

# WOODROW WILSON

## THE LIGHT WITHDRAWN

### Extended Notes

For the convenience of the reader, these Extended Notes are provided without the many abbreviations in the printed volume. They include numerous further sources as well as supplementary background material relevant to the text and an expanded bibliography. Each Extended Note is linked to the same key phrase in the text as the corresponding note in the book.

Where it would help readability, spelling and punctuation within quotations cited in these notes are modernized. Current dollar equivalents that appear in the text and the notes are computed to the date of publication based on data from the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis (for the years 1913 and following, its online inflation calculator; for 1912 and prior years, its Annual Average Index tables of inflation rates, both available at [minneapolisfed.org](http://minneapolisfed.org)). The few abbreviations for names and publications used in the Extended Notes are listed below. Copyright © 2024 by Christopher Cox. All rights reserved.

### *Frequently Cited Names, Organizations, and Publications*

EAW; ELA	Ellen Louise Axson Wilson (1885–1914); Ellen Louise Axson (1860–1885)
EGB; EBW	Edith Bolling Galt (1872–1915); Edith Bolling Galt Wilson (1915–1961)
EMH	Edward Mandell House
<i>FDL</i>	Park, <i>Front Door Lobby</i>
<i>HAP</i>	Wilson, <i>History of the American People</i>
<i>HWS</i>	<i>History of Woman Suffrage</i> (6 vols.)
<i>JFF</i>	Stevens, <i>Jailed for Freedom</i>
JPT	Joseph Patrick Tumulty
<i>LL</i>	Baker, <i>Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters</i> (8 vols.)
MAH; MAHP	Mary Allen Hulbert (1883–1888; 1912–1939); Mary Allen Hulbert Peck (1890–1912)
NAWSA	National American Woman Suffrage Association
NWP	National Woman’s Party
<i>PWW</i>	Link, <i>The Papers of Woodrow Wilson</i> (69 vols.)
<i>SWP</i>	Irwin, <i>Story of the Woman’s Party</i>
WW	(Thomas) Woodrow Wilson
WWP	Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

### Introduction

xiii *income tax*: On October 3, 1913, Wilson signed into law the first income tax following the ratification of the 16th Amendment. Revenue Act of 1913, Pub. L. No. 63–16, § II, 38 Stat. 114, 166–81 (1913); “Wilson Signs New Tariff Law, *New York Times*, October 4, 1913, 1. His administration subsequently created the now-familiar Form 1040. Beginning with tax year 1918 it bore the name “Internal Revenue Service” across the top. From 1913 forward, this name for the agency was used in congressional appropriations legislation and in the Bureau of Internal Revenue’s annual reports to Congress. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 4, 31, 42, 214; Form 1040 for tax years 1918–20, “Prior

- Year Forms and Instructions,” U.S. Internal Revenue Service archival material. The Bureau was officially named the Internal Revenue Service during the Truman administration.
- xiii “*It is above all*”: Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 30.
- xiv “*even in ignorance*”: “Princeton Will Remove Woodrow Wilson’s Name from School,” *New York Times*, June 28, 2020, A22; “Board of Trustees’ decision on removing Woodrow Wilson’s name from public policy school and residential college,” Office of Communications, Princeton University, June 27, 2020.
- xiv “*every evil*”: WW Shorthand Diary, June 19, 1876, *PWW*, 1:143. To Wilson in 1876, “universal suffrage” would have been synonymous with “universal manhood suffrage,” although beginning in the mid-19th century, propelled by the women’s suffrage movement, its generally understood meaning was gradually expanding to include women. Kevin Duong, “What Was Universal Suffrage?,” *Theory & Event*, vol. 23, no. 1 (January 2020), 29–65.
- xiv “*nearest our hearts*”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- xiv “*Wilson did not preach*”: Adriene Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 31.
- xv “*moved by an earnest desire*”: Calvin Coolidge, *Proclamation Upon the Death of Woodrow Wilson*, Washington, February 3, 1924, leaflet, Printed Ephemera Collection, portfolio 242, folder 10a, Library of Congress.
- xv “*courage and eloquence*”: Herbert Hoover, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1958), 300–01.
- xv *mournful elegy*: Whittier said he was impelled to write the poem by his “surprise and grief” on reading Webster’s speech, and by his forebodings of the “evil consequences” the concessions to slavery portended. Horace Mann, Webster’s fellow Massachusetts Whig in the House, called attention to “the population of African descent in the free states” who were “specially put in peril” by the Fugitive Slave Act. Mann read Whittier’s poem before the House, and it was widely republished, including in *The National Era*, the antislavery magazine Whittier coedited that would serialize Uncle Tom’s Cabin the following year. “Ichabod,” author’s headnote, in *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier*, Cambridge ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1894), 186; Robert Penn Warren, *John Greenleaf Whittier’s Poetry: An Appraisal and a Selection* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 79; *Congressional Globe*, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 248 (remarks of Rep. Mann); James Freeman Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days: A Sketch of the Struggle Which Ended in the Abolition of Slavery in the United States* (New York: R. Worthington, 1884), 139.
- xvi “*It was Congress*”: David McCullough, Address to the First Bipartisan Congressional Retreat, Hershey, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1997, reprinted in 143 *Congressional Record* No. 36, H1158 (daily ed. March 19, 1997).

## PART I

## LONG PAST DUE

## I. Kindred Causes

## PAGE

- 3 *Wilson’s ancestors*: *LL*, 1:6–18; WW to ELA, November 10, 1884, *PWW*, 3:421.
- 3 *propertied women*: Fewer than half of the colonies used the word “male” in their election statutes or otherwise specifically excluded women. Rosemarie Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 28; “Suffrage Wins in Senate,” *New York Times*, June 5, 1919, 1.
- 3 *petitioned against slavery*: Brychan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657–1761* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 72–86.
- 3 *in 1763*: Frédérique Beauvois, *Between Blood and Gold: The Debates over Compensation for Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 68.

- 3 “*noble effort*”: Patrick Henry to Robert Pleasants, January 18, 1773, in Roger A. Bruns, ed., *Am I Not a Man and a Brother: The Antislavery Crusade of Revolutionary America, 1688–1788* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1977), 222.
- 3 *abolition supporter*: Abigail Adams to John Adams, September 22, 1774, in Charles Francis Adams, Sr., ed., *Letters of Mrs. Adams*, vol. 1 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840), 24 (describing slavery as “a most iniquitous scheme” in which free citizens “are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have,” and calling for its end).
- 3 “*hold ourselves bound*”: Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776, quoted in Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 100.
- 3 *new constitution*: N.J. Constitution of 1776, art. IV. See also Irwin N. Gertzog, “Female Suffrage in New Jersey,” in Naomi B. Lynn, ed., *Women, Politics and the Constitution* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1990), 49. New Jersey women and free Black people were stripped of the vote by statute in 1807. Jan Ellen Lewis, “Rethinking Women’s Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776–1807,” 63 *Rutgers L. Rev.* 1017 (2010).
- 4 “*Constitution gives this right*”: Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 30.
- 4 “*if our State*”: Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, November 15, 1797, in Stewart Mitchell, ed., *The New Letters of Abigail Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), 112. Other prominent American women spoke out publicly for equal rights in this era. See, for example, Judith Sargent Murray, *On the Equality of the Sexes* (1790), in Sharon M. Harris, ed., *Selected Writings of Judith Sargent Murray* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3; Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) (New York: A.J. Matsell, 1833).
- 4 *assumed the presidency*: Franklin became president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1787. *Centennial Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Grant, Faires & Rodgers, 1876), 14.
- 4 “*he or she*”: Laws of New Jersey, “An Act to Regulate the Election of the Members of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, Sheriffs and Coroners,” February 22, 1797, sec. XI.
- 4 *ensuing presidential election ... votes of Black women*: Horace Bushnell, *Women’s Suffrage, Reform Against Nature* (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1869), 111.
- 4 *every northern state*: Matthew Mason, *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 14. New Jersey was the last northern state to abolish slavery. Its statute phasing out slavery is exemplary of several state laws that reflect both the prevalent abolitionist sentiment of the time and the persistence of the evil the abolitionists failed to completely stamp out. The New Jersey law purported to end slavery immediately for all persons born on or after July 4, 1804. But it required men to serve the “owner” of their mothers “as if” they were enslaved until age 25, and women until 21. Anyone born into slavery on or before July 3, 1804 remained enslaved for life. These people were not legally freed until Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,” 28th N.J.G.A., 2nd sitting (February 15, 1804), Acts, chap. 103, 251–54.
- 4 *nationwide ban*: “Act to prohibit the importation of slaves,” 2 Stat. 426, Pub. L. 9–22 (1807).
- 4 *many at the time*: Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877*, 10th ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 80.
- 4 *At Monticello*: Celia Morris Eckhardt, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 81, 84–85.
- 4 *her portrait*: Chester Buttre, Portrait of Frances Wright, *HWS*, 1:6 (frontispiece).
- 4 *In years afterward*: Frances Wright, *Course of [Seven] Popular Lectures with Three Addresses*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Enquirer, 1829); Frances Wright D’Arusmont, *Biography, Notes, and Political Letters* (Dundee: J. Myles, Bookseller, 1844), 40–42; Robert J. Connors, “Frances Wright: First Female Civic Rhetor in America,” *College English*, vol. 62, no. 1 (September 1999), 30–57.
- 4 “*I go for all*” ... “*his position*”: *HWS*, 4:1075; “Presidents on Suffrage,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 43 (October 23, 1915), 338. Both *HWS* and *The Woman’s Journal*, however, omitted the portion of Lincoln’s statement that limited it to “whites.” “What Lincoln Said,” *New York Times*, February 29, 1915, sec. 7, 2. And while he seems never to have retracted that statement, there is no evidence he ever repeated it. Marjorie J. Spruill, ed., *Jailed for Freedom by Doris Stevens* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 2008), 100n3.

- 4 *meetings with James Madison*: To Martineau, Madison expressed his view that women and men should have the same education, and stressed that “the whole bible is against negro slavery.” Harriett Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, vol. 2 (London: Saunders & Otley, 1838), 1–18.
- 4 “*Forty years ago*”: “Political Non-Existence of Women,” in Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Saunders & Otley, 1837), 148. The future Congressman George W. Julian (R-IN), who would introduce several bills during the 1860s and 70s to grant women the right to vote, became committed to the cause of women’s suffrage after reading Martineau’s essay. *HWS*, 3:552–53.
- 5 *Slavery Abolition Act*: “An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves,” 3 & 4 William 4 c.73 (August 28, 1833).
- 5 *Mott founded*: Carol Faulkner, *Lucretia Mott’s Heresy: Abolition and Women’s Rights in Nineteenth Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 66.
- 5 *that same decade*: Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women’s Rights and Abolition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 107–08.
- 5 *met Elizabeth Cady Stanton*: Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 38–39.
- 5 “*rights of women*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More* (New York: European Publishing Co., 1898), 82, 83.
- 5 *Stanton was introduced*: *Ibid.*, 127, 138.
- 5 *the same week ... to “discuss”*: *HWS*, 1:67–68.
- 5 “*right to the elective franchise*”: *Ibid.*, 1:72.
- 6 *Even Lucretia Mott*: Faulkner, *Mott’s Heresy*, 140.
- 6 “*only man*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Eulogy for Frederick Douglass, as read by Susan B. Anthony, Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, Washington, DC, February 25, 1895, in Helen Douglas, ed., *In Memoriam: Frederick Douglass* (Philadelphia: John C. Yorston & Co., 1897), 44.
- 6 “*power to choose rulers*”: *HWS*, 1:73.
- 6 *An editorial*: “The Rights of Women,” *The North Star*, July 28, 1848, 3.
- 6 *final act*: *HWS*, 1:73.
- 7 *attend a lecture*: Dorothy Sterling, *Lucretia Mott* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1964), 161.
- 7 “*God’s ordaining*” ... “*domestic state*”: Richard Henry Dana, Sr., “Lecture on ‘Woman,’” Philadelphia, 1849, quoted in David Henry, “Lucretia Coffin Mott’s ‘Discourse on Woman,’” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 25 (1995 Annual Edition), 11–19, at 12.
- 7 *lecture of her own*: Sterling, *Lucretia Mott*, 161.
- 7 *beyond refutation...* “*weak capacity of woman*”: Lucretia Mott, *Discourse on Woman Delivered at the Assembly Buildings, December 17, 1849* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson, 1850).
- 8 *Ada Lovelace*: Christopher Hollings, Ursula Martin, and Adrian Rice, “The Lovelace–De Morgan Mathematical Correspondence,” *Historica Mathematica*, vol. 44, no. 3 (August 2017), 202–31.
- 8 *Maria Mitchell*: Renée L. Bergland, *Maria Mitchell and the Sexing of Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008), xii, 57.
- 8 *that same year*: Wendy Moore, “Elizabeth Blackwell: Breaching the Barriers for Women in Medicine,” *The Lancet*, vol. 397, no. 10275 (February 20, 2021), 662.
- 8 *Plebiscites*: Edward Everett Hale, “A Quarter Century of Kansas,” *The Independent*, vol. 31 (September 25, 1879), 1608.
- 8 *thousands of mercenaries*: That is exactly what happened. Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860–64*, vol. 1 (Hartford: O.D. Case & Co., 1864), 235.
- 9 *89 percent*: *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess. (May 25, 1854), 1321 (roll call on final Senate passage of Kansas-Nebraska Act); *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998) (listing party affiliations of voting members).

- 9 *busy petitioning ... simultaneously organizing*: Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 125; Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony: Biography of a Rebel, Crusader, and Humanitarian of the Women's Rights and Feminist Movements* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 34–35.
- 9 *to Washington*: “I feel that woman should in the very capitol of the nation lift her voice against that abominable measure,” Susan wrote Lucy Stone on the day the Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Susan B. Anthony to Lucy Stone, March 3, 1854, quoted in Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony*, 35.
- 9 *underwritten by Gerrit Smith*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 26, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith*, 212 and chaps. 4, 6 passim. Smith was not only one of the richest men in New York, but one of the wealthiest men in the United States. From his father, a financial partner of John Jacob Astor, he had inherited a real estate fortune and managed it into a larger one, making him a multibillionaire in today's currency. His gifts to political causes he supported, measured in today's dollars, surpassed \$600 million during his lifetime. Norman K. Dann, *Gerrit Smith: Practical Dreamer* (Hamilton, NY: Log Cabin Books, 2009), 29.
- 9 *earliest congressional supporter*: Smith did not propose legislation for women's voting rights during his single term in Congress, but he endorsed the concept in the weeks before his 1852 election: “All will admit that woman has a right to herself, to her own powers of locomotion, to her own earnings, but how few are prepared to admit her right to the ballot. But all rights are held by a precarious tenure, if this one be denied.... The right of suffrage is the great right that guarantees all others.” Gerrit Smith, Address to National Woman's Rights Convention, Syracuse, NY, September 8, 1852, in *HWS*, 1:527. Having decided to first secure Black men's voting rights, he prioritized women's suffrage in the 1870s. Norman K. Dann, *Gerrit Smith: Practical Dreamer* (Hamilton, NY: Log Cabin Books, 2009), 369.
- 9 *Washington contacts*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 26, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; *HWS*, 1:526n109.
- 9 *seventy-six members*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 21, 22, 24, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 9 *met personally*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 25, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 9 *Boyd, a slave owner*: Julie Z. Weil and Adrian Blanco Ramos, Congressional slaveholder database, *Washington Post*, [www.washingtonpost.com/history/interactive/2022/congress-slaveowners-names-list/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/history/interactive/2022/congress-slaveowners-names-list/).
- 9 *“How hateful”*: Susan B. Anthony Diary, March 23, 1854, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 9 *“to the winds”*: Walter R. Houghton, *History of American Politics* (Indianapolis: F.T. Neely & Co., 1883), 292.
- 9 *along with the men*: Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, 7th ed., vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1874), 409.
- 10 *with their southern colleagues*: Pearl T. Ponce, *To Govern the Devil in Hell: The Political Crisis in Territorial Kansas* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 228.
- 10 *groundbreaking work*: Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 16–17.
- 10 *decided advantage*: The Missouri slaveholders were highly motivated to prevent an antislavery government across their border. The estimated value of their investment in human “property” was well over one billion dollars, measured in today's currency. Harrison Anthony Trexler, “Slavery in Missouri 1804–1865,” PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1912 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 10 (citing census figures of 87,422 enslaved people in Missouri as of 1850, and 114,931 as of 1860). In “the fifties [1850s] ... stout hemp-breaking negroes ‘sold readily from \$1,200 to \$1,400,’” while women frequently were sold for over \$1,000, and the price for children was often in excess of \$500. *Ibid.*, 39–42. Using \$500 as the most conservative estimate for all enslaved persons, and multiplying that by the mean enslaved population of 101,000 at mid-decade, the total is \$50.5 million, or \$1.8 billion in current dollars. Given the values Trexler cites, the actual figure could be two or three times greater.
- 10 *first party*: Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: E.F. Caldwell, 1895), 4.

- 10 *slaveholding U.S. Senator*: William E. Parrish, “David Rice Atchison, ‘Faithful Champion of the South,’” *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 51, no. 2 (January 1957), 122–24.
- 10 *five thousand*: Jason Roe, “The Contested Election of 1855,” in *Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri–Kansas Conflict, 1855–65*, Kansas City Public Library (online); Donald Gilmore, “Revenge in Kansas, 1863,” *History Today*, vol. 43, no. 3 (March 1993), 47–53.
- 10 *pre-election census*: James W. Erwin, *Guerrillas in Civil War Missouri* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 16.
- 10 *When the dust settled*: U.S. House of Representatives, Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Trouble in Kansas, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 200 (July 2, 1856).
- 10 *proslavery laws*: Rita Napier, “The Hidden History of Bleeding Kansas,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, vol. 27, no. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2004), 44 at 46 and n1.
- 10 *threatened to kill*: Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life*, 10th ed. (Lawrence: Journal Publishing Co., 1899), 20.
- 11 *friend of the victim*: *Ibid.*, 127.
- 11 *stuffing envelopes*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:122.
- 11 *“I doubt not”*: Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 17.
- 11 *almost half*: William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 375; Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 18.
- 11 *“citizens have been shot”*: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 543 (remarks of Mr. Sumner); “Important From Kansas: Gathering of Pro-Slavery Forces for An Attack on Lawrence” (datelined May 12, 1856), *New York Times*, May 30, 1856, 1.
- 11 *“We are approaching”*: “Important From Kansas,” *New York Times*, May 30, 1856, 1.
- 11 *“no longer worthy”*: Frank W. Blackmar, ed., *Kansas*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), 70. There are multiple contemporary sources for this reported remark. Nonetheless, some have posited it may be apocryphal, invented by free state newspapers. See, e.g., Nicole Etcheson, “Labouring for the Freedom of This Territory: Free-State Kansas Women in the 1850s,” *Kansas History, A Journal of the Central Plains*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1998), 68–87, at 80.
- 12 *“monster posse”*: “Affairs in Kansas,” *Saturday Evening Post*, May 31, 1856, 2.
- 12 *“matrons of Rome”*: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 543 (remarks of Mr. Sumner).
- 12 *consulted with Julia Ward Howe*: Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences, 1819–1899* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900), 178.
- 12 *“effective efforts to Freedom”*: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 543 (remarks of Mr. Sumner).
- 12 *scouts and guards ... “one furious woman”*: Nicole Etcheson, “‘Labouring for the Freedom of This Territory’: Free-State Kansas Women in the 1850s,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1998), 68, at 78–79.
- 12 *his “disposition”*: *Alexandria Gazette*, May 22, 1856, 2.
- 12 *“chivalry”*: *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 19, 1856), Appendix, 530 (remarks of Mr. Sumner).
- 13 *“ugly to others”*: *Ibid.* It is worth noting that Sumner called *slavery* ugly, not Butler. Nor did he accuse Butler of having a “mistress.” By the chaste public standards of the 19th century, Sumner’s allegedly “lurid” and “sexual” imagery was hardly outré—it is the sort of thing one routinely finds in Shakespeare’s works from the 16th century. Yet this criticism of Sumner had a place in standard American histories well into the 20th century. It is testament to the deep influence of the Dunning school, and even Woodrow Wilson’s own writings depicting Sumner as a crass partisan. See text at 71.
- 13 *gross personal insults*: Manisha Sinha, “The Caning of Charles Sumner: Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 242 and n12; Kellie Carter Jackson, *Force and Freedom: Black Abolitionists and the Politics of Violence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 90.

- 13 *Sumner's speech*: Buffalo *Daily Republic*, May 21, 1856, 2; "Mr. Sumner's Speech," *New York Tribune*, May 21, 1856, 6; "From Washington," *New York Tribune*, May 22, 1856, 5; "Charles Sumner," *Lewisburg Chronicle*, May 23, 1856, 2; David Herbert Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 283, 286; W.H. Hoffer, *The Caning of Charles Sumner* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 58, 67; Stephen Puleo, *The Caning: The Assault That Drove America to Civil War* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2013), 59–74.
- 13 *tweed coat*: Donald, *Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, 214.
- 13 *ninety degrees*: "The Crime Against Kansas, May 19, 1856" (undated publication), Art & History, U.S. Senate Historical Office.
- 13 "*Such a speech*": *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 20, 1856), Appendix, 544 (remarks of Sen. Cass).
- 13 *printed in advance*: An example of a contemporaneous published copy is Charles Sumner, "The Crime Against Kansas," speech before the United States Senate, May 19–20, 1856 (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1856).
- 14 *at one o'clock*: Report of the House Select Committee on the Alleged Assault Upon Senator Sumner, H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 36 (1856) (testimony of Sen. Foster), 64 (testimony of Mr. Sutton).
- 14 *prevent any interference*: *Ibid.*, 44–47 (testimony of Mr. Holland), 49–50 (testimony of Mr. Jones), 57 (testimony of Mr. Simonton), 64 (testimony of Mr. Sutton).
- 14 *acting as lookout*: *Ibid.*, 48 (testimony of Sen. Crittenden), 59 (testimony of Rep. Edmundson that Brooks wanted Edmundson to be present at the assault as "a friend of mine to be with me to do me justice").
- 14 *he had plotted*: *Ibid.*, 3 (majority report).
- 14 *did not recognize*: *Ibid.*, 23 (testimony of Sen. Sumner).
- 14 *hard as whalebone*: *Ibid.*, 2 (majority report), 73 (testimony of Mr. Davis).
- 14 *chosen for the purpose*: Statement by Preston S. Brooks dated May 28, 1856, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd series, vol. 61 (October 1927–June 1928), 221–23, at 222. The statement, handwritten by Brooks, was first published in 1928 from the original manuscript then in possession of Brooks's daughter.
- 14 *previously arrested*: Michael A. Morrison, *Slavery and the American West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 154.
- 14 *loaded gun*: Elias Nason, *The Life and Times of Charles Sumner* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1874), 222.
- 14 *not raising his voice*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 28 (testimony of Gov. Gorman).
- 14 "*come to punish you*": Statement by Preston S. Brooks, 222.
- 14 *all his might*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 35 (testimony of Sen. Toombs), 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 14 *cleaving the bone*: *Ibid.*, 51 (testimony of Dr. Boyle, attending surgeon).
- 14 *milliseconds*: Alan M. Nathan, "Dynamics of the Baseball–Bat Collision," *American Journal of Physics*, vol. 68, no. 11, 979–90 (2000).
- 14 *lost his sight*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 2 (majority report), 23 (testimony of Sen. Sumner); *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 1279 (May 22, 1856) (remarks of Sen. Wilson).
- 14 *trauma likely triggered*: Alejandro Rodriguez et al., "Post-Traumatic Transient Cortical Blindness," *International Ophthalmology*, vol. 17, no. 5 (1993), 277–83, at 279; A.P. Gleeson and T. F. Beattie, "Post-Traumatic Transient Cortical Blindness in Children," *Journal of Accident and Emergency Medicine*, vol. 11, no. 4 (December 1994), 250–52, at 251.
- 14 *exposed his skull*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 51 (testimony of Dr. Boyle, attending surgeon).
- 14 *face, head, and shoulders*: *Ibid.*, 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *left hand ... nose*: *Ibid.*, 55 (testimony of Capt. Darling).
- 15 *hold his hands up*: *Ibid.*, 33–34 (testimony of Sen. Toombs), 38 (testimony of Rep. Murray), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *instinctively, spasmodically*: *Ibid.*, 23 (testimony of Sen. Sumner), 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *bolts and all*: *Ibid.*, 24 (testimony of Sen. Sumner).
- 15 *victim's screams*: Brooks testified that "[t]owards the last" his victim "bellowed like a calf." Preston S. Brooks to John Hampden Brooks, May 23, 1856, reprinted in full in Robert L. Meriwether, ed., "Preston S. Brooks on the

- Caning of Charles Sumner,” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 52, no. 1 (January 1951), 1–4, at 3.
- 15 *six-foot-one*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 35 (testimony of Sen. Toombs).
- 15 *broke the end*: Ibid., 28 (testimony of Gov. Gorman), 32 (testimony of Sen. Toombs); *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works*, vol. 5 (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1900), 269–70 (testimony of William Y. Leader).
- 15 *two-foot piece*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 75 (testimony of House Sergeant-at-Arms that length of remaining piece was 21.75”).
- 15 *“hard as he could”*: Ibid., 35 (testimony of Sen. Toombs).
- 15 *by his coat collar*: Ibid., 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *convulsions*: Ibid., 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster).
- 15 *“Don’t kill him!”*: Ibid., 57 (testimony of Rep. Winslow).
- 15 *“Let them alone”*: Ibid., 58 (testimony of Mr. Simonton), 4 (majority report), 29 (testimony of Gov. Gorman), 37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 41 (testimony of Rep. Morgan), 57 (testimony of Mr. Simonton); Donald, *Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, 248.
- 15 *unconscious*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 24 (testimony of Sen. Sumner), 36–37 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan), 48 (testimony of Sen. Crittenden), 57 (testimony of Mr. Simonton); *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 22, 1856), 1279 (remarks of Sen. Wilson).
- 15 *“kept up his blows”*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, 33 (testimony of Sen. Toombs).
- 15 *turned black*: Ibid., 55 (testimony of Capt. Darling).
- 15 *“the stick shivered”*: Ibid., 71 (testimony of Sen. Iverson), 38 (testimony of Rep. Murray), 39 (testimony of Rep. Morgan).
- 15 *souvenir*: Ibid., 60 (testimony of Rep. Edmundson); Statement of Preston S. Brooks, 222; Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 222.
- 15 *“bleeding and insensible”*: Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 222; H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 36 (testimony of Sen. Foster), 40, 42 (testimony of Rep. Morgan), 48 (testimony of Sen. Crittenden), 57 (testimony of Sen. Simonton).
- 15 *“The next time”*: Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 222.
- 15 *critical condition*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 2, 83 (majority report), 69–70 (testimony of Dr. Perry); Marshall S. Perry, M.D. to Boston Society for Medical Improvement, December 8, 1856, in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. 55, no. 21 (December 25, 1856), 417–19, at 417.
- 15 *twenty or thirty blows*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 28 (testimony of Sen. Gorman), 40 (testimony of Rep. Morgan) (blows given “with great rapidity ... impossible to tell”), “at least thirty licks,” 57 (testimony of Rep. Winslow). Sen. Foster similarly testified that the blows “were struck with extreme rapidity” so that it was “impossible to count them.” Ibid., 37. Rep. Brooks’s own estimate was that he inflicted “about 30 first rate stripes.” Preston S. Brooks to John Hampden Brooks, May 23, 1856, in “Preston S. Brooks on the Caning of Charles Sumner,” 2.
- 15 *“the worst wounds”*: H. Rep. No. 34–182, at 55 (testimony of Capt. Darling), 67 (testimony of Rep. Buffinton).
- 16 *over three years*: Following the attack, Sumner suffered months of various sequelae, including infection, fever, and partial paralysis. Neurological symptoms included severe head and neck pain, back pain, and semi-paraplegia that made it difficult to stand erect or walk. David Donald’s two biographies of Sumner provide many details consistent with post-traumatic stress disorder. David McCullough, in *The Greater Journey*, infers from the evidence that Sumner’s psychological injuries may have been more profound than the physical harm he suffered. Repeated insistence in the Democratic press that Sumner was “shamming” only added to this. Laura A. White, “Was Charles Sumner Shamming, 1856–1859?” *New England Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 3 (September 1960). After extensive treatment in the U.S. and Europe, Sumner returned to his full-time duties in the Senate on the opening day of the 36th Congress. Nason, *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*, 249; *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. (December 5, 1859), 1.
- 16 *avoided censure*: Appendix, *Works of Charles Sumner*, vol. 4, 267–68. The slavery-friendly U.S. Attorney who “prosecuted” the case, a Pierce appointee, was the nephew of Chief Justice Roger Taney, who would author the *Dred Scott* decision the following year.



## 2. Woodrows and Wilsons

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- 17 *even science*: In 1859, Charles Darwin fired the “shot heard round the theological world.” Bert James Loewenberg, “Darwinism Comes to America, 1859–1900,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 28, no. 3 (December 1941), 339–68, at 350. Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle, James Woodrow, a science professor at the Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina, began to accept the possibility of evolution a quarter century later. In 1884 he wrote that while Adam was perhaps the product of evolution, it was certain the first woman was directly created by a miracle of God from Adam’s rib. This half-acceptance of elements of Darwin’s theory was too much for the ruling Presbyterian authorities, who fired him. Clement Eaton, “Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South,” *Journal of Southern History* (February 1962), 3–17, at 11. Joseph Wilson sided with Professor Woodrow, as did his son Thomas Woodrow Wilson. Joseph R. Wilson to WW, October 25, 1890, *PWW*, 3:52; WW to ELA, *ibid.*, 3:216.
- 17 “*must renounce slavery*”: Victor Hugo to Maria Weston Chapman, July 6, 1851, in *Letters on American Slavery* (Boston: The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1860), 7.
- 17 *John Brown*: “The Harper’s Ferry Outbreak: Verbatim Report of the Questioning of Old Brown by Senator Mason, Congressman Vallandigham, and Others,” *New York Herald*, October 21, 1859, 1; “Synopsis of the Speech of Abraham Lincoln,” *Illinois State Journal*, vol. 12, no. 155, December 12, 1859; John Thomas Lewis Preston, “The Execution of John Brown,” *The Southern Bivouac: A Monthly Literary and Historical Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 3 (August 1886), in West Virginia State Archives, John Brown Pamphlets, vol. 6, Boyd B. Stutler Collection.
- 17 *liberty demanded*: Angelo Metzidakis, “Victor Hugo and the Idea of the United States of Europe,” *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1/2 (Fall-Winter 1994–95), 72–84, at 77 (detailing Hugo’s speech to the Third International Peace Congress, Paris, August 21, 1849).
- 17 *formed the partnership*: Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 118; Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony: Biography of a Rebel, Crusader, and Humanitarian of the Women’s Rights and Feminist Movements* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 26.
- 17 *women’s rights conventions*: Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), 81; *HWS*, 1:74.
- 17 *abolitionist clergy*: Samuel J. May, *The Rights and Condition of Women*, sermon delivered November 8, 1846, in the Church of the Messiah, Syracuse, NY (Syracuse: Stoddard & Babcock, 1846); Elizabeth Cazden, *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: A Biography* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1983); *Memoir of Samuel Joseph May* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1873), 190.
- 18 *several months*: Joseph Wilson entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton in 1846, but remained there “less than a year” and did not earn a degree. *Necrological Reports and Annual Proceedings*, vol. 3, “Joseph Ruggles Wilson, D.D.” (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary Alumni Assoc., 1909), 217–18; Robert A. Bober, “Young Woodrow Wilson: The Search for Immortality” (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1980), 37 and n47.
- 18 *Ohio*: Francis P. Weisenburger, “The Middle Western Antecedents of Woodrow Wilson,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (December 1936), 375–90, at 387.
- 18 *legislation to ban slavery*: Abraham Lincoln, “A Bill to Abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia,” January 1849, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 18 *editorialized against slavery*: Osman Castle Hooper, *History of Ohio Journalism, 1793–1933* (Columbus, OH: The Spahr & Glenn Co., 1933), 48; John M. Mulder, “Joseph Ruggles Wilson: Southern Presbyterian Patriarch,” *Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 52, no. 3 (Fall 1974), 245–71, at 247.
- 18 “*early hotbed*”: Ernest T. Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, vol. 1 (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963), 336, 384.
- 18 *minority vote*: Robert C. Galbraith, Jr., *History of the Chillicothe Presbytery* (Chillicothe, OH: Scioto Gazette Book and Job Office, 1889), 181; Lewis G. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861–1869* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 13–15.

- 18 *more enslaved*: “Slave Population of the United States,” Table 71 in *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington: Beverly Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854), 82.
- 18 *tutoring*: Mulder, “Joseph Ruggles Wilson,” 248; Luke Joel Swan, Jr., “The Rhetorical Theory of Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson, D.D.” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1971), 40–41.
- 19 “*best house in Staunton*”: Jim Hargan, *The Shenandoah Valley and Mountains of the Virginias* (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 2005), 126.
- 19 *servants*: The Wilson family’s enslaved servants were provided to them as a perquisite by the Presbyterian church, which leased the human property from local congregants. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 24.
- 19 *Named for*: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, September 22, 1881, *PWW*, 2:80.
- 19 *newly-constructed manse*: *LL*, 1:29–30; Lincoln Bates, “Wilson Home Opens,” *American History*, vol. 36, no. 6 (February 2002); “History of the Manse” (Augusta: Boyhood Home of Woodrow Wilson, 2023).
- 19 “*earliest recollection*”: WW, “Abraham Lincoln: A Man of the People,” Address in Chicago, February 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:33.
- 19 *segregated congregation*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 33. Even through the Reconstruction era, “all predominantly white congregations exhibited the hated segregated pews.” Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 141.
- 19 “*divine authority*”: Joseph R. Wilson, *Mutual Relation of Masters and Slaves as Taught in the Bible* (Augusta: Steam Press of Chronicle & Sentinel, 1861), Rare Book Collection, Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, at 7, 12, 16, 21.
- 19 “*my slaveholding brethren*”: *Ibid.*, 3.
- 20 “*this evil*”: The mainstream church’s General Assembly also condemned all those who “have made war against the United States.” *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, vol. 12 (New York: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1861), 446–48.
- 20 *one of the leaders*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 29–30. In this, Joseph Wilson was in league with his brother-in-law, Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle James Woodrow. Rev. Woodrow authored the resolution at the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia in 1861 that formally dissolved its relations with the northern church over the issue of slavery. T. Conn Bryan, “The Churches in Georgia During the Civil War,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4 (December 1949), 286 and n25. The sentiment was shared by Ellen Wilson’s family. When Union forces occupied Georgia and forced pastors to take loyalty oaths to the Constitution, Ellen Wilson’s father, Reverend Samuel Edward Axson, subversively retaliated by omitting the traditional prayer for the president from his Sunday ritual. *Ibid.*, 298 and n120.
- 20 “*A great battle*”: White, *Wilson*, 33; *LL*, 1:51.
- 20 *slave quarters*: Irvin Haas, *Historic Homes of the American Presidents*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 125; William G. Clotworthy, *Homes and Libraries of the Presidents*, 2nd ed. (Blacksburg, VA: McDonald & Woodward Publishing Co., 2003), 202.
- 20 *more enslaved servants*: Cooper, *Wilson*, 16, 602n7.
- 20 “*honorable*”: WW, *Division and Reunion: 1829–1889* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 209.
- 20 “*willful sin*”: *Ibid.* Wilson lived intermittently with his parents until he was twenty-eight years old. Throughout this time they employed enslaved and later emancipated Black people as servants. As a Princeton professor in 1901, Wilson criticized Republicans and Reconstruction for failing to appreciate “how devoted in the service of their masters the great mass of the negro people had remained” and for not deeming “southerners safe friends of the freed slaves.” *HAP*, 5:17.
- 20 “*not so dark*”: WW, “State Rights,” chap. 13 in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 7, A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903).
- 20 *military chaplain ... home defense unit*: Florence Fleming Corley, *Confederate City: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1960), 40; Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; Editorial note, *PWW*, 1:4–5n1. Beginning in May 1861, pursuant to statute enacted by the Confederate Congress, military chaplains were direct appointees of President Jefferson Davis, on par with staff officers. Act of May 3, 1861, Public Acts of the

- Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, Stat. II, chap. 1, sec. 1; War Department circular, November 1861, Records of Confederate War Department, Record Group 109, NA; William E. Dickens, Jr., “Answering the Call: The Story of the U.S. Military Chaplaincy from the Revolution through the Civil War” (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1998), 64–65. During the war, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, of which James Woodrow was a director following the North-South schism, was forced to abandon much of its peacetime work but in the South was able to support military chaplains such as Rev. Joseph Wilson. Charles Lemuel Thompson, *The Soul of America: The Contribution of Presbyterian Home Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co, 1919), 88–90, 95, 105, 211; William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Hough-ton Mifflin Co., 1924), 30.
- 20 *used his church ... wartime atrocities*: LL, 1:51; Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 11; Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), passim. Reverend Wilson also traveled to Richmond to confer with high-ranking Confederate officials including Vice President Alexander Stephens. Corley, *Confederate City*, 63–64. Woodrow Wilson’s maternal uncle, James Woodrow, oversaw munitions manufacturing for the Confederate armies. Cooper, *Wilson*, 17; White, *Wilson*, 73.
- 20 “*weak nature*” ... “*future of their children*”: Joseph R. Wilson, *Female Training* (Augusta: Steam Power Press of the Chronicle and Sentinel, 1858), 6, 8, 10.
- 21 “*refined women*”: HWS, 2:2.
- 21 *One-third*: Kari A. Cornell, *Women in the Civil War* (Minneapolis: Abdo Publishing, 2016), 66.
- 21 *women were killed*: Brian Bergin, *The Washington Arsenal Explosion: Civil War Disaster in the Capital* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 13–14, 41–42.
- 21 *espionage*: DeAnne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 26, 68–69, 188–22; Karen Abbott, *Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy: Four Women Undercover in the Civil War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013); Thomas B. Allen, *Harriet Tubman, Secret Agent: How Daring Slaves and Free Blacks Spied for the Union During the Civil War* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2006); Curtis Caroll Davis, ed., *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison, Written by Herself* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1968).
- 21 *four hundred women*: Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 6–7; Cornell, *Women in the Civil War*, 28.
- 21 *Enslaved women ... war matériel*: Willi Coleman, “Architects of a Vision: Black Women and Their Antebellum Quest for Political and Social Equality,” in Ann D. Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, ed., *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 25–26.
- 21 *fled to England*: Douglass fled first to Canada and then Britain to escape prosecution as a conspirator with John Brown. David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 305–9. He made his escape on a horse borrowed from New York’s former lieutenant governor, who later defended Susan B. Anthony in her criminal trial for illegally voting. Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (London: Christian Age, 1882), 270–71.
- 22 *met with President Lincoln*: Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 203–07.
- 22 *enter the public arena*: Cultural taboos had long existed against women speaking in public. J. Matthew Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc: The Life of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.
- 22 *invitation was signed*: “Words for the Hour,” advertisement for address by Anna E. Dickinson, *Washington Evening Star*, January 15, 1864, 1. The vice president, twenty-four senators and seventy-eight representatives signed the invitation, including the elected leadership of both chambers.
- 22 *Among the dignitaries*: “Miss Dickinson’s Address,” *Cleveland Morning Leader*, January 18, 1864, 1; Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc*, 36–37.
- 22 *could not even “imagine”*: “America in the Midst of War,” *London Daily Telegraph*, February 2, 1864, 5.
- 22 *throughout the North*: Gallman, *America’s Joan of Arc*, 9, 25–26, 40.
- 22 *a mass meeting*: “Addresses of the Hon. W. D. Kelley, Miss Anna E. Dickinson, and Mr. Frederick Douglass,” National Hall, Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, African American Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress.

