.
- 109 *political dividends*: Joseph G. Brown, *The History of Equal Suffrage in Colorado, 1868–1898* (Denver: News Job Printing Co., 1898), 43.
- 109 “*whether to accept*”: WW to EAW, July 24, 1894, *PWW*, 8:624–25.
- 109 “*too hungry*”: WW to EAW, July 30, 1894, *PWW*, 8:633–34.
- 109 “*lack of inspiration*”: WW to Horace Elisha Scudder, March 31, 1889, *PWW*, 8:658.
- 110 *Lecturing on “Democracy”*: “A Report of Wilson’s Address at Vassar College,” *Vassar Miscellany*, vol. 22 (January 1893), in *PWW*, 8:76–77; Editorial Note: “Democracy,” *PWW*, 7:344; “A Lecture,” *PWW*, 7:345, 368.
- 110 *Elmira Female College*: “Commencement,” (*Elmira, NY*) *Sibyl*, vol. 20 (July 1893), 171–72, in *PWW*, 8:275.
- 110 *five years later*: “College Notes,” (*South Hadley, MA*) *Mount Holyoke*, vol. 7 (April 1898), 359, in *PWW*, 10:491.
- 110 *three occasions*: *PWW*, 7:368–69. Wilson successfully avoided another request to speak to a pro-women’s suffrage group by asking for a steep honorarium plus expenses, which he admitted he had priced so high as to make it “prohibitive.” WW to May Wright Sewall, September 19, 1899, *PWW*, 11:241.
- 110 “*among strangers*”: WW to EAW, August 1, 1894, *PWW*, 8:637.
- 110 *1894 reception ... “any love!”*: WW to EAW, February 4, 1894, *PWW*, 8:453–54.
- 111 *nearly 70 percent*: John L. Rury, “Coeducation and Same-Sex Schooling,” in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society*, vol. 1, Paula S. Fass, ed. (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2003), 213.
- 111 “*gratuitous folly*” ... “*admitting women*”: WW to Charles William Kent, May 20, 1894, *PWW*, 8:583. Wilson’s correspondent was the future literary editor of the *Library of Southern Literature*. Joseph M. Flora and Amber Vogel, eds., *Southern Writers: A New Biographical Dictionary* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 232.
- 111 “*colleges of their own*”: WW to Charles William Kent, May 20, 1894, *PWW*, 8:583.
- 111 *concentrated in the South*: Nancy E. Durbin and Lori Kent, “Post-secondary Education of White Women in 1900,” in Julia Wrigley, ed., *Education and Gender Equality* (London: The Falmer Press, 1995), 77.
- 111 “*female cranks*”: EAW to WW, February 22, 1895, *PWW*, 9:219–20 and n1.
- 111 “*aggressive egotism*”: EAW to WW, July 26, 1893, *PWW*, 8:292–93 and n1 (Ellen Wilson’s emphasis).
- 111 “*I despise her*”: WW to EAW, February 21, 1895, *PWW*, 9:213–14 and n1. The woman’s letter, bearing the difficult news that she had been diagnosed with a form of mental illness, indicates that she trusted and respected the Wilsons. Ellen mocked the letter as a “little *billet doux* [love letter].” Two years later, the young woman was admitted to a psychiatric hospital, where she died. EAW to WW, February 22, 1895, *PWW*, 9:219 and n2.
- 112 “*art of persuasion*”: WW to EAW, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:499.
- 112 *well-known suffragist*: Clara Bewick Colby, “Helen M. Gougar,” *The Woman’s Tribune*, vol. 24, no. 12 (June 29, 1907), 1.
- 112 “*proper sphere*”: “Mrs. Gougar Mr. Dixon’s Equal,” *New York Times*, July 13, 1896, 8.
- 112 “*opening prayer*”: Richard Franklin Bensel, *Passion and Preferences: William Jennings Bryan and the 1896 Democratic National Convention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 32.
- 113 *monetary policy dominated*: *Ibid.*, 26.
- 113 *losing both*: Karl Rove, *The Triumph of William McKinley* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 363–64.