- 22 *four times higher*: Dictating his autobiography years later, Twain still appeared envious over how much more Anna Dickinson was paid for her speeches than he was. Twain and Dickinson had the same agent on the lecture circuit, James Redpath of the Boston Lyceum Bureau. But her standard fee was four times larger than his. Twain records that “Anna Dickinson’s price was \$400 a night.” Twain’s own fees “typically ranged from \$75 to \$150,” only “occasionally” reaching \$200. Harriet Elinor Smith and Benjamin Griffin, eds., *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 3 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 166, 527n165.33–166.6; *ibid.*, vol. 1 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010), 151, 511nn151.12–14.
- 22 “*degrading the master*”: “Hope! Hope! Hope! for the South!,” *Macon Telegraph*, February 27, 1865, 2.
- 22 “*no one doubted*” ... “*buffets of freedom*”: *HAP*, 5:6–7, 17–18.
- 23 *Women’s Loyal National League*: *HWS*, 2:50–66, 891–98; Judith E. Harper, *Women During the Civil* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 416–17; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 168–69; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), 110; Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 153–54.
- 23 *five thousand members*: *HWS*, 2:81.
- 23 *Sumner presented*: Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York: Alfred J. Knopf, 1970), 147–48.
- 23 *buried the Senate*: Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony*, 77; Ginzberg, *Stanton*, 110.
- 23 *voted to approve*: U.S. Congress, Journal of the Senate, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., April 8, 1864, 311 (roll call on S.J. Res. 16).
- 23 *added its vote*: U.S. Congress, Journal of the House of Representatives, 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., January 31, 1865, 170–71 (roll call on S.J. Res. 16).
- 23 *final chapter*: The amendment was ratified before the year was out. Certification of the Adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, 13 Stat. 774 (December 18, 1865).
- 23 *Augusta crowd*: E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for April 30, 1917, 144; *PWW*, 42:168; *LL*, 1:52; Alexander Stephens Diary, May 14, 1865, in Myrta Lockett Avery, ed., *Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910), 109–11; Ben H. Procter, *Not Without Honor: The Life of John H. Reagan* (Austin: 1962), 165.
- 23 “*crowd of Negroes*”: Corley, *Confederate City*, 97–98.
- 24 *look into Lee’s face*: *WW*, Address on Robert E. Lee, January 19, 1909, *PWW*, 18:631.
- 24 “*great man*” ... “*self-respect*”: *Ibid.*
- 24 “*filled with vagrants*”: *HAP*, 5:19.
- 24 “*equality with the whites*”: *Ibid.*, 5:28.
- 24 “*all persons born*”: Despite the seemingly plain language of the 14th Amendment, it was later deemed not to grant Native Americans citizenship because they were under the jurisdiction of tribal laws. *Elk v. Wilkins*, 112 U.S. 94 (1884). Subsequently the Dawes General Allotment Act, Pub. L. 49–105, 24 Stat. 388–91 (1887), gave citizenship to roughly two-thirds of Native Americans—those who had received allotments of land or moved off of tribal lands. Not until President Calvin Coolidge signed the Indian Citizenship Act, Pub. L. 68–175, 43 Stat. 253 (1924), did all Native Americans gain their rights as U.S. citizens. Robert H. Ferrell, *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 110.
- 24 *cynically political*: Kate Masur, *Until Justice Be Done* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2021), 305.
- 24 “*needed the ballots*”: *HAP*, 5:25.
- 25 “*callous*”: *Ibid.*, 5:9. Rep. Thaddeus Stevens (R-PA) was, in fact, genuinely committed throughout his political career to ending slavery and granting full political rights to the formerly enslaved. Christopher Shepard, “Making No Distinctions Between Rich and Poor: Thaddeus Stevens and Class Equality,” *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 80, no. 1 (Winter 2013), 37–50, at 41–43.
- 25 “*extraordinary*” ... “*humiliation*”: *Ibid.*, 5:36–38.
- 25 *North and South*: No Democrat in the House or the Senate voted for the 14th Amendment. U.S. Congress, Journal of the House of Representatives, 39th Cong., 1st sess., May 10, 1866, 686–87 (roll call on H.R. 127); U.S. Congress, Journal of the Senate, 39th Cong., 1st sess., June 8, 1866, 504–05 (roll call on H.R. 127 as amended); Journal of the House, June 13, 1866, 834 (roll call on H.R. 127, concurring in Senate amendments); *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998) (listing party affiliations of voting members).

- 25 “*decent and respectable*”: “Why the South Should and Will Adopt the Constitutional Amendment—The Northern Argument,” *Macon Telegraph*, October 2, 1866, 2.
- 25 *inferior legal status*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:248; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 191; Barry, *Anthony*, 163–64.
- 25 “*persons*”: The incidental appearance of male pronouns in their generic sense in Articles I, II, and IV, as well as in the 6th Amendment (referring, respectively, to members of Congress, the president, the vice president, and persons accused of a crime) was consistent with then-traditional usage in which *he*, *him*, and *his* were understood to be epicene. In 1850 this long standing rule of construction was enshrined in statute in England. “An Act for shortening the Language used in Acts of Parliament,” 13 & 14 Vict., c. 21 (June 10, 1850) (U.K.) (“in all Acts Words importing the Masculine Gender shall be deemed and taken to include Females”). But unlike epicene pronouns, the common concrete noun “male” plainly referred to men, exclusively. It had never before appeared in the Constitution.
- 25 “*take us a century*”: Stanton to Gerrit Smith, January 1, 1866, in Ann D. Gordon, ed., *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 1:67.
- 25 *petition drive*: The petitions demanded that Congress “extend the right of Suffrage to Woman.” Otherwise, “placing new safeguards round the individual rights of four million emancipated slaves” would leave women as “the only remaining class of disfranchised citizens.” Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al., *Petition for Universal Suffrage*, *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 23, 1866), 380.
- 26 “*an inferior order*”: *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393, at 407, 420 (1857).
- 26 “*second only*”: Susan B. Anthony, Address at Ottumwa, Kansas, July 4, 1865, in Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:960–67, at 966.
- 26 “*celestial gate*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the Editor, *Antislavery Standard*, December 26, 1865, in *HWS*, 2:94n51.
- 26 “*someday*”: “Speech of Wendell Phillips,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1865, 1.
- 26 “*argued constantly*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Susan B. Anthony, August 11, 1865, in *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diaries, and Reminiscences*, Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 2:105.
- 26 *out of order*: Remarks by Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 9, 1866, in Gordon, *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, 1:579–80.
- 27 *first proposed version ... gave Stevens credit*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 22, 1866), 351 (original Stevens committee version using “persons”); Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the Editor of the *Antislavery Standard*, January 2, 1866, in *HWS*, 2:92n49.
- 27 “*the word ‘male’*”: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 31, 1866), 537 (remarks of Rep. Stevens).
- 27 “*Southern wench*”... “*strain the Republican Party*”: *HWS*, 2:91.
- 27 *More pressure*: William Gillette, *The Right to Vote* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 24–25.
- 27 *go far to enfranchising*: Harper, *Life and Work*, 1:250.
- 27 *dutifully presented*: *HWS*, 2:93–94, 151n53.
- 27 *declined to endorse*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess. (February 21, 1866), 952 (remarks of Sen Sumner).
- 27 “*Even Charles Sumner*”: Harper, *Life and Work*, 1:269.
- 27 *a new organization*: Ellen Carol DuBois, *Suffrage: Women’s Long Battle for the Vote* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020), 60.
- 27 *luminaries of the movement*: : *HWS*, 2:179.
- 28 “*Republican candidate, as expected*”: *HAP*, 5:56.

### 3. Georgia Memories

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- 29 *private school*: *LL*, 1:42.
- 29 *supremacist platform*: Tali Mendelberg, *The Race Card* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 45–46.
- 29 “*null and void*”: Francis P. Blair, Jr., quoted in Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 51 and n22.

- 29 “*man of high character*”: HAP, 5:55. But to northerners such as Wendell Phillips who had fought slavery for decades, Seymour’s election would amount to “Lee’s triumphing at Appomattox.” Wendell Phillips on the Canvass,” *New York Tribune*, October 28, 1868, 1.
- 29 *Wilson theorized*: HAP, 5:57.
- 29 *staked his campaign*: Ibid., 5:55.
- 29 “*too lazy*” ... Constitution *called it*: “Bureau for the Fabrication of Negro Votes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 23, 1868, 1.
- 30 *full name*: “An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees,” 13 Stat. 507 (March 3, 1865).
- 30 *40,000 Black troops*: “New Estimate Raises Civil War Death Toll,” *New York Times*, April 3, 2012, D1.
- 30 *chiefly women*: Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 146.
- 30 *war-torn buildings*: Ibid., 101.
- 30 *self-sufficiency*: Ibid., 102; Mary Farmer-Kaiser, *Freedwomen and the Freedmen’s Bureau: Race, Gender, and Public Policy in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 14.
- 30 *Oliver Howard*: During the Civil War, Howard literally gave his right arm. John A. Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 32. His later achievements as founder and president of Howard University proved that his devotion to the well-being of his Black fellow citizens was lifelong and sincere. Ibid., 180.
- 30 *damages*: While in theory the murderer could be criminally prosecuted, charges were rarely if ever brought. “Slaves are better protected as property than they are as sentient beings,” observed a leading legal commentator of the day. William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* (London: Clarke, Beeton & Co., 1853), 185–86.
- 30 *reports Howard received*: “Report of Freedpeople who have been murdered or attacked with intent to kill in the counties of Richmond, Columbia, Lincoln and Wilkes during the year commencing January 1st and ending October 31, 1868,” Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, 1865–69, Series 6, NMAAHC–007676440\_00402, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Washington, DC. The report to the Commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau lists just as many fatal and near-fatal attacks on Black men.
- 31 *report to Congress*: Report of Carl Schurz on the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2 (December 19, 1865); “Grant and Schurz on the South,” pamphlet (1872), YA Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress.
- 31 *in 1866*: Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 29–31.
- 31 *strategically aimed*: Under the initiation rites established by the Klan’s “Grand Wizard” Nathan Bedford Forrest, aspiring Klan members were to place one hand on the Bible and answer the question, “are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Radical Republican Party?” After solemnly denying any Republican affiliation, they then swore to support a “white man’s government.” John C. Lester and Daniel L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan: Its Origin, Growth and Disbandment* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1905), 171.
- 31 *what happened to jurists*: Charles Stearns, *The Black Man of the South and the Rebels* (New York: American News Co., 1872), 217–20; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 291.
- 31 *an empty coffin*: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 301–02.
- 31 “*beaten nearly to death*”: J.W. Alvord, *Letters from the South, Relating to the Condition of the Freedmen* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1870), 22; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 291.
- 31 *castrated him*: Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 154; Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 294–95.
- 31 “*pimps and tools*”: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 313.
- 32 *1,207 schools ... 150,000 students*: Ibid., 137.
- 32 “*did in fact do mischief*” ... “*self-assertion*”: HAP, 5:58–63. Wilson’s hostility to the Freedmen’s Bureau schools was, according to the American Freedmen’s Commission, shared by many of his southern contemporaries who believed that educating Black adults and children gave them “a desire to render themselves equal to the whites.” This, in turn, “encouraged directly or indirectly insolence to employers.” W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*

- in America 1860–1880* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 645; Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class, and Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), 36.
- 32 *13 million*: Mary Farmer-Kaiser, “‘With a Weight of Circumstances like Millstones about Their Necks’: Freedwomen, Federal Relief, and the Benevolent Guardianship of the Freedmen’s Bureau,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 115, no. 3 (2007), 412–442, at 417.
- 32 “to feed them”: *HAP*, 5:17.
- 32 “insolent, dangerous”: *Ibid.*, 5:18–22.
- 32 “be bound” ... “went the farthest”: *Ibid.*
- 32 “veritable apotheosis” ... “not look into the facts”: *Ibid.*, 5:22.
- 32 “under the negroes’ heels”: *Ibid.*, 5:38.
- 32 “insolence” ... “intolerable burden”: *Ibid.*, 5:49, 58.
- 33 *disenfranchised*: No records survive indicating whether Joseph Wilson voted between 1866 and 1868. Unlike most Confederate officers, he had never served in the United States military and so had not previously sworn “to support the Constitution of the United States.” In that case, he would not have violated a previous oath and would not for that reason have been automatically excluded from the franchise by operation of the Reconstruction Acts. 14 Stat. 428–429, chap. 153 (First Reconstruction Act, March 2, 1867); 15 Stat. 2–4, chap. 6 (Second Reconstruction Act, March 23, 1867). However, voting requirements under Reconstruction’s military rule, administered locally, frequently required an oath affirming that the prospective voter had not participated in rebellion. For example, Georgians wishing to vote for delegates to the state constitutional convention in 1867 were required to deny under oath “participation in any rebellion or civil war against the United States.” Reconstruction Registration Oath Books, Executive Dept., Governor, RG 1–1–107, Georgia Archives. Joseph Wilson could not truthfully take such an oath.
- 33 “would not take the oath”: *HAP*, 5:44.
- 33 “the most ignorant blacks”: *Ibid.*, 5:82.
- 33 *staunchest ally*: Sargent was first elected to Congress from California in 1860, serving one term in the House. He did not run for reelection until 1868. Within days of his second victory, several California newspapers promoted him for Speaker of the House or a member of Grant’s cabinet. “Condition of the State,” *Sacramento Bee*, December 7, 1868, 2; “Sargent for Speaker,” *Weekly Trinity Journal*, December 12, 1868, 1; “Sargent for Speaker of the House,” *ibid.*, November 28, 1868, 2. His wife Ellen founded the Nevada County Woman’s Suffrage Association in 1869. (Constitution of the Nevada County Woman’s Suffrage Association, 1869, MS 1552, North Baker Research Library, California Historical Society.) In 1871 the Sargents arranged for free rail travel for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on their West Coast tour, hosted Anthony in their California home, and traveled with her in their first-class Pullman car back to Washington, DC in the winter of 1871–72. Ellen Sargent was then elected treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, while Aaron Sargent was soon elected to the Senate, commencing his term in March 1873. There, before authoring what eventually would become the 19th Amendment, he promoted other suffrage legislation, presented Anthony’s petitions, and successfully lobbied President Grant to pardon the election officials who had been criminally convicted for allowing Anthony to vote for him in 1872. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 1:405–08 and n62, 450, 452, 486, 507–08; *HWS* 2:483, 546–48, 555–76, 698–701, 714, 949–50, 3:757; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 262, 268, 302, 374; “Sargent Nominated by the Republican Caucus,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 13, 1871, 1; “Woman Suffrage; Miss Susan B. Anthony at Platt’s Hall,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 14, 1871, 3; “The Next Senator,” *San Francisco Examiner*, December 18, 1871, 1; “Woman Suffrage; The Arrest of the Rochester Inspectors,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1874, 2; “The Woman Suffrage Cases,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 7, 1974, 4; “Sargent, Aaron Augustus,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998). For additional background on Aaron Sargent, including his three remarkable round-trips from Boston to California around Cape Horn and his authorship of the Pacific Railway Act, 12 Stat. 489 (1862), see Rhoda F. Milnarich, “The Public Career of Aaron Augustus Sargent” (MA thesis, Texas Western University, 1961); Gary Noy, “Area Cou-

- ple Fought for Women’s Rights; Sen. Aaron Sargent Wrote Words That Became 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution,” *Sacramento Union*, June 17, 2004.
- 33 “dominance of the negroes” ... “real leaders”: *HAP*, 5:57–59.
- 33 *too remote*: In fact, even at the height of Jim Crow, no action would ever be taken under the 14th Amendment to reduce a state’s representation in Congress.
- 33 *seize control*: “The Platform and the Nomination,” *The Nation*, vol. 6, no. 152 (May 28, 1868), 424–25, at 425.
- 33 *platform*: Thomas Hudson McKee, *The National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties, 1789–1905*, 6th ed. (Baltimore: The Friedenwald Co., 1906), 132–36, at 135.
- 34 “fair or foul”: *HAP*, 5:58.
- 34 “If colored men”: Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (New York: Robert J. Johnston, Printer, 1867), 20.
- 34 “equally to woman”: Susan B. Anthony, Address at Ottumwa, Kansas, July 4, 1865, in Harper, *Life and Work*, 2:960–67, at 966; *ibid.*, 1:248–49.
- 34 *first pioneers*: Charles S. Gleed, ed., *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers’ Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15–16, 1879* (Kansas City, MO: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880), 108; Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: E.F. Caldwell, 1895), 47; Horace Andrews, Jr., “Kansas Crusade: Eli Thayer and the New England Emigrant Aid Company,” *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4 (December, 1962), 497–514, at 501–02 and n2.
- 34 *led the defense*: Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, 99–103; Leverett Wilson Spring, *Kansas, Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887), 121–128; “Kansas: The Sacking of Lawrence,” *Saturday Evening Post*, June 7, 1856, 2; “The Sacking of Lawrence,” *New York Daily Times*, May 31, 1856, 2; “The War in Kansas,” *New York Daily Times*, May 30, 1856, 1–2.
- 34 *proposed 15th Amendment*: *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 7, 1868), 6 (introduction of S.R. 180 by Sen. Pomeroy). Pomeroy first called for the amendment in a speech to the American Equal Rights Association in Washington the previous year. Samuel C. Pomeroy, Address to the American Equal Rights Association, Washington, DC, July 19, 1867, excerpted in “Senator Pomeroy and Female Suffrage,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1867, 5.
- 35 “All honor”: “Now’s The Hour,” *The Revolution*, vol. 2, no. 23 (December 10, 1868), 360.
- 35 *named sex*: *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 8, 1868), 21 (introduction of H.R. 371 by Rep. Julian); George Washington Julian, *Political Recollections* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co., 1884), 324–25. Six days later, Rep. Julian introduced H.R. 1530, providing for immediate women’s suffrage in the District of Columbia, and H.R. 1531, providing for immediate enfranchisement of women in all U.S. territories. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 14, 1868), 69. In the next Congress, he reintroduced these bills as H.R. 67 and H.R. 68, respectively. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess. (March 15, 1869), 72. On that same day in 1869 he introduced a revised version of his nationwide women’s suffrage amendment. Designated H.R. 15, it struck the words “race” and “color” (since the 15th Amendment approved by Congress two weeks earlier already included these as illegitimate grounds for discrimination) and specified only “sex.” *Ibid.* On April 4, 1870, he reintroduced it as H.R. 230, redesignating it as the proposed 16th Amendment to the Constitution, since in the interim the 15th Amendment had been ratified. *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 2401; *HWS*, 3:553.
- 35 *before he came to Congress ... fugitive slave cases*: Julian, *Political Recollections*, 163–4; *HWS*, 3:552–53; Patrick W. Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian: Radical Republican* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1966), 13–15; Charles H. Money, “The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1921), 159–98, at 177; Money, “The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana (Concluded),” *ibid.*, no. 3 (September 1921), 257–97.
- 35 “next grand movement”: Julian, *Political Recollections*, 324–25.
- 35 *suffrage convention*: *HWS*, 2:346.
- 35 *both men had sponsored*: *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 2d Sess. (December 11, 1866), 55–56 (statement of Sen. Anthony); *ibid.*, 62–63 (statement of Sen. Wade). At the same time, Massachusetts Republican Henry Wilson, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, introduced his own bill to immediately grant voting



- rights to women in the District of Columbia. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 14, 1868), 61 (introduction of S. 688).
- 35 “*Like Mahomet’s coffin*”: “Our Washington Correspondence,” *National Antislavery Standard*, vol. 29, no. 42 (February 20, 1869), 2.
- 35 *Chinese*: Stacey L. Smith, “Beyond North and South: Putting the West in the Civil War and Reconstruction,” *Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 6, no. 4 (December 2016), 566–591, 631, at 570.
- 36 “*treachery*”: *HWS*, 2:322.
- 36 “*forgotten that women existed*”: *Ibid.*, 3:74.
- 36 *had long warned*: Jen McDanel, “White Suffragist Dis/Entitlement: *The Revolution* and the Rhetoric of Racism,” *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2013), 243–64, at 247.
- 36 “*ignorant African*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Revolution*, vol. 3, no. 19 (May 13, 1869), 289–292, at 290.
- 36 *Douglass offered*: Frederick Douglass, Address to the American Equal Rights Association, May 12, 1869, in *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition*, John R. McKivigan, IV, Julie Husband, and Heather L. Kaufman, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 269, 270–71; Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony*, 235.
- 36 “*We are lost*”: *HWS*, 2:383.
- 36 “*entire people*”: *Ibid.*
- 36 “*separate and apart*”: “The Woman’s Suffrage Association,” *New York Times*, May 18, 1869, 5.
- 36 *Stone led over one thousand*: “Woman Suffrage. The Convention at Cleveland,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1869, 1.
- 36 *Black women ... choose sides*: Margaret Hope Bacon, “‘One Great Bundle of Humanity’: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911),” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 113, no. 1 (January 1989), 21–43, at 38–39; “Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin,” *Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3:613. Susan B. Anthony was present, but was not allowed to participate as a delegate. “National Woman Suffrage Convention,” *Elyria Independent Democrat*, December 1, 1869, 2.
- 37 *new constitution’s requirements*: *White v. Clements*, 39 Ga. 232, 266–68 (1869); William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction*, 1869–79 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 85–87; *HAP*, 5:57–58, 72.
- 37 *military rule*: An Act to Promote the Reconstruction of the State of Georgia, 16 Stat. 59, 60 (December 22, 1869).
- 37 “*Lightfoot Baseball Club*”: *PWW*, 1:5, 56n1; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 12.
- 37 *in her own name*: Suzanne D. Lebsack, “Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (May 1977), 195–216, at 195.
- 37 “*wonderful reform*”: Letter to the Editor, June 23, 1870, *The Revolution*, vol. 6, no. 1 (July 7, 1870), 10.
- 37 *page-one headline*: (*Cheyenne*) *Wyoming Tribune*, December 11, 1869, 1.
- 38 “*not repealed*”: “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Atlanta Constitution*, December 21, 1869, 4.
- 38 “*enlightened progress*”: “Female Voters at Last—The New Paradise of the Strong-Minded,” Lancaster, PA *Daily Evening Express*, December 17, 1869, 1 (quoting the *Philadelphia North American*).
- 38 *congratulatory telegrams*: “Esther Morris and Her Equality State,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 46, no. 3 (July 2004), 310n57.
- 38 “*attracted more attention*”: S. Doc. 86–69, 86th Congress (1960), 38.
- 38 *correspondence and other writings*: James Bryce to WW, February 25, 1888, *PWW*, 5:707; WW to Munroe Smith, December 17, 1888, *PWW*, 6:31; WW to Robert Underwood Johnson, February 25, 1896, *PWW*, 9:448; WW, “State Rights,” chap. 13 in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 7, A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903), reprinted in *PWW*, 11:303, at 321.
- 38 “*protect all voters*”: *HAP*, 5:74.
- 38 *territorial governor*: Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1933), 1:207n1.
- 38 *September 2, 1869*: John A. Campbell Diary, 1869, *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 1938), 5n1.

- 38 *a violent affair*: HWS, 3:729; Jennifer Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” in *Equality at the Ballot Box: Votes for Women on the Northern Great Plains*, ed. Lori Ann Lahlum and Molly P. Rozum (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019), 47–48.
- 38 “large knives” ... “knocked down”: Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926), 76.
- 38 “repudiated the Reconstruction policy”: Michael A. Massie, “Roots of Woman Suffrage,” *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 62, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 5; Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” 51.
- 39 “barbarism and rebelism”: Meredith Rathbone, “Equivocal Equality: Women’s Suffrage and Its Legacy in Wyoming,” unpublished manuscript (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Law Center, 2001), 3.
- 39 *largest newspaper*: Douglas C. McMurtrie, “Early Printing in Wyoming,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter, 1942), 267–304.
- 39 “characteristic of the election”: Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 77.
- 39 “force negro suffrage”: Helton, “So Great an Innovation,” 51.
- 39 *ban on interracial marriage*: Beard, *Wyoming*, 1:212.
- 39 “never heard a woman speak”: “Wyoming and Woman,” *The Revolution*, vol. 5, no. 3 (January 13, 1870), 21.
- 39 “for half a century”: Beard, *Wyoming*, 1:215.
- 39 *front-page coverage*: “Humbing,” *Cheyenne Leader*, vol. 2, no. 94 (January 9, 1869), 1.
- 39 *Cheyenne welcomed her*: “Miss Anna Dickinson,” *Cheyenne Leader*, vol. 3, no. 6 (September 25, 1869), 1; T. A. Larson, “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 2 (April 1965), 57–66, at 58.
- 39 *two months later*: “Miss Redelia Bates,” *Cheyenne Leader*, November 5, 1869, 4.
- 39 *use of the House*: “Legislative Summary,” *ibid.*, November 4, 1869, 1.
- 39 *Bright announced*: *Council Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (November 12, 1869), 66. According to Wyoming historian T.A. Larson, circumstantial evidence indicates that the pro-suffrage Territorial Secretary, Edward M. Lee, actually wrote the bill and persuaded Bright to introduce it. Larson, *Wyoming: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), 80.
- 40 *years younger*: “Funeral of W.H. Bright,” *Washington Evening Star*, April 28, 1912, 5; “The Town Crier,” *Washington Herald*, November 20, 1915, 14.
- 40 “superior”: T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 93; John W. Kingman, “Wyoming,” HWS, 3:730; Hon. Ben Sheeks to Dr. Grace R. Hebard, August 20, 1920, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
- 40 *even more deserving*: Julia Bright to Grace R. Hebard, undated, cited in Grace Raymond Hebard, “How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming,” pamphlet (New York: William Dean Embree, 1940; originally published by University of Wyoming, 1920), 9.
- 40 “ring in the women”: *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 28, 1870, 1, col. 3.
- 40 *only two votes*: *Council Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (November 30, 1869), 122.
- 40 *tailored his arguments* ... “support their pet schemes”: Larson, *Bicentennial History*, 79–80.
- 40 *outnumbered them*: At the time, males outnumbered females four to one in Wyoming. Superintendent of Census, *Ninth Census*, June 1, 1870, vol. 1, Table 22, “The Table of Sex” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 606.
- 40 “greatest hilarity” ... “expectation of a veto”: “They Builded Wiser Than They Knew,” (*Cheyenne*) *Wyoming Tribune*, vol. 1, no. 47 (October 8, 1870), 2.
- 40 “colored women and squaws”: *House Journal*, Wyoming Legislative Assembly, 1st Sess. (December 6, 1869), 207.
- 40 *Woman’s Suffrage Convention*: Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 78–79.
- 40 “without distinction”: Robert W. Audretsch, ed., *Proceedings of the Salem, Ohio 1850 Women’s Rights Convention* (Salem, OH: Salem Area Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 17.
- 41 “as gladly as Abraham Lincoln”: John A. Campbell Diary, December 10, 1869, *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1938), 70; “Address of Governor John W. Hoyt Upon Experience of Women’s Suffrage in Wyoming, U.S.A.,” (*London, UK*) *Woman’s Signal*, vol. 5, no. 119 (April 9, 1896), 227–28; Catt and Schuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, 79.
- 41 *Effective immediately*: “Female Suffrage Act,” Session Laws of Wyoming, chap. 31 (1869).

- 41 *advice of his physician*: Parker McCobb Reed, *The Bench and Bar of Wisconsin* (Milwaukee: P.M. Reed, 1882), 132–33.
- 41 *“knotty Mormon question”*: John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 21:104–110.
- 41 *its own plank*: The 1856 Republican platform declared that “it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.” *The Republican Campaign Textbook, National Platform Analysis, 1856–1884* (New York: Republican National Committee, 1884), 192.
- 41 *“to discourage polygamy”*: *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 1st Sess. (March 15, 1869), 72 (introduction of H.R. 64 by Rep. Julian).
- 41 *“safe, sure and swift”*: “Petticoat Parliament!,” *National Republican*, vol. 11, no. 46 (January 19, 1870), 4.
- 41 *Dickinson’s railroad tour*: “‘A Lay Sermon’: Anna Dickinson’s Lecture on Sunday Evening,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 7, 1869, 3; “The Mormon Question,” *ibid.*, 2.
- 41 *reported the results*: The flamboyant Train was campaigning for president at the time, calling himself “Citizen Train.” Beverly Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Spring 1978), 100–120, at 104–05; “Geo. Francis Train at Tammany Hall,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1869, 8.
- 41 *Mormons supported*: Lola Van Wagenen, “Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage” (PhD diss., New York University, 1994), 7, 55–56n21.
- 42 *“speak for ourselves”*: Rebecca Edwards, “Pioneers at the Polls: Woman Suffrage in the West,” in Jean H. Baker, ed., *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 93.
- 42 *backed them up ... unanimously approved*: Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” 103, 112.
- 42 *“without the least difficulty”*: “Departure of Gov. Durkee,” *Deseret News*, December 31, 1869, 2.
- 42 *New York lawyer*: George S. Mann, *Mann Memorial: A Record of the Mann Family in America* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1884), 125–26.
- 42 *nine months before*: “Arrived,” *Deseret Evening News*, May 22, 1869.
- 42 *“its universal adoption”*: Stephen A. Mann to Eliza R. Snow et al., February 19, 1870, published in *Deseret News*, February 23, 1870, 2.
- 42 *municipal elections ... first voter*: Beeton, “Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah,” 112–13 and n30 (citing *Deseret News*, February 15, 1870); George W. Givens, *500 Little Known Facts in Mormon History* (Springville, UT: Bonneville Books, 2002), 1:197. Once granted their voting rights, Mormon women did not use the franchise to outlaw polygamy as Republicans in Washington had hoped. Unsatisfied with that result, Congress responded with the Edwards-Tucker Act of 1887, repealing Utah’s grant of women’s suffrage as an anti-polygamy measure. “Woman Suffrage,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1572.
- 42 *part of the Constitution*: The amendment took effect immediately when Iowa ratified it on February 3, 1869. President Grant later made a formal announcement of its ratification on March 30, 1870. “Message to Congress Announcing the Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment,” in Kurt T. Lash, ed., *The Reconstruction Amendments: The Essential Documents*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 2:595. See endnote accompanying text at page 488, “took effect immediately.”
- 42 *voted the amendment down*: Georgia was the first state to vote against ratification of the 15th Amendment, on March 17, 1869. Travis Crum, “The Lawfulness of the Fifteenth Amendment,” *Notre Dame Law Review*, vol. 97, no. 4 (April 2022), 1587.
- 42 *“eaten up”*: “To Be Territorialized,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal and Messenger*, March 22, 1870, 6.
- 42 *“ruin of the South”*: *HAP*, 5:51–52.
- 42 *reports from witnesses*: H.W. Pierson, “A Letter to Hon. Charles Sumner, with Statements of Outrages Upon Freedmen in Georgia” (Washington: Chronicle Print, 1870), African-American Pamphlet Collection, 1824–1909, Library of Congress.
- 43 *“the worst of crimes”*: “The Outrages in Georgia; Report of Major General Alfred Terry,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal and Messenger*, December 14, 1869, 3.
- 43 *Grant requested*: Ulysses S. Grant, Special Message to the Senate and House of Representatives, March 23, 1871, in James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 7:127–28.

- 43 *authority he was seeking*: Third Enforcement Act (“Ku Klux Klan Act”), Pub.L. 42–22, 17 Stat. 13 (1871).  
 43 *most aggressive efforts*: Herbert Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January 1964), 34–55, at 34; Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 97 and n42.

#### 4. Carolina Years

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- 44 *eighty-nine-mile route*: Charlotte, Columbia and Augusta Railway schedule, April 1870, in J.D. Lewis, *South Carolina Railroads* (Little River, SC: 2007).  
 44 *Joseph Rainey*: Philip Dray, *Capitol Men* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2008), 55–56.  
 44 *prestigious post*: “Inauguration of the Rev. Dr. Wilson,” *Southern Presbyterian Review*, vol. 22 (Columbia, SC: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1871), 413–28, 549.  
 44 *“stated supply”*: W. A. Clark, “A Brief History of First Presbyterian Church, Columbia, South Carolina,” *Presbyterian of the South*, vol. 86, no. 44 (October 30, 1912), 2; *LL*, 1:58; John M. Mulder, *Woodrow Wilson: The Years of Preparation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 13.  
 44 *across the street ... five-bedroom home*: Jennifer Whitmer Taylor, “Rebirth of the House Museum: Commemorating Reconstruction at the Woodrow Wilson Family Home” (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 2017), 5–8, 328.  
 44 *a considerable sum*: *LL*, 1:59.  
 45 *“Every day”*: Orville Vernon Burton, *In My Father’s House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 2.  
 45 *stores and businesses*: Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 73.  
 45 *“white Republicans first”*: *Ibid.*, 78.  
 45 *“drive them out”*: 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, vol. 2 (4), *South Carolina* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 1260; Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 56–58 (“the Klan was a weapon designed to strike directly at the Republican political machine”).  
 45 *“solid Negro vote”*: “The Vote,” *Charleston Daily News*, November 9, 1870, 2.  
 45 *Seventy-five percent*: R.H. Woody, “The South Carolina Election of 1870,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 8, no. 2 (April 1931), 166–86, at 181, 184–85.  
 45 *Robert K. Scott*: Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 269, 292.  
 45 *reelected as governor*: Woody, “South Carolina Election of 1870,” 185.  
 45 *November election ... Three quarters*: *Ibid.*, 184.  
 45 *half a million*: The boast was made by Grand Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest to a *Cincinnati Commercial* reporter. Forrest later denied it when summoned to testify before Congress. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 421n47; Robert Kumamoto, *The Historical Origins of Terrorism in America: 1644–1880* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 223. In January 1869, Forrest issued an ineffectual call for the Klan to disband. Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 59.  
 45 *York County that spring*: Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2023), 363.  
 45 *retaliatory terrorism ... all resign*: Herbert Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January 1964), 34–55, at 40–43.  
 46 *Klux Klan Act*: Third Enforcement Act, Pub.L. 42–22, 17 Stat. 13, §4 (1871).  
 46 *“rebellion”*: Ulysses S. Grant, Proclamation No. 200, October 12, 1871, in James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 7:136–38.  
 46 *only the year before*: P.L. 41–97, 16 Stat. 162 (1870). The new law gave the attorney general direct supervisory power over U.S. attorneys, and a significant Washington staff to go with it. W. H. Hoffer, *To Enlarge the Machinery of Government* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 103–08.

- 46 *nine thousand residents*: Superintendent of Census, *Ninth Census*, June 1, 1870, vol. 1, Table 3, State of South Carolina (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872) 260.
- 46 *clear autumn day* ... *“eager, curious, and watchful”*: “The First Day of the Ku–Klux Trials,” *Charleston Daily News*, November 29, 1871, 1; Shapiro, “Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction,” 46.
- 46 *“ministers of the Gospel”*: Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 100–01.
- 46 *“Doctors, lawyers”* ... *“too revolting”*: “The Ku–Klux,” *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1871, 1.
- 47 *“fabrications”*: “Ye Hypocrites!”, *Charleston Daily News*, October 7, 1871, 2; “A National Crime,” *ibid.*, October 27, 1871, 1; “The Ku–Klux,” *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1871, 1.
- 47 *“right and wrong”*: “The Ku–Klux,” *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1871, 1.
- 47 *far more lenient*: “Negroes on the loose, and marauding Yankees haunted Tommie,” biographer Arthur Walworth wrote at mid-century, and “ground into the boy’s marrow a sympathy that was never to leave him.” Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 8.
- 47 *“real leaders”* ... *“defend the constitution”*: HAP, 5:58–62.
- 47 *“One lawless force”*: *Ibid.*, 5:64.
- 47 *idolized his father*: LL, 1:30–31.
- 48 *“exactly what he thought”*: “President Talks As Minister’s Son,” *New York Times*, April 22, 1915, 5.
- 48 *“select school for boys”*: LL, 1:60.
- 48 *public high school*: Justus K. Jillson, *Report of the State Superintendent of Education* (Columbia: State of South Carolina, 1870), 56.
- 48 *“higher classes”*: Colyer Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina, with a Sketch of the Free School System* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 115.
- 48 *segregated*: Jillson, *Report*, 56–57.
- 48 *slight majority*: *Ibid.*, 6–7.
- 48 *“Reared in luxury”*: Meriwether, *Higher Education in South Carolina*, 103–04.
- 48 *“barnlike structure”*: LL, 1:59.
- 49 *curriculum*: *Ibid.*; Meriwether, *Higher Education in South Carolina*, 30–31.
- 49 *“not a brilliant student”*: LL, 1:59.
- 49 *“not one in fifty”* ... *bother to vote*: Frances B. Simkins, “The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, 1868–1871,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October 1927), 606–647, at 646.
- 49 *troops protecting voters*: Lou Falkner Williams, *The Great South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials, 1871–1872* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 125–26.
- 49 *remarkably productive*: Egerton, *Wars of Reconstruction*, 270.
- 49 *“crow congress”*: *Ibid.*, 269.
- 49 *her writings*: Louisa S. McCord, “Woman and Her Needs,” *DeBow’s Review of the Southern and Western States*, vol. 1, no. 3, art. 5 (September 1852), 267–291.
- 49 *“confusion, disorganization”*: LL, 1:63.
- 49 *sparked a change* ... *unanimously admitted*: LL, 1:66–68.
- 50 *“studying well”*: James E. Woodrow to James Hamilton Woodrow, n.d. 1873, quoted in LL, 1:71.
- 50 *“happy boyhood”*: WW to David Clymer Ward, December 14, 1914, quoted in LL, 1:72.
- 50 *“general understanding”*: LL, 1:72.
- 50 *first Black faculty*: Katherine Reynolds Chaddock, *Uncompromising Activist: Richard Greener, First Black Graduate of Harvard College* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 46–48.
- 50 *first Black law students*: W. Lewis Burke, Jr., “The Radical Law School,” in *At Freedom’s Door*, Burke and James L. Underwood, eds. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 90.
- 50 *introduced himself as “Tommy”*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 81.
- 50 *sadistic murder*: “Life in North Carolina—The Murder of John W. Stephens,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1873, 1.
- 51 *broad amnesty*: “An Act for Amnesty and Pardon,” N.C. Pub. L. 1872–1873, chap. 181.

- 51 *exempted murder*: The law initially exempted specific classes of murder. Ibid. The following year the amnesty was broadened to include murder generally, without qualification. N.C. Pub. L. 1874–1875, chap. 20; “The Amnesty Act,” *Charlotte Democrat*, March 11, 1873, 2; “Life in North Carolina,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1873, 1.
- 51 *quarter-million bricks*: Report to President Carol Quillen from the Commission on Race and Slavery, Davidson College, August 19, 2020; “Davidson College Apologizes for Support of Slavery,” *Charlotte Observer*, August 20, 2020, 1.
- 51 *whipping posts*: D.A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903* (Charlotte, NC: Observer Printing House, 1903), 119.
- 51 *Clingman*: Thomas E. Jeffrey, *Thomas Lanier Clingman: Fire Eater from the Carolina Mountains* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 225.
- 51 *join its board*: Board of Trustees, *Catalog of Davidson College 1874–75*, 5, E.H. Little Library, Davidson College. Tommy Wilson’s Georgia father in law, J.S.K. Axson, joined Rev. Joseph Wilson on the Board of Trustees the following year, though Tommy by then had dropped out. *Catalog of the Officers and Students of Davidson College for the 39th Collegiate Year* (Walker, Evans & Cogswell, Printers, 1876), 7. An early Wilson biographer claimed that Wilson’s father was later offered the presidency of Davidson. White, *Wilson*, 51.
- 51 *chiefly devoted to politics*: Minutes of the Eumenean Society, *PWW*, 1:31–53.
- 51 *“Is slavery justifiable?”*: Ibid., at 39. During the 1870s, the Eumenean Society and Davidson’s other literary societies chose a number of similar debate topics, such as “Was the reconstruction of the Southern States justifiable?” and “Was the introduction of slavery into the United States beneficial to the human race?” Cornelia Rebekah Shaw, *Davidson College: Intimate Facts* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Press, 1923), 258.
- 51 *no women faculty*: Faculty roster, *Catalog of Davidson College 1874–75*, 6, E.H. Little Library, Davidson College.
- 51 *“cult of chivalry”*: Bradley J. Longfield, *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 37.
- 51 *president’s daughters . . . “already knew”*: “Women of Davidson—Coeducation 1860s–1960s,” Archives and Special Collections, E.H. Little Library, Davidson College.
- 51 *“so damn lazy”*: William Bayard Hale, *Woodrow Wilson—The Story of His Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1912), 50.
- 52 *“Everybody here”*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, May 20, 1874, *PWW*, 1:50.
- 52 *including a butler*: White, *Wilson*, 58.
- 52 *“mamma’s boy”*: WW to EAW, April 19, 1888, *PWW*, 5:719.
- 52 *“took it easy”*: Hale, *Wilson*, 51.
- 52 *hung around the docks*: *LL*, 1:78. Ray Stannard Baker observed that through Wilson’s twenty-fifth year he “had never up to that time earned a dollar.” Throughout his later life as well, Baker wrote, he “never had the slightest interest in business of any kind.” Ibid., 1:109, 138.
- 52 *close friend*: *LL*, 1:79 and n1.
- 52 *“old young man”*: David Bryant to Ray Stannard Baker, quoted in *LL*, 1:78.
- 52 *“nose in a book”*: David Bryant to William Allen White, quoted in White, *Woodrow Wilson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 58.

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- 53 *Presbyterian teachings*: Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 18.
- 53 *wholly of southerners*: *LL*, 1:82.
- 53 *“Star Spangled Banner”*: Wilson told his fiancée Ellen Axson that the first time he heard the Star Spangled Banner was 1884, when he was 27 years old. WW to ELA, March 25, 1884, *PWW*, 3:98. It had been a popular patriotic song since the early 19th century, claimed by both North and South, but during Reconstruction it became an increasingly powerful symbol of Union. “How the National Anthem Has Unfurled,” *New York Times*, June 27, 2014, AR–10.

- 53 “*very full of the South*” ... “*getting quite bitter*”: Interview with Robert H. McCarter, July 15, 1940, in Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 21–22.
- 54 “*honor men*”: “1879 Senior Honors,” in *Academic Honors in Princeton University, 1748–1902* (Princeton: C.S. Robinson & Co., 1902), 103–06; *LL*, 1:85; John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 27.
- 54 “*preparatory school*”: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 16.
- 54 “*debating club*”: Hale, *Wilson*, 66–67.
- 54 “*Tar Heels*”: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 58.
- 54 *John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay*: WW Shorthand Diary, July 10, 1876, *PWW*, 1:151.
- 54 “*stout opinions*”: Hale, *Wilson*, 56.
- 54 *Hayes had supported*: Ari Hoogenboom, *Rutherford Hayes: Warrior and President* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 197–201, 208–10.
- 54 *supported Black suffrage*: *Ibid.*, 211–13; J.Q. Howard, *The Life, Public Services and Select Speeches of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1876), 69, 72–74, 78–79, 123.
- 54 “*salvation of the country*”: WW Shorthand Diary, November 6, 1876, *PWW*, 1:221.
- 54 *former slaveholder*: Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958), 27–28.
- 54 *a lengthy article*: William Henry Trescot, “The Southern Question,” *North American Review*, vol. 123, no. 253 (October 1876), 249–280, at 266, 271.
- 54 *defending Klansmen*: Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2023), 399–400.
- 55 “*outdoor recreation*”: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, September 25, 1876, *PWW*, 1:200.
- 55 “*make them intelligent*”: William Henry Trescot, “The Southern Question,” *North American Review*, vol. 123, no. 253 (October 1876), 249–280, at 273, 275–77.
- 55 “*excellent article*”: WW Shorthand Diary, November 2, 1876, *PWW*, 1:219.
- 55 “*weak instrument*”: *Ibid.*, October 13, 1876, *PWW*, 1:208.
- 55 “*one of my favorites*”: *Ibid.*, November 4, 1876, *PWW*, 1:220.
- 55 “*offensive sayings*”: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, November 8, 1876, *PWW*, 1:223.
- 55 “*insolence*” ... “*knocking anybody down*”: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, November 15, 1876, *PWW*, 1:228.
- 55 “*white with rage*” ... “*You don’t know*”: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 73; *LL*, 1:82.
- 55 *a “Tilden Democrat*”: “The Political Predestination of Woodrow Wilson,” *North American Review*, vol. 196, no. 681 (August 1912), 145–153, at 152. The comparison was first made by a Wilson supporter writing in the *New York Times* during the 1910 New Jersey gubernatorial campaign. Charles Willis Thompson, “Wilson—A Tilden, But A Tilden Up to Date,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1910, 7.
- 55 *best known*: “Tilden and Tweed,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1876, 4; Roy Morris, Jr., *Fraud of the Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 103–104.
- 55 *convention delegate*: Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 80.
- 56 *human “property*”: Theodore P. Cook, *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic Nominee for President of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1876), 84; Adam I.P. Smith, *No Party Now: Politics in the Civil War North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 75.
- 56 “*scandal and shame*”: Cook, *Samuel J. Tilden*, 139.
- 56 *After the war*: S. J. Tilden to R.C. Root, February 28, 1868 (“Our position must be condemnation and reversal of negro supremacy [and of] admitting the blacks and organizing them through the Freeman’s [sic] Bureau”); S.J. Tilden, Augustus Schell, and August Belmont to W.F. Story, October 17, 1868 (rejecting “suffrage for negroes as a national right”); both in John Bigelow, ed., *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden*, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1908).
- 56 “*A great deal depends*”: WW Shorthand Diary, November 7, 1876, *PWW*, 1:222.

- 56 *essay in his third year ... "earnest study"*: WW, "Some Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs," c. January 30, 1878, *PWW*, 1:347.
- 56 *refused to take part*: Charles Andrew Talcott to WW, May 21, 1879, *PWW*, 1:484.
- 56 *"anarchy"*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, April 17, 1879, *PWW*, 1:477.
- 56 *"you could not enter"*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, May 13, 1879, *PWW*, 1:479–80; Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, April 17, 1879, *PWW*, 1:477 and Editorial Note, "Wilson's Refusal to Enter the Lynde Competition," *PWW*, 1:480.
- 57 *"you were right"*: Charles Andrew Talcott to WW, May 21, 1879, *PWW*, 1:484.
- 57 *essay*: WW, "Cabinet Government in the United States," *International Review*, vol. 6 (August 1879), 146–63, in *PWW*, 1:493–510; Ronald J. Pestritto, *Woodrow Wilson and the Roots of Modern American Liberalism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 134.
- 57 *"indisputably true"*: WW, "Cabinet Government." *PWW*, 1:493.
- 57 *Woolsey*: President, Yale College, 1846–71; author of *Political Science*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1877 [1889]); editor of Francis Lieber's *Manual of Political Ethics, Designed Chiefly for the Use of Colleges and Students at Law*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1875).
- 57 *"despotic" and "dangerous"*: Far from operating under "despotic authority" as Wilson claimed in his essay, the House and Senate of the 1870s were, if anything, handicapped by procedures that allowed a minority of members to frustrate the leadership, not to mention the majority of members. In the House, devices such as the "disappearing quorum," and insistence on taking up bills in the order introduced unless two-thirds of the House voted otherwise, were frequently used to gain leverage over the agenda. The Senate established a right of unlimited debate in 1856, but did not adopt a cloture rule until 1917, in the meantime giving individual senators enormous leverage over the conduct of business. *Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice* (New York: Clark & Maynard, 1873); Catherine Fisk and Erwin Chemerinsky, "The Filibuster," *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 49, no. 2 (January 1997), 181–254, at 195.
- 58 *first-hand research*: In a later essay on the workings of Congress, Wilson feigned first-hand knowledge of the institution by describing a visit to the House of Representatives, though he had never been there himself. While his description sounds as if it is a first-hand account, Wilson actually borrowed from news reports of congressional proceedings. Pestritto, *Wilson and the Roots of Modern American Liberalism*, 135. Even by the time he published his book on congressional procedures, he had not yet visited the Capitol. "Woodrow Wilson, 1885" (undated publication), U.S. Senate Historical Office (Wilson "prepared *Congressional Government* without visiting Congress or conducting research in congressional documents"). See text at 79 and corresponding endnote "only fifty-two citations."
- 58 *overall weakness ... get in the way*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 54–56, 59–60, 86–87, 199–200, 204, 221.
- 58 *subsequently developed*: WW, *Congressional Government* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1885); WW, *Constitutional Government*.
- 58 *demurely back away*: Two years' experience as governor of New Jersey may also have caused Wilson to abandon some of the naïve assertions about the legislative process he expressed during his academic years. As late as *Constitutional Government*, written near the end of his presidency of Princeton, he insisted that the executive branch of the federal government "is the only possible body of experts with regard to the practicability and necessity of alterations in the law." (*Constitutional Government*, 85.) The *only* possible? The people's elected representatives, informed by testimony from the private sector, the scientific community, and academia, are frequently more sensitive to the need for legislative change than is the bureaucracy or the leadership of the executive branch. Regardless of party or faction, members of Congress since the first days of the nation have understood that citizen input is vital to the lawmaking process. In the year preceding *Constitutional Government*, Congress issued more than 400 reports of legislative hearings. (ProQuest Congressional Database, 1907–08.) Wilson attended none of these hearings.
- 59 *public hearings*: *HWS*, 3:75–98 (reporting the resolution with unfavorable recommendation).
- 59 *suffrage amendment introduced*: 7 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1878), 252 (introduction of S. Res. 12 by Sen. Sargent).



- 59 “*our champion*”: *HWS*, 3:75; Laura DeForce Gordon to National Suffrage Convention, January 9, 1877, in *HWS*, 3:64.
- 59 *in the newspapers ... “hands of a few”*: “The Right of Women to Vote,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1878, 1; “The Woman Suffragists; Hearing by a Senate Committee,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 11, 1878, 1; “Woman Suffragists at the Capitol; Another Hearing by the Senate Committee,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 12, 1878, 1; “Woman’s Rights,” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 11, 1878, 3. Lawrence’s testimony was quoted in the *Times* article, while the *Gazette* noted that among “speeches being admitted by members of the committee to be the best that they ever heard from man or woman,” the “speech of Mrs. Lawrence was particularly eloquent.”
- 59 “*many sound arguments*”: “Woman Suffragists at the Capitol”; *HWS*, 3:97.
- 59 *Within four years*: 13 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (January 9, 1882), 268 (Senate roll call creating Select Committee on Woman Suffrage); 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) (reporting the Sargent amendment with favorable recommendation).
- 59 *House followed suit*: 13 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 13, 1882), 1836 (appointment of members to House Select Committee on Woman Suffrage). In the 48th Congress, the select committee expired and its jurisdiction was transferred to the Committee on the Judiciary. 15 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (December 20, 1883), 217–19; *HWS*, 5:386.
- 60 *final unraveling*: For the first time since the Civil War, the election of 1878 delivered a “Solid South” and a Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate. Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction*, 243; “Party Division,” 46th Congress, Senate.gov.
- 60 *minstrel character*: W.T. Lhamon, Jr., *Jump Jim Crow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), vii–19.
- 60 *Susan B. Anthony*: In 1872, Anthony famously voted for the re-election of President Ulysses Grant and “the Republican ticket, straight,” for which she was arrested, tried, and convicted. Katharine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 277–83, 292–300. Throughout the fall, Anthony had campaigned for Grant, speaking along with Stanton, Olympia Brown, and other prominent suffragists at Republican rallies throughout New York. Together they extolled the Republican platform’s commitment to “the loyal women of America,” whose “honest demands” for “equal rights should be treated with respectful consideration”—the first time women’s rights were formally recognized by a major political party. It was, they said, “the nearest approach to an endorsement” of women’s suffrage to date. *HWS*, 4:1075; 2:520 and n150. Anthony attended the Republican convention and helped push through the plank. Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 48.
- 60 *Sojourner Truth*: Truth unsuccessfully attempted to vote in Battle Creek, Michigan in 1872. *Battle Creek Journal*, November 13, 1872, Willard Library, Battle Creek, Michigan; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 40; Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party*, 51.
- 60 *The justices agreed*: *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. 162 (1875).
- 60 *children*: *Ibid.*, 174–75.
- 60 *creative schemes*: Michael A. Smith, Kevin R. Anderson, and Chapman Rackaway, *State Voting Laws in America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 14–21.
- 61 “*more disastrous*”: *The Nation*, March 21, 1872, quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 123 and n50.
- 61 “*negro will disappear*”: *The Nation*, April 5, 1877, quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 138.
- 61 “*harder than I had feared*”: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, July 7, 1879, *PWW*, 1:487.
- 61 “*very intimate*” ... “*political ambitions*”: *Ibid.*; WW to ELA, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:499.
- 61 *meet again*: *LL*, 4:7.
- 61 “*held in common*”: WW to ELA, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 2:499, 500.
- 61 *restriction of the suffrage*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on woman suffrage amendment, H.J. Res. 1, Rep. Talcott voting “nay”).
- 62 “*all my life*”: “President Refuses to Aid Suffragists,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1915, 12; “Suffragists to Call on Wilson Wednesday,” *Titusville (PA) Herald*, January 4, 1915, 3.
- 62 *summer of ‘79*: WW to Robert Bridges, July 30, September 4, 1879, *PWW*, 1:489, 539.

- 62 *calling cards*: *LL*, 1:104.
- 62 *began to sign*: See, for example, WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, December 31, 1879, *PWW*, 1:591.
- 62 *dignified-sounding*: White, *Wilson*, 89.
- 62 *tradition of Thomas Jefferson*: Frank Dewey, “Thomas Jefferson’s Law Practice,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 85, no. 3 (July 1977), 289–301.
- 62 *well-established path*: White, *Wilson*, 84.
- 62 “*disgusts me*”: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, December 31, 1879, *PWW*, 1:591.
- 62 *campus offices ... political questions*: *LL*, 1:115, 118–23, 131.
- 62 *tainting “our English blood”*: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, May 20, 1880, *PWW*, 1:655.
- 62 “*restriction of the suffrage*”: Minutes of the Jefferson Society, February 6, 1880 and February 28, 1880, *PWW*, 1:602, 608.
- 62 “*Absolute identity*”: “John Bright—A Biographical Essay,” March 6, 1880, *PWW*, 1:608–621, at 617.
- 63 *accompanying article*: WW, “John Bright,” *Virginia University Magazine*, vol. 19, no. 6 (March 1880), 354–70, in *PWW*, 1:608–621.
- 63 “*friend of the Union*” ... “*righteousness of the cause*”: *PWW*, 1:619.
- 63 “*stupendous act of guilt*” ... “*trampled in the dust*”: John Bright, “America,” speech in House of Commons, June 30, 1863, in James E. Thorold Rogers, ed., *Speeches by the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1878), 135–143, at 143; WW’s marginal notes to John Bright’s speech, *PWW*, 1:665.
- 63 “*real mob*”: John Bright, “Canada,” speech in House of Commons, March 13, 1865, in Rogers, *Speeches*, 64–76, at 73–74.
- 63 “*unjust censures*”: WW’s marginal notes, *PWW*, 1:664–65.
- 63 *morally wrong*: Four years later, in a letter to a friend celebrating the election of Grover Cleveland and the restoration of Democratic rule, Wilson elaborated on his distinction between the Civil War’s having been a mistake (an “easy and cheap” observation that anyone could make in hindsight, he said) and its having been “morally” wrong. Wilson condemned calling secession “morally wrong” and wrote of the Civil War that he “would fight it again if placed once more in the same circumstances.” WW to John Hansen Kennard, Jr., November 18, 1884, *PWW*, 3:455–56.
- 64 “*appeal irresistibly*”: WW to ELA, October 30, 1883, *PWW*, 1:499, 502.
- 64 *from the chairman*: Report of James F. Harrison, M.D., Chairman of the Faculty, University of Virginia, June 1, 1880, *PWW*, 1:659 and note.
- 64 *followed up ... avoid discipline*: Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, June 5, 1880, *PWW*, 1:659; Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, June 7, 1880, *PWW*, 1:659; Janet Woodrow Wilson to WW, June 18, 1880, *PWW*, 1:661.
- 64 “*depressed*”: Marion Woodrow Bones to WW, June 14, 1880, *PWW*, 1:660.
- 64 “*vacation loaf*” ... “*most rests me*”: WW to Robert Bridges, August 22, 1880 and September 18, 1880, *PWW*, 1:671, 1:675.
- 65 “*law, law, law*”: WW to Charles Andrew Talcott, May 20, 1880, *PWW*, 1:655.
- 65 *upset stomach ... without comment*: Editorial Note: Wilson’s Withdrawal from the University of Virginia, *PWW*, 1:704.

## 6. Old Maids and Peeping Toms

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- 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.

## 7. Two Women

## PAGE

- 77 *seven hundred*: WW to ELA and ELA to WW, September 18, 1883–June 21, 1885, *PWW*, vols. 2–4.
- 77 “*good motto*”: ELA to WW, February 4, 1884, *PWW*, 3:6. Wilson’s father had given him this same advice shortly after his 21st birthday: “dearest boy, do not allow yourself to dwell upon *yourself*.” Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, January 25, 1878, *PWW*, 1:345. Nonetheless, it would remain a lifelong habit.
- 77 “*a woman’s right*”: WW to ELA, March 1, 1885, *PWW*, 4:316.
- 77 “*wonderful sympathy*”: WW to ELA, March 31, 1885, *PWW*, 4:437.
- 78 “*to serve you*”: ELA to WW, March 6, 1885, *PWW*, 4:337.
- 78 *alarming letter*: ELA to WW, April 27, 1885, *PWW*, 4:532, 533–34.
- 78 “*desperate things*”: WW to ELA, April 28, 1885, *PWW*, 4:536–37.
- 78 “*patriarchal authority*”: Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1965), xiii.
- 78 *Scott’s chivalric novels*: Wilson continued to read and reread Scott throughout his life. WW “Index Rerum,” n.d. 1876, *PWW*, 1:108, 110; WW Shorthand Diary, June 10, 19, 1876, *PWW*, 1:137, 156n1; WW, “Culture and Education at the South” (unpublished article), March 29, 1883, *PWW*, 2:327; WW Inventory of Books, c. August 1, 1883, *PWW*, 2:402–04, 406 (partial list of WW’s Scott books); WW, “On an Author’s Choice of Company,” *Century Magazine*, vol. 51, no. 5 (March 1896), 775–779, at 777, in *PWW*, 9:342; WW to EAW, July 12, 1899, *PWW*, 11:163; *LL*, 1:36; William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 38, 307–08; A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 35, 43, 49, 730. Ellen and the children read Scott as well. EAW to WW, July 25, 1894, *PWW*, 8:626 and n1; EAW to WW, July 10 and August 14, 1899, *PWW*, 11:160, 227 (Wilson children read Scott “devoutly”).
- 78 *influence of Scott’s works*: J.V. Ridgely, *Nineteenth-Century Southern Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), 2, 32–49, 116; Hamilton James Eckenrode, “Sir Walter Scott and the South,” *North American Review*, vol. 206, no. 743 (October 1917), 595–603. Writing in dead earnest, Mark Twain blamed Scott’s “sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanished society” for the perpetuation of class and race distinctions in the South long after the Civil War. Scott, he alleged, did “more real and lasting harm, perhaps, than any other individual that ever wrote.” He contended that “Sir Walter disease, the character of the Southerner,” was “in great measure responsible for the [Civil] War.” Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, Author’s National Edition (New York: Harper & Brothers, n.d.), 375–78.
- 79 “*neither her person nor her room*”: WW to ELA, April 15, 1884, *PWW*, 3:132.
- 79 “*no special effort*”: ELA to WW, November 8, 1884, *PWW*, 3:414.
- 79 “*I have given up*”: WW to ELA, February 19, 1885, *PWW*, 4:268. At the time, Johns Hopkins offered him the option of taking another year or two of classes and then sitting for the required examinations. WW to ELA, February 26, 1885, *PWW*, 4:299. But after that spring, Wilson never took another class at Johns Hopkins, or elsewhere.
- 79 *never to enroll again*: Stockton Axson, “*Brother Woodrow*”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 57; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 30 (“Wilson never completed the requirements for the PhD [at] Johns Hopkins”).
- 79 *didn’t need a Ph.D.*: Wilson shared his “coolest judgment in the matter” with his father, setting out 16 pages of pros and cons concluding it was best “not to try for it.” Based on that, his father agreed. Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, October 29, 1884, *PWW*, 3:385; WW to ELA, October 26 and November 8, 1884, *PWW*, 3:374, 414.
- 79 *only fifty-two citations ... years at Johns Hopkins*: Henry W. Bragdon, *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 127; “Woodrow Wilson: The President’s Policies Analyzed in the Light of His Natural Inhibitions and His Past Record,” *The Nation*, vol. 103, no. 2672 (September 14, 1916), 256–58, at 258 (“it has been a matter of boast that he had but once casually visited the House of Representatives before he wrote *Congressional Government*”). According to Ray Stannard Baker, Wilson

- did not make his first visit to the Capitol until more than a year after he published *Congressional Government*. *LL*, 1:266. Wilson biographer John Milton Cooper determined that Wilson “would not set foot in the Capitol until 1898,” twelve years after receiving his doctorate. Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 51.
- 79 “no patience”: WW to ELA, February 24, 1885, *PWW*, 4:286.
- 79 *panned it*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 135.
- 79 *Lowell*: Abbot Lawrence Lowell, “Ministerial Responsibility and the Constitution,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 57, no. 340 (February 1886), 180–93.
- 80 *Equally forceful*: “Wilson’s Congressional Government,” *The Nation*, vol. 40, no. 1024 (February 12, 1885), 142–43; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 135.
- 80 *take on his critics*: WW, “Responsible Government Under the Constitution,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 57, no. 342 (April 1886), 542–553.
- 80 *introduction of legislation*: *Ibid.*, 552.
- 80 *high time*: WW to ELA, January 13, 1885, *PWW*, 3:603; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 58.
- 80 *parents had died*: Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 7; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, x.
- 80 *Like Woodrow’s father*: Ellen Axson’s grandfather, Isaac Stockton Keith Axson, preached as well as published his arguments in favor of the indefinite perpetuation of slavery. Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 363. As a pastor during the Civil War, he conducted prayer meetings for the success of the Confederate government. John Rozier, ed., *The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth & Sallie Bird* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 60. For Wilson’s father’s views on slavery, see text at 19–20.
- 80 *the very resort*: A travel guide of the era described the Arden Park Lodge in North Carolina’s Great Smoky Mountains as “an excellent hotel largely patronized by exclusive guests from the cotton and cane States.” North Carolina State Board of Agriculture, *North Carolina and Its Resources* (Raleigh, NC: M.I. & J.C. Stewart, 1896), 294.
- 81 “advanced women”: Frank Parker Stockbridge to Ray Stannard Baker, December 11, 1927, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, reel 83, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress.
- 81 “meddled”: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 175.
- 81 “co-educational institution”: WW to ELA, November 30, 1884, *PWW*, 3:499.
- 81 “I hate the place”: WW to ELA, October 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:605.
- 81 *In Pennsylvania alone*: The University of Northern Pennsylvania began admitting women in 1850, followed by Waynesburg College, 1851; Westminster College, 1852; Penn Medical College, 1853; Mount Pleasant College, 1855; Westmoreland College, 1862; Swarthmore, 1862; Lebanon Valley College, 1866; Lambeth College, 1868, Cherry Tree Male and Female College, 1868; Thiel College, 1869; African College, 1869; Monongahela College, 1869; Juniata College, 1870; Agricultural College of Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania State University), 1871; and Grove City College, 1884. Saul Sack, “The Higher Education of Women in Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 83, no. 1 (January 1959), 29–73, at 37–39.
- 81 *She preferred*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 57.
- 81 *academic star . . . Sorbonne*: Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women’s Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, 2nd ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 113; “Thomas, M. Carey,” *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1906), 13:84–85; Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 124.
- 82 *The occasion*: WW to ELA, November 28, 1884, *PWW*, 3:493.
- 82 *a reference*: Daniel Hoyt Gilman to Herbert B. Adams, August 19, 1884, in *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams*, ed. W. Stull Holt (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), 72 [464].
- 82 *tossing in bed*: Wilson confided to Ellen that his “anxiety” over whether he could bring himself to teach at a women’s college “has cost me both sleep and ease of mind,” with the result that “I am not feeling very well.” WW to ELA, November 30, 1884, *PWW*, 3:500.



- 82 “prefer to teach young men”: WW to ELA, December 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:517 (Wilson’s emphasis).
- 82 *told him so*: When Ellen learned that even though Bryn Mawr’s dean was a woman it had “a man for President,” she was much relieved, writing Woodrow, “that makes it less *disagreeable*.” But, she added, “it’s being a school for women *must* remain an objection.” ELA to WW, December 1, 1884, *PWW*, 504.
- 82 “*The idea*”: WW to ELA, December 8, 1884, *PWW*, 3:526.
- 82 “*peculiarly susceptible*”: WW to EAW, February 14, 1889, *PWW*, 6:92.
- 82 *comely appearance*: For physical descriptions of Carey Thomas, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 133, and Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 173–74. These authors describe her “comely appearance,” “good looks,” “brilliant” and “energetic brown eyes,” and “lovely voice.”
- 82 “*altogether attractive*”: WW to ELA, November 27, 1884, *PWW*, 3:491.
- 83 “*which I propose*”: WW to ELA, November 30, 1884, *PWW*, 3:500.
- 83 *an unmistakable air*: WW to ELA, December 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:517.
- 83 *taken aback . . . trial basis*: *Ibid.*; Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 155, 175.
- 83 *mistaken in thinking*: *Ibid.*, 175.
- 83 “*interesting experience*”: WW to ELA, December 6, 1884, *PWW*, 3:517.
- 84 *far more accomplished . . . rigorous standards*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 57–157; Horowitz, *Power and Passion*, 56–230; Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, ed., *The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1979), 28; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 144.
- 84 *racial and religious prejudices*: Thomas strongly resisted admitting Black students or hiring Jewish faculty. Horowitz, *Power and Passion*, 422–23. In a 1916 speech to Bryn Mawr’s freshman class, she expressed her hope that the “intellectual supremacy of the white races is maintained . . . for centuries to come.” Susan Snyder, “Bryn Mawr Confronts Racist Views of Former Leader,” *TCA Regional News (Chicago)*, August 25, 2017.
- 84 “*Stuff and nonsenses!*”: M. Carey Thomas Diary, January 6, 1871, in Dobkin, *Making of a Feminist*, 48–49.
- 84 *atheism and free love*: Logan Pearsall Smith, *Unforgotten Years* (London: Constable and Co., 1938), 78.
- 84 “*Boston marriage*”: Professor Leila J. Rupp recounts the Thomas-Gwinn relationship in detail in *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). It was during their time together in Switzerland in the early 1880s, she writes, that Thomas “formed with her Baltimore friend Mamie Gwinn what they both considered a marriage.” *Ibid.*, 90. According to historian Lillian Faderman, “Thomas left many papers that revealed her lesbianism.” While earlier in her life she experienced heterosexual feelings, during the period 1877–78 she fell in love with two women simultaneously. With one of these women, Mamie Gwinn, she entered into “a mutually nonmonogamous partnership that lasted almost a quarter century.” Faderman, *To Believe In Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America—A History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2000), 201, 385–86n201. See also Leslie Mukau, “Johns Hopkins and the Feminist Legacy: How a Group of Baltimore Women Shaped American Graduate Medical Education,” *American Journal of Clinical Medicine*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Fall 2012), 188–127 at 124.
- 84 *natural antipathy*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 175, 178.
- 84 *reluctant to hire him*: Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr College, December 20, 1884, *PWW*, 3:568n1.
- 85 “*much less a Fellow*”: WW to ELA, April 27, 1885, *PWW*, 4:532.
- 85 “*could not pass*”: *Ibid.*
- 85 “*as a criminal*”: WW to ELA, January 10, 1885, *PWW*, 3:595.
- 85 *complained about the terms*: WW to ELA, January 13, 1885, *PWW*, 3:604.
- 85 *president’s job*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 170.
- 85 *ruling spirit*: *Ibid.*, 171; Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 144.
- 85 *course curriculum*: James E. Rhoads to WW, January 10, 1885, *PWW*, 3:596.
- 85 *go over Thomas’s head*: Dobkin, *Making of a Feminist*, 20n7.
- 85 “*How ridiculous!*”: ELA to WW, November 28, 1884, *PWW*, 3:494.
- 85 “*same gifts*”: WW to ELA, March 1, 1885, *PWW*, 4:317 (Wilson’s emphases).
- 85 *consoled himself*: WW to ELA, January 13, 1885, *PWW*, 3:603.

- 85 *only faculty member ... she was responsible*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 172–74.
- 86 *graduate fellows*: M. Carey Thomas to WW, August 15, 1885, *PWW*, 5:13–15.
- 86 *he objected*: M. Carey Thomas to WW, c. May 17, 1887, *PWW*, 5:505; WW to Thomas, May 17, 1887, *PWW*, 5:506.
- 86 *wrote the publisher*: Editorial Note: Wilson’s Plan for a Textbook in Civil Government, *PWW*, 5:147. The publisher, D.C. Heath & Co., agreed to accept Wilson as sole author. The result was *The State*, published three years later.
- 86 *school business*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 173–74.
- 86 *“keep house for me”*: WW to ELA, January 19, 1885, *PWW*, 3:622.
- 86 *making their own beds*: Horowitz, *Power and Passion*, 197.
- 86 *clashed with Thomas*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 175.
- 86 *students gossiped*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 159–60.
- 86 *“relaxing my mental muscle”*: WW to Robert Bridges, November 30, 1887, *PWW*, 5:632.
- 87 *“through a vacuum” ... “evolution of fashion”*: WW confidential journal, October 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:619.
- 87 *“Mr. Wilson preferred”*: Mary Tremain to Ray Stannard Baker, n.d., quoted in *LL*, 1:291.
- 87 *“too docile”*: Virginia Kays Creesy, “Woodrow Wilson Amid the ‘Demure Damsels,’” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 75, no. 17 (March 4, 1975), 8.
- 87 *complained about the “strain”*: WW to ELA, October 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:605.
- 87 *“singularly ill-adapted”*: Letters from Lucy Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, January 15 and February 1, 1926, quoted in Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 436n21.
- 87 *“must not anticipate”*: C.K. Adams to Lucy Maynard Salmon, June 3, 1886, in Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), 100–01.
- 87 *“an audience” ... never wholeheartedly*: Lucy Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, February 1, 1926, Baker Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*, 101–02.
- 87 *“deadly secret”*: *LL*, 1:261.
- 87 *“unconscious”*: Lucy Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, February 1, 1926, Baker Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Brown, *Apostle of Democracy*, 101–02.
- 87 *“interesting and inspiring”*: Mary Tremain to Ray Stannard Baker, n.d., quoted in *LL*, 1:290.
- 88 *essays, and a college textbook*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 155.
- 88 *leaned on him*: Ibid., 159; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 58; Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 175; *LL*, 1:236.
- 88 *“Sorry a figure” ... “I need a degree now”*: WW to Herbert Baxter Adams, April 2, 1886 and April 8, 1886, *PWW*, 5:150–51, 155 (Wilson’s emphasis).
- 88 *“no chance” ... “very easily”*: Herbert Baxter Adams to WW, April 7, 1886, *PWW*, 5:154 (Adams’s emphasis).
- 88 *gave him credit*: Herbert Baxter Adams to WW, April 7, 1886, *PWW*, 5:154; Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 58; Victoria Bissell Brown, “Conservative Among Progressives,” in Axtell, *Educational Legacy*, 139; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 30.
- 88 *“exceedingly fair”*: WW to ELA, May 29, 1886, *PWW*, 5:267.
- 88 *Thomas had endured*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 122–23; Brown, “Conservative Among Progressives,” 138–39.
- 89 *put her on a train*: WW to EAW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:156 and n3; WW to EAW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:158. When she boarded the train, the baby was expected in “two or three weeks.” WW to Robert Bridges, April 19, 1886, *PWW*, 5:163.
- 89 *complications*: Ludwig M. Deppisch, M.D., *The Health of the First Ladies* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2015), 107–08.
- 89 *septicemia*: Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 7.
- 89 *arrived in Georgia*: Louisa Brown to WW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:158.
- 89 *“unquestionably hastened”*: WW to Robert Bridges, April 19, 1886, *PWW*, 5:163.
- 89 *not “for the pain”*: Louisa Brown to WW, April 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:158.
- 89 *“enjoy” himself*: Louisa Brown to WW, April 17, 1886, *PWW*, 5:160.
- 89 *“seeing all sorts of things”*: WW to EAW, April 15, 16, 1886, *PWW*, 5:156, 157.
- 89 *“My heart aches”*: EAW to WW, April 21, 1886, *PWW*, 5:166.