- 113 *glowing appraisal*: WW, “Mr. Cleveland as President,” *The Atlantic*, vol. 79, no. 473 (March 1897), 289–300.
- 113 “*his due commendation*”: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, April 12, 1897, *PWW*, 10:215.
- 113 *suffrage sympathizer*: H. Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004), 38; Gerald W. Johnson, “Dynamic Victoria Woodhull,” *American Heritage*, vol. 7, no. 4 (June 1956), 44; *HWS*, 2:443–48; “Local News,” (*Canton, OH*) *Stark County Democrat*, November 11, 1875, 5.

- 113 *argued before Congress ... ran for president*: M. M. Marberry, *Vicky: A Biography of Victoria Woodhull* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), 18–20, 85–92; Johanna Johnston, *Mrs. Satan* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1967), 83–93, 142–47.
- 113 *presidential appointments*: HWS, 4:367, 608, 1010.
- 113 *He would sign*: “Approved by the President,” *Washington Post*, June 2, 1896, 4; An Act to Amend the Laws of the District of Columbia as to Married Women, R.S.D.C. § 727 (1896); HWS, 4:569–70.
- 113 *eightieth birthday*: HWS, 4:384; Eleanor Clift, *Founding Sisters and the Nineteenth Amendment* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 2003), 79.
- 113 *personally greet*: HWS, 4:384.
- 113 *“greater successes”*: Ibid., 4:272.
- 113 *plank on women’s rights*: George D. Ellis and William Tyler Page, *Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928), 98–104.
- 113 *did not mention*: Ibid., 91–97.
- 114 *“No Democratic national platform”*: HWS, 4:437.
- 114 *never “a real leader”*: WW, Address to Virginia State Bar Association, August 5, 1897, PWW, 10:288.
- 114 *positive review*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 122.
- 114 *job at the Navy Department*: Theodore Roosevelt to WW, April 27 and April 29, 1887, PWW, 10:238–39.
- 114 *met briefly in 1896*: “A Public Warning,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 4, 1896, 8 (event at which both Roosevelt and Wilson spoke); John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 73.
- 114 *a small dinner*: WW Diary, January 21, 1897, PWW, 10:120.
- 114 *friendly correspondence*: Theodore Roosevelt to WW, April 27, 29, 1897, November 16, December 23, 1899, March 13, 17, 20, 1900, July 18, 1901, PWW, 10:238, 11:277, 352, 516, 520, 523, 12:164; WW to Roosevelt, July 28, 1901, PWW, 12:172.
- 114 *“very sane”*: WW to EAW, March 15, 1900, PWW, 11:515.
- 114 *Czolgosz*: Pronounced *CHAWL gōsh*. In London, at an international meeting of Anarchists, the assassin was applauded as “Saint” Czolgosz, whose noble deed “opens the eyes of the capitalists.” “Anarchists Meet in London,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1901, 1.
- 114 *electric chair*: Czolgosz was executed in New York on October 30, just shy of two months after the assassination. “Czolgosz Prepared for Chair of Death,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1901, 1; “Taking-Off of Czolgosz,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1901, 2.
- 114 *track record*: HWS, 4:1075; Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 75, 83, 183; Max J. Skidmore, “Theodore Roosevelt on Race and Gender,” *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures*, vol. 21, no. 2 (June 1998), 35, 38; “Theodore Roosevelt and Women’s Suffrage,” interview with John A. Gable, *American Experience* (Arlington, VA: PBS, 1996)(online); Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1931), 470; Wendy L. Rouse, *Her Own Hero: The Origins of the Self-Defense Movement* (N.Y.: NYU Press, 2017), 165.
- 115 *personally inscribed*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3:1123–24.
- 115 *ever-growing roster*: HWS, 4:1076–78. Their 1902 tally listed all supporters by name, office, and state but did not identify them by political party. See Appendix 1 for a complete tabular listing including political party identification.
- 115 *“Americanism” ... “without sentimentality”*: WW, Founder’s Day Address at Vassar College, May 3, 1902, quoted in Poughkeepsie, NY *Daily Eagle*, May 3, 1902, reprinted in PWW, 12:359–63.