- 89 “*seeing the homes*”: WW to EAW, April 23, 24, 25, 1886, *PWW*, 5:167, 169, 171.
- 90 *what he really wanted*: Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 35.
- 90 *ruled him out*: James Burrill Angell to WW, November 12, 1887, *PWW*, 5:628; Edward Ireland Renick to WW, November 1 and 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:621–22.
- 90 *going abroad ... another academic year*: WW to Robert Bridges, January 23, 1887, *PWW*, 5:433; WW to Philip Gilbert Hamerton, January 4, 1887, *PWW*, 5:428n2.
- 90 *seemed to focus*: Bragdon, *Academic Years*, 152.
- 90 *seemed “more interested”*: Lucy Maynard Salmon to Ray Stannard Baker, n.d., quoted in *LL*, 1:153.
- 90 *first-ever floor vote*: 18 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 25, 1887) (roll call on S.R. 5, the future Anthony Amendment), 1002.
- 90 *marveled at the votes*: “Woman Suffrage in the Senate,” *New York Times*, January 26, 1887, 4.
- 91 *excerpts from the debate*: “Woman’s Suffrage—Constitutional Amendment Defeated in the Senate—Ungallant Senators Two to One,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 26, 1887, 7.
- 91 *“great deeds by women”*: 18 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 25, 1887), 984 (remarks of Sen. Dolph on S.R. 5).
- 91 *predictable objection*: *Ibid.*, 986, 988 (remarks of Sen. Vest on S.R. 5).
- 91 *undisclosed*: Finch, *Carey Thomas*, 176.
- 91 *“graduated in law” ... “waxed eloquent”*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 273–75.
- 91 *“crisis in my career”*: WW to Thomas Dixon, quoted in *ibid.*, 407; Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 170.
- 91 *no effort*: Thomas Dixon to WW, June 7, 1887, *PWW*, 5:515; Thomas Henderson Pritchard to Joseph Ruggles Wilson, June 8, 1887, *PWW*, 5:516; Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, June 11, 1887, *PWW*, 5:516.
- 92 *June 9, 1887*: William Hartwell Pace to WW, June 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:520
- 92 *press notices Dixon mailed*: EAW to WW, July 20, 1887, *PWW*, 5:533–34.
- 92 *“Wear it long”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, June 11, 1887, *PWW*, 5:516.
- 92 *source of his claim*: Joseph Wilson’s actual terminal degree was an A.B. from Jefferson College (PA) in 1844. The honorary degree was from Oglethorpe University in central Georgia in 1857.
- 92 *“I am grieved”*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, September 22, 1887, *PWW*, 5:592.
- 92 *pathetic circumstances*: Joseph Ruggles Wilson to WW, March 5, 1888, *PWW*, 5:705.
- 92 *a telegram*: Joseph R. Wilson, Jr., to WW, telegram, April 15, 1888, *PWW*, 5:718.
- 92 *“only the servant” ... “almost broken”*: WW to EAW, April 18, 1888, *PWW*, 5:718.

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- 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, 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, 1990, *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.

## 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 Bense, *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.

## PART II

## GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT

## 10. 'Shall I Not Accept?'

## PAGE

- 125 “*frost to flowers*: Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), 251; “Go to Bermuda” (advertisement), *The Travel Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 5 (February 1910), 254; *New York Times*, November 26, 1909, 13.
- 125 *annual report*: WW, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, December 13, 1906, *PWW*, 16:506.
- 125 *separate vacations*: WW to Robert Bridges, May 27, 1896, *PWW*, 9:507 and n1; WW to EAW, August 18, 19, 20, 21, 1896, *PWW*, 9:573–75; EAW to WW, August 3, 1897, *PWW*, 10:283 and n1; WW Diary, August 6, 7, 1897, *PWW*, 10:305–06; WW to EAW, June 16, 17, 18, 21, 1898, *PWW*, 10:558, 559, 562, 567; WW to EAW, September 9, 10, 11, 12, 1898, *PWW*, 579–82; WW to EAW, June 25, 1899, *PWW*, 11:132; “Record of a Tour through the British Isles, July 5–August 26, 1899,” *PWW*, 11:146; WW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, August 21, 1902, *PWW*, 38:682; WW to EAW, May 5, 1903, *PWW*, 14:453; EAW to WW, May 1, 1904, *PWW*, 14:302; *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, January 21, 1905, 249, in *PWW*, 15:579; WW to EAW, January 14, 1907, *PWW*, 17:3; WW to EAW, June 26, 27, 29, 1908, *PWW*, 18:343–47 and n10.
- 125 “*securing rest*”: “President Wilson Sails for Bermuda Tomorrow,” *Daily Princetonian*, January 11, 1907, in *PWW*, 16:559. Ellen was in the midst of a “marked depression” at this time, spanning 1906 to 1910. The causes were several. In April 1905, her brother Edward, his wife, and their infant son were all drowned in a ferry accident. WW to Robert Bridges, April 28, 1905, *PWW*, 16:86 and n1. The tragedy left Ellen “utterly crushed” and unable to perform normal daily tasks, according to her daughter Nell. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo and Margaret Y. Gaffey, *The Woodrow Wilsons* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), 87. Her brother Stockton, deeply disturbed by memories of their father’s suicide in a mental hospital, suffered chronic mental breakdowns. EAW to Anna Harris, March 11, 1905, *PWW*, 16:28; Florence Stevens Hoyt to WW (enclosure), September 12, 1914, *PWW*, 31:28 and n2; Arthur S. Link, “Editor’s Introduction,” in Stockton Axson, “*Brother Woodrow*: A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson,” ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), x; Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 31; Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 36–37. Wilson’s diagnosis of hardening of the arteries and prescription of vacation and rest, EAW to Florence Stevens Hoyt, June 27, 1906, *PWW*, 16:429, “overwhelmed” Ellen because now “[b]oth Stock and Woodrow needed me to be strong all the time.” Florence Stevens Hoyt to WW (enclosure), September 12, 1914, *PWW*, 31:28 and n2.
- 125 *machine controlled*: *PWW*, 16:560n1. “Sugar Jim” was not an affectionate nickname, alluding to his stalwart defense of the Sugar Trust when he was a U.S. senator. “Break in Jersey Hurts House Democrats,” *Washington Times*, September 9, 1908, 3. Harvey had been managing editor of the *Newark Journal*, owned by Smith, in the late 1880s. Ferdinand Lundberg, *America’s 60 Families* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1937), 116.
- 126 *turned down*: WW to Charles Clarke Black, January 11, 1907, *PWW*, 16:560; WW to George Harvey, January 7, 1907, *PWW*, 16:549. The offer was, in any event, not the sure thing Wilson believed it to be. According to the editor of the *Trenton Evening Times*, “the Harvey proposal was flatly rejected by the minority Democrats.” James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 28.
- 126 *proposed Wilson*: “George Harvey at the Dinner to Woodrow Wilson,” February 3, 1906, in *Speeches at the Lotos Club*, John Elderkin, Chester S. Lord, and Charles W. Price, eds. (New York: Lotos Club, 1911), 309.
- 126 *publicity*: *New York Sun*, 6; *Chicago Tribune*, 4; *Washington Post*, 11; all February 4, 1906.
- 126 “*empty honor*”: George Harvey to WW, January 10, 1907, *PWW*, 16:554.
- 126 *should be thinking about*: George Harvey to WW, December 17, 1906, *PWW*, 16:532; WW to George Harvey, December 16, 1906, *PWW*, 16:531.
- 126 *maids ... historic houses*: Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 183.

- 126 *fifteen years*: Ibid., 182.
- 126 *headquarters in Pittsfield*: The J. L. and T. D. Peck Manufacturing Co. was a major employer in Pittsfield even before the Civil War. Edward Boltwood, *History of Pittsfield Massachusetts, 1876–1916* (Pittsfield, MA: Eagle Printing & Binding Co., 1916), 122–23, 252–53; “Thomas Dowse Peck,” *New York Times*, April 29, 1927, 19.
- 126 *“mental and spiritual distress”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 5–9, at 6.
- 126 *snowbirds*: Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 145–54, 175–78, 180–212.
- 126 *she had read about him*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” December 20, 1924, 6.
- 126 *introduced himself ... invited him to dinner*: Ibid., 6, 8. At the time of Wilson’s first visit to the island, the tennis lawn at Happy Valley was a notable local attraction. *The Bermuda Pocket Almanack, Guide and Directory* (Hamilton, Bermuda: The Royal Gazette, 1894), 165.
- 127 *a dinner party*: The wife of William T. James, the mayor of Hamilton, was a friend of Peck’s. MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 158; WW to EAW, January 30, 1907, *PWW*, 17:25, 26 and n2.
- 127 *he left her a note*: WW to MAHP, February 6, 1907, *PWW*, 17:29.
- 127 *He sent her gifts*: WW to MAHP, February 6, 20, March 27, 1907, *PWW*, 17:29, 48, 93; MAHP to WW, February 25, 1907, *PWW*, 17:50.
- 127 *five weeks*: Wilson departed from New York for Bermuda on January 18, 1908, and arrived back in Princeton February 27, 1908. EAW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, January 14, 1908, *PWW*, 40:570; “President Wilson’s Return,” *Daily Princetonian*, February 29, 1918, *PWW*, 17:619.
- 127 *“coddled him”*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 164, 167; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” December 20, 1924, 9; A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 160–61.
- 127 *oblivious*: Kenneth S. Lynn, “The Hidden Agony of Woodrow Wilson,” *Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter 2004), 68.
- 127 *“foolish things”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 9, and vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 12–16, at 13; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 143.
- 127 *tea dances*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 144.
- 127 *he read her poems*: Ibid., 172–73; Lynn, “The Hidden Agony of Woodrow Wilson,” 68.
- 127 *danced*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 144.
- 127 *smoked cigarettes*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 18.
- 127 *did not go to church ... “independent thing”*: Ibid., vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 8–9. As to Mrs. Peck’s age, she stated in January 1925 that she was 62. Ibid., vol. 1, no. 39 (January 31, 1925), 20–23, at 21. Her *New York Times* obituary stated her age at death in December 1939 as 76. Together these would place her month and year of birth sometime in January 1863. She would therefore have been roughly six years younger than Wilson, or age 44, at the time of their first meeting in Bermuda. (In the same obituary, the *Times* incorrectly stated the year of her first Bermuda meeting with Wilson as 1905, and stated that Ellen Wilson was with him at the time, which was not the case.) “Mrs. Mary Hulbert, Author, Dies at 76,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1939, 23. In her 1912 divorce case, Mrs. Peck stated her age under oath, but spoke so softly that journalists at the reporters’ table could not hear her. “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6.
- 127 *“did not believe possible”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 13.
- 127 *personal question ... “God knows”*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 169–172.
- 127 *“doormat wife” ... “dictatorial tone”*: MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 23–26, at 25.
- 128 *speech in Hamilton*: Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 32; “Lecture,” Hamilton, Bermuda *Royal Gazette*, February 15, 1908, *PWW*, 17:616.
- 128 *“my beloved”*: WW to MAHP, c. February 1, 1908 (salutation on draft letter), *PWW*, 17:611.
- 128 *intimate letters*: According to Gene Watson of *Munsey’s Magazine*, who was sympathetic to Wilson, there were originally “400–500 letters” in total, all of which he claimed to have read. (Dean Mathey, interview by Henry

- W. Bragdon, July 21, 1940, WWC.) Today only 227 remain. For seven months following Wilson's return from this trip to Bermuda, there is no surviving correspondence. (Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson*, 25.) Weinstein suggests the missing letters "were destroyed by Wilson himself, or by a member of his family after his death." (Weinstein, *ibid.*, 185 and n25.) Another possibility is raised by Hulbert in her memoir. She claimed to have been "robbed" of all the letters she shipped from Bermuda to New York during Wilson's second White House term. That shipment, she wrote, was "mysteriously stopped" and "Secret Service men" instructed the consignees that "all documents and letters found among my household effects were to be forwarded to Washington! Naturally I had known I was robbed." MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 265–66. Yet another explanation, offered by historian Frances W. Saunders, is that the consortium of Wilson friends who purchased the letters from Hulbert in 1928 did so in order to destroy those that were "incriminating." Saunders, "Love and Guilt," *American Heritage* (April/May 1979), n.p. See text at 246 and corresponding endnote "*For the time being.*"
- 128 "emotional love" ... "cruel judgment": WW to EAW, July 20, 1908, *PWW*, 18:369. None of Ellen's letters to her husband during his time in Bermuda have survived, and only two of Wilson's to her, but one of those makes it clear she had issued a warning to him. "Of course I am seeing a great deal of Mrs. Peck," he wrote. "But I am remembering your injunction." WW to EAW, February 4, 1908, *PWW*, 17:611; Frances Wright Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson: First Lady between Two Worlds* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 188.
- 128 *introducing her*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 222; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 128.
- 128 *family friend*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 130.
- 128 *neither liked nor admired*: Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 202.
- 128 "only unhappiness": Breckinridge Long Diary, January 11, 1924, *PWW*, 68:527.
- 128 "interest in Mrs. Peck": Axson, *Brother Woodrow*, 103. To maintain appearances, the First Lady initiated a family visit with Mary so as to "give countenance of her approval." *Ibid.* A handful of further such visits followed in subsequent years. The ongoing Woodrow–Mary relationship "caused a crisis" in their marriage, Wilson biographer Link concluded. *Ibid.*, 268–69n17.
- 128 "risk the appearance": WW to MAHP, November 2, 1908, *PWW*, 18:478; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 38.
- 128 *tempered by her worries*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 242; Saunders, *Ellen Axson Wilson*, 219–20.
- 128 "a hundred fold!": WW to MAHP, May 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:191.
- 129 *Peck's apartment*: WW to MAHP, July 26, 1910, *PWW*, 21:26 and n1.
- 129 *bought her jewelry*: WW to MAHP, May 25, 1909, *PWW*, 19:214.
- 129 "constant touch": WW to MAHP, September 12, 1909, *PWW*, 19:382.
- 129 "perfectly satisfying": WW to MAHP, February 21, 1910, *PWW*, 20:148 (emphasis in original).
- 129 "lonely wherever I go": WW to MAHP, February 18, 1910, *PWW*, 20:138.
- 129 "Why, why": MAHP to WW, February 18, 1910, *PWW*, 20:141 (emphasis in original).
- 129 "Discord begot hate": White, *Wilson*, 160–61.
- 129 *precise location*: Andrew F. West, Memorandum to the Princeton University Board of Trustees, Committee on the Graduate School, May 13, 1907, *PWW*, 17:142. Wilson's "combateness," biographer John Milton Cooper concluded, "bordered on obsession." Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 95.
- 129 *turned down the presidency*: News Item, *Princeton Press*, October 20, 1909, *PWW*, 16:464; Andrew F. West to WW, October 30, 1906, *PWW*, 16:478.
- 129 *honorary doctorate*: "Oxford Honors Americans," *New York Times*, October 10, 1902, 9.
- 129 *matching gift*: WW to Melancthon Williams Jacobus, *PWW*, 19:124n1.
- 129 *to choose sides*: The dispute over location reflected competing visions for the graduate school. West wanted space for a graduate campus modeled on Cambridge University, a distinct "residential college devoted solely to the higher liberal studies." Andrew F. West, *The Graduate College of Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1913), 28. Wilson wanted the graduate school fitted into the space among the buildings of the existing campus. Cooper, *Wilson*, 104.



- 129 *solid majority*: The vote was 14–10 in favor of accepting the \$500,000 gift (Wilson voting no), and 17–4 in favor of revoking Wilson’s choice of location (Wilson not voting). Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, October 21, 1909, *PWW*, 19:435. The amount of the gift in current dollars was \$17.3 million.
- 129 *phoned Mary*: WW to MAHP, October 24, 1909, *PWW*, 19:442.
- 130 *called on “Sugar Jim” ... stepping stone*: William Otto Inglis, “Helping to Make a President,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 58, no. 4 (October 7, 1916), 14, at 16, 37; *LL*, 3:45–46; Editorial Note: Colonel Harvey’s Plan for Wilson’s Entry Into Politics, *PWW*, 20:146.
- 130 *“greatest one-man politician”*: “James Smith, Jr., Fails in Business,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1915, 1.
- 130 *three Princeton sons*: Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 18.
- 130 *“certain ideals”*: WW to Herbert B. Brougham, February 1, 1910, *PWW*, 20:69.
- 130 *publicly shamed*: “Princeton,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1910, 8. The donor was William Procter, president of Procter & Gamble. “Col. W.C. Procter Dies in Cincinnati,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1934, 19.
- 130 *promptly withdrew*: “Procter Withdraws Gift to Princeton,” *New York Times*, February 7, 1910, 1.
- 130 *“wounded”*: WW to MAHP, February 8, 1910, *PWW*, 20:87.
- 130 *immediately left Princeton*: “Woodrow Wilson Sails,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1910, 3.
- 130 *just before he left*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126.
- 130 *from shipboard*: WW to MAHP, February 12, 1910, *PWW*, 20:122.
- 130 *after he landed*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, March 4, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126, 138, 148, 150, 178, 185, 210.
- 130 *he assured Ellen*: WW to EAW, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:125.
- 130 *“too desperately lonely”*: WW to MAHP, February 14, 1910, *PWW*, 20:126 (WW emphasis).
- 130 *“if only I were there”*: MAHP to WW, February 15, 1910, *PWW*, 20:127 (MAHP emphasis).
- 130 *“delightful little visit”*: EAW to WW, February 24, 1910, *PWW*, 20:172.
- 130 *“hate and ugliness”*: WW to EAW, February 20, 1910, *PWW*, 20:144.
- 131 *“does appeal to me”*: EAW to WW, February 28, 1910, *PWW*, 20:188.
- 131 *nationwide publicity*: “Princeton in Tennessee,” *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 8, 1910, 8; “Princeton Trustees Uphold President,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 11, 1910, 1; “Wilson Upheld,” *Fredericksburg (VA) Daily Star*, February 11, 1910, 1; “The Midwinter Outlook,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 14, 1910, 4; “Woodrow Wilson,” *Shreveport Journal*, February 17, 1910, 4; “Col. Henry Watterson Writes on The Midwinter Outlook,” *Jackson (MS) Daily News*, February 19, 1910, 6; “Watterson on the Political Outlook,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 20, 1910, 1.
- 131 *coast-to-coast*: The following are examples of the scores of dailies that carried the AP article, all under the identical headline “Woodrow Wilson”: *The Independent* (Santa Barbara, CA), February 19, 1910, 4; *Evansville (IN) Press*, February 19, 1910, 4; *Bridger (MS) Times*, March 4, 1910, 4.
- 131 *“real motives”*: “Suspicion That Princeton University Is the Seat of a Big Political Game,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 1910, 1; “Outcome of the Controversy,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 7, 1910, 6. The syndicated columnist was E. J. Edwards, writing under his *nom de plume*, “Holland.” “Newspaper Veteran Dies; Dr. Elisha J. Edwards Was Author of ‘Holland’s Letter,’” *Editor & Publisher*, vol. 56, no. 49 (May 3, 1924), 30; Matthew Algeo, *The President Is a Sick Man* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011), 138–39.
- 131 *blaming Wilson*: For example, “Princeton President Blamed for Loss of \$500,000 Gift,” *Mount Vernon Argus* (White Plains, NY), February 08, 1910, 7.
- 131 *“an exhumation”*: Editorial, *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1910, 6.
- 131 *“supreme indifference”*: “Regents Are Considering Woodrow Wilson Again,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, February 15, 1910, 1.
- 131 *“better than the Republicans”*: WW, Address to Democratic Dollar Dinner, March 29, 1910, *PWW*, 20:297; “Time Ripe for Political Change, Says Dr. Wilson,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, March 30, 1910, 1; “President Wilson Predicts Democratic Administration,” *Hawaiian Star*, April 18, 1910, 4.
- 131 *“scholarly vocation”*: “Woodrow Wilson on Colleges,” *Brooklyn Times*, April 18, 1910, 6.
- 131 *the “classes” and the “masses”*: “Seymour Given Big Ovation ... Wilson Is for True Democracy,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 17, 1910, 1.



- 132 *“an ingrate and a liar”*: Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 14, 1940, Woodrow Wilson Collection, MC168, Public Policy Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- 132 *“cruel hands”*: “Seymour Given Big Ovation,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 17, 1910, 1; WW, Address to Princeton Alumni Association of Western Pennsylvania, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 10 (April 20, 1910), 467–71, *PWW*, 20:373.
- 132 *“bloody revolution”* ... *“exclusiveness”*: “Disaster Forecast by Wilson,” *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, April 17, 1910, *PWW*, 20:366; “Dr. Wilson Scores Church and College,” *New York Times*, April 18, 1910, 9.
- 132 *startled audience*: “Says Pews Are Put Above Souls,” *Tyrone Daily Herald*, April 18, 1910, 1.
- 132 *issues du jour*: Biographer John Milton Cooper noted that three years earlier, Wilson had lectured businessmen in Cleveland that “if you want to win” in politics, you “must be an opportunist ... opportunism, that is politics.” WW, Address to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, November 16, 1907, *PWW*, 17:497; Cooper, *Wilson*, 106.
- 132 *“evil corporations”*: “Princeton’s Head Pleads for More Stringent Law for the Evil Corporations,” *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Times-Leader*, May 21, 1910, 15; “Wilson Urges Whack at Evil-Doing Corporations,” *Lincoln (NE) Journal Star*, May 21, 1910, 7; “Wilson Hits Corporations,” *Pasaic (NJ) Daily Herald*, May 21, 1910, 1.
- 132 *front page*: “Gift of \$10,000,000 Left to Princeton; Isaac C. Wyman of Salem, Mass., Bequeaths Bulk of Estate to Graduate School,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1910, 1. The headline estimate of the size of the gift was wrong. The eventual distributions to Princeton from the estate, completed in 1917, totaled approximately \$800,000. *PWW*, 20:464n3. William Procter almost immediately reinstated his previously revoked pledge, however, bringing the total for the two gifts to \$1.3 million, equivalent to over \$30 million today. William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, June 6, 1910, *PWW*, 20:506.
- 133 *unanimously*: During the same June 6 meeting at which they acknowledged the new gift, the board voted unanimously to accept Procter’s prior \$500,000 offer under its original stipulation to erect the graduate school buildings a mile from campus adjacent to the golf links. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, June 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:509; William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, June 6, 1910, *PWW*, 20:506. Facing the board’s unanimous sentiment, Wilson told them “I feel it to be my duty no longer to oppose.” WW, Remarks to the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:507.
- 133 *“accept defeat”*: WW to Thomas D. Jones, May 30, 1910, *PWW*, 20:483. Wilson’s presidency of the university “really ended at Commencement in June 1910,” wrote his early biographer Ray Stannard Baker. *LL*, 3:352.
- 133 *“most humiliating”*: WW to Jessie Woodrow Wilson, October 21, 1907, *PWW*, 38:685.
- 133 *studied painting*: Jim Lampos and Michaëlle Pearson, *Remarkable Women of Old Lyme* (Columbia, SC: The History Press, 2015), 36–39.
- 133 *“out of the world”*: WW to MAHP, June 19, July 11, 1909, *PWW*, 19: 261, 307.
- 133 *“plunge back”*: WW to MAHP, July 18, 1909, *PWW*, 19:311.
- 133 *Sunday night dinner*: WW to George Harvey, June 25, 1910, *PWW*, 20:541n1.
- 133 *for months*: Henry Watterson, “The Midwinter Outlook,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 14, 1910, 4.
- 133 *aide to Nathan Bedford Forrest*: “Watterson, Henry,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 133 *Fort Pillow*: Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, “The Fort Pillow Massacre,” S. Rep. No. 38–63, at 1–2 (1864) (“the atrocities committed at Fort Pillow” were the policy of, and directly ordered by, “Forrest and his command”); Bruce Tap, *The Fort Pillow Massacre: North, South, and the Status of African Americans in the Civil War Era* (New York: Rutledge, 2014), 51–65.
- 134 *“mere preliminary”*: WW to David Benton Jones, June 27, 1910, *PWW*, 20:543.
- 134 *“restoration of proper feeling”*: William C. Procter to Moses T. Pyne, January 30, 1910, *PWW*, 20:65.
- 134 *contacting his closest supporters*: In the weeks immediately following his meeting with Harvey, Smith, and Watterson on June 26, Wilson corresponded with supporters including the following men about whether he should leave Princeton for the governor’s race (all *PWW*, 1910): WW to David B. Jones, July 1, 14, 20:552, 578, Thomas D. Jones, July 1, 20:552, Robert Garrett, July 9, 20:569, Winthrop M. Daniels, July 9, 20:569, Henry B. Thompson, July 14, 20:578, Walter Hines Page, July 16, 21:5, Archibald S. Alexander, July 20, 51:649, Adolphus Ragan, July 20, 21:14, Edward Field Goltra, July 21, 21:17, and Dan Fellows Platt, July 23, 21:23; to WW from

- David B. Jones, June 30, 20:550, 551, Cyrus H. McCormick, July 14, 18, 20:577, 21:10, Cleveland H. Dodge, June 30, July 1, 11, 20:551, 553, 573, Edward W. Sheldon, June 30, July 1, 11, 20:551, 554, 572, and Melancthon Williams Jacobus, July 16, 21:6.
- 134 “*hurry up to see you*”: WW to MAHP, July 26, 1910, *PWW*, 21:26. See also WW to MAHP, July 11, 1910, *PWW*, 20:575.
- 134 *dodging reporters*: George Harvey to WW, August 3, 1910, *PWW*, 21:35.
- 134 “*knew nothing*”: “Dr. Wilson Not Asked Yet,” *New York Times*, July 11, 1910, 1.
- 134 “*deem it [his] duty*”: WW, Press Statement, July 15, 1910, *PWW*, 20:581.
- 134 *yachting*: Cleveland H. Dodge to WW, July 12, 1910, *PWW*, 20:576; WW to MAHP, August 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:38.
- 134 *playing golf*: WW Interview, *Newark Evening News*, July 9, 1910, *PWW*, 20:567; George Harvey to WW, August 6, 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:40, 53; WW to Harvey, August 8, 1910, *PWW*, 21:40; WW to MAHP, August 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:50.
- 134 *Princeton alumni*: *PWW*, 21:81n1.
- 134 “*very hungry*”: WW to MAHP, August 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:38.
- 134 *Peck did write*: MAHP to WW, August 10, 1910, *PWW*, 21:48.
- 134 “*the happier I shall be*”: WW to MAHP, August 12, 1910, *PWW*, 21:50.
- 134 “*hour to hour*”: WW to MAHP, August 31, 1910, *PWW*, 21:64.
- 135 *Nugent*: “Ex-Senator Smith Runs Exciting Convention,” (*New Brunswick, NJ Daily Home News*, September 16, 1910, 10; “Jersey Democrats Out for a Victory,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1910, 19.
- 135 *had yet to meet*: In fact, Wilson had never in his life attended a political convention. White, *Wilson*, 205, 212.
- 135 “*duck*” the issues: George Harvey to WW, September 6, 1910, *PWW*, 21:85.
- 135 “*discussing important issues*”: (*Trenton True American*, July 21, 1910, *PWW*, 21:14.
- 135 *playing golf* ... “*stood in their seats*”: “Wilson Named Governor in New Jersey,” *New York Times*, September 16, 1910, 3.
- 135 “*A Universally Hailed Nomination*”: *Newark Evening Star*, September 16, 1910, 18; “The Right Democrat Might Win in Jersey,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1910, 6.
- 135 “*Derided and Hissed*” ... “*without waiting*”: “For Woodrow Wilson,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 16, 1910, 1. In the runup to the convention, Wilson declined to answer this question put to him by the *Trenton Evening Times*: “Do you favor the direct primary for Governor and Congressman, as well as for the county and city offices?” James Kerney to WW, July 30, 1910, *PWW*, 21:31; WW to James Kerney, August 2, 1910, *PWW*, 21:34.
- 135 *resignation as president*: “Personal,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 19, 1910, 8.
- 136 *especially George Harvey*: Wilson and Harvey worked out the campaign details throughout July, August, and September in phone calls and personal meetings as well as through the following correspondence (all *PWW*, 1910). George Harvey to WW: July 7, 20:563, July 8, 20:564, July 21, 21:17, August 6, 21:40, August 9, 21:46, August 12, 21:52, August 23, 21:61, September 6, 21:85, September 9, 21:87, September 12, 21:89, September 13, 21:90; WW to George Harvey: July 7, 20:561, July 14, 20:576, July 16, 21:5; July 26, 21:24; August 8, 21:40, 41, September 10, 21:88.
- 136 *cautious plan* ... *easily workable*: “Few Speeches for Wilson,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1910, 2. While New Jersey was the fourth smallest state in terms of land area in 1910, in 1959, Hawaii claimed this position. New Jersey then became the fifth smallest.
- 136 *as little as possible*: On October 24, with two weeks left in the campaign, Wilson issued written answers to a list of questions propounded by a prominent New Jersey progressive Republican, George L. Record. “Wilson’s Reply to Mr. Record,” *Pasaic Daily News*, October 25, 1910, 1.
- 136 *promotional pieces*: For example, “Wilson’s Views,” *New York Evening Post*, September 24, 1910, 1; “Woodrow Wilson, Prophet and Defender of the Old Faiths,” *ibid.*; “Wilson—A Tilden, But A Tilden Up to Date,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1910, 7.
- 136 “*a half hour*”: WW to MAHP, September 25, 1910, *PWW*, 21:163.
- 136 *Vivian M. Lewis*: William Starr Myers, ed., *The Story of New Jersey* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1945), 4:435.

- 136 *embraced progressive proposals*: “Lewis Nominated by Jersey Republicans,” *New York Tribune*, September 21, 1910, 4; “Fort Defends His Administration at Lewis Meeting,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, October 29, 1910, 4; “Citizens Cheer Vivian M. Lewis at Monster Republican Meeting,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 1.
- 136 *Lewis himself*: “Citizens Cheer Vivian M. Lewis at Monster Republican Meeting,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, October 29, 1910, 1.
- 136 *Payne-Aldrich Tariff*: An Act to Provide Revenue, Equalize Duties and Encourage the Industries of the United States, and for Other Purposes, Pub. L. 61–5, 36 Stat. 11, 61st Congress, 1st Session (August 5, 1909).
- 136 *against the protective tariff*: Minutes of the American Whig Society, May 24, November 12, 1878, *PWW*, 1:377, 434.
- 136 *agricultural tariffs*: WW, Testimony Before the Tariff Commission, September 23, 1882, *PWW*, 2:140.
- 136 *criticized protective tariffs*: WW, “State Rights,” chap. 13 in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 7, A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903); WW, Address to National Democratic Club (press release), c. April 13, 1908, *PWW*, 18:263; “Silent on Bryan at Jefferson Feast,” *New York Times*, April 14, 1908, 2; WW, Address to Toledo Chamber of Commerce, November 27, 1908, *PWW*, 18:647; “Democratic Opportunity,” *Jackson Daily News*, December 24, 1909, 5; “The Democratic Opportunity,” *National Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 9 (January 1910), 249, 253.
- 137 *“tariff of abominations”*: WW to MAHP, August 8, 1909, *PWW*, 19:330. Wilson’s allusion was to the Tariff of 1828, derided in the South as the Tariff of Abominations for its harmful effects on the region’s agricultural economy, then heavily dependent on two-way trade with Britain. Five years later it infamously gave rise to the Nullification Crisis in which South Carolinian John C. Calhoun, who was Vice President at the time, supported his state’s assertion of the power to nullify federal laws it deemed unconstitutional by preventing their enforcement. William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816–1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 1–3.
- 137 *“ugly face”*: WW, “The Tariff Make-Believe,” *North American Review*, vol. 190, no. 647 (October 1909), 535–56, at 547.
- 137 *waning days*: For example, “A Chance for the Democrats,” *Newark Evening News*, October 30, 1909, *PWW*, 19:461; WW, Address to Democratic Dollar Dinner, March 29, 1910, *PWW*, 20:297; WW, Address to the New Jersey Bankers’ Association, May 6, 1910, 20:414.
- 137 *“red-hot”*: It was Harvey who had urged Wilson to write the attack on the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in the *North American Review*. George Harvey to WW, May 10, 1909, *PWW*, 19:191.
- 137 *“I have always been opposed”*: “Woodrow Wilson Scores the Tariff,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1910, 7.
- 137 *promised to lower rates*: Stanley D. Solvick, “William Howard Taft and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 50, no. 3 (December 1963), 424–442.
- 137 *the final vote*: 44 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 61st Cong., 1st Sess. (July 31, 1910), 4755 (House roll call on conference report for H.R. 1438); *ibid.* (August 5, 1910), 4949 (Senate roll call on conference report for H.R. 1438); “Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill Signed by the President,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 6, 1909, 1.
- 137 *retaliatory tariff*: Geoffrey Robert Little, “Print Paper Ought to Be as Free as the Air and Water: American Newspapers, Canadian Newsprint, and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1903–1913,” *American Periodicals*, vol. 32, no. 1 (May 2022), 53–69, at 63.
- 137 *thousands of editors*: A notable exception to the publishing industry’s opposition to tariffs on newsprint was William Randolph Hearst, an investor in U.S.-based International Paper—the largest producer of paper in the world—which benefitted from higher newsprint prices and protection from competition. *Ibid.*, 64.
- 137 *54 percent*: Deborah Kalb, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 7th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2016), 1715.
- 137 *57 percent*: Despite the Democrats’ failure to win control of the Senate, their gains in the Assembly ensured election of a Democratic U.S. senator. That was because New Jersey chose its senators by joint ballot, with the Assembly and Senate voting together as one body. Following the 1910 election, Democrats held a 21-vote majority on the joint ballot. “Republicans Hold the State Senate,” *Camden Post-Telegram*, November 10, 1910, 9.

- 137 *Democrats added*: Michael J. Dubin, *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 10; Office of the Historian, *Party Divisions of the House of Representatives, 1789 to Present* (Washington: U.S. House of Representatives, 2023); Senate Historical Office, *Party Division, 61st Congress* (Washington: U.S. Senate Historical Office, 2023).
- 138 “*some in this city*”: “Holland’s Letter,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 12, 1910, 1.
- 138 *good friend*: LL, 3:121n3. Wilson’s sponsor “Sugar Jim” Smith was notorious for his sugar tariff protectionism as a U.S. senator (and for his graft in profiting from investment in the Sugar Trust at the same time). “Senator Smith’s Investment,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1894, 4.
- 138 *backed the winner*: “James E. Martine Elected Senator,” *Passaic Daily News*, January 25, 1911, 1.
- 138 “*You did exactly right*”: John Sharp Williams to WW, December 14, 1910, PWW, 22:197. Neither Wilson nor Williams minded that the winner of the primary, James E. Martine, was an anti-suffragist. Delight W. Dodyk, “Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in New Jersey” (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1997), 316.
- 138 *southern Democratic newspapers*: “Woodrow Wilson and James E. Martine,” *Birmingham Post-Herald*, December 10, 1910, 4; “Democratic Troubles in New Jersey,” *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, December 12, 1910, 8; “Woodrow Wilson Is a Leader,” *Birmingham News*, December 14, 1910, 4; “Looking to 1912 for a President,” *Charlotte Evening Chronicle*, December 15, 1910, 8; “First Discordant Sound,” *Jackson (MS) Clarion Ledger*, December 15, 1910, 5; “Wilson Breaks with Machine,” *Staunton Spectator*, December 16, 1910, 2; “Woodrow Wilson Ready for Fight,” *Jackson (MS) Daily News*, December 18, 1910, 1; “Presidential Timber,” *Guymon (OK) Democrat*, December 22, 1910, 1; “Wilson and Practical Politics,” *Miami Record-Herald*, December 23, 1910, 4; “Which Will Be First on Ticket?,” *Staunton Daily Leader*, December 23, 1910, 1; “Three Leaders of Presidential Size,” *Greenville (SC) Daily News*, December 30, 1910, 2; “Not Outside His Duty,” *Miami Herald*, January 4, 1911, 2; “A Leader Against A Boss,” *(Oklahoma City) Evening Free Press*, January 5, 1911, 8; Editorial, *Orangeburg (SC) Times and Democrat*, January 5, 1910, 2.
- 138 *strains of “Dixie”*: Taft, too, was hailed at the event for appointing a Confederate veteran to the Supreme Court. “Jubilee Cheers for Taft,” *New York Tribune*, December 15, 1910, 6.
- 138 “*certainly entitled*”: Woodrow Wilson and the South, *Atlanta Journal*, November 13, 1910, sec. H, 6.
- 138 “*most talked of man*” ... “*time for one’s friends*”: WW to MAHP, January 3, 1911, PWW, 22:292.
- 138 “*balm*” ... “*how delightful*”: WW to MAHP, January 13, 1911, PWW, 22:329.
- 138 *her “beauty”* ... “*miss you dreadfully*”: WW to MAHP, January 15, 1911, PWW, 22:333.
- 139 “*desperately lonely*”: WW to MAHP, December 7, 1910, PWW, 22: 141.
- 139 “*Do you know*”: MAHP to WW, January 13, 1911, PWW, 22:331.
- 139 “*Every private comfort*”: WW to MAHP, January 13, 1911, PWW, 22:329.

## 11. ‘The Least Part of It’

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- 140 *authored articles*: For example, “Knight Errant of the New Democracy,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 55, no. 2824, (February 4, 1911), 4; George Harvey, “The Political Predestination of Woodrow Wilson,” *North American Review*, vol. 193, no. 664 (March 1911), 321-30; “The Problem, the Solution and the Man,” *North American Review*, vol. 193, no. 665 (April 1911), 481-493; George Harvey, “Governor Woodrow Wilson,” *The Independent*, vol. 71, no. 3283 (November 2, 1911), 949-954; William G. McAdoo to George Harvey, December 9, 1911, in Willis Fletcher Johnson, *George Harvey: A Passionate Patriot* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), 177. These articles were in addition to Harvey’s favorable mentions of Wilson throughout nearly every issue of his publications.
- 140 *Dixon sent*: “Thomas Dixon Was Married Here in 1886 ... Says That Governor-Elect Woodrow Wilson Will Be Next President,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 23, 1910, 6.
- 141 “*rooting for you*”: Thomas Dixon to WW, November 25, 1910, PWW, 22:96.
- 141 “*superior to The Clansman*”: Advertisement, *The Troy (AL) Messenger*, November 16, 1910, 7. Wilson would not have objected to Dixon’s theme. He had long opposed “intermixture of African and Aryan blood” (WW to ELA,

- December 11, 1884, *PWW* 3:532), and continued to do so because it “would degrade the white nations.” Mary Yates Diary, July 31, 1908, Edmund Yates Collection, Princeton University, in *PWW*, 18:386.
- 141 *attention-getting attack*: “How the Governor Defied the Bosses in New Jersey and Brought Himself Into National Prominence as a Democratic Presidential Possibility,” *New York Times*, December 24, 1911, 34; “A Senatorship Issue of National Concern,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 26, 1910, 10.
- 141 *reputation as a surrogate*: “Kinkead ‘Home Night’ to Be a Mammoth One,” *Hudson County (NJ) Observer*, November 7, 1910, 6.
- 141 *star billing*: Advertisements, *ibid.*, November 5, 1910, 2 (advertisement for event at Pavonia Hall, Jersey City), 4 (advertisement for event at St. Patrick’s Theater, Jersey City).
- 141 *“You, the people”*: “Great Gathering of Neighbors in Kinkead’s Honor,” *ibid.*, November 8, 1910, 5.
- 141 *campaign manager*: Robert Carl Scott, “William McCombs and the 1912 Democratic Presidential Nomination of Woodrow Wilson,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 246–259, at 246–47.
- 141 *press agent*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–72; George Kibbe Turner, “Manufacturing Public Opinion: The New Art of Making Presidents by Press Bureau,” *McClure’s Magazine*, vol. 39, No. 4 (August 1912), 316; “F. P. Stockbridge, Author, Editor, Is Dead at 70,” *Boston Globe*, December 8, 1940, 46; “F.P. Stockbridge, Editor, Dead at 70,” *New York Times*, December 8, 1940, 71; “F. P. Stockbridge, Editor, Author, Dies at 70,” *Editor & Publisher*, vol. 73, no. 50 (December 14, 1940), 35.
- 141 *not a candidate*: WW to MAHP, March 26, 1911, *PWW*, 22:517; Robert Carl Scott, “William McCombs and the 1912 Democratic Presidential Nomination of Woodrow Wilson,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 246–259, at 249–50.
- 141 *“non-political”*: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 562.
- 142 *Bryn Mawr alumnae*: “Bryn Mawr Heckles Wilson On the Presidential Office At Brilliant Entertainment,” *Denver Daily News*, May 8, 1911, *PWW*, 23:21.
- 142 *“unsexed”*: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 567. Stockbridge did not publish this account until after Wilson’s death.
- 142 *more liberal*: After he left the Wilson campaign at the end of 1911, Stockbridge wrote positively about women’s suffrage. Frank Parker Stockbridge, “A University That Runs A State,” *The World’s Work*, vol. 25, no. 6 (April 1913), 699. During Wilson’s second term, he worked with W. E. B. DuBois on a plan for a three-volume history of the Black soldier in the World War. W. E. B. Du Bois to F.P. Stockbridge, December 2, 1918, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, series 1A, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Libraries.
- 142 *“reporters of both sexes”*... *“dodging the issue”*: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 566–67.
- 142 *never felt comfortable*: Terri Bimes and Stephen Skowronek, “Woodrow Wilson’s Critique of Popular Leadership: Reassessing the Modern-Traditional Divide in Presidential History,” *Polity*, vol. 29, no. 1 (Autumn 1996), 27–63.
- 142 *Fifteen years earlier*: Susan Englander, “We Want the Ballot for Different Reasons,” in *California Women and Politics from the Gold Rush to the Great Depression*, Robert W. Cherny and Mary Ann Irwin, eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 209–36; Donald G. Cooper, “The California Suffrage Campaign of 1869: Its Origin, Strategies, Defeat,” *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 4 (1989), 311–25, at 322.
- 143 *campaign headquarters*: *HWS*, 4:487.
- 143 *leadership was backing*: Walter N. Parrish and L.B. Mallory, *Final Calendar of Legislative Business*, California Legislature, 39th Sess. (1911), 300.
- 143 *“The mother’s influence”*: California State Senator John Bunyan Sanford, “Argument Against Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 8,” June 26, 1911, California Voters’ Information Manual, 1911 Special Election, Secretary of State Elections Papers, California State Archives.
- 143 *“Woman Suffrage is a disease”*: Senator J. B. Sanford, “Woman Suffrage Means Disruption of the Home,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 1911, pt. 5, 19.
- 143 *“do not repeat”*: WW, “An Address to the Jefferson Club in Los Angeles,” May 12, 1911, *PWW*, 23:33–34.

- 143 *long been a staple*: From the first, slavery’s defenders argued that the preamble to the Declaration must not be taken literally. Early examples are Maryland Sen. William Pinkney’s contention that “the self-evident truths announced in the Declaration of Independence are not truths at all, if taken literally,” 35 *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess. (February 15, 1820), 405; Delaware Rep. Louis McLane’s assertion that “the Declaration of Independence had no reference to those persons who were at that time held in slavery,” *ibid.* (February 7, 1820), 1154; and Virginia Sen. John Randolph’s insistence that the idea “all men were born free and equal” is “a most pernicious falsehood,” 2 *Register of Debates*, 19th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 2, 1826), 126.
- 144 *“gross dishonesty”*: “Freedom for Women,” Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq., at the National Woman’s Rights Convention, Worcester, MA, October 16, 1851 (New York: American Equal Rights Association, 1851), 2–3.
- 144 *“show to the world”*: 48 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, Appendix, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess. (April 24, 1912), 176–193, at 188–89 (extension of remarks of Rep. Taylor).
- 144 *“clear in my mind”*: WW to George Harvey, June 6, 1911, *PWW*, 23:134.
- 144 *rely on Dudley Field Malone*: For example, William F. McCombs to WW, September 13, 1911, *PWW*, 23:324 and n2; McCombs to WW, September 23, 1911, *PWW*, 23:355 (Malone surrogate speech in Boston).
- 144 *shared the platform*: “Trenton True American,” June 29, 1911, *PWW*, 23:177 (joint appearance); WW, “Campaign Address in Jersey City,” *Jersey Journal*, September 22, 1911, *PWW*, 23:342 (joint appearance); “Wilson Holds Nation’s Ills Due to Taft,” *Newark Evening News*, October 12, 1911 (joint appearance); “Wilson Says Taft Disturbs Business,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1911, 18 (joint appearance); “Governor Wilson Cheered by Over 6,000 in Wirlwind [sic] Tour of Monmouth County,” *Long Branch (NJ) Daily Record*, October 12, 1911, 1 (joint appearance); “Governor Lashes the Plunderers of County,” *Atlantic City Review*, November 2, 1911, *PWW*, 23:522 (joint appearance).
- 144 *“gives encouragement”*: “Wilson Says Taft Disturbs Business,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1911, 18; “New Jersey’s Reputation Is Now at Stake,” *Newark Evening News*, October 21, 1911, 5.
- 144 *control of both houses*: “Republicans Capture Control,” November 9, 1911, *Camden Daily Courier*, 1; “Jersey Returns to Republican Fold,” *Monmouth Inquirer*, November 9, 1911, 6; “Wilson Puts Blame of Defeat on Smith,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1911, 3.
- 145 *repudiated*: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 184.
- 145 *“socialistic, populist”*: WW to Adrian Hoffman Joline, April 29, 1907, *PWW*, 17:124; “To Knock Mr. Bryan into a Cocked Hat,” *New York Sun*, January 8, 1912, 1.
- 145 *introductory dinner*: WW to MAH, March 13, 1911, *PWW*, 22:500; Stockton Axson, “Brother Woodrow”: *A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 269n19. In Ellen’s view, “that dinner put Mr. Wilson in the White House.” James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 163.
- 145 *key advisers ... peace offering*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 354–55; Ray Stannard Baker, “Memorandum of an interview with Dudley Field Malone, November 1, 1927,” manuscript in Baker Papers, quoted in *ibid.*, 355.
- 145 *bonded in 1909*: Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 3–9.
- 145 *trip to North Carolina*: WW to Josephus Daniels, June 13, 1911, *PWW*, 23:140.
- 145 *“he believed it”*: Baker interview with Malone, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 355.
- 145 *“best modern example”*: “Bryan Considers Wilson Did Right,” *Omaha World-Herald*, January 31, 1912, 10.
- 146 *“For President”*: The first such issue was *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 55, no. 2864 (November 11, 1911), 4, which also featured Wilson on the cover.
- 146 *particularly in the West*: Wilson’s remarks are quoted in Harvey’s notes written immediately after the meeting. Johnson, *George Harvey*, 180, 186; *LL*, 3:249.
- 146 *“economically disastrous”*: WW, Baccalaureate Address, Princeton University, June 13, 1909, *PWW*, 19:242, 245; “Woodrow Wilson Hits Labor Unions; They Give the Least Possible for Wages, He Tells Princeton Graduates,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1909, 5.
- 146 *dismissing progressive reforms*: Ten weeks later, the *Washington Post* would publish a page-one opinion piece by William Randolph Hearst challenging the sincerity of Wilson’s conversion to progressivism because he “formerly

- ridiculed and reviled the initiative, referendum, the recall and direct nominations.” The op-ed was reprinted in newspapers across the country. “No Democrat, This,” *Washington Post*, March 14, 1912, 1.
- 146 “from all sides”: “National Leaders Attack Wilson from Every Side,” *Newark Evening Star*, January 8, 1912, 8.
- 146 Times pointed out: “Gov. Wilson’s Inaugural,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1911, 8.
- 146 could only be solved: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 186; *LL*, 3:249.
- 146 retired as managing editor ... recruited him: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 49–78.
- 147 “real, practical owner”: Gustavus Myers, “How Capitalist Parties Are Financed,” *International Socialist Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (August 1912), 144.
- 147 under the influence: Harvey’s biographer called this surmise, repeated as fact in in *LL*, 3:246–47, “a very foolish misstatement.” Morgan, he wrote, had “little or nothing to do with” either Harvey’s magazine acquisitions or their operation. Johnson, *George Harvey*, 68–69.
- 147 little confirmation: Writing more than two decades after the fact in his hagiography of Wilson, Josephus Daniels offered the same conclusory statements: Harper & Brothers was “controlled by Morgan” and was “Pierpont Morgan’s agent.” Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace*, 22. But the *New York Times*, reflecting on these events in 1938, wrote that “there has been no evidence to indicate that it was true” that Harvey shared the views of Morgan and “the money interests.” “Colonel House Dies Here at Age of 79,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1938, 1. Ellen Wilson’s cousin Robert Ewing (no relation to the influential Louisiana Democratic newspaper publisher of the same name), who published an apologia for the *Harper’s Weekly* episode at her request, stressed that J.P. Morgan’s services were furnished “years ago” and that the editorial policy of the magazine was “utterly untrammelled” by it. “Editors’ Break With Wilson Is Explained,” *Nashville Banner*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 147 letter of apology: WW to George Harvey, December 21, 1911, WWP, series 14: supplement, 1880–1946; 30, George B. M. Harvey, 1906 to 1912, #50, image 60.
- 147 Harvey thanked Wilson: George Harvey to WW, January 4, 1912, *ibid.*, #52, image 64.
- 147 “disappearance of the name”: “Tale of Wilson–Harvey Rift,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1912, 2.
- 147 “no breach”: “‘No Breach,’ Gov. Wilson on Harvey,” *Jersey Journal*, January 5, 1912, 1.
- 147 confirmed ... “no foundation”: “The Wilson–Harvey Letters,” *New York Times*, January 31, 1912, 10; “Wilson Dropped! Harvey Tells Why,” *Newark Evening Star*, January 17, 1912, 6; Johnson, *George Harvey*, 195–96.
- 148 After consulting: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 188; William Frank McCombs, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, Fairview Publishing Co., 1921), 57.
- 148 another letter to Harvey: WW to George Harvey, January 11, 1912, *PWW*, 24:31.
- 148 “have to print a word”: George Harvey to WW, January 16, 1912, *PWW*, 24:45.
- 148 proof page: Johnson, *George Harvey*, 192–93; “To Our Readers,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 56, no. 2874 (January 20, 1912), 4.
- 148 correct the record: “Watterson Calls Wilson an Ingrate,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1912, 1; “Watterson Prays Party May Be Protected from Leaders Like Wilson,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 30, 1912, 2 (reprinting in full Watterson’s statement, “To the Democrats of the United States”).
- 148 “threatened to wreck it”: Link, *Road to the White House*, 359.
- 148 previously editorialized: Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., “James Calvin Hemphill: Southern Critic of Woodrow Wilson, 1911–1912,” *The Georgia Review*, vol. 13, no. 4 (Winter 1959), 378–392, at 380.
- 148 “personal infidelity”: J. C. Hemphill to W. H. Taft, January 5, 1912, William Howard Taft Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 367n75; J. C. Hemphill to W.H. Taft, January 1, 1912, *ibid.*, n78.
- 149 exactly matched: “Why Watterson Deserted Wilson—Shocked by Governor’s Cold Avowal He Thought Col. Harvey’s Support Was Injurious,” *Detroit Free Press*, January 18, 1912, 1.
- 149 “besieged all afternoon” ... “owned by J.P. Morgan”: “Watterson Nice Old Gentleman—Wilson,” *New York Times*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 149 two thousand attendees: “Gov. Wilson Calls for Majority Rule,” *Detroit Free Press*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 149 same words: “Feared for Harvey’s Job,” *New York Sun*, January 19, 1912, 2.
- 149 bore fruit: *New York World*, January 19, 1912, quoted in Link, *Road to the White House*, 371–72.
- 150 tough questions: “The Wilson–Harvey Letters,” *New York Times*, January 31, 1912, 10.

- 150 *seven separate stories*: “Colonel Harvey Was Hurt”; “Wilson Says He Is Sorry”; “Some Striking Paragraphs”; “No Tainted Money for Him”; “Bryan Wilson’s Friend”; “Wilson Manager Talks”; “Out of Wilson Committee,” all *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1912, 1.
- 150 *suffrage campaign*: “Suffrage Meeting a Good One,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 31, 1912, 1.
- 150 *“his ablest advocate”*: EAW to Robert Ewing, January 12, 1912, *PWW*, 24:40 (emphasis in original).
- 150 *“days of enlightenment”* ... *“exercise their prerogative”*: George Harvey, *Women, Etc.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1908), 94–98.
- 150 *book he wrote*: Harvey, *Women, Etc.*, 98.
- 150 *women should not vote*: “An Interview with Dr. Woodrow Wilson,” (*Hamilton, Bermuda*) *Royal Gazette*, March 3, 1908, in *PWW*, 18:3.
- 150 *“My chief argument”*: WW to Frederic Yates, September 5, 1908, *PWW*, 18:417.
- 151 *calls for women’s voting rights*: Hugh H. Lusk, “The Woman’s Vote. Some Side-Lights from New Zealand’s Experience,” *North American Review*, vol. 192, no. 656 (July 1910), 107–116; Max Eastman, “Is Woman Suffrage Important?,” *North American Review*, vol. 193, no. 662 (January 1911), 60–71; Bertha Damaris Knoke, “The March of 3,000 Women—The Great Parade by Which the Women of New York Emphasized Their Demand for Voters’ Powers,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 55, no. 2839 (May 20, 1911), 8; Gwendolen Overton, “Woman Suffrage,” *North American Review*, vol. 194, no. 669 (August 1911), 271–281.
- 151 *four major bills*: Edmund D. Potter, “Path to Power: Wilson as President of Princeton and Governor of New Jersey,” in Ross A. Kennedy, ed., *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 68.
- 151 *five more states*: Washington did so in 1910, California in 1911, and Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas in 1912. “Women Win Notable Victory,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, November 10, 1910, 6; “Women Who Fought for Suffrage Express Elation Over Victory,” *San Francisco Examiner*, October 13, 1911, 2; “4 Out of 5 States Go for Suffrage,” *Daily East Oregonian*, November 7, 1912, 5.
- 151 *“strongly against it”*: WW to Witter Bynner, June 20, 1911, *PWW*, 22:160.
- 151 *seeking his support*: Clara Schlee Laddey (President, New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association) and Mary Loring Colvin (Corresponding Secretary) to WW, January 2, 1911, *PWW*, 289–90.
- 151 *Throughout his tenure*: “Woman’s Party Orator Makes Final Appeal,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1916, 17.
- 151 *one of the hottest musicals*: Gerald Martin Bordman and Richard Norton, *American Musical Theater: A Chronicle*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 299–30.
- 152 *“Shoulder to shoulder”*: “Weak Little Woman, or, The Militant Suffrage Song” (1909), lyrics by George Ade; music by Gustave Luders.
- 152 *rulers are women*: Nancy Tystad Koupal, “The Wonderful Wizard of the West: L. Frank Baum in South Dakota, 1888–91,” *Great Plains Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Fall 1989), 203–215.
- 152 *had long editorialized*: Katharine M. Rogers, *L. Frank Baum, Creator of Oz: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2002), 28–33. Feminist though he was, at an early point in his career Baum’s views on Native Americans were decidedly racist—by contemporary standards as well as our own. Ten years before the first publication of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, two of his editorials in the *Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer* called for the “annihilation of the few remaining Indians” as the best way to secure the frontier. Tragically, the first of these editorials was published just two weeks before the slaughter of more than 250 men, women, and children by the U.S. 7th Cavalry at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Though nothing like his editorial endorsement of genocide, Baum’s fantasy fiction contains stereotypical representations of Black, Irish, and Chinese people. Hunter Liguore, “Sympathy or Racism?: L. Frank Baum on Native Americans,” *Great Plains Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 2 (Spring 2017), 77–82; Richard Tuerk, *Oz in Perspective: Magic and Myth in the L. Frank Baum Books* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007), 68–75.
- 152 *influenced by his wife ... advice from his mother-in-law*: Sally Roesch Wagner, “The Wonderful Mother of Oz,” *The Baum Bugle*, vol. 47, no. 3 (Winter 2003), 7–13; Rogers, *Baum, Creator of Oz*, 50–54; Michael O. Riley, *Oz and Beyond: The Fantasy World of L. Frank Baum* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 29.
- 152 *most successful stage musical*: Riley, *Oz and Beyond*, 98.
- 152 *golden age of the postcard*: Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards: A Study and Catalog* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2015), 2–4, 185–87, 217, and *passim*.



- 152 *advice column*: “When Women Vote,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 7, 1909, 24; “For Suffragists and Others,” *San Francisco Examiner*, April 23, 1909, 22; “Arms and the Women,” *San Francisco Examiner*, November 1, 1909, 18; “Woman Asks Her Half,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1909, 20; “Dorothy Dix Talks,” *Washington Times*, April 14, 1910, 1; “Editorial Pen Points,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1910, 16 (all articles by Dorothy Dix). Though based in New York, Dix (pen name of Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer) was born, raised, and for years pursued her journalism career in the South. She occasionally wrote her columns in the voice (and cartoon dialect) of “Mirandy,” an “old Negro mammy.” See, for example, “Mirandy on Ogling,” *Buffalo Enquirer*, April 15, 1910, 5.
- 153 *Cleveland insisted*: “The relative positions to be assumed by man and woman,” he added, “were assigned long ago by a higher intelligence than ours.” Grover Cleveland, “Would Woman’s Suffrage Be Unwise?,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, vol. 22, no. 11 (October 1905), 7–8. Ironically, thirteen years earlier in the presidential election of 1892, Cleveland was the first president since Jefferson to be elected in a contest in which women voted. Wyoming, where women had voted since 1869, had recently been admitted to statehood. Unfortunately for Cleveland, the women of Wyoming voted for his Republican opponent, Benjamin Harrison.
- 153 *senior thesis*: Roosevelt’s thesis argued a perfect State would “at once” grant women equal access to the ballot, equal rights of inheritance, and an unfettered right to education, including the right to go to law school. All of these were denied women at the time. Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 75; Doris Groshen Daniels, “Theodore Roosevelt and Gender Roles,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 3 (Summer 1996), 648–65, at 656.
- 153 *high school graduation*: Jonathon Lurie, *William Howard Taft: The Travails of a Progressive Conservative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.
- 153 *As a teenager*: HWS, 5:270. His father, who had been Secretary of War and then Attorney General in President Grant’s cabinet, was a champion of the cause of votes for women, and the younger Taft was proud to be following in his father’s footsteps.
- 153 *Years later*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1908), 3:1403–04.
- 153 *his first year*: HWS, 5:259.
- 153 *On April 14 ... “actually oppose me”*: “Suffragettes Hiss Taft, Their Guest,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1910, 1; “Taft Is Hissed by Suffragists,” *Washington Post*, April 15, 1910, 1.
- 154 *as he predicted*: HWS, 5:269–74.

## 12. ‘Walking on Air’

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- 155 *“speeding automobiles”*: Sergei Eisenstein, “Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today,” in Jay Leyda, ed., *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory* (New York: Harcourt, Inc., 1977), 198.
- 156 *publicly proclaiming*: “Nellie Bly and Thomas C. Platt,” *New York World*, December 9, 1894, 1; “Nellie Bly and Young Astor,” *New York World*, May 13, 1894, 1.
- 156 *“presidents of colleges”*: U.S. Supreme Court Justice David J. Brewer, “Woman Suffrage: Its Present Position and Its Future,” *The Ladies’ World*, December 1909, excerpted in 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess., Appendix (January 12, 1915), 102 (extension of remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 156 *for thirty years*: “Journal,” April 29, 1882, folder 812, Champ and Bennett Champ Clark Papers (C0666), State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center–Columbia. In this early journal entry, Clark references “an article I had written in favor of Woman Suffrage.”
- 156 *flushed him out*: Harmon would vote “no” on Ohio’s state suffrage amendment in September 1912. “Harmon Discusses Amendments; Will Vote ‘No’ on Many Sections,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 3, 1912, 14.
- 156 *unconditionally opposed*: Elisabeth Joan Doyle, “The Congressional Career of Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama” (master’s thesis, Indiana University, 1948), 150; Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 147–48, 150.
- 157 *Phoebe Hearst*: Alexandra M. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst: A Life of Power and Politics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 387. Hearst *mère* had also made the single largest cash donation to California’s

- unsuccessful 1896 suffrage ballot measure. *Ibid.*, 373. She would later join forces with Alice Paul, becoming a member of the Congressional Union's Advisory Council in 1915 and Vice Chairman of the National Woman's Party upon its formation in 1916. "The Advisory Council," *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 5 (January 30, 1915), 2; "Closing Sessions of the Woman's Party Convention," *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5.
- 157 *unsuccessful campaigns*: As a freshman congressman from Manhattan, Hearst ran for president in 1904. In the first year of his second term as a House member he ran for mayor of New York. The following year, still in his second House term, he ran for governor. Three years after leaving the House, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor a second time. His final defeat came in his campaign for New York lieutenant governor in 1910. David Nasaw, *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 178–83, 195–213, 223–26. His relationship with Clark dated to his time in Congress. *Ibid.*, 187; Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst*, 387.
- 157 *political opportunist*: James D. Startt, *Woodrow Wilson and the Press: Prelude to the Presidency* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 157.
- 157 *"a perfect jackrabbit"*: "Governor Wilson Is A Federalist, Not a Democrat," *Atlanta Journal*, March 17, 1912, 6; "Wilson Not Making Friends with Publishers," *Leavenworth Post*, March 19, 2; "No Democrat, This," *Washington Post*, March 14, 1912, 1.
- 157 *anti-immigrant prejudices*: Nasaw, *The Chief*, 242–43, 551.
- 157 *Wilson's own words*: Startt, *Wilson and the Press*, 160.
- 157 *"a positive danger"*: *Ibid.*, 158.
- 157 *ten-page feature*: *Ibid.*, 159.
- 157 *"widen his understanding"*: *Ibid.*, 160.
- 158 *"baser elements"*: "Hearst Declared Democratic Issue," *San Francisco Call*, April 27, 1912, 11.
- 158 *"shiftless classes"*: *PWW*, 24:405–06.
- 158 *"do not blend"*: R. E. Hennings, "James D. Phelan and the Woodrow Wilson Anti-Oriental Statement of May 3, 1912," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 4 (December 1963), 297.
- 158 *nationally influential*: Hayward "Woody" Farrar, "Black Press," in Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:231–41, at 236; Startt, *Wilson and the Press*, 89.
- 158 *"turn of the finger"*: "Wilson and the Negro," editorial, *New York Age*, July 11, 1912, 4.
- 159 *"closes its doors"*: *Ibid.*
- 159 *"darky" stories*: News Report of a Campaign Speech in Phillipsburg, New Jersey, October 22, 1910, *PWW*, 21:390–91.
- 159 *"no use for the Negro"*: "Wilson and the Negro," editorial, *New York Age*, July 11, 1912, 4.
- 159 *Villard conceded*: Oswald Garrison Villard, "The President and the Segregation at Washington," *North American Review*, vol. 198, no. 697 (December 1913), 800–07, at 801.
- 159 *Socialist Party*: Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 33.
- 159 *"discharged without honor"*: John D. Weaver, *The Brownsville Raid* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970). Unlike a dishonorable discharge, a "discharge without honor" required no military trial. In 1972, President Richard Nixon granted honorable discharges and a pension of \$25,000 to each of the dishonored troops. "Army's Honorable Discharge Comes—67 Years Late," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1973, 3; Garna L. Christian, "The Brownsville, Texas, Disturbance of 1906 and the Politics of Justice," *Trotter Review*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Autumn 2008/Winter 2009), 23–28, at 27.
- 160 *too passive*: A year before the 1912 campaign, Roosevelt—perhaps playing to his immediate audience—wrote a suffrage opponent that "I am rather in favor of the suffrage, but very tepidly." Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 595.
- 160 *"Women's Roosevelt Leagues"*: "Women Thanked for Roosevelt's Victory," *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 16, 1912, 11; "Roosevelt Wins Republican Primary in the State," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1912, 1; "Roosevelt Sweeps the City and Captures the State," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1912, 1; "Taft Out of It in California," *New York Times*, September 5, 1912, 3; "No Taft Vote," *Fresno Evening Herald*, October 7, 1912, 4; "Figures by Districts on Tuesday's Primaries," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1912, 2.

- 160 *nine of the thirteen: Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 48, 104; Geoffrey Cowan, *Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 1; Lewis L. Gould, “1912 Republican Convention: Return of the Rough Rider,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, August 2008 (online).
- 160 *108 votes shy*: Donald R. Deskins, Jr., Hanes Walton, Jr., and Sherman C. Puckett, *Presidential Elections, 1789–2008—County, State, and National Mapping of Election Data* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 296. Other press accounts gave Roosevelt 411 committed votes to Taft’s 201. Lewis L. Gould, *Four Hats in the Ring: The 1912 Election and the Birth of Modern American Politics* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 66. The number of delegates needed for nomination was 540. “Taft 566–Roosevelt 466: Present Line-Up of Instructed and Pledged Delegates With All the Contests Decided,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1912, 1.
- 160 *front-page headline*: “Roosevelt A Suffragist,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1912, 1; Corrine M. McConnaughy, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 239n32. The Bull Moose platform endorsed “equal suffrage to men and women alike” and quoted the Anthony Amendment to condemn denying anyone the ballot “on account of sex.” But it did not state a preference for the state or federal method. According to Roosevelt’s authorized biography, he supported the Anthony Amendment in 1911. Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 612n10.
- 160 *first ballot*: “Taft Renominated by the Republican Convention,” *New York Times*, June 23, 1912, 1.
- 160 *Taft forces began scrambling*: “Illinois Suffragists Distrust Roosevelt; Women Declare They Will Stand by Taft Who Has Long Been Their Friend,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, June 23, 1912, 12; “California Women Favor Roosevelt,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 23, 1912, 3.
- 160 *no role*: This is remarkable given that women had the vote in nine U.S. states at the time. See generally “The Rise of Political Women in the Election of 1912,” chap. 3 in Jo Freeman, *We Will Be Heard: Women’s Struggles for Political Power in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).
- 161 *Tammany initially supported*: Arthur Paulson, *Realignment and Party Revival* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), 49.
- 161 *would have nominated*: Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), vol. 2, 405.
- 161 *de facto veto*: In a measure of poetic justice, Clark’s son, Joel Bennett Clark, a U.S. senator from Missouri, would preside over the successful vote to repeal the two-thirds rule at the Democratic National Convention in 1936. Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938–1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 45.
- 161 *forty-six roll call ballots*: Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics*, vol. 2, 392. A measure of Clark’s dominance in the primaries was Illinois, where Wilson campaigned heavily and Clark did not even appear. The Democratic vote went for Clark over Wilson by a margin of almost 3 to 1. A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 229.
- 161 *two women*: Annie Hamilton Pitzer, *nee* Bennett, Clark’s sister-in-law, was appointed as a member of the Colorado delegation. *Polk County (OR) Observer*, June 28, 1912, 6. The other female delegate was May Arkwright Hutton, a mine owner reputed to be “the richest woman in the West.” Freeman, *We Will be Heard*, 64.
- 162 *flanking the platform ... appeared intimidated*: “Tale of Convention As Told in Flashes: Mrs. Taft Is Guest of Democrats to See Who Will Run Against Her Husband,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1912, 6; “Mrs. Taft at Baltimore Convention to See Husband’s Opponent Nominated,” *Washington Post*, June 28, 1912, 4; “Convention at Work Interests Mrs. Taft,” *New York Sun*, June 28, 1912, 3; “Money Trust Row at Night Session,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 28, 1912, 2; “Mrs. Taft at Convention,” *Buffalo Express*, June 28, 1912, 3; Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *Nellie Taft: The Unconventional First Lady of the Ragtime Era* (New York: William Morrow, 2005), 346–47.
- 162 *“greatest women”*: “Mrs. Taft’s List of Greatest Women,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1911, 6.
- 162 *defeat was inevitable*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–572, at 571; JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 120; *LL*, 3:350.
- 162 *switched his vote*: Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” 571; *LL*, 3:355–56.

- 163 *poll*: *Newark Evening News*, May 17, 1911, cited in *PWW*, 23:113n2. The fact that Wilson was opposed by William Randolph Hearst, the scourge of Tammany’s political bosses, also counted in his favor with the critically important New York delegation. “Wilson Men Always Certain of Victory,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1912, 3.
- 163 *secret promise*: *LL*, 3:362.
- 163 “*distinctly opposed*”: Thomas R. Marshall, *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President and Hoosier Philosopher* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925), 234–35.
- 163 *Congratulations poured in ... “moral courage”*: *LL*, 3:364–71; “Comment: The Issue Joined,” *Harper’s Weekly*, vol. 56, no. 2899 (July 13, 1912), 4.
- 163 “*an invasion*”: WW to MAHP, July 6, 1912, *PWW*, 24:541.
- 163 *National Independent Political League*: “Colored Citizens Pleased,” *Boston Globe*, November 6, 1912, 13; Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis, “Extraordinary Isolation? Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement,” *Studies in American Political Development*, vol. 31, no. 2 (October 2017), 193–217, at 194.
- 164 “*unassylumed maniac*”: John David Smith, “Dixon and His African American Critics,” in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, Michelle K. Gillespie and Randall Hall, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 50.
- 164 “*detrimental to public morals*”: “Negroes War on Dixon—Ask Clergymen to Condemn ‘The Clansman’—Mass Meeting to Be Called,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1905, 5.
- 164 *Black preachers quoted*: “More Hot Shot for T. Dixon,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1905, 3.
- 164 *onstage fireworks*: Fitzhugh Brundage, “American Proteus,” in Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, 34.
- 164 *abruptly cancelled*: Fitzgerald, grandfather to John F. Kennedy, leaned on the theater owner, who yielded to “the protests of the Boston negroes” and “the request of Mayor Fitzgerald.” “To Stop the ‘Clansman,’” *Boston Globe* (morning ed.), July 21, 1910, 11; Lehr, *Birth of a Nation*, 85; Mark Schneider, *Boston Confronts Jim Crow, 1890–1920* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 175.
- 164 “*not in sympathy*”: William Monroe Trotter to WW, July 18, 1912, *PWW*, 24:558.
- 164 “*walking on air*”: “Insult Charge Denied,” *Washington Post*, November 16, 1914, 2. Trotter was joined in the July 16, 1912 meeting by J. Milton Waldron, the white president of the Washington, DC branch of the NAACP. Stephen R. Fox, *The Guardian of Boston, William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 167.
- 165 “*not a national question*” ... “*it would be best*”: WW to Governor Eugene Noble Foss, August 17, 1912, *PWW*, 25:42 (emphasis added).
- 165 *process could only begin*: New Jersey Constitution of 1844, article IX: Amendments. Nor did Wilson shy away from recommending controversial amendments to the U.S. Constitution in his role as governor. His recommendation that the New Jersey legislature ratify the federal income tax amendment passed by Congress in 1909 met with defeat in New Jersey’s Republican-controlled Senate. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 135.
- 166 *Taft’s frustrating straddle*: Taft continued to argue both sides of the question long after the election. See, for example, William H. Taft, “Votes for Women,” *Saturday Evening Post*, vol. 188, no. 11 (September 11, 1915), 3. In this lawyerly piece the former president seemingly makes the case for women voting, but then urges (*a la* Wilson) that later would be better than now.
- 166 *proudly embraced him*: “Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage,” campaign circulars published by Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (1910, 1911, 1912), Massachusetts Historical Society; Hearing on Woman Suffrage, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 2 (March 13, 1912), 99 (includes text of January 1912 circular).
- 166 “*to make fools laugh*”: 48 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, 62nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (June 10, 1912), 354–56 (remarks of Rep. Mondell, quoting his letter to U.S. Rep. Elmer Morse, January 27, 1912).
- 166 “*point of death*”: “Suffragists Again Rouse All England,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1912, 34.
- 167 *six states*: In the 1912 election, the 37 electoral votes of the six suffrage states were as follows: Wyoming 3; Utah 4; Idaho 4; Colorado 6; Washington 7; California 13. Alana S. Jeydel, *Political Women: The Women’s Movement, Political Institutions, the Battle for Women’s Suffrage and the ERA* (New York: Routledge, 2004), Appendix B, 214–15.

- 167 *literally tons*: Martha B. Caldwell, “The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3 (August 1943), 312.
- 167 *Maud Wood Park*: That same year, Park was a delegate to Theodore Roosevelt’s Bull Moose national convention. Maud Wood Park biography, Papers of Maud Wood Park, collection overview, Woman’s Rights Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 167 *speeches around the state*: Caldwell, “The Woman Suffrage Campaign of 1912,” 312.
- 167 *“cannot escape”*: “Suffrage via Biograph,” *New York Tribune*, June 1, 1912, 3.

### 13. The Suffrage Inaugural

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- 168 *August 5*: “New Party Opens Convention Today as Colonel Comes,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 1912, 1.
- 168 *“I feel like a bull moose!”*: “Convention Echoes,” *Atchison Daily Globe*, June 24, 1912, 4. According to press accounts, Roosevelt offered multiple variations of the statement. For example: “Several times since he has been here [at the Chicago Republican convention] he has described himself as ‘bully as a bull moose.’” “Bully as a Bull Moose,” (*UK South Wales Echo*, June 24, 1912, 2.
- 168 *front of the pack*: “Jane Addams Speaks,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 8, 1912, 2; “Coast to Coast Nominees Chosen by Progressives,” *ibid.*, 1; Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 4–5.
- 168 *“men and women”* ... *“we favor woman suffrage!”* “Roosevelt Sole Convention Star,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, 1; “Theodore Roosevelt’s Confession of Faith Before the Progressive Party Convention, Chicago, Illinois,” pamphlet (New York: Progressive Party, 1912), Harvard College Library, Theodore Roosevelt Collection (emphasis added); “Roosevelt Asks Suffragists Aid,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1913, 7.
- 168 *forty-minute demonstration*: Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 391.
- 169 *“greatest applause”*: “Roosevelt Sole Convention Star,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, 1–2.
- 169 *half-page photograph*: “Many Women in the Picture at the Roosevelt Convention,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, 2.
- 169 *telegram*: Theodore Roosevelt to Jane Addams, August 5, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 169 *reprinted as a leaflet*: Theodore Roosevelt to Oscar K. Davis, August 12, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 169 *advocate for equal rights*: Geoffrey Cowan, *Let the People Rule: Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of the Presidential Primary* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 275.
- 169 *“best white men”*: Theodore Roosevelt to Julian Harris, August 1, 1912, in Arthur S. Link, ed., “Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party’s ‘Lily White’ Policy in 1912,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (November 1944), 480–490, at 487; “Roosevelt Insists He’s Negro’s Friend,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1912, 3.
- 169 *“better whites”*: For several examples, see *HAP*, 5:44–50, 72, 82, and *passim*.
- 169 *“much disturbed”*: “Trouble Breaks Out for Platform Makers,” *New York Tribune*, August 6, 1912, 4.
- 169 *reluctant support*: “Negroes Indorse Roosevelt Stand,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1912, 1.
- 169 *refused to budge*: “No Third Party Seats for Southern Negroes,” *New York Tribune*, August 6, 1912, 4. In addition to the several Black delegates from the South, the Credentials Committee “refused to seat delegates representing Asian Americans from Hawaii.” Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, 394.
- 169 *“rights of the negroes”*: “Trouble Breaks Out for Platform Makers,” *New York Tribune*, August 6, 1912, 4.
- 169 *had none*: Jane Addams, “The Progressive Party and the Negro,” *The Crisis*, vol. 5, no. 1 (November 1912), 30. The first Black delegate to a Democratic National Convention was credentialed in 1936. There was one Black alternate delegate in 1924; there were ten in 1932. Hanes Walton, Jr. and C. Vernon Gray, “Black Politics at the National Republican and Democratic Conventions,” 1868–1972, *Phylon*, vol. 36, no. 3 (3rd Quarter, 1975), 269–278, at 269.