- 115 *“sentimental”*: This was a favorite theme of Wilson’s. A few months earlier, addressing the Contemporary Club in Indianapolis on “What It Means to Be an American,” Wilson warned that “[w]e need to beware of sentimentality. ... It is sentimental to withhold the infliction of the death penalty [from] the man that has injured society by a foul murder.” WW, Address to the Contemporary Club of Indianapolis, April 26, 1902, PWW, 12:351–54.
- 116 *Wilson was chosen*: Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, June 9, 1902, PWW, 12:398.
- 116 *avoid overtly criticizing*: Stockton Axson, *“Brother Woodrow”: A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 119–20; Cooper, *Wilson*, 78.

- 116 *hosted a lunch*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, *PWW*, 14:6 and n2.
- 116 *lifelong friends*: Garrett would later share Thomas’s official residence on the Bryn Mawr campus as well, after Mamie Gwinn, Thomas’s companion of twenty years with whom she still shared quarters, left to marry Bryn Mawr professor Alfred LeRoy Hodder. Kathleen Waters Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett: Society and Philanthropy in the Gilded Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 225, 233.
- 116 *showered her wealth*: *Ibid.*, 3, 200–37.
- 116 *note to Ellen*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, *PWW*, 14:6.
- 117 *died of cancer*: Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 216–17.
- 117 *football field*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, *PWW*, 14:6.
- 117 *“football college”*: WW, Address to Democratic Meeting, Buffalo, NY, September 2, 1912, *PWW*, 25:80; Platform Talk, Kalamazoo, MI, September 19, 1912, *PWW*, 25:185.
- 117 *“genuinely pleased”*: WW to EAW, July 13, 1902, *PWW*, 14:6.
- 117 *Garrett continued*: Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 230–37; Claire Gaudiani, *The Greater Good: How Philanthropy Drives the American Economy and Can Save Capitalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2004), 38–40.
- 117 *“delegates of universities” . . . only three*: Official Program, *Inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of Princeton University, October 25, 1902* (New York: DeVinne Press, 1902), Woodrow Wilson Collection, Princeton University Library; “Wilson’s Inauguration,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, November 1, 1902, 83–86, in *PWW*, 14:191; Frances Wright Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson: First Lady between Two Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 143; Cooper, *Wilson*, 610n2.
- 118 *Surrounded . . . “our movement”*: “Elizabeth Cady Stanton Dies at Her Home; Tribute from Miss Anthony,” *New York Times*, October 27, 1902, 1.
- 118 *“what the nation needs”*: WW, Inaugural Address, October 25, 1902, *PWW*, 14:170.
- 118 *“under the shadow”*: Alexander Leitch, *A Princeton Companion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 528–29.
- 118 *bestseller*: Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 98.
- 118 *glowing reviews*: Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 112–13.
- 119 *second book*: *Ibid.*, 131.
- 119 *“riot breeder”*: “The Clansman,” *Chattanooga Daily Times*, November 13, 1905, 4.
- 119 *a “nightmare”*: “Echoes of the Clansman,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1905, 21 (quoting Alabama Governor William D. Jelks).
- 119 *“servant of the devil”*: “The Gospel of Turbulence,” Knoxville, TN *Journal and Tribune*, October 20, 1905, 4.
- 119 *largest audience ever*: Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith’s The Birth of a Nation: A History of “The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time”* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 118.
- 119 *“lure of sex”*: “The Clansman’ A Play of Power,” Raleigh, NC *News and Observer*, October 5, 1905, 5.
- 119 *third volume*: Thomas Dixon, *The Traitor: A Story of the Fall of the Invisible Empire* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1907).
- 119 *“My sole purpose”*: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 52.
- 119 *Black men had studied*: “African Americans and Princeton University: A Brief History,” African American Studies Research Guide, Princeton University Library; *PWW*, 15:462n2.
- 119 *“temper and tradition”*: WW to John Rogers Williams, September 2, 1904, *PWW*, 15:462 (emphasis added).
- 119 *1947*: *PWW*, 15:462n2.