- 170 *doomed to failure*: “Roosevelt and Lincoln,” *The Crisis*, vol. 4, no. 5 (September 1912), 230 (quoting the *Philadelphia Inquirer*).
- 170 *“evasive answer”*: James D. Startt, *Woodrow Wilson and the Press: Prelude to the Presidency* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 192.
- 170 *three-hour conference*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 503.
- 170 *“would prefer defeat”*: Oswald G. Villard to Susan W. Fitzgerald, August 14, 1912, *PWW*, 25:29.
- 170 *“to bear children”*: WW, Address Delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, in John Wells Davidson, ed., *A Crossroads of Freedom: The 1912 Speeches of Woodrow Wilson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 284, 295.
- 170 *“weakness of women”*: WW, Address in Denver Auditorium, Denver, Colorado, October 7, 1912, in Davidson, *Crossroads of Freedom*, 373.
- 170 *final swing . . . “monopoly of the suffrage”*: *People v. Malone*, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325, 326–27 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913); *People v. Malone*, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); Linda J. Lumsden, *Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 46.
- 171 *“modest, quiet, and courteous”*: “Spreading Gag Rule,” *The Coming Nation: A Journal of Things Doing and To Be Done*, no. 115, New Series (November 23, 1912), 4.
- 171 *Maud Malone*: Lumsden, *Rampant Women*, 74.
- 171 *incisive rejoinder*: *People v. Malone*, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325, 326 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913)(emphasis added); Alexis J. Anderson, “The Formative Period of First Amendment Theory, 1870–1915,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1980), 56–75, at 73n85 (quoting the Wilson–Malone exchange as reported by the New York Court of Special Sessions); *People v. Malone*, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, *PWW*, 25:438; “Cheering Crowd Storms Wilson,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1912, 1; John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 174; Mary Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 46–47; Jo Freeman, *We Will Be Heard: Women’s Struggles for Political Power in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 70–71.
- 171 *“I positively decline”*: WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music, *PWW*, 25:438.
- 171 *officers grabbed Malone*: “Cheering Crowd Storms Wilson,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1912, 1.
- 171 *“detective seized her”*: Davidson, *Crossroads of Freedom*, 468.
- 171 *well-dressed woman*: “Spreading Gag Rule,” *The Coming Nation*, no. 115, New Series (November 23, 1912), 4.
- 171 *convicted*: *People v. Malone*, 29 N.Y. Crim. Rpts. 325 (N.Y.S. Ct. 1913); *People v. Malone*, 141 N.Y. Supp. 149, 156 App. Div. 10 (1913); “Maud Malone Loses,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1913, 11.
- 171 *“sorry”*: WW, Campaign Address at the Academy of Music, *PWW*, 25:438; Davidson, *Crossroads of Freedom*, 472.
- 172 *“finer day”*: “Editorial Comments,” *Paterson (NJ) Morning Call*, November 6, 1912, 4.
- 172 *Wilson strolled*: LL, 3:407–08. Wilson affectionately referred to Malone as his *fidus Achates*—meaning “trusted friend.” WW to MAH, July 28, 1912, *PWW*, 24:572.
- 172 *“first to congratulate”*: *PWW*, 3:408–09.
- 172 *delegate lead*: Roosevelt entered the convention with a delegate lead of 411–201. But Taft’s superior party organization precluded Roosevelt’s gaining more in Chicago. Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, 388.
- 172 *write-in candidate*: “May Write on Ballot Taft Electors’ Names,” *Los Angeles Express*, November 4, 1912, 9.
- 172 *narrowly lost*: *Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), 140.
- 172 *similar results*: *Ibid.*
- 172 *“Divide and rule”*: John Stuart Blackie, *The Wisdom of Goethe* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883), 48.
- 173 *thirty-four years*: In the 46th Congress, elected in 1878, Democrats controlled the House 150–128 and the Senate 43–33.
- 173 *seventy-six years*: Gerhard Peters, “Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1824–2004,” American Presidency Project (UC Santa Barbara, online); A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 251.
- 173 *more popular votes*: David R. Tarr and Jon Preimesberger, eds., *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 6th ed., vol. 1 (Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2010), 773–74, 775–77.

- 173 “*What use would he be*”: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 561–72, at 565.
- 173 “*most powerful*”: Charles E. Neu, *Colonel House: A Biography of Woodrow Wilson’s Silent Partner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), ix.
- 173 *smuggling weapons*: *Ibid.*, 1–2.
- 173 “*my second personality*”: EMH Diary, August 16, 1913, *PWW*, 28:178.
- 173 *personally interviewed*: Neu, *Colonel House*, 77–86.
- 173 *his personal recommendations*: House’s initial recommendations included Albert Burleson, Postmaster General; William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; and Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. In addition, House’s friend Thomas Watt Gregory would become Attorney General in August, 1914. *Ibid.*; Charles E. Neu, “In Search of Colonel Edward M. House: The Texas Years,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 93, no. 1 (July 1989), 43 and n17.
- 174 “*closest friends*”: Adrian Anderson, “President Wilson’s Politician: Albert Sidney Burleson of Texas,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 3 (January 1974), 339–354, at 340.
- 174 *floor leader*: *Ibid.*, 342; “Wilson Speakers to Ignore Colonel,” *New York Times*, August 11, 1912, 4; “Chooses the Captains for Wilson’s Fight,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1912, 1.
- 174 *excluded Black students*: Texas A&M would not be integrated until 1963, when the first female and Black students were admitted. Henry C. Dethloff, *Texas A&M University: A Pictorial History, 1876–1996*, 2nd ed. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), 163. Black students were not admitted as undergraduates at the University of Texas, where Houston had also been president, until 1956. David Dettmer, ed., *The Texas Book Two: More Profiles, History, and Reminiscences of the University* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2012), 112.
- 174 “*confirmed misogynist*”: James E. Bond, *I Dissent: The Legacy of Chief Justice James Clark McReynolds* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1992), 48, 126 and passim; Ilona M. Bray, ed., *The Judge Who Hated Red Nail Polish, and Other Crazy But True Stories* (Berkeley: Nolo Press, 2010), 65.
- 174 “*racist*” and “*anti-Semite*”: “The list of adjectives that could be used to describe McReynolds includes racist, anti-Semite, misogynist, imperious, lazy, miserly and curmudgeon.” Todd C. Peppers, “Cancelling Justice? The Case of James Clark McReynolds,” *Richmond Public Interest Law Review*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2021), 59–77, at 65. After McReynolds was appointed by Wilson as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice Taft described him as “fuller of prejudice than any man I have ever known.” Bernard Schwartz, *A History of the Supreme Court* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 214.
- 174 *did not need Colonel House*: McAdoo benefitted from the additional recommendation of Wilson’s youngest daughter, Eleanor. Now twenty-three, she had enjoyed the forty-nine-year old McAdoo’s flirtations during the campaign. Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, ed., *The Priceless Gift* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 276.
- 174 *He had served*: Lee Allan Craig, *Josephus Daniels: His Life & Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 215–18.
- 174 “*glad to learn*”: William Jennings Bryan to WW, December 25, 1912, *PWW*, 25:622.
- 174 “*My Dear Dixon*”: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, *PWW*, 25:578–79.
- 175 *despite—or because of*: Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 217; Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302.
- 175 *Dixon’s leading character*: Thomas Dixon, *The Sins of the Fathers* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1912), 201.
- 175 “*straight to my heart*”: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, *PWW*, 25:578–79. It appears from the publication date that Wilson got an advance copy. Dixon, *The Southerner: A Romance of the Real Lincoln* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1913). Historian David W. Blight summarized *The Southerner* as “a turgid, 550-page reinvention of Lincoln” as a man whose “greatness lay in his racism, in whiteness”—a man willing to use the Civil War for the “removal of black people from America.” David W. Blight, “Hating and Loving the ‘Real’ Abe Lincolns: Lincoln and the American South,” in *The Global Lincoln*, Richard Carwardine and Jay Sexton, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 280. Dixon’s racial supremacism was received warmly by a number of prestigious publications, including the *New York Times*. “The picture drawn by Mr. Dixon is so clear, vivid, and

- truthful that, for the sake of it, the book is well worth reading,” enthused the *Times Review of Books*. “Lincoln as Hero: Mr. Dixon’s Ambitious Attempt in ‘The Southerner,’” *New York Times*, July 13, 1913, 17. The *Times*’s owner and publisher, Tennessean Adolph S. Ochs, was like Dixon taken with the prospect of a fellow southern Democrat entering onto the nation’s highest office. According to the *Times*’s editors, Ochs “had a whole-hearted admiration for Woodrow Wilson,” and he made certain the newspaper threw its full support behind Wilson’s candidacy. “Adolph S. Ochs,” obituary, *New York Times*, April 9, 1935, 20; “Wilson First, Taft Second,” editorial, *New York Times*, November 5, 1912, 12; Gay Talese, *The Kingdom and the Power: Behind the Scenes at the New York Times* (New York: Random House, 2013), 83.
- 175 *Dixon’s encomiums ... gushed back*: WW to Thomas Dixon, December 3, 1912, *PWW*, 25:578–79. Daniels would in turn lionize Wilson upon his death, in a biography that borders on hero worship. Josephus Daniels, *The Life of Woodrow Wilson* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1924).
- 175 *less than a quarter*: In 1913 the population of the United States was 97.2 million. The population of the states of the former Confederacy was 22.2 million, as follows (in millions): Florida 0.7; Georgia 2.6; North Carolina 2.2; South Carolina 1.5; Virginia 2.0; Alabama 2.1; Mississippi 1.8; Tennessee 2.2; Arkansas 1.6; Louisiana 1.6; Texas 3.9. Source: U.S. Census Bureau.
- 175 *only two came*: The two were Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, from Nebraska, and Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, from California.
- 175 *“more attention”*: “Wilson Is Urged to Snub Tammany,” *New York Times*, April 11, 1913, 2.
- 176 *down to two*: “Wilson Asked About Pay,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1913, 3; “No Appointments Offered,” *New York Times*, January 17, 1913, 5.
- 176 *houseguest*: “Wilson Plans to Run a Business Campaign,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1912, 1; “Look For A Wilson Blow at Murphy,” *New York Times*, Sept 23, 1912, 1.
- 176 *constant presence*: “Clark Men Stand Firm,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1912, 2.
- 176 *important role*: “Wilson Won’t Resign at Once,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1912, 1.
- 176 *singled out Malone*: “Wilson Men Always Certain of Victory,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1912, 3.
- 176 *“long as he wished”*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 471–72; Joseph L. Grabill, “Cleveland Dodge, Woodrow Wilson, and the Near East,” *Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 48, no. 4 (Winter 1970), 249–64, at 251; Berg, *Wilson*, 234; “A Damnable Slander of Tucson,” *Tucson Citizen*, December 12, 1911, 4 (listing Cleveland Dodge as president of Phelps Dodge). Dodge had been Wilson’s classmate at Princeton and his supporter on the Princeton board. Dodge’s aunt, Josephine Jewell Dodge, was the founder and current president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS). Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 29–31; Phyllis B. Dodge, *Tales of the Phelps-Dodge Family: A Chronicle of Five Generations* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1987)(endpapers).
- 176 *“close to Prof. Wilson”*: “Wilson Not a Teetotaler,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1913.
- 176 *a long walk*: “The President-Elect Responds to Victory,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1912, 6; “Wilson Has 15,000 Cheering Messages,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1912, 5.
- 176 *Malone’s future position*: “Cabinet Queries Upset Wilson’s Calm,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1913, 1.
- 177 *“the prize plum”*: “George W. Aldridge Dies at Golf Game,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1922, 1.
- 177 *if Mitchel won*: “Malone for Collector,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1913, 18; “Fight Just Begun, Mitchel Says,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1913, 3; “Fusion Carries In Mitchel, Republicans Win Assembly, Sweep State,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1913, 1; “Malone Is Slated for Mitchel’s Post,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1913, 3; “Mitchel to Go Away to Study His Slate,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1913, 2.
- 177 *In the meantime*: “Tammany Braves Turning On Murphy,” *New York Times*, March 13, 1913, 9; “La Follette to Act as Wilson Adviser,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1913, 2; “Malone to Be Bryan Aid,” *New York Times*, April 10, 1913, 1; “Wilson Is Urged To Snub Tammany,” *New York Times*, April 11, 1913, 2; “Malone and Moore Named,” *New York Times*, April 13, 1913, 2; “Mitchel Nominated for Port Collector,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1913, 1.
- 177 *backed Shaw*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 137.



- 178 *stumped for Roosevelt*: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 250. Roosevelt kept up his campaigning for women’s suffrage after his defeat. Two months after Wilson’s inauguration, he addressed thousands at a rally at New York’s Metropolitan Opera House, where according to newspaper reporting the enthusiastic cheers in response “made the echoes ring.” “Roosevelt Centre of Suffrage Host,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1913, 1.
- 178 *headed by Elizabeth Kent*: Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 19. Rep. William Kent was first elected to Congress as a Progressive Republican, his party affiliation at this time. In subsequent Congresses he was an Independent. “Kent, William,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 178 *only member*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 78.
- 178 *eager to move on*: *Ibid.*, 19, 78.
- 178 *begged Shaw*: Shaw at first rejected them, but later agreed. Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman’s Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 21, 35; Mary Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52.
- 178 *The two had met*: *SWP*, 7–9; Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 5–15; *JFF*, 356, 366; Sidney R. Bland, “‘Never Quite as Committed as We’d Like’: The Suffrage Militancy of Lucy Burns,” *Journal of Long Island History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1981), 4–23.
- 179 *pattern their strategy*: Pankhurst was notorious for her roving mobs that smashed windows, blew up mailboxes, set fire to the Theater Royal, and shattered porcelains at the British Museum. Robin W. Winks, *World Civilization: A Brief History* (San Diego: Collegiate Press, 1993), 356. True to her Quaker heritage, Paul insisted on nonviolent methods. Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 27.
- 179 *annual budget*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 78.
- 179 *same desk*: Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 60.
- 179 *“totally unsuitable”*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 80.
- 179 *enlisting the support*: Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 56.
- 179 *Ebenezer Hill*: For an example of Rep. Hill’s advocacy for women’s suffrage, see Ebenezer J. Hill, “Government by Consent of the Governed,” Address to the Connecticut Branch of the Congressional Union for Equal Suffrage, June 8, 1915, Hill Family Manuscript Collection, box 1, folder 4, Norwalk Public Library.
- 179 *his department’s funding*: Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 80.
- 179 *New Year’s Eve meeting*: Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 56–57.
- 180 *“there is no reason”*: *Ibid.*, 57.
- 180 *“ragamuffin pageant”*: “Coxey’s Arrival,” *Kate Field’s Washington*, vol. 9, no. 19 (May 9, 1894), 292; Jon Grinspan, “How a Ragtag Band of Reformers Organized the First Protest March on Washington, D.C.,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 1, 2014 (online).
- 180 *quarter-million*: Lynda G. Dodd, “Parades, Pickets, and Prison: Alice Paul and the Virtues of Unruly Constitutional Citizenship,” *Journal of Law and Politics*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Fall 2008), 339, 354; Jean H. Baker, *Sisters: The Lives of America’s Suffragists* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), 185.
- 180 *special reviewing stand*: “300 Women Hurt in Parade Crush ... Mrs. Taft Held Up,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1913, 1; Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 76.
- 180 *Fifteen minutes*: *Ibid.*, 73.
- 181 *transplanted Virginian*: Biography of Walter L. McCorkle in *The University Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 1894), 276–77; Oren F. Morten, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999), 290.
- 181 *racial stereotypes*: For examples, see Augustus Thomas, *Alabama: A Drama in Four Acts* (New York: R.H. Russell, 1900). See also the discussion of Augustus Thomas in Rhonda S. Pettit, *A Gendered Collision: Sentimentalism and Modernism in Dorothy Parker’s Poetry and Fiction* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), 66.
- 181 *“duty of the men”*: *Yearbook of the New York Southern Society 1913–1914* (New York: Robert Stillson Co., 1913), 36–37.

- 181 *“our own way of life”*: Ibid., 44–45.
- 181 *shouts and screams ... “howling mob”*: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia, United States Senate, 63rd Congress, March 6–17, 1913, pt. 1, 496.
- 181 *police complicity*: “Police Idly Watched Abuse of Women,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1913, 1.
- 182 *six o’clock tea*: Berg, *Wilson*, 273.
- 182 *equal billing*: “Woman’s Beauty, Grace, and Art Bewilder the Capital,” *Washington Post*, March 4, 1913, 1; “100 Are in Hospital ... No Arrests, Despite Disorder,” *ibid.* The *New York Times*, though opposed to women’s suffrage, reported that many anti-suffrage men believed the preceding day’s events were an “insult to American womanhood and a disgrace to the Capitol City of the Nation.” “Parade Protest Arouses Senate,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1913, 8.
- 182 *“As you ride today”*: “Returning Suffragists Bitter in Comments on Monday’s Parade,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1913, 8; Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul*, 92–93.
- 182 *“efficiently officered”*: “Telegraphed to Wilson,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 6, 1913, 1; Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), 197 (emphasis added).

#### 14. ‘Women Should Not Be Kept Waiting Any Longer’

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- 183 *face-to-face ... attorney general*: “Suffragists See Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 183 *almost daily*: “Suffragists Crowd Senate Room Eager to Tell of Insults,” *Washington Times*, March 6, 1913, 1; “Suffragist Parade Investigation Begun,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, March 6, 1913, 1; “Probers Seeking ‘Man Higher Up,’” *Washington Evening Star*, March 8, 1913, 1; “Stimson Testifies He Had Cavalry Ready for Sylvester’s Call,” *Washington Times*, March 8, 1913, 1; “To Probe Insults,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 6, 1913, 1; “Suffs Sit in Stuff Hearing,” *Tulsa World*, March 9, 1913, 1; “Chief Blames Men,” *Washington Post*, March 9, 1913, 1; “Not Foe of Parade,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 13, 1913, 4.
- 184 *“like a class”*: SWP, 33.
- 184 *“an autocrat”*: Willis Fletcher Johnson, *George Harvey: A Passionate Patriot* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 177–78.
- 184 *shamrock*: “Wilson Wears a Shamrock,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 184 *“entirely new” to him*: SWP, 33.
- 184 *Paul spoke first ... equality of suffrage*: “Suffragists See Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2; “Suffragists Ask Wilson’s Support,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 17, 1913, 2.
- 184 *“careful consideration”*: JFF, 23.
- 184 *ten minutes*: “Suffragists See Wilson,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1913, 2.
- 184 *its president*: Thomas served as president of the organization from 1908–1917. Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 249–50.
- 185 *“could not be considered”*: “Women Will Persist,” *Washington Post*, March 29, 1913, 14; SWP, 34.
- 185 *Cora Smith*: Anne Foster, *Suffragettes in Yellowstone: Dr. Cora Smith Eaton* (Washington: National Park Service, 2015).
- 185 *too busy*: SWP, 34; “President Receives Suffrage Advocates,” *Washington Herald*, April 1, 1913, 11.
- 185 *At the opening ... petitions urged*: SWP, 35.
- 185 *“ignored the question”*: Ibid.
- 185 *introduced in the House*: 50 Cong. Rec. pt.1, 63rd Cong., Spec. Sess. (March 4, 1913), 91; “Mondell, Frank,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 186 *bespectacled lawyer*: “Chamberlain, George,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998); William G. Robbins, “George Chamberlain (1854–1928),” *Oregon Encyclopedia*, Oregon Historical Society, ohs.org.
- 186 *His introduction*: 50 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 63rd Cong., Spec. Sess. (March 4, 1913), 57 (introduction of S.J. Res. 1).
- 186 *the speech itself*: WW, Address on Tariff Reform to a Joint Session of Congress, April 8, 1913, PWW, 27:269.

- 186 *official policy*: Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 20.
- 187 *largest employer*: Abhay Aneja and Guo Xu, “The Costs of Employment Segregation: Evidence from the Federal Government Under Woodrow Wilson,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 27798 (August 2021), 72.
- 187 *across the hall*: Noel Grove, *Inside the White House* (Washington: National Geographic, 2013), 81; William Ryan, *The White House: An Architectural History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980); “Temporary Executive Office Building,” The White House Museum, [www.whitehousemuseum.org](http://www.whitehousemuseum.org).
- 187 “*all Departments*”: E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for April 11, 1913, 32.
- 187 “*a great thing*”: Ibid., 33.
- 187 “*adjusted*”: Ibid.
- 187 *described the meeting*: Ibid., 32–33.
- 187 “*subjection of the Negro*”: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 13.
- 187 “*very unpleasant*”: Cronon, *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 32.
- 187 *vice-chairman*: David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924), 72.
- 187 “*confirm a negro*”: Cronon, *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 33.
- 188 “*feelings and sentiments*”: William Gibbs McAdoo to F. I. Cobb, November 26, 1914, *PWW*, 31:361n2.
- 188 *throughout Washington*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 19.
- 188 *makeshift screens*: May Childs Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments at Washington,” September 30, 1913, box I, reel 6, NAACP Records, Library of Congress; Douglas B. Craig, *Progressives at War: William G. McAdoo and Newton D. Baker, 1863–1941* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 121.
- 188 *publicity director*: Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 244–64, at 252n7.
- 188 “*for the white employees*”: Ibid., 251n1.
- 188 “*like wildfire*”: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 19.
- 188 *unsafe and dirty*: Ibid., 20; Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments.”
- 188 *2021 study*: Aneja and Xu, “Costs of Employment Segregation,” 27, 73 (emphasis in original).
- 188 *getting fired*: Nerney, “Segregation in the Government Departments”; Patler, *Jim Crow*, 22, 45n11.
- 188 *after her visit*: M.P. Sosna, “The South in the Saddle: Racial Politics During the Wilson Years,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Autumn 1970), 30–49, at 33; *The Crisis*, vol. 9, no. 3 (January 1915), 119–27, at 120. Ellen Wilson also objected to white women working alongside Black men. “President Wilson’s Rebuke to a Boston Negro,” *Birmingham News*, November 13, 1914, 6 (“Mrs. Wilson ... observed with her own eyes some of the hardships of white women in having to work beside Negro men. Naturally, with her refined breeding and Southern rearing, she perceived the dangers of that situation”).
- 188 *in their seventies*: *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg* (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1913), 60.
- 189 “*occasion of the rebellion*”: Ibid., 156.
- 189 “*Gladstone or John Bright*”: Ibid., 161.
- 189 “*the experiences*”: WW to EAW, February 24, 1885, *PWW*, 4:286.
- 189 *begged him*: In July 1912, William Monroe Trotter and J. Milton Waldron met with Wilson to urge a statement that “you respect the constitution in its entirety including the amendments.” In a letter following up on the meeting, Trotter assured the president that if he would publicly “say you accept the Amendments as the settlement of the issues arising out of the Civil War, thousands will flock to your standard.” Trotter to WW, July 19, 1912, *PWW*, 24:558.
- 189 “*forgotten*”: WW, Address at the Gettysburg Battlefield, July 4, 1913, *PWW*, 28:23; Evan Preston, “‘All May Visit the Big Camp’: Race and the Lessons of the Civil War at the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion,” *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 2, no. 1, art. 5.
- 189 *page one headline*: “Gettysburg Cold to Wilson’s Speech,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1913, 1.

- 189 *“like lepers”*: Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 33.
- 189 *American Bar Association*: “Wickersham for Lewis,” *New York Sun*, July 25, 1912, 4.
- 189 *Taft’s “Black Cabinet”*: Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 31 and n3.
- 189 *reversed this policy*: Kathleen Long Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson’s Appointment Policy and the Negro,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 24, no. 4 (November 1958), 457–71, at 467–68.
- 190 *exactly what happened*: Among the Black federal officers Wilson dismissed, in addition to Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis, were the following: Assistant U.S. District Attorney James F. Cobb; Register of the Treasury James C. Napier; Assistant Register Cyrus Adams; Receiver of Public Money Nathan Alexander; Internal Revenue Collectors Charles W. Anderson, General Robert Smalls, Joseph F. Lee, Charles R. Cotrell, and Jerome B. Peterson; Auditor of the Navy Ralph W. Tyler; and Minister to Haiti Henry Furness. George W. Harris, “Colored Citizens and the Present Campaign,” *Champion Magazine*, September, 1916, 19–20; Sosna, “The South in the Saddle,” 34.
- 190 *provide a photograph*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 167–68.
- 190 *“no authority”*: Ibid., 43.
- 190 *Protests*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 248–51.
- 190 *“I do approve”*: WW to Howard Allen Bridgman, September 8, 1913, *PWW*, 28:265.
- 190 *20,000 people*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” 252n5.
- 190 *book and stage play*: Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 302; Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 217.
- 190 *suffrage association*: *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xxviii.
- 190 *marched*: Wells-Barnett marched with the Illinois delegation, but only after ignoring NAWSA’s ruling that—in deference to southern white women who threatened to boycott the parade—she was to march instead in the “colored” ranks behind. “Illinois Women Feature Parade,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1913, 3; “Marches in Parade Despite Protests,” *Chicago Defender*, March 8, 1913, 1; “300 Women Hurt in Parade Crush,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1913, 1; “Suffrage Paraders,” *The Crisis*, vol. 5, no. 6 (April 1913), 296.
- 190 *“for white ladies”*: *Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad Co. v. Wells*, 85 Tennessee 613 (1887), at 615.
- 190 *reversed her victory*: Ibid.
- 191 *because Wilson was a Democrat*: Further evidence that an appeal to Wilson’s partisanship was part of the group’s message is that Wilson was reminded of Trotter’s appeals to Black voters on his behalf in the recent election; that Trotter arranged for their group to be introduced to the president by a Democratic congressman from Trotter’s home state of Massachusetts; and that Trotter brought with him letters of support from a handful of elected Democrats from Massachusetts.
- 191 *she was a Republican*: McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled*, 308.
- 191 *“acceptable to everybody”*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 139; Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 249; William Monroe Trotter’s Address to the President; Wilson’s Reply and a Dialogue, November 6, 1913, *PWW*, 28:491, 496.
- 191 *“preposterous”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 248.
- 191 *“No one”*: Patler, *Jim Crow*, 141–42 and n66.
- 191 *the same day*: “President for Malone,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1913, 1.
- 191 *personal representative ... old-line Democrats*: “Malone Nominated as Port Collector,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1913, 6. On at least one occasion, Malone’s criticisms of Tammany Hall went beyond what Wilson considered politic, and he disavowed them. *PWW*, 50:528, 534n2.
- 191 *not his father’s*: Malone was born two years after the tragic death of Dudley Field, son of William M. “Boss” Tweed’s famous lawyer David Dudley Field. Only 49 at his death, Dudley Field was referred to as “young Dudley” to distinguish him from his father. Malone’s parents named their son in honor of the young man and his father, who for years defended Tammany’s “Boss” Tweed in his criminal trials. “Wm. M. Tweed’s Trial,” *New York Sun*, January 3, 1873, 3; “The Tweed Case,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1873, 2; “Tweed’s Plea for Liberty,” *New York Sun*, December 23, 1874, 3. “Young Dudley” had been a partner in his father’s firm and co-

- defense counsel in the Tweed cases. Henry Martyn Field, *The Life of David Dudley Field* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 282–85; “The Courts. Technicalities of the Tweed Case,” *New York Tribune*, December 23, 1874, 7.
- 192 *New Jersey women*: “Wilson Sees Suffragists,” *New York Times*, November 18, 1913, 10; Donald L. Haggerty, ed., *National Woman's Party Papers: The Suffrage Years, 1913–1920—A Guide to the Microfilm Edition*, “Brief History of the National Woman's Party,” 9.
- 192 “*stay a month*”: “Suffrage Deputation Interviews President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 22, 1913), 13; 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 17, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix (July 31, 1914), 856 (remarks of Rep. Frank Mondell, including text of article from *The Suffragist*).
- 192 *heartened*: “Wilson Heartens Jersey Women,” *The Woman's Journal*, vol. 44, no. 47 (November 22, 1913), 369.
- 192 “*non-committal*”: “Suffrage Deputation Interviews President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 22, 1913), 13.
- 192 *adopted resolutions*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage,” unpublished 1913 NAWSA manuscript, NAWSA Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; *HWS*, 5:374.
- 192 *all testified*: *HWS*, 5:383–97.
- 193 *tried to beg off*: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 193 *embarrass him*: *Ibid*.
- 193 *he was powerless*: “Wilson Not Free to Advise Suffrage,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1913, 9; “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 193 *quickly diagnosed*: “Takes President on Own Ground,” *The Woman's Journal*, vol. 44, no. 51 (December 20, 1913), 402.
- 193 *her assessment*: *HWS*, 5:373–74.
- 193 *not-so-subtle headline*: “Wilson Not Free to Advise Suffrage,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1913, 9.
- 193 *Wilson's own writings*: “Wilson Versus Wilson,” *The Woman's Journal*, vol. 44, no. 51 (December 20, 1913), 404.
- 194 “*sixty years*”: “President Wilson and Woman Suffrage.”
- 194 *a tie*: *HWS*, 5:397. The vote, on January 24, 1914, was as follows. Ayes: Lenroot (R-WI), Foster (D-IL), Campbell (R-KS) and Kelly (R-PA). Nays: Hardwick (D-GA), Pou (D-NC), Cantrill (D-KY) and Garrett (D-TN).
- 194 *anti-suffrage resolution*: *HWS*, 5:397; Andrew Glass, “‘Cotton Tom’ Heflin addresses the Senate, April 26, 1932,” *Politico*, April 26, 2017 (online); Rose Marie Eckert, *How the Vote Was Won: The Story of Woman Suffrage* (Minneapolis: Mill City Press, 2013), 82–83.
- 194 *Caucus intervened*: David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 80. The Senate's Democratic Caucus was formally established by rule a decade earlier, in 1903. From that point, a distinction was made between the terms “caucus” and “conference”: senators were in caucus when they discussed whether to bind the party's vote on a given issue; they were in conference when considering election of officers or general legislative business. U.S. Senate, *Minutes of the U.S. Senate Democratic Conference, 1903–1964*.
- 194 *repeated his evasion ... “not for it”*: *JFF*, 29.
- 195 *undecided*: “Women Use Sharp Terms to Wilson,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1914, 5.
- 195 *killed*: “Suffrage Loses in Senate Vote,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1914, 1. The Senate roll call was 21 Republican ayes, 12 nays; 14 Democratic ayes, 22 nays.

## 15. ‘A Conviction All My Life’

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- 196 *one thousand*: *HWS*, 5:379.
- 196 *rupture with Shaw*: *HWS*, 5:397.
- 197 “*vigorous campaign*”: “Suffragists on Warpath; Plan Fight on Democrats if Congress Doesn't Take Up Amendment,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1914, 3.
- 197 *two years*: NACW Convention Minutes, 1912, reel 1, and NACW Conventions, Press Coverage, 1912, reel 5, Records of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1895–1992, UPA microfilm edition (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994); “National Association of Colored Women,” *The Advocate*

- (Charleston, WV), August 8, 1912, 4; Richette L. Heywood, “Still Lifting and Climbing: The National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, Inc. Celebrates Its 100th Anniversary,” *Ebony*, vol. 51, no. 12 (October 1996), 100.
- 197 *meeting in Chicago*: “Suffrage Wins Two Victories,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1914, 3; Alixandra B. Yanis, Learning to ‘Play the Game as Men Do’: How the General Federation of Women’s Clubs Brought Political Science to Women,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, vol. 52, no. 4 (Cambridge University Press, October 2019), 659–62.
- 197 *“immense impetus”*: “Washington Suffragists Pleased at Biennial Action,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1914, 3.
- 197 *Paul arranged*: Rose Marie Eckert, *How the Vote Was Won: The Story of Woman Suffrage* (Minneapolis: Mill City Press, 2013), 84.
- 197 *On June 30 ... “slowly filed out”*: “Wilson Won’t Let Women Heckle Him,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1914, 4; “Women Besiege President Wilson; He Won’t Assist Their Plans,” *El Paso Herald*, evening ed., June 30, 1914, 1; 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 17, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess, Appendix (July 31, 1914), 860–61 (extension of remarks of Rep. Mondell); WW, Remarks to a Woman Suffrage Delegation, *PWW*, 30:226.
- 198 *Wilson’s floor leader*: “Break To Wilson Seems At Hand As Convention Adjourns Till To-Day; He Leads On The 42nd Ballot,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1912, 1. Wilson was indebted to Palmer for his willingness to abandon his House Democratic colleague, Speaker of the House Champ Clark, who was Wilson’s leading competitor for the nomination.
- 198 *Shafroth was first elected*: “Shafroth, John Franklin,” *BD*; “Colorado for Wilson by 20,000, Says Shafroth,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 4, 1912, 2; “Convention Nominates Gov. Wilson,” *The Comet* (Johnson City, TN), July 4, 1912, 1; “Wilson and Marshall Head Democratic Ticket,” *Clay County Patriot*, July 4, 1912, 1. Shafroth had been a serious dark horse candidate for the presidential nomination when the Baltimore convention deadlocked. “Shafroth Good Bet, Says Arch,” *Daily Sentinel* (Grand Junction, CO), July 1, 1912, 3; “Big Steve of Denver Unscathed by Chicago,” *New York Sun*, July 1, 1912, 5.
- 199 *surprise*: Hearing on Woman Suffrage before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 63rd Cong., 2nd Session, March 3, 1914 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 5–9 (statement of Antoinette Funk, NAWSA Congressional Committee).
- 199 *Shafroth introduced*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 20, 1914), 5162 (Sen. Shafroth introduction of S.J. Res. 128); 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (April 6, 1914), 6313 (Rep. Palmer introduction of H.J. Res. 245).
- 199 *protecting Jim Crow*: B. H. Gilley, “Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 301.
- 199 *“race question”*: *HWS*, 5:413.
- 200 *never reported*: Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer, Politician* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 86.
- 200 *reversed*: *HWS*, 5:452–53.
- 200 *his Senate race*: Coben, *Palmer, Politician*, 86.
- 200 *New Orleans convention*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 118.
- 200 *decade that followed ... endorse*: *Ibid.*, 125–32. Catt recruited Gordon, engineering her election as corresponding secretary in 1901 and her appointment to the national board at the same time. In 1909, Gordon resigned as corresponding secretary to protest Catt’s 1909 “Great Petition” urging Congress to approve the federal amendment. Even so, she was elected the next year as a vice president of NAWSA. Elna C. Green, “The Rest of the Story: Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–89, at 175, 176n13.
- 200 *“staunchest allies”*: Anna Howard Shaw, *The Story of a Pioneer* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1915), 309.
- 200 *Four-inch tall headlines*: “England Declares War on Germany,” *New York Times*, 1; “England at War with Germany,” *Chicago Tribune*, 1; “Great Britain Declares War,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1; all August 5, 1914.
- 201 *Shafroth announced*: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 13, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (August 5, 1914), 13293.
- 201 *U.S. securities holdings*: David Glasner, ed., *Business Cycles and Depressions* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 135–37.

- 201 *halted trading*: While generations of Wilson and McAdoo biographers have claimed that it was McAdoo who “shut down Wall Street,” based on the former Treasury secretary’s own assertion to that effect many years later, the “evidence for this is extremely thin,” and indeed contradicted by the records of the NYSE itself. Mary A. O’Sullivan, *Dividends of Development: Securities Markets in the History of U.S. Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 313–14 and n9.
- 201 *verge of collapse*: Leland Crabbe, “The International Gold Standard and U.S. Monetary Policy from World War I to the New Deal,” *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, vol. 75, no. 6 (June 1989), 424.
- 201 *warning against panic*: WW, Statement to the Press, August 3, 1914, *PWW*, 50:535.
- 201 *American neutrality*: “President Wilson Proclaims Neutrality,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1914, 7.
- 201 *Americans stranded*: “Americans, Marooned by War, Lack Food and Clothing,” *New York Evening World*, August 7, 1914, 3; Walter Hines Page to WW, August 9, 1914, *PWW*, 30:366.
- 201 *lay suffering*: *LL*, 4:475; “Eleanor Wilson Weds W. G. M’Adoo,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1914, 1.
- 201 *Wilson was certain*: WW to MAH, August 2, 1914, *PWW*, 30:327.
- 201 *“come directly”*: WW to Stockton Axson, August 5, 1914, *PWW*, 30:345.
- 201 *holding her hand*: *LL*, 4:479. Ellen Wilson’s deathbed wish was for passage of the so-called “slum clearance” bill she had championed. Congress soon passed it in her honor and Wilson signed it into law on September 25, 1914. While contemporary press coverage and a century of biographers have credited both Wilson and the First Lady for this supposedly humanitarian law, in actuality it called for wholesale condemnation of “the homes of the servant class” while making no provision for relocating the predominantly Black residents of Washington’s poorest areas. New Hampshire Democrat Eugene Reed denounced the “rank injustice” of legally confiscating the homes of “poor people who have invested their money in alley property” while the bill’s supporters admitted it “makes no provision for payment to the owners.” 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 15, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 14, 1914), 15106, 15110 (statements of Rep. Borland on H.R. 13219); *ibid.*, 15110 (statements of Rep. Reed); *ibid.*, 15197, 15305 (House and Senate passage of H.R. 13219); “Mrs. Wilson’s Bill Signed,” September 26, 1914, 10.
- 201 *lowered its flags*: “Whole Country in Mourning for President’s Wife,” *Newark Star-Eagle*, August 7, 1914, 1, 8.
- 201 *“all the people”*: “Mrs. Wilson No Anti,” *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, vol. 45, no. 34 (August 22, 1914), 242. NAWSA acknowledged that “Mrs. Wilson never ranged herself definitively in favor of woman suffrage,” but insisted that she was “not an anti.”
- 201 *“exhausted”*: WW to MAH, August 23, 1914, *PWW*, 30:437.
- 201 *“nothing left”*: EMH Diary, August 30, 1914, *PWW*, 30:461.
- 201 *“no heart”*: *Ibid.*, November 6, 1914, *PWW*, 31:274.
- 201 *“kill him”*: *Ibid.*, November 14, 1914, *PWW*, 31:317.
- 201 *detailed Dudley Field Malone*: Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 459.
- 202 *worsening economy*: The economic expansion ushered in during the period of American neutrality in the war did not begin until December 1914. Hugh Rockoff, “Until It’s Over, Over There: The U.S. Economy in World War I,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 10580 (June 2004), 4, 38.
- 202 *every state*: *HWS*, 5:474–75.
- 202 *“an enemy”*: Florence Brewer Boeckel, “New Women in Politics,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (November 1916), 432, 435–37.
- 202 *directly attributed*: Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman’s Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 67–68.
- 202 *“certain of election”*: “Bitter Contests in Many States,” *Brooklyn Daily Standard Union*, November 1, 1914, 4.
- 202 *“thoroughly frightened”*: Charles A. Beard, “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, vol. 7, no. 91 (July 29, 1916), 329.
- 202 *field representatives*: “Results of the Election Campaign,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 2, no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 5.
- 203 *“I don’t want politics”*: Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 257.
- 203 *“absolute fair dealing”*: WW to Alexander Walters, October 21, 1912, *PWW*, 25:448.
- 203 *“traitors”*: “Mr. Trotter and Mr. Wilson,” *The Crisis*, vol. 9, no. 3 (January 1915), 119–27, at 120.

- 203 *“made plain enough”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” 256.
- 203 *“My own individual life”* ... *“could laugh aloud”*: WW to MAH, November 8, 1914, *PWW*, 31:280.
- 203 *her 1912 divorce*: Peck’s petition for divorce was granted on July 10, 1912. At her request, the judge approved her name change to Mary Hulbert—reverting to the last name of her deceased first husband. “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6. The judgment was entered by default—only she and her son testified; her husband did not appear—but she was granted no alimony. “Mrs. Peck Knows of No Other Woman in Case,” *Berkshire County Eagle* (Pittsfield, MA), July 10, 1912, 3; “Wife of Thomas D. Peck Gets Divorce,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 13, 1912, 6.
- 203 *“best interests of both races”*: “President Resents Negro’s Criticism,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1914, 1.
- 203 *“fifty years”*: “Mr. Trotter and Mr. Wilson,” *The Crisis*, 120.
- 203 *“to be continued”*: “President Resents Negro’s Criticism,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1914, 1.
- 204 *objected on racial grounds*: Eric S. Yellin, *Racism in the Nation’s Service* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 108–110. The objecting senators were James K. Vardaman (D-MS), “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman (D-SC), and Hoke Smith (D-GA).
- 204 *“spoken to each”*: William G. McAdoo to WW, July 18, 1913, Office of the Appointment Clerk, Secretary of the Treasury, published in *The Arapaho Bee*, October 10, 1913, 1.
- 204 *only days*: Wilson announced the nomination on July 24 and withdrew it on August 2. “Fight Negro for Register,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1913, 4; “Drops Negro as Candidate,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1913, 35.
- 204 *“You say”* ... *“no suggestion of mine”*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 250.
- 204 *all my life*: “Drops Negro as Candidate,” *New York Times*. Despite publicly opposing a Black appointee, Democratic senators privately promised not to block the nomination. Senator Robert L. Owen (D-OK) explained that, if “the administration had concluded” it would leave “a Negro in the office,” this “would be agreeable” to him. But he also wished the administration to know he “did not approve of the policy.” Robert L. Owen to William H. Murray, September 16, 1913, Office of the Appointment Clerk, Secretary of the Treasury, published in *The Arapaho Bee*, October 10, 1913, 1.
- 204 *“Negro men over white women”*: WW to Thomas Dixon, July 29, 1913, *PWW*, 28:94.
- 204 *Dixon had complained*: Thomas Dixon to WW, July 27, 1913, *PWW*, 28:88–89.
- 204 *“plan of concentration”*: WW to Thomas Dixon, July 29, 1913, *PWW*, 28:94.
- 204 *never again be welcome*: Lunardini, “Standing Firm,” *Journal of Negro History*, 260.
- 204 *turn his support*: *Ibid.*, 263n6.
- 204 *“damn fool enough”*: *Ibid.*, 263n5.
- 205 *to the states*: Johanna Neuman, *Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites Who Fought for Women’s Right to Vote* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 119. The State Historical Society of Missouri has observed that “Although Clark championed the causes of his constituents and the Democratic party, he failed to sponsor any significant legislation during his time in office.” “Historic Missourians: Champ Clark,” State Historical Society of Missouri, shsmo.org. For Clark’s earliest views on women’s suffrage, see text at 156 and corresponding endnote “for thirty years.”
- 205 *suffrage opponent*: “Plans of the Rules Committee,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 2, no. 50 (December 12, 1914), 2. In 1919, Henry would found a men’s organization in Texas pledged “to combat woman suffrage in Texas and to take from women the right they now have.” Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 118.
- 205 *do just that*: *HWS*, 5:449.
- 205 *convened a hearing*: *HWS*, 5:469.
- 205 *friendly group* ... *“all my life”*: “President Refuses to Aid Suffragists,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1915, 12; “Suffragists to Call on Wilson Wednesday,” *Titusville (PA) Herald*, January 4, 1915, 3.
- 206 *party position* ... *“individual states”*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1420 (remarks of Rep. Underwood).
- 206 *“Disorder, chaos, crime”*: *Ibid.*, 1448 (remarks of Rep. Bartlett).
- 206 *stubbornly repeated*: In the same week that the House Rules Committee reported out Rep. Mondell’s Anthony Amendment, Wilson met with the president of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, Anne Martin, who lobbied



- him to support it. He declined, insisting that women should pursue the franchise in each separate state, not in Washington through a constitutional amendment. “That is the way,” Wilson instructed, “it should be done—by States.” Martin’s protestations that amending so many different constitutions presented “immense difficulty” did not move him. “President Talks to Anne Martin,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 45, no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 1.
- 206 *leadoff Republican*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1408 (remarks of Rep. Campbell).
- 207 “*shot into the Constitution*”: Ibid., 1430 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 207 *party lines ... nays included*: Democrats voted 171–86 against; Republicans voted 74–30 in favor. (Other parties provided the balance of the nays.) 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1); Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 125; “Suffrage Meets Defeat in House,” *Washington Post*, January 13, 1915, 1; Eileen McDonagh, “Issues and Constituencies in the Progressive Era: House Roll Call Voting on the Nineteenth Amendment, 1913–1919,” *Journal of Politics*, vol. 51, no. 1 (February 1989), 126; David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 95.
- 207 “*consistently maintained*”: “Believe Wilson Will Come Out,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 4 (January 23, 1915), 25; “Expect to Win Wilson: Women Think He Will Support Suffrage in New Jersey,” *Washington Post*, January 15, 1915, 4.
- 207 *In private*: Nancy Saunders Toy Diary, January 15, 1915, *PWW*, 32:21–22; Virginius Dabney, “The Human Side of Woodrow Wilson,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 32, no. 4 (Fall 1956), 508–523, at 513; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Crawford Howell Toy: The Man, The Scholar, the Teacher* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2019), 247. In an entire chapter devoted to Nancy Saunders Toy, biographer Parsons evaluates speculation that Toy may have been putting her own thoughts into Wilson’s words in this diary entry. See Victoria Bissell Brown, “Did Wilson’s Gender Politics Matter?,” in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 141. For reasons including Toy’s “progressive stance on most social issues,” her friendship with Wilson’s suffragist daughter Margaret, and her own career in higher education, Parsons concludes “it is unlikely that she was projecting her own view onto Wilson.” Parsons, *Crawford Howell Toy*, 248.
- 208 “*solidly and conclusively*”: “The Attitude of the President—and the Suffragists,” *The Woman’s Protest* (New York: National Organization Against Woman Suffrage, January 1915), 6.

## 16. ‘Not One Step Nearer’

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- 209 *met with Dixon*: Thomas Dixon to JPT, January 27, 1915, *PWW*, 32:142 and n1.
- 209 *publicity campaign ... McKinley*: “Staging the Clansman,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1915, 53; *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1915, 1 (two-column, page one advertisement); “California’s Early Battle with ‘Birtherism’: D.W. Griffith, the NAACP, the Ku Klux Klan and the Courts,” *California Supreme Court Historical Society Review* (Fall/Winter 2001), 4n2.
- 209 “*bitter and unjust*”: “Censors Edit ‘The Clansman,’” *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1915, Part 7, 12.
- 209 *temporarily halted*: “Ban Clansman, City Tells Film Censors,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, February 3, 1915, 8; “Film Is Attacked,” *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, February 4, 1915, 5; “Ban Clansman, Council Orders Police Chief,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, February 8, 1915, 2; “Fear Play Might Cause Racial Prejudices; Los Angeles City Council Order Production of ‘The Clansman’ Stopped,” *Pomona Progress*, February 8, 1915, 1 (UPI wire story); “Trouble Over ‘The Clansman,’” *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1915, pt. 2, 6; “Fight Against ‘The Clansman’ Lost by City,” *California Eagle*, February 13, 1915, 1.
- 209 *protests and litigation*: 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), 129–31.
- 210 *opened in Los Angeles*: The film debuted at the 2,700 seat Clune’s Auditorium across from Central Park (renamed Pershing Square three years later, after victory in the World War).

- 210 “greatest picture”: “Trouble Over the Clansman,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1916, pt. 2, 6.
- 210 red flag: Grace Kingsley, “Staging ‘The Clansman,’” *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1915, Part 3a, 10.
- 210 grandiose title: Raymond A. Cook, *Fire from the Flint* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publishers, 1968), 168; White House program for screening, in John Cuniberti, *“The Birth of a Nation”: A Formal Shot-by-Shot Analysis Together with Microfiche* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1979); *New York Times*, February 28, 1915, sec. 7, 6 (advertisement). Griffith copyrighted the film as *The Birth of a Nation; or The Clansman* on February 13. Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2004), 117–141, at 138n32.
- 210 joined the president: “President to See Movies,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1915, 1; “White House Will Have ‘Movie’ Show,” *Washington Times*, February 18, 1915, 1; “‘Movie’ for President Shown in White House,” (*Salisbury, NC*) *Evening Post*, February 22, 1915, 1; “President Views Pictures,” *Erie Sentinel*, February 20 1915, 1.
- 210 emblazoned: *The Birth of a Nation*, directed by D.W. Griffith (Los Angeles, CA: David W. Griffith Corp., 1915), intertitles.
- 211 Newspapers across the country: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 315 n1; “President Witnesses Moving Pictures in the White House,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 19, 1915, 5; “Face Cards View Film,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1915, pt. 3, 4.
- 211 “President’s interest”: “President to See Movies,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 18, 1915, 1.
- 211 Wilson reached out: Though he would later take political cover from criticism of the movie’s racism and his evident endorsement of it, Wilson made no contemporaneous protest, nor did he attempt to warn the members of the Supreme Court, the Congress, the diplomatic corps, and those of his cabinet who had missed the first night, and for whom Dixon arranged a showing the following evening under the auspices of the National Press Club. Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2004), 117–141, at 122; “Movies at Press Club; Pictures Based on Thomas Dixon’s ‘Clansman’ Shown to Large Gathering,” *Washington Post*, February 20, 1915, 5; “‘Birth of Nation’ Has Premiere Here,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1915, 8. Arthur Link, to whose scholarship all Wilson biographers are indebted, nods Homerically when he editorializes that Wilson, along with members of the Supreme Court and both houses of Congress, “fell into Dixon’s trap.” Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 253. Wilson could not have been surprised by the film’s subject matter. He knew far more about Dixon than most people in America, and the public had heard a decade of warnings about *The Clansman*. At the National Press Club screening, attended by Chief Justice White (a former Klansman) and other justices, 38 senators, and some 50 House members, the audience “cheered and applauded throughout the three hours.” “Birth of a Nation Has Premiere Here,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1915, 8. Wilson’s letter to Griffith two weeks after the White House screening gives every indication he enjoyed the film. WW to David W. Griffith, March 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:325; Gary Gerstle, “Race and Nation in the Thought and Politics of Woodrow Wilson,” in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 93–123, at 111 and n69.
- 211 like Wilson: James Hart, ed., *The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D.W. Griffith* (Louisville: Touchstone Publishing Co., 1972), 24–26; Richard Schickel, *D.W. Griffith: An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 15, 19–22, 24, 29.
- 211 “so impressed”: Michael Rogin, “The Sword Became A Flashing Vision,” in *Michael Paul Rogin: Derangement and Liberalism*, Alyson Cole and George Shulman, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 99–133, at 102; WW to David W. Griffith, March 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:325. While there is no evidence Griffith accepted this offer of cinematic help from Wilson, there is circumstantial evidence that Wilson later sought and got help from Griffith. Griffith provided his personal endorsement in advertisements for the 1916 feature film “Motion Picture Portrait Studies of President Wilson and His Cabinet—The U.S. Government in Action,” a barely disguised piece of reelection propaganda. Jeff Menne and Christian B. Long, eds., *Film and the American Presidency* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 91n2. Another favor may have come when Wilson was seeking work for Mary Hulbert. With no prior acting experience, she landed a minor part in Griffith’s 1918 movie *The Great Love*. Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 257–58.

- 211 “*at any time*”: Wilson’s cordiality at the White House reception left Dixon and his entourage “wildly enthusiastic.” Thomas Dixon to WW, February 20, 1915, *PWW*, 32:267. Including the pre-screening reception, the president devoted more than four hours to his guests. It is no wonder he hurriedly left the East Room “without saying a word” once the three-hour film ended. *Ibid.*, n1. At the time he was dealing with multiple crises: Germany’s threat to sink merchant vessels around the British Isles, and a four-way dispute involving the U.S., Japan, China, and Britain. “German Reply Friendly in Tone, But Its Substance Causes Concern,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1915, 1; “The German Reply,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1915, 8; “Wilson to Send a Note to Japan,” *New York Times*, February 20, 1919, 1.
- 211 *implicit endorsement*: John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 272; Rogin, “The Sword Became a Flashing Vision,” 100; Edward Douglass White to JPT, *PWW*, April 5, 1915, 32:486.
- 211 “*a man we all revere*”: “Interview with D.W. Griffith,” *New York American*, February 21, 1915, sec. M, 9; Arthur Lennig, “Myth and Fact: The Reception of ‘The Birth of a Nation,’” *Film History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 117–141, at 122, 139 and n57. An embellished version of this quotation, later attributed to Wilson, is thought to be apocryphal. Mark E. Benbow, “Birth of a Quotation: Woodrow Wilson and ‘Like Writing History with Lightning,’” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 9, no. 4 (October 2010), 522–23, 527–28.
- 211 *worldwide audience*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 125; “Cast of Epic Film Has Reunion,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1930, A3. According to University of California literary scholar James Hart, Vladimir Lenin—who also viewed the film and immediately grasped the medium’s power as propaganda—remarked that *The Birth of a Nation* was “an express train among pushcarts.” Hart, *The Man Who Invented Hollywood*, 109. After the White House screening, Dixon told Tumulty that motion pictures could move public opinion and “the will could be overwhelmed,” which was his true reason for making the film: so that “every man in the audience” might be turned “into a good Democrat.” *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 407; Thomas Dixon to JPT, May 1, 1915, *PWW*, 32:142n1. Dixon later made the same comment to Wilson, assuring the president the movie “is transforming the entire population of the North and West into sympathetic Southern voters. There will never be an issue of your segregation policy.” Thomas Dixon to WW, September 5, 1915, *WWP*, quoted in Link, *The New Freedom*, 253n39.
- 211 *Wilson’s first attempt*: At the end of March, when a Wilson friend pressed him to publicly disown the film, he resisted, instructing Tumulty to say only “I have expressed no opinion about it.” WW to Warren Forman Johnson, March 29, 1915, *PWW*, 32:454; Margaret Blaine Damrosch to JPT, March 27, 1915, *PWW*, 32:455.
- 211 *10,000 people*: Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), 116.
- 211 *Trotter succeeded*: “Birth of Nation Causes Near Riot,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 1915, 1; “Trotter Attacks the Play,” *ibid.*, 3; “Say Box Office Discriminated,” *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1915, 8; “Hit by Officer, Trotter Says,” *Boston Globe*, May 3, 1915, 5; “Heard Trotter Make Threats,” *Boston Globe*, April 30, 1915, 5; “Trotter on the Stand,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 3, 1915, 2; “Puller Freed, Trotter Fined,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 5, 1915, pt. 2, 12; “Trotter Fined \$20, Appeals,” *Boston Globe*, May 5, 1915, 1.
- 212 *attacked Wilson personally*: Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900–1942* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 60; “Protests at Faneuil Hall,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 19, 1915, 5; “Name of Wilson Hissed,” *Boston Globe*, April 19, 1915, 3; “Protest by Mr. Jordan,” *ibid.*
- 212 *Democratic governor ... growing chorus*: Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 140–41, 148. Moorfield Storey was president of the American Bar Association from 1896 to 1896, and president of the Massachusetts Bar Association from 1913 to 1914. At the time of the Boston protests against *The Birth of a Nation* he was president of the NAACP. *Ibid.*, 141.
- 212 *2,000 Bostonians*: “State House Affairs—Negroes Hear Opponents—Throng Listens to ‘Birth of Nation’ Supporters,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 26, 1915, 2; “Colored People to Storm State House,” *Boston Globe* (morning edition), April 19, 1915, 1; “Gov. Walsh and O’Meara Will Appeal to Courts on ‘Nation’ Film,” *Boston Globe* (evening edition), April 19, 1915, 12; “Trotter Addresses the Crowd,” *ibid.*

- 212 *sensed a crisis ... same chief justice*: Edward D. White to JPT, April 5, 1915, *PWW*, 32:486; Rogin, “The Sword Became a Flashing Vision,” 102–03; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 149; Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 171–72; Dixon, *Southern Horizons*, 411.
- 212 *president “approved”*: Rep. Thomas Chandler Thacher to JPT, April 17, 1915 (with enclosures), WWP, Series 4, Executive Office File, 1913–21, Case File 2247, images 420–22. According to two witnesses present at the hearing, a lawyer for Griffith and Dixon testified the film “had received the endorsement and approval of the president.” Franklin T. Hammon and J. Mott Hollowell to Annie Fisher, April 15, 1915 (enclosed with Thacher to JPT). Griffith himself testified at the hearing, leaving “the impression that the president favored it,” according to another witness who attended the hearing. Griffith “went on to say that he would not read what Woodrow Wilson had said,” indicating that the president had remarked favorably on the film and that he had written down what Wilson said. Statement of Anna Phillips Williams re April 7, 1915 hearing at Boston City Hall (enclosed with Thacher to JPT). The April 7 clipping Thacher enclosed has not been identified, *PWW*, 33:86n1, but other stories reported similar witness statements. For example, “Name of Wilson Hissed,” *Boston Globe*, April 19, 1915, 3, quoted the chairman of the hearing as stating “the President is credited with approving ‘The Birth of a Nation.’”
- 212 *Tumulty had an idea*: JPT to WW (via Warren F. Johnson), April 24, 1915, *PWW*, 33:68.
- 212 *“unspeakable fellow”*: WW to JPT, April 24, 1915, *PWW*, 33:68.
- 212 *“entirely unaware”*: WW to JPT, April 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:86. For the entirety of his presidency, and his life, Wilson never said a word in public against the movie. Even when, at the height of the World War, he was informed that plans to reprise it in Washington, DC were “hurting the Liberty Loan and Red Cross subscriptions among colored people,” he offered no public expression of concern. In private to Tumulty, three years after his White House screening, he said that he had “always felt” the movie was “very unfortunate.” But the concern he expressed at that time was that it not be shown “in communities where there are so many colored people.” WW to JPT, c. April 22, 1918, *PWW*, 47:388n3. This recalls the approach taken during the 1915 Boston protests against the film, when the exhibitors refused to sell tickets to Black people. “Say Box Office Discriminated,” *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1915, 8.
- 212 *signed it*: Tumulty sent it the day Wilson approved the text. JPT to Thomas Chandler Thacher, April 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:86n2; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 149.
- 212 *box office records*: Joel Waldo Finler, *The Hollywood Story* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003), 47; Stokes, *Birth of a Nation*, 287n1.
- 213 *normalized it*: Helen Klein Ross, “Hatred Endorsed by a President,” *Lapham’s Quarterly*, November 8, 2018.
- 213 *new life*: William Simmons, “How I Put Over the Klan,” interview with William G. Shepherd, *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 82, no. 2 (July 14, 1928), 35.
- 213 *inaugural cross burning*: David B. Freeman, *Carved in Stone: The History of Stone Mountain* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 52.
- 213 *flaming crosses*: Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 146.
- 213 *five million members*: “Religious and Patriotic Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan,” pamphlet (Waco, TX: Rev. W.C. Wright, 1926), 13.
- 213 *written constitution*: *Ibid.*
- 213 *anti-suffrage novel*: Cook, *Fire from the Flint*, 189. Like Dixon’s book *The Clansman*—which had attracted the attention of filmmaker D.W. Griffith, a southern Democrat and Wilson admirer—*The Foolish Virgin* would soon be sold to Lewis J. Selznick for production as a motion picture. Anthony Slide, *American Racist: The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004), 109–10. Selznick was notable not only as a pioneer Hollywood filmmaker but as the father of David O. Selznick, who would later produce the definitive paean to the Confederacy, *Gone with the Wind*. Margaret Mitchell would credit Dixon as her inspiration for the novel on which the movie was based. Richard Harwell, ed., *Margaret Mitchell’s Gone With the Wind Letters 1936–1949* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976), 52; Mark Calney, “D.W. Griffith and ‘The Birth of A Monster,’” *The American Almanac*, January 11, 1993. In turn, *Gone with the Wind* would finally break the box office records set by *Birth of a Nation*.

- 213 *sole heir*: Phyllis Lee Levin, *Edith and Woodrow: The Wilson White House* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 65, 69–70. Edith was the sole executor and legatee of her first husband’s will. She received all of the profits from the business until she sold it in 1918, ten years after his death, inheriting as her share \$85,705, approximately \$1.8 million in current dollars. *Ibid.*, 70.
- 213 *anti-suffragist*: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 19, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library; “Gives Joy to Suffragists: Mrs. Wilson, Once Counted Among Antis, Hears President’s Speech,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1918, 13; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 165, 180–81; Rebecca Boggs Roberts, *Untold Power: The Fascinating Rise and Complex Legacy of First Lady Edith Wilson* (New York: Viking, 2023), 117–19.
- 213 *slave-owning family*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 58–59; Roberts, *Untold Power*, 10.
- 214 *invite her*: Kristie Miller, *Ellen and Edith, Woodrow Wilson’s First Ladies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 108; Roberts, *Untold Power*, 74–75; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 52–54.
- 214 *he proposed*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 60–61.
- 214 *constant attentions . . . presidential yacht*: James S. McCallops, *Edith Bolling Galt Wilson: The Unintended President* (New York: Nova History Publications, 2003), 13–15; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 81.
- 214 *daily*: Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 66; August Heckscher, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1991), 349.
- 214 *purposeful secrecy*: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 56; Cooper, *Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 283.
- 214 *“the very inside”*: WW to MAH, September 20, 1914, *PWW*, 31:59.
- 214 *“think about you”*: WW to MAH, March 14, 1915, *PWW*, 32:371.
- 214 *“unable to answer”*: WW to MAH, April 4, 1915, *PWW*, 32:475.
- 214 *begged off again*: WW to MAH, April 21, 1915, *PWW*, 33:60.
- 214 *secret marriage proposal*: WW to EBG, May 28, 1915, *PWW*, 33:278; EBG to WW, May 28, 1915, *ibid.*; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 56.
- 214 *“stop over” . . . interrupted by business*: Helen Woodrow Bones to MAH, May 29, 1915, *PWW*, 33:286 and n1; MAH, “The Woodrow Wilson I Knew,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 23–26, at 25.
- 215 *several letters*: MAH to WW, June 10, 1915, *PWW*, 33:382; MAH to WW, June 16, 1915, *PWW*, 33:412; MAH to WW, June 20, 1915, *PWW*, 33:424.
- 215 *“moment’s hesitation”*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 19–22, at 21.
- 215 *a loan*: Horace Herbert Clark to WW, July 28, 1915, *PWW*, 34:39 and n1.
- 215 *“bank after bank”*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 21.
- 215 *“a Jew gentleman”*: MAH to WW, June 16, 1915, *PWW*, 33:412.
- 215 *Hulbert notified . . . “excellent investments”*: Sufficient documentation survives for these transactions to piece together the whole thing. Mary recounted that when she first wrote Wilson asking for money, she proposed that he “advance \$7,500, taking the mortgages for \$15,000 [the face value of the mortgage notes] as security.” She added that Wilson immediately sent “a check or draft.” The loan documentation followed. Wilson met with Mary’s financial agent on two occasions; a third conference between the two men took place by telephone on July 19, the day Wilson signed a receipt for the mortgages that served as loan collateral. Mary’s signed promissory note was mailed to Wilson on July 28. Shortly after signing her promissory note, Mary determined it would be “impossible for [her] to meet the obligation.” On August 6, Mary’s agent confirmed Wilson’s agreement to convert the loan to a purchase of the mortgage collateral. The agent calculated that Wilson would then owe Mary an additional \$7,500, less the amount of unpaid interest to date on the loan. He also offered Wilson “a discount of 2-1/2%,” which he said equaled \$375, on the face value of the mortgages. Since \$375 is 2-1/2% of \$15,000, this confirms the purchase price for all of the mortgages was at par, i.e., \$15,000. Wilson declined the proffered discount, waived the unpaid interest on the loan, and paid full face value for the mortgages. MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 21; Receipt dated July 19, 1915, Wilson Papers, Series 14, Mary Allen Hulbert (Peck), 1907–1919, Manuscript Division, image 205, Library of Congress; Horace Herbert Clark to WW, July 28, 1915, *PWW*, 34:39 and n1; Clark to WW, August 6, 1915, *PWW*, 34:117. That Wilson wrote not one but two checks is further evidenced by the fact that Mary refers to multiple payments from Wilson (“these

- checks”). Colonel House recorded in his diary, immediately following Wilson’s telling him so, that the amount Wilson sent was \$15,000. House also recorded that McAdoo’s understanding was that Wilson had sent this amount. EMH Diary, September 22, 1915, *PWW*, 34:506. Measured in 2024 dollars, the amount Wilson paid Mary Hulbert was \$466,227. For further corroborating analysis, see Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 296–97, notes 71, 84.
- 215 “neglecting practically everything”: EMH Diary, July 31, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:199.
- 215 *secretly accepted*: EBG to WW, June 29, 1915, *PWW*, 33:458.
- 215 “everything that is in me”: WW to EBG, August 13, 1915, *PWW*, 34:190.
- 215 *New Jersey campaign*: New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, “Campaign Statement: A Resume of Campaign Activities and an Analysis of the Vote on the Woman Suffrage Amendment in the State of New Jersey,” October 19, 1915, Ann Lewis Women’s Suffrage Collection.
- 216 *public assurances*: “Wilson to Tell Stand in Time,” *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 46, no. 20 (May 15, 1915), 158; “President Will Take Stand Soon,” *ibid.*, no. 30 (July 24, 1915), 231.
- 216 “salacious and incriminating”: Miller, *Ellen and Edith*, 65.
- 216 “implicated”: WW to MAH, September 29, 1912, *PWW*, 25:284; MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 35 (January 3, 1925), 8–12, at 12.
- 216 “quite possible”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 15.
- 216 “apothecary’s clerk”: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 269.
- 216 “amiable Mrs. Peck”: “Saunterings,” *Town Topics, The Journal of Society*, vol. 73, no. 6 (February 11, 1915), 1.
- 216 “so persistent”: *Ibid.*, vol. 74, no. 10 (September 2, 1915), 1.
- 216 *confronted him*: House believed the tip, contained in an anonymous letter, was “not genuine,” but that McAdoo used the letter to get the President to discuss the payments to Hulbert. EMH Diary, September 22, 1915, *PWW*, 34:506–07; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 431 and n2.
- 216 “for not waiting”: EMH Diary, July 31, 1915, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 3:199; Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 452; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Confusion and Crises 1915–1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 4–5. Not just McAdoo but virtually the entire Wilson cabinet, as well as Colonel House and Joe Tumulty, feared that remarrying so soon after his wife’s death could spell political disaster, but they worried even more about Mary Hulbert. Link, *Confusion and Crises*, *ibid.* She sensed as much. When *Munsey’s Magazine* asked why Wilson did not marry her after Ellen died, she answered, “Because Tumulty and McAdoo wouldn’t let him.” Dean Mathey, interview by Henry W. Bragdon, July 21, 1940, Woodrow Wilson Collection, MC168, Public Policy Papers, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
- 217 “stained and unworthy”: WW to EBG, September 19, 1915, *PWW*, 34:491–92.
- 217 “contemptible error”: WW to EBG, September 21, 1915, *PWW*, 34:497.
- 217 “while it lasted”: WW, “Analysis of the Statement; Admission,” c. September 20, 1915, *PWW*, 34:496.
- 217 “deeply ashamed”: WW, draft statements, *ibid.*
- 217 “pale and bleeding”: EBG to WW, September 22, 1915, Edith Bolling Galt Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 115.
- 217 “make any trouble”: Even after the public announcement of the engagement, worries persisted over Mary Hulbert. On November 27, 1915, a White House aide who had “personally seen reams of letters from the President go to Mrs. Hulbert” wondered whether she was “going to make any trouble” and questioned whether “the wedding can go on.” MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 10, 1925), 15–19, at 19.
- 217 “political considerations”: Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 120.
- 217 “lessen political reaction”: Lewis L. Gould, ed., *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 240; Link, *Confusion and Crises*, 12–13.
- 217 *juxtaposed the two*: “President to Wed Mrs. Norman Galt”; “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage, Will Vote for New Jersey Amendment,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915. 1.

- 217 “*she’s against it*”: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 19, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, Box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library. Grayson knew Edith Bolling well; she and his fiancée were friends. Roberts, *Untold Power*, 56–57.
- 218 “*knocked by the women*”: Cary T. Grayson to Alice Gertrude Gordon, October 12, 1915, Cary T. Grayson Papers, Box 44, Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library.
- 218 *plaintive reply*: MAH to WW, October 11, 1915, *PWW*, 35:53.
- 218 *To herself*: Ibid.; Frances Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979), 68.
- 218 *down to defeat*: “Overwhelming Defeat for Suffrage Amendment,” *Plainsfield Courier-News*, October 20, 1915, 1.
- 218 “*settled by the States*”: “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 218 *rebranded*: “National Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 5 (January 30, 1915), 5 (first usage of “the Susan B. Anthony Amendment” in the *Suffragist*); Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 215.
- 218 “*not encourage*”: “Wilson Endorses Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1915, 1.
- 218 “*helpful statement*”: Ibid.
- 218 *harsh terms* ... “*Do not send*”: “Women Voters,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 1. Not only those inside the Congressional Union felt this way. “Probably he has no special interest in equal suffrage,” wrote Lucy Salmon in *The Nation*, “no more after having voted for it.” His former graduate fellow, now a professor of history at Vassar, attributed Wilson’s barren record on women’s suffrage to his “natural inhibitions.” “Woodrow Wilson: The President’s Policies Analyzed in the Light of His Natural Inhibitions and His Past Record,” *The Nation*, vol. 103, no. 2672 (September 14, 1916), 256–58, at 257 (pseudonymously signed “A. Neutral”).
- 219 “*hasty line*” ... “*Why?*”: WW to MAH, November 10, 1915, *PWW*, 35:187; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 137; Frances Saunders, “Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert,” *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979).
- 219 *discussed marriage*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 40 (February 7, 1925), 25; Levin, *Edith and Woodrow*, 137.
- 219 “*I loved him*”: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 5–9, at 9. In her memoir, she wrote that when she heard the news she clung to the copy of the *Oxford Book of English Verse* that Wilson had given her, and choked up when recalling the lines he had recited to her on Bermuda’s South Shore. “For even the purest delight may pall,” Wilson had read, “And the love of the dearest friends grow small.” MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 172, 279; “Dominus Illuminatio Mea,” no. 883 in A. T. Quiller-Couch, ed., *The Oxford Book of English Verse, 1250–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 1058.

## 17. ‘A Towering Rage’

PAGE

- 220 *turned them down*: “Suffragists Renew Siege of President,” *New York Times*, December 7, 1915, 13; *SWP*, 115–16.
- 220 *same day*: “Wilson Hears Pleas of Pros and Antis,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1915, 8; “President Wilson Sees Suffrage Delegation,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 3, no. 51 (December 18, 1915), 2; “Anti-Suffragists See President,” *ibid.*
- 220 “*a man believes*”: *HWS*, 5:469. Catt’s testimony, delivered on December 16, 1915, was given to the House Committee on the Judiciary, not the Committee on Woman Suffrage as reported in *HWS* by Ida Husted Harper. The House Committee on Woman Suffrage was not created until September 24, 1917, and did not hold its first meeting until January 3, 1918.
- 220 *private ceremony*: “President Wilson Weds Mrs. Galt in Her Home with Simple Ceremony,” *New York Times*, December 19, 1915, 1
- 220 “*nothing to do*”: WW to Margaret Randolph Axson Elliott, December 26, 1915, *PWW*, 35:392.
- 220 *cut short*: JPT to WW, January 2, 1916, *PWW*, 35:419; Robert Lansing to WW, January 3, 1916, *PWW*, 35:422.

- 220 *only domestic issue*: Trisha Franzen, *Anna Howard Shaw: The Work of Woman Suffrage* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 167.
- 221 *“long as necessary” ... “like a glacier”*: “Interview with President Wilson,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 5 (January 29, 1916), 5; “The Deputation to President Wilson,” *ibid.*, no. 6 (February 5, 1916), 4; WW Remarks to the Congressional Union, January 27, 1916, *PWW*, 36:3 and n1; “Women Force Wilson to Say No to Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 28, 1916, 2. Wilson brought the meeting to an abrupt end the moment a delegate attempted to ask a question. This “tried his patience.” *PWW*, 36:3 and n1.
- 221 *various wordings*: Jennie Bradley Roessing to WW, April 14, 1916, *PWW*, 36:484–85. In reply, Wilson made it clear the process must be “state by state.” At the Democratic convention, when the delegates were told that Wilson deemed the “state by state” plank “imperative to his success in November,” they passed it by an overwhelming vote. “Convention Harmony Is Upset by Clash Over Suffrage Plank; Majority Upheld on Roll Call,” *Washington Post*, June 17, 1916, 4. Three days after the convention, Wilson reiterated in a note to Catt his position that suffrage was a question for “the several states.” WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, *PWW*, 37:266.
- 221 *tour of the West ... winning endorsements*: “Farewell Given to Suffrage Envoys,” *Washington Times*, April 10, 1916, 5; “Suffrage Heralds Go,” *Washington Post*, April 10, 1916, 2; *SWP*, 152; “Review of the Year,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 54 (January 10, 1917), 4.
- 221 *in the headlines*: “Suffrage Special’ Starts on Its Tour,” *San Francisco Examiner*, April 10, 1916, 1; “All Women To Have the Vote,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1916, pt. 2, 6; “The ‘Suffrage Special’ and Its Mission,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1916, pt. 2, 5; “Final Plea Made by Suffragists,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1916, 5; “The Susan B. Anthony Amendment,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1916, 5; *JFF*, 40–41; Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 237.
- 221 *selecting officers*: “Closing Sessions of the Woman’s Party Convention,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5–7; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 239–40.
- 221 *long roster*: “Woman’s Party Convention,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 23 (June 3, 1916), 3.
- 221 *“flimsy pretext”*: “Woman’s Party, First in World, Born in Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5.
- 221 *“work, independently”*: “Conference of Officers of the Congressional Union,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 15 (April 15, 1916), 4; Platform of the National Woman’s Party (1916), Broad­sides and Brochures Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis (IUIPI) University Library.
- 222 *heckled him*: “Women Heckle and Ridicule Party Leaders,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1916, 5; “Closing Sessions,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 5–7; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 241.
- 222 *laughable ... “towering rage”*: Alice Paul, “Conversations with Alice Paul,” by Amelia R. Fry, Suffragists Oral History Project, UC Berkeley (1973), 153–54, 160–61.
- 222 *“Good heavens”*: Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), 262; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 241.
- 222 *love affair*: After their first meeting in Chicago, the couple’s romantic relationship developed quickly. By August, the married Malone was referring to Stevens as the “love of my heart,” pledging his “perfect and constant devotion,” and craving “the power of your love.” Dudley Field Malone to Doris Stevens, August 12, 1916, Papers of Doris Stevens, MC 546, box 22, folder 5, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- 222 *in California*: “Democrats Plagued with Their Record on Suffrage,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 1916, 12; “Patton Coming to Finish Up in South,” *Los Angeles Herald*, vol. 42, no. 307 (October 24, 1916), 7.
- 222 *on June 7*: “Hughes Named, Accepts, Resigns from Bench,” *Washington Post*, June 11, 1916, 1.
- 222 *just as much ink*: “GOP Committee to Hear Women in Main Coliseum,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5; “Birth of the Woman’s Party,” *ibid.*; “Woman’s Party, First in World, Born in Chicago,” *ibid.*; “Women Expect 30,000 to March in Vote Parade,” *ibid.*; “Great National Conventions Bring Crude Men and Stylish Women,” *ibid.*, 4.
- 223 *second stint*: “Officers Elected for National Association,” *Washington Herald*, December 18, 1915, 1.
- 223 *did not ask*: The language Catt submitted stated only that the party “favors the extension of the suffrage to women.” *HWS*, 5:710. Senator William Borah, a member of the committee, interpreted the GOP plank as adopted as “an unqualified endorsement of woman suffrage” that “left open” the method, neither rejecting nor endorsing



- the Anthony Amendment. “Senator Borah Interprets Republican Suffrage Plank,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 25 (June 17, 1916), 3.
- 223 *precisely that*: “G.O.P. Committee to Hear Women in Main Coliseum,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1916, 5; “Suffragists Invade Platform Hearing,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1916, 4.
- 223 *easier path*: HWS, 5:709–12.
- 223 *Hughes was “convinced”*: “Hughes to Make Suffrage Issue in His Campaign,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 26 (June 24, 1916), 9.
- 223 *“imperative to his success”*: “Convention Harmony Is Upset by Clash Over Suffrage Plank; Majority Upheld on Roll Call,” *Washington Post*, June 17, 1916, 4. Three days after the convention, Wilson reiterated in a note to Catt his position that suffrage was a question for “the several states.” WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, PWW, 37:266.
- 223 *“deliberate act”*: Charles A. Beard, “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, vol. 7, no. 91 (July 29, 1916), 329–31, at 330.
- 223 *“Wilson’s policy”*: “The Democratic Convention and National Woman Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 26 (June 24, 1916), 6.
- 223 *“strict neutrality”*: “Planks in the Democratic Platform,” *New York Sun*, June 14, 1916, 1.
- 223 *“saved the country”*: “Bryan Extols President,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1916, 1.
- 223 *“single American child”*: Address of Senator Ollie M. James, June 15, 1916, in J. Bruce Kremer, comp., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (St. Louis: Louis Granat, 1916), 79–91, at 88.
- 223 *unwanted headlines*: “Wilson’s Suffrage Views,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1916, 11.
- 223 *“opposed by conviction”*: JFF, 43.
- 223 *“no right” ... “be patient”*: “Suffragist Warns Wilson—Tells President That Women Voters Are Hostile to Him,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1916, 16; SWP, 165–66.
- 224 *personally welcomed*: June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 171.
- 224 *potent fundraiser*: Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 246–54; HWS, 5:450, 457–58.
- 224 *Her plan ... “through this Congress”*: M. Carey Thomas to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 4, 1916, NAWSA Records, General Correspondence 1839–1961, box 29, reel 19, M. Carey Thomas, image 9, Library of Congress.
- 225 *racial prejudice*: Just weeks before, in a speech to Bryn Mawr students and faculty, she had expressed her hope that the “intellectual supremacy of the white races is maintained ... for centuries to come.” M. Carey Thomas, 1916 Address at the Opening of the College, M. Carey Thomas Papers, Bryn Mawr College Special Collections. In 1903, when a Black student graduated as valedictorian from Philadelphia’s Girl’s High School, tradition would have placed her at Bryn Mawr College, but President Thomas “would not consent to the admission.” “The Earliest Black Graduates of the Nation’s Highest-Ranked Liberal Arts Colleges,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 38 (Winter 2002–03), 104–109, at 108.
- 225 *electoral votes*: “How Many of the Four Million Will Vote?” *Ladies Home Journal*, vol. 33, no. 4 (April 1916), 12.
- 225 *arguments in support ... “never yet felt”*: M. Carey Thomas to Carrie Chapman Catt, July 4, 1916, NAWSA Records, General Correspondence 1839–1961, box 29, reel 19, M. Carey Thomas, image 9, Library of Congress.
- 225 *responded immediately*: “Tells Suffrage Demands,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1916, 6; “Pick Six Moose for G.O.P. Committee,” *New York Sun*, July 6, 1916, 5.
- 226 *Alice Carpenter*: “The Women’s Roosevelt League,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1916, 10.
- 226 *“jolly him along”*: Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 245.
- 226 *“sit tight and profit”*: “Tells Suffrage Demands,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1916, 6.
- 226 *announce it to the nation*: “Mr. Hughes Expected to Declare for National Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 31 (July 29, 1916), 7; “Mr. Hughes Accepts Progressive Platform,” *ibid.*, no. 28 (July 8, 1916), 6; “Women Win Hughes to the Amendment,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1916, 1; “Mr. Hughes for the Anthony Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 32 (August 5, 1916), 6.
- 226 *Two weeks later*: HWS, 5:507.
- 226 *Anthony had urged*: “The Susan B. Anthony Amendment in 1916—‘Failure Is Impossible,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 23 (June 3, 1916), 12.