- 120 *Black graduates*: Robert Bruce Slater, “The First Black Graduates of the Nation’s 50 Flagship State Universities,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 39 (Spring 2003), 118–126; “The Earliest Black Graduates of the Nation’s Highest-Ranked Liberal Arts Colleges,” *ibid.*, no. 38 (Winter 2002–03), 104–109; Slater, “The Blacks Who First Entered the World of White Higher Education,” *ibid.*, no. 4 (Summer 1994), 47–56.
- 120 *“I want so much”*: G. McArthur Sullivan to WW, November 20, 1909, *PWW*, 19:529.

- 120 *Wilson's answer*: WW to C. W. McAlpin, December 3, 1909, *PWW*, 19:550; Charles W. McAlpin to G. McArthur Sullivan, December 6, 1909, *PWW*, 19:557; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 70.
- 120 *a Princeton clergyman*: Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1958), 10–11, 14–15; Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 70.
- 120 *"Jim Crow for America"*: Robeson, *Here I Stand*, 15.
- 120 *"favorite comic subjects"*: Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 78. In private Wilson's racial commentary was not always in jest. In 1908 while president of Princeton, making a point about the propriety of separating Black people from polite society, he freely referred to them as "darkies" and "n*****s." He confessed to disciplining one of his Black servants by periodic displays of his "raving bad temper" meant to frighten her. "It is the only way to deal with colored servants," he claimed. He condemned intermarriage on the ground it "would degrade the white nations." And he criticized Roosevelt for inviting Booker T. Washington to the White House, and for appointing a Black man as Collector of the Port of Charleston. Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in *PWW*, 18:386.
- 120 *"menial service"*: WW to Morgan Poitiaux Robinson, October 30, 1903, *PWW*, 15:32.
- 120 *"least open to blacks"*: Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 71.
- 121 *"by reason of their race"*: Edwin E. Slosson, *Great American Universities* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910), 104.
- 121 *policies toward women*: *Ibid.*
- 121 *"most anti-Semitic"*: The other peer institutions in the 1910 study were Harvard, Yale, Stanford, the University of California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Cornell, Penn, Johns Hopkins, the University of Chicago, and Columbia. *Ibid.*; Maynard, *Princeton to the Presidency*, 71.
- 121 *"Harvard's ideal is diversity"*: Slosson, *Great American Universities*, 104.
- 121 *his own daughters ... "Yankee accent"*: Margaret attended the Women's College of Baltimore (renamed Goucher College in 1910) and Peabody Conservatory. Jessie attended the Women's College of Baltimore. Eleanor (Nell) attended St. Mary's College in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. "W.G. M'Adoo to Wed Eleanor Wilson," *New York Times*, March 13, 1914, 1; "Miss Jessie Wilson to Wed F.B. Sayre," *New York Times*, July 3, 1913, 1; Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 165; Betty Caroli, *First Ladies: From Martha Washington to Michelle Obama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 141.
- 121 *"You have the vote"*: Jessie Wilson Sayre, interview by Ray Stannard Baker, December 1, 1925, quoted in Cooper, *Wilson*, 98. Of the Wilson daughters, Jessie was the earliest to urge her father's support for women's voting rights. (She dated this conversation with her father to sometime during her student years at the Women's College of Baltimore, 1904–08.) A decade later, in 1915, Margaret was pressuring Colonel House to get her father to commit to federal action. EMH Diary, December 15, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:326–27. That same year Margaret was given a prominent place on the dais at the final session of the 1915 NAWSA convention in Washington. *HWS*, 5:440, 459, 724. Wilson's youngest daughter, Eleanor, "was not at first a suffragist." Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson*, 136. But following the 1917 victory for suffrage in New York, Eleanor (then married to Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo) joined the wives of other cabinet secretaries in co-hosting a NAWSA reception in Washington. *HWS*, 5:515. By that time both Jessie and Margaret were actively involved with Alice Paul's National Woman's Party. Christine Lunardini, *Alice Paul: Equality for Women* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013), 102. Jessie, according to Paul, was "completely and absolutely, I think, sympathetic to us." Alice Paul, "Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment," by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, University of California, Berkeley (1973), 91–92.