- 226 *On July 27*: JPT to WW, July 27, 1916, *PWW*, 37:490.
- 227 *five years earlier*: Frank Parker Stockbridge, “How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination,” *Current History*, vol. 20, no. 4 (July 1924), 566–67.
- 227 *“the negro question”*: “Suffragists Seek Fund of \$500,000,” *New York Sun*, August 5, 1916, 1. Blatch provided a substantially identical version of Wilson’s remarks in a later memoir. Blatch and Lutz, *Challenging Years*, 268–69.
- 227 *“still preponderate”*: Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 197.
- 227 *two states*: 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Hearings Before the House Committee on Woman Suffrage on H.J. Res. 200*, January 3, 1918, 19.
- 227 *Catt’s meeting request ... “radical” one*: JPT to WW, July 27, 1916, *PWW*, 37:490; WW to JPT, *PWW*, 37:491; JPT to WW, *ibid.*; all July 27, 1916.
- 227 *“cannot defeat”*: Charles Evans Hughes, Speech of Acceptance at Carnegie Hall, New York, July 31, 1916, *Republican Campaign Textbook* (Washington: Republican National Committee, 1916), 2–19, at 17.
- 228 *caryatid maidens*: “Organist at Hotel Astor,” *Diapason*, vol. 1, no. 8 (July 1, 1910), 3.
- 228 *unconditionally embraced ... page-one headline*: “Women Win Hughes to the Amendment,” *New York Times*, August 2, 1916, 1.
- 228 *“women went wild”*: “Republican Candidate for President Endorses Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 32 (August 5, 1916), 7.
- 228 *sculptor’s model*: John N. Serio, “Elsie Stevens, Audrey Munson, and the Model for the 1916 Dime and Half Dollar,” *Wallace Stevens Journal*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Fall 2018), 153–175, at 153.
- 228 *contributed her wages*: “Financial Report,” *Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 72 (June 9, 1917), 11 (listing Audrey Munson as a contributor to the NWP); James Bone, *The Curse of Beauty: The Scandalous and Tragic Life of Audrey Munson, America’s First Supermodel* (New York: Regan Arts, 2016), 3.
- 228 *“embarrassing solitude”*: Florence Brewer Boeckel, “New Women in Politics,” *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 5 (November 1916), 432–37, at 434.
- 228 *“already declared”*: “Nation-Wide Suffragists Win Hughes; GOP Nominee Would Have Congress Amend Constitution; He Demands Quick Action,” *New York Tribune*, August 2, 1916, 1.
- 228 *full of cordiality ... “unconvinced”*: *HWS*, 5:507.
- 228 *became public*: “Hughes Declares for Woman Suffrage While President Wilson Hesitates,” *San Jose Mercury Herald*, August 2, 1916, 9; “Wilson’s Stand Equal to Denial,” *ibid.*
- 228 *White House statement*: “Wilson Unchanged on Suffrage Issue,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1916, 1.
- 229 *Marshall advised him*: Thomas Riley Marshall to WW, August 2, 1916, *PWW*, 37:516.
- 229 *“cost him the election”*: EMH to WW, August 2, 1916, *PWW*, 37:535.
- 229 *“born suffragist” ... “again and again”*: Ellen Duane Davis to WW, August 3, 1916, *PWW*, 37:522; WW to Davis, August 5, 1916, *PWW*, 37:529.
- 229 *“convictions”*: Mary Wilson Thompson to WW, July 30, 1916, *PWW*, 37:502; WW to Thompson, August 3, 1916, *PWW*, 37:518.

## 18. ‘He Kept Us Out of Suffrage’

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- 230 *forged shells*: The Hotchkiss Company in Sharon, Connecticut, four miles from Amenia, made rifle munitions for the Union Army. Federal Writer’s Project, *Connecticut: A Guide to Its Roads, Lore, and People* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1938), 418.
- 230 *national importance*: David L. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2009), 340.
- 230 *committed suffragists*: “The Amenia Conference, August 24–25–26, 1916,” pamphlet, NAACP Papers, Part 11, NAACP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; “Amenia,” *The Crisis*, vol. 12, no. 6 (October 1916), 276–77; “Amenia Conference Album,” enclosure to letter from Roy Nash to W. E. B. Du Bois, August 7, 1916, Series 1A, General Correspondence (listing Amenia Conference acceptances), W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Amherst Libraries, University of Massachusetts; NAACP photograph of

- conference held at estate of Joel Spingarn, Amenia, NY, August 1916 (depicting Addie W. Hunton, William Pickens, Arthur Spingarn, Mary Talbert, and Mary Church Terrell), NAACP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Lewis, *Du Bois*, 340; Joyce A. Hanson, *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Women's Political Activism* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 47–54.
- 230 *summer estate*: Marshall Van Deusen, *J.E. Spingarn* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971), 60–61; Lewis, *Du Bois*, 340.
- 230 *run for Congress*: Van Deusen, *Spingarn*, 23–24.
- 230 *Four years earlier*: “Spingarn to Fight Butler,” *New York Times*, March 8, 1912, 10; Mark Sullivan, “Armageddon at Chicago,” *Collier's Weekly*, vol. 49, no. 23 (August 24, 1912), 13.
- 231 *quit the Socialist Party*: W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, ed. Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 118.
- 231 *“since the Civil War”*: W. E. B. Du Bois, “I Won't Vote,” *The Nation*, vol. 183, no. 16 (October 20, 1956), 324.
- 231 *several arguments*: Sheldon Avery, *Up from Washington: William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality, 1900–1954* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 38–42.
- 231 *“inviolable privacy”*: “Amenia,” *The Crisis*, vol. 12, no. 6 (October 1916), 267–277, at 277.
- 231 *“relic of barbarism”*: Mary Church Terrell, “Woman Suffrage and the 15th Amendment,” in “Votes for Women: A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored America,” *The Crisis*, vol. 10, no. 4 (August 1915), 191.
- 231 *newly elected ... stressed*: “Mrs. Mary B. Talbert Women's President,” *Colorado Statesman*, August 26, 1916, 1; Lillian Serece Williams, “National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.,” in Nina Mjagkij, ed., *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2001), 339–43, at 341.
- 231 *adopted resolutions*: “Colored Women O.K. Hughes for President,” *Washington Evening Star*, August 13, 1916, 8.
- 231 *“tower of strength”*: N. H. Burroughs, “Black Women and Reform,” in “Votes for Women: A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored America,” *The Crisis*, vol. 10, no. 4 (August 1915), 187.
- 231 *Hunton pointed out*: A.W. Hunton, “Y.W.C.A.,” *ibid.*, 188–89, at 189.
- 231 *“votes for (white) women”*: Mary Church Terrell, “Woman Suffrage and the 15th Amendment,” *ibid.*, 191.
- 231 *“produced results”*: Eben Miller, *Born Along the Color Line* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 24.
- 232 *“wholesale murder”*: Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 118.
- 232 *“only alternative”*: Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: Putnam, 1940), 269.
- 232 *grandfather clauses*: In *Guinn v. United States*, 238 U.S. 347 (1915) and *Myers v. Anderson*, 238 U.S. 368 (1915), Hughes voted to strike down the grandfather clauses in Oklahoma and Maryland. The decisions set a precedent for judicial intervention in cases involving race-based voting rights discrimination.
- 232 *striking down segregation*: *McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.*, 235 U.S. 151 (1914).
- 232 *“black race's redemption”*: George W. Harris, “Colored Citizens and the Present Campaign,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1916), 19–20. Harris was editor of the *New York News* from 1913–1936. In 1920, he was elected as New York City's first Black alderman, serving until 1924. Everett L. Beanne, “Biographical Sketch of George W. Harris,” 1939, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; *Negro Year Book 1921–22*, ed. Monroe N. Work (Tuskegee Institute, 1922), 423.
- 232 *“due to him”*: “Justice Hughes,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 1916), 5.
- 232 *educated readers*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 140–41.
- 232 *largest audience ... “brass bands”*: “Hughes Is Given Hearty Welcome to Denver,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, August 27, 1916, 1; “Hughes Sums Up Campaign Attacks,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1916, 5.
- 232 *“en masse”*: “Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican Presidential Nominee, Denver's Distinguished Visitor Today,” *Colorado Statesman*, August 26, 1916, 1.
- 232 *progressive reforms*: Robert F. Wesser, *Charles Evans Hughes: Politics and Reform in New York, 1905–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 304–21.

- 232 *Lenin Prize*: Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 177.
- 232 *voting for Hughes*: Du Bois, “I Won’t Vote” (“In 1916 I took Hughes as the lesser of two evils”); Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1909–1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 179; Christine A. Lunardini, “Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter’s Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 244–64, at 263n6. As of late October, when the November edition of *The Crisis* went to press, Du Bois was torn between Hughes and Allen Benson, the Socialist candidate, although he had been assured by NAACP treasurer John Milholland, father of Inez, that “Hughes’ attitude is right on every question.” In 1912 he had taken a risk on Wilson despite red flags because he “could not let Negroes throw away votes”; for the same reason, in 1916 he chose Hughes over Benson. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 118; “Mr. Hughes,” *The Crisis*, vol. 13, no. 7 (November 1916), 12; Du Bois to JPT, October 24, 1916, *PWW*, 38:522; Du Bois, “I Won’t Vote.”
- 232 *western campaign swing*: “Hughes Plans for Coast Trip,” *New York Tribune*, July 14, 1916, 9.
- 233 *warning signs*: “Worry Over Hughes Trip; Chairman Willcox Faces Storm to Confer with Candidate,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1916, 5.
- 233 *would be best*: Frederick M. Davenport, “The Case of Hiram Johnson: Not Guilty,” *North American Review*, vol. 205, no. 735 (February 1917), 203–220, at 205–06.
- 233 *vetoed any delay*: *Ibid.*, 206.
- 233 *Amendment supporter ... too late*: William R. Willcox to Margaret J. Roberts, August 15, 1916, Margaret Stephenson Roberts Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University; Davenport, “The Case of Hiram Johnson,” 206; Spencer C. Olin, Jr., “Hiram Johnson, the California Progressives, and the Hughes Campaign of 1916,” *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 31, no. 4 (November 1962), 403–12, at 405.
- 233 *pilgrimage ... public endorsement*: Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 1:340 and n5; “Johnson Out for Hughes,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1916, 8.
- 233 *“We are not divided”*: “An Invitation from Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1916, 5; Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:340.
- 234 *two-to-one*: Olin, “Hiram Johnson,” 410.
- 234 *at every stop*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:341.
- 234 *not what happened*: “California Moose Complain to Hughes,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1916, 4.
- 234 *excluded Johnson*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:343–44; Davenport, “Hiram Johnson,” 214–15; Olin, “Hiram Johnson,” 406.
- 234 *on his arrival*: “Political Clash Unchanged by Hughes–Rowell Parley,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 18, 1916, 3; “Finds California Torn by Factions,” *New York Times*, August 19, 1916, 4.
- 234 *passing in the night*: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:340–49.
- 234 *full public view*: “Crocker Is Determined to Misunderstand, Says Rowell,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 27, 1916, 6; “Bacon’s Plea for Harmony Is Spurned,” *ibid.*; “Hughes Widens California Split,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1916, 1; “Say California Row Won’t Hurt Hughes,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1916, 1; “Hitchcock to Aid Willcox,” *New York Times*, August 23, 1916, 6; “Hughes Turns East; Strife Unallayed,” *New York Times*, August 23, 1916, 7.
- 234 *“Hughes’ attitude”*: “National Campaign from the Viewpoints of the Chairmen,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 27, 1916, 6.
- 234 *Johnson won*: “Majority for Johnson About Twenty Thousand,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 1916, 1.
- 234 *“We still hope”*: Davenport, “Hiram Johnson,” 203 (quoting Chester H. Rowell, Progressive national committeeman, Republican national committeeman, and member of Hughes national campaign committee).
- 235 *“promptly”*: Charles Evans Hughes, Speech of Acceptance at Carnegie Hall, New York, July 31, 1916, Republican Campaign Text-book (Washington: Republican National Committee, 1916), 2–19 at 17.
- 235 *reporters’ tables*: *HWS*, 5:496.
- 235 *theater’s entrance*: “Boardwalk at Delaware Ave. showing New Nixon Theatre,” Robert M. Skaler Postcard Collection, Athenaeum of Philadelphia, Athenaeum of Philadelphia Featured Collections.
- 235 *standing ovation ... sashed women*: *HWS*, 5:496.
- 235 *his remarks*: WW, Address to NAWSA Convention, Atlantic City, September 8, 1916, *PWW*, 38:161.

- 235 *13 percent*: In 1860, the total U.S. population was 31.44 million, of whom 3.95 million were enslaved people. *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, Public Information Office, 2018).
- 236 *At the conclusion*: HWS, 5:496–99.
- 236 *“shall not quarrel”*: WW, Address to NAWSA Convention, *PWW*, 38:161; HWS, 5:496–99.
- 236 *“verbal fog”*: “The New Situation in Suffrage,” *New Republic*, vol. 9, no. 108 (November 25, 1916), 85–86.
- 237 *her own address*: Carrie Chapman Catt, “The Crisis,” address to NAWSA convention, Atlantic City, NJ, September 7, 1916, as published in *The Woman’s Journal*, vol. 47, no. 38 (September 16, 1916), 299.
- 237 *only in private ... primary elections*: *FDL*, images 18–20, MS 6–8.
- 237 *eleven states*: The states were: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. In the twelfth state, Illinois, women could vote only in the presidential race.
- 237 *“white primary”*: Stephanie Haught Wade, “John Andrew Riggs and Arkansas’s Primary Suffrage Bill,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 79, no. 3 (Autumn 2020), 254–277, at 263.
- 237 *“primary suffrage”*: Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham: A Suffragist’s Life in Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 52–53. Southern suffragists who were committed to the Anthony Amendment felt betrayed. Sue Smith, a NAWSA officer since 1912, quit the organization and joined the National Woman’s Party as a result of Catt’s decision “that the southern states could not expect any help from the National.” Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 170–71.
- 237 *perfectly attuned*: Earlier that year, when Catt worked with Wilson to insert a states’ rights suffrage plank in the 1916 Democratic platform, the Democratic leader of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association protested bitterly. Such deference, she said, made NAWSA complicit in Wilson’s “hypocritical” strategy designed solely “to avoid giving women the vote” in the South. It was unnecessary, she told Catt, since the Democratic candidate was guaranteed to carry the one-party South either way. McArthur and Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham*, 52.
- 238 *question the chair*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 257. She would continue to show the same willingness to compromise on race two years later.
- 238 *Wilson’s next stop*: “President Returns and Prepares to Close White House,” *Washington Times*, September 5, 1916, 4.
- 238 *most of the bills*: Wilson lived at the lavish estate courtesy of the undisclosed donors, who paid all costs “except the upkeep of his own household,” an amount that he had “been accustomed to pay for a summer place.” “President Wilson Accepts Shadow Lawn for a ‘Summer Capitol,’ But Will Pay Rent,” *New York Sun*, October 16, 1915, 20. The grand hall alone was 6,000 square feet, surrounded by two tiers of wide galleries beneath a 100-foot high ceiling. The third of five floors was dedicated to an art gallery. “Wilson to Direct 1916 Campaign from Jersey Palace,” *Hedges (MT) Herald*, February 1, 1916, 2; “Summer Capitol Beautiful Home; Jersey to Give Wilsons Welcome,” *Long Branch (NJ) Daily Record*, October 22, 1915, 12.
- 238 *“Kept Us Out of War”*: National Platform of the Democratic Party, 1916, art. 27, in J. Bruce Kremer, comp., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (1916), 121–130, at 130.
- 238 *“mothers of the land”*: Address by Martin H. Glynn, June 14, 1916, *ibid.*, 14–41, at 26.
- 238 *former schoolmate ... western United States*: Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 78.
- 238 *“white woman’s burden”*: “Woman Whom Senator Walsh Places in Charge of Big Campaign Work,” (Helena) *Independent-Record*, September 3, 1916, 8; “Mrs. George Bass,” *Little Falls Herald*, August 25, 1916, 5; “Mrs. George Bass at the Helm,” *Rock Island Argus*, August 29, 1916, 3; Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 79.
- 239 *peace message*: Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 53–54.
- 239 *“to the end”*: WW to Jane Jefferson Club, Denver, CO, August 7, 1916, reprinted in full at “President Pledges His Aid To Suffrage,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1916, 1. Wilson understood full well such statements were misleading. “I can’t keep the country out of war,” Josephus Daniels recalled Wilson confiding to him before the election. “Any little German lieutenant can put us into war at any time.” Daniels to Ray Stannard Baker, March 20, 1929, *LL*, 258.

- 239 *“holding off”*: WW, Address at the Chicago Auditorium, January 31, 1916, *PWW*, 36:63.
- 239 *“greater aggressiveness”*: Alice Hamilton, “As One Woman Sees the Issues,” *New Republic*, vol. 8, no. 101 (October 7, 1916), 239–41.
- 239 *Wilson appealed directly*: Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women’s Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women’s Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 73.
- 239 *“unneutral”*: J. Lee Thompson, *Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 147.
- 239 *“loyalty to [a] foreign power”*: WW, Address at Long Branch, New Jersey Accepting the Democratic Nomination for President, September 2, 1916, *PWW*, 38:126.
- 239 *“only one choice”*: WW, Campaign Speech to Young Democrats at Shadow Lawn, *PWW*, September 30, 1916, 38:301; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916–1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 105–06.
- 239 *“If You Want War”*: Thompson, *Never Call Retreat*, 152.
- 239 *“go to hell”*: Joslyn Barnhart and Robert F. Trager, “How Women Shape the Course of War: Women’s Suffrage and the Election of 1916,” *Security Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4 (August 2022), 703–735, at 716n57.
- 239 *“our own citizens” ... Villa’s raids*: WW, Address at Long Branch, New Jersey Accepting the Democratic Nomination for President, September 2, 1916, *PWW*, 38:126.
- 240 *“too proud to fight”*: WW, Address to Naturalized Citizens at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, *PWW*, 33:147. Even so, Secretary of State Bryan deemed Wilson’s private diplomatic correspondence with Germany too bellicose. Wilson’s increasing abandonment of strict neutrality in favor of the Allies ultimately led to Bryan’s resignation in June 1915. William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, vol. 10 (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1925), 395–428.
- 240 *“inevitable” ... “cannot tell them”*: JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 159.
- 240 *“ought to be in now”*: Harold Garnet Black, *The True Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1946), 160–61. Arthur Link believed Secretary of War Garrison “understood Wilson’s faults better than almost any other member of his circle.” Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 121. Garrison judged harshly Wilson’s willingness to decide issues of war and peace on the basis of politics. “He was a man of high ideals but no principles,” Garrison wrote privately of Wilson after his death. Lindley M. Garrison to William E. Brooks, February 24, 1929, Papers of William E. Brooks, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 240 *“sordid, soft, and spineless”*: Theodore Roosevelt, “The Soul of the Nation,” Address at Cooper Union, November 3, 1916, in Herman Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 20 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 515–27, at 527; Thompson, *Never Call Retreat*, 151.
- 240 *her own slogan*: “Call to the Women Voters: ‘Vote Against Wilson—He Kept Us Out of Suffrage,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 46 (November 11, 1916), 7–9.

## 19. ‘We Might as Well Lie Down and Die’

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- 241 *“promised nothing”*: “Inez Hayes Irwin” in Lina Mainiero, ed., *American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1994), 2:370; *SWP*, 171.
- 241 *campaign swing*: “Mrs. Boissevain Off Today,” *New York Times*, October 4, 1916, 4.
- 241 *“a little while”*: “Last Appeal from Unenfranchised Women,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 42 (October 14, 1916), 7–9, at 9.
- 241 *“transcontinental”*: “Illness Halts Tour of Noted Suffragist,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 24, 1916, 6.
- 242 *unable to finish*: “Faints at Her Highest Point; Inez Milholland Boissevain Falls on Platform,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 1916, 15; “Illness Halts Tour of Noted Suffragist,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 24, 1916, 6; “Mrs. Boissevain Faints on Stage,” *Los Angeles Record*, October 24, 1916, 7.

- 242 *martyr*: “Lays Down Life for Women’s Cause,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1916, 1; “Long Struggle Is Vain; Mrs. Boissevain Is Dead,” *Los Angeles Times*, *ibid*; Linda J. Lumsden, *Inez: The Life and Times of Inez Milholland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 174.
- 242 *volcano*: Hannah Kimberley, *A Woman’s Place Is at the Top: A Biography of Annie Smith Peck, Queen of the Climbers* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2017), 286–87.
- 242 *Robins ... Elliott*: “Nation’s Brightest Women Plead the Cause of Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, part 2, 1.
- 243 *Bankrolled*: “Trainload of Prominent Women Will Tour the United States to Campaign for Hughes,” *San Jose Mercury Herald*, September 23, 1916, 1. Hearst re-registered as a Republican for the 1916 election, as a protest against Wilson’s stand on suffrage. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst*, 412–13.
- 243 *Hughes’s example*: “Charles Evans Hughes: Glens Falls–Bred Civil Rights Hero,” *Glens Falls (NY) Chronicle*, January 18, 2016.
- 243 *Black churches*: Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 77.
- 243 *votes on the train*: J. Leonard Bates and Vanette M. Schwartz, “Golden Special: Republican Women Campaign for Charles Evans Hughes for President in 1916,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 37, no. 3 (Summer 1987), 26–35, at 27.
- 243 *to discredit*: Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 79.
- 243 *already visited*: Bates and Schwartz, “Golden Special,” 32.
- 243 *rotten eggs*: Melanie Susan Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 170.
- 243 *most luxurious venue*: Ruth Wallach, et al., *Historic Hotels of Los Angeles and Hollywood* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 52.
- 243 *taunted*: “Women Hoodlums Fail to Mar Great Ovation,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, pt. 2, 6.
- 243 *“mass meeting”*: “To Give Women Warm Welcome,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Hats Fly as Hughesettes Reach L.A.,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Wilson Women Heckle Hughes Special Party,” *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, October 18, 1916, 1; “When Greek Meets Greek Then—,” *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, October 18, 1916, 1; “Nation’s Brightest Women Plead the Cause of Hughes,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1916, part 2, 1.
- 243 *invaluable positive press*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; Freeman, *A Room at a Time*, 78.
- 243 *failing to vote*: “A Message of Cheer and Goodwill for Woodrow Wilson” (advertisement), *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, October 18, 1916, 6. From 1911 to 1916, Hughes and his family lived in the home they built at 2100 16th Street, NW, in the District of Columbia. At the time, he intended to live there with his family “for the remainder of their days.” Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 1:276. Today the impressive structure is the Embassy of Angola.
- 243 *“futile and foolish”*: “Mrs. George Bass at the Helm,” *Rock Island Argus*, August 29, 1916, 3.
- 244 *male politicians*: Antoinette Carter Hughes, the wife of the candidate, was the first to break this barrier when she campaigned alongside her husband on his cross-country whistlestop campaign in 1916. “Why Hughes Really Believes in Suffrage,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 27, 1916, 4.
- 244 *“integrity of principle”*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Contemporary Notes,” *Vassar Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (February 1, 1916), 66.
- 244 *interfering in Mexico*: “Nation’s Brightest Women,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Nelson O’Shaughnessy and Wife,” summary accompanying photograph, item 2014700506, Library of Congress.
- 244 *“unprecedented pitch”*: *JFF*, 45. Jane Addams, torn between her strong support for the Anthony Amendment and her pacifism, finally opted for Wilson and peace only weeks before the election. But at the same time she told the press she would not “make any statement formally declaring myself.” “Woodrow Wilson Is Good Enough for Jane Addams,” *Day Book* (Chicago), October 14, 1916, 3.
- 244 *“seen everywhere”*: Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 54.

- 244 *political winds*: The film's opening came just weeks after more than 100,000 marchers and one million spectators in New York City clamored for war preparedness and cheered the flag. "135,683 Serious, Earnest Americans Emphasize Demand for Preparedness in Parade That March-es for 12 Hours," *New York Times*, May 14, 1916, 1; Brooke Kroeger, *The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 182–83.
- 244 *first movie sequel*: "America Is Invaded Again in the Films; 'The Fall of a Nation' Another Sensational Photoplay Plea for Preparedness," *New York Times*, June 7, 1916, 11.
- 245 *how to influence*: Historian Joel Williamson concluded that Thomas Dixon probably did more to shape the lives of modern Americans than most presidents. Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 140.
- 245 *enemies of preparedness*: Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense: American Women and World War I* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 230.
- 245 *"thirty million"*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 422.
- 245 *"America first"*: WW, Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, DC, October 11, 1915, *PWW*, 35:47.
- 245 *beat the women*: "Wilson Exhorts the Foreign Born ... Crowd Routs Suffragists," *New York Times*, October 20, 1916, 1.
- 245 *"petulant tut tut"*: "Banners Torn; Hughes Women Lose Battle," *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1916, 1.
- 245 *Hotel Manhattan ... "didn't choose"*: Mary Allen Hulbert, *The Story of Mrs. Peck* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1933), 261–64.
- 246 *\$8 million*: In 1916 dollars, Hulbert said she was offered first \$200,000 and then \$300,000, equivalent to \$5.8 million and \$8.6 million, respectively, in today's currency. *Ibid.*, 263.
- 246 *doubted it*: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 264.
- 246 *"does not know of anyone"*: Draft of EBW to MAH, c. November 1, 1916, *PWW*, 38:589. Link's commentary indicates this letter was sent, and Hulbert's memoir makes clear it was received. *Ibid.*, n1; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 264.
- 246 *more than once*: After the large checks Wilson wrote in the summer of 1915, and another he had his cousin Helen Bones send that Mary did not cash, she impatiently prodded him to become involved in promoting her California property sale in the fall: "I ... for the last time am asking you to give the necessary help ... unless you are indifferent." MAH to WW, November 22, 1915, *PWW*, 35:237 and notes. Wilson did involve himself, including paying for McAdoo's former secretary to travel to California to inspect the property. Horace Herbert Clark to WW, January 19, 1916, *PWW*, 35:503 and n1.
- 246 *For the time being*: Hulbert would make another pitch for funds in a Los Angeles meeting with Wilson, Edith, and Grayson on September 21, 1919. WW to MAH, September 20, 1919, *PWW*, 419; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 267–77; EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 281; MAH, "The Woodrow Wilson I Knew," *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 42 (February 21, 1925), 25–27. Her final, and most successful, financial exploitation of the relationship came in 1928, when through an agent she successfully negotiated with the former president's close advisers Bernard Baruch, Ray Stannard Baker, and Josephus Daniels to sell them her cache of Wilson letters. On June 5, 1928, she signed a contract of sale for \$31,500 (over \$575,000 in 2024 currency). The money was provided by Baruch, a wealthy Wall Street financier, under conditions of complete secrecy for the purpose of keeping the letters off the market. According to Hulbert's memoir, Baker personally took delivery of the letters and paid her for them. Even then, as she later confessed to him, she had held back some letters, claiming to have subsequently destroyed them. After an extensive review of the record, historian Frances Saunders's explanation for why "most" of the letters "were destroyed or have otherwise disappeared" was that "Wilson's frequent outpourings were apparently so incriminating." Frances W. Saunders, "Love and Guilt: Woodrow Wilson and Mary Hulbert," *American Heritage Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3 (April/May 1979); MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 283–84; Jonathan Daniels, *The End of Innocence* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1954), 292.
- 246 *"a shadowed woman"*: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (January 17, 1925), 19–22, at 21–22.
- 246 *"showing letters"*: *Ibid.*, no. 33 (December 20, 1924), 8.



- 246 “Justice sent men”: Ibid., 6.
- 246 “mysteriously stopped”: MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 265–66.
- 246 confronted Wilson: MAH, *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 34 (December 27, 1924), 12–16, at 15; MAH, *Story of Mrs. Peck*, 261–64.
- 247 “vital to the success”: Paul made this declaration in a letter to Gertrude Hill Cuthbert, daughter of Republican U.S. Senator Nathaniel Hill. Alice Paul to Gertrude Hill (Mrs. Lucius M.) Cuthbert, August 23, 1916, National Woman’s Party Papers, 1891–1940, reel 1, Library of Congress.
- 247 long-distance: SWP, 178.
- 247 “kept us out of suffrage” “Call to the Women Voters,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 46 (November 11, 1916), 7; “Woman’s Party Orator Makes Final Appeal,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 6, 1916, 17.
- 247 invaded: Jeffrey B. Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 270.
- 247 freshman reformer: Ross J. Wilson, *New York and the First World War: Shaping an American City* (London: Routledge, 2016), 133.
- 247 conventional wisdom: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:360.
- 247 flashed the news: Spencer C. Olin, *California’s Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911–1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 157.
- 247 prepared to concede: JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 218–19; Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:361.
- 247 finally rested: Lisa G. Materson, *For the Freedom of Her Race: Black Women and Electoral Politics in Illinois, 1877–1932* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 98–107.
- 248 “rebuke to Wilson”: “Women, Register!” *Chicago Defender*, October 7, 1916, 3.
- 248 Stevens’s reports: JFF, 46.
- 248 “prairie fire”: Pusey, *Hughes*, 1:359, 363.
- 248 Malone had spearheaded: Dudley Field Malone to WW, September 7, 1917, PWW, 44:167.
- 248 speaking for Hughes: Olin, *California’s Prodigal Sons*, 149.
- 248 endorsed Hughes: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 141.
- 248 3,421: *Presidential Elections 1789–2004* (Washington: CQ Press, 2005), 141.
- 248 war skeptic: Howard A. De Witt, “Hiram Johnson and World War I: A Progressive in Transition,” *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 3 (Fall 1974), 295–305.
- 249 “lie down and die”: Kathleen Morey to Alice Paul, November 15, 1916, reel 35, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 249 “race is in peril”: “The Race Is in Danger,” *Champion Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 4 (December 1916), 170.
- 249 women defecting: “Votes of Women and Bull Moose Elected Wilson,” *New York Times*, November 12, 1916, 1.
- 249 “quavering slogan”: “Why Wilson Won” (*Literary Digest* advertisement), *New York Tribune*, November 18, 1916, 7.
- 249 “dedicated pacifist”: Richard Nixon, Remarks at the Dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, February 18, 1971, *Public Papers of the Presidents, 1971* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 187–88.
- 249 South Dakota: “South Dakota,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1916, 2.
- 249 leading role: David Oks, “The Election of 1916, ‘Negrowumpism,’ and the Black Defection from the Republican Party,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 20, no. 4 (October 2021), 523–547, at 528.
- 249 “two to one”: JFF, 46.
- 250 “mass peace meeting”: “New Year Plea for Peace,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1917, 1.
- 250 “no conviction whatever”: “The New Situation in Suffrage,” *New Republic*, November 25, 1916, 85.
- 250 “calamity”: “Mr. Wilson’s Reelection,” *New York Age*, November 16, 1916, 4. Lucy Burns, speaking for the National Woman’s Party, regarded Wilson as the man who “for four years treated with open contempt the movement for the enfranchisement of women.” “Congressional Union Bitter Against Wilson,” *New-York Tribune*, August 12, 1916, 9.

## PART III

## HOLDING BACK THE TIDE

## 20. 'Impossible'

## PAGE

- 253 *hundred cars ... "letters of fire"*: "Signal by the President Bathes Liberty Statue in Flood of Light," *New York Times*, December 3, 1916, 1; "Wind Brings Down Suff Bird Women," *New York Sun*, December 3, 1916, 8; John Carver Edwards, *Orville's Aviators: Outstanding Alumni of the Wright Flying School, 1910–1916* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009), 12; "First Woman War Aviator," *Boston Globe*, December 3, 1916, 57; Eileen F. Lebow, *Before Amelia: Women Pilots in the Early Days of Aviation* (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, Inc., 2002), 216–17; "President Sets Liberty Aglow," *New York Sun*, December 3, 1916, 1; "Miss Law Tells of Her Record Flight," *New York Times*, November 20, 1916, 1.
- 254 *"conception of liberty"*: WW, After-Dinner Remarks, December 2, 1916, *PWW*, 40:120–21.
- 255 *"pose as a friend"*: David Morgan, *Suffragists and Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1972), 112–13.
- 255 *force the issue: SWP*, 180–82.
- 255 *formally dressed*: "President Urges Congress to Pass Railroad Laws ... Suffragists Cause a Stir," *New York Times*, December 6, 1916, 1; WW, Fourth Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1916, *PWW*, 40:155.
- 256 *chose this passage ... newspapers across the country: SWP*, 180–82; "President Urges Congress to Pass Railroad Laws," *New York Times*, 1; "Wilson Avoids Foreign Rows in His Message," *Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 1.
- 256 *"suffrage coup"*: "President Wins Applause from Whole Congress ... Suffragists Produce 'Canned' Demonstration for Votes," *Reading (PA) News–Times*, December 6, 1916, 1.
- 257 *"robbed me"*: Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), vol. 2, 406.
- 257 *"elephantine smart aleck"*: MAH, "The Woodrow Wilson I Knew," *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 36 (January 3, 1925), 8–12, at 10.
- 257 *state action*: Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 147 and n42.
- 257 *did not attend*: "Tribute at Capitol for Mrs. Boissevain," *New York Times*, December 26, 1916, 11.
- 257 *Part religious service*: Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), *Alice Paul*, 115.
- 257 *beside a banner*: Linda J. Lumsden, *Rampant Women: Suffragists and the Right of Assembly* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 174–77.
- 257 *formal resolution*: "The National Memorial Service in Memory of Inez Milholland," *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 53 (December 30, 1916), 7–10.
- 258 *wrote President Wilson*: Alice Paul to WW, January 1, 1917, reel 209, #58955, image 655, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 258 *"would like to avoid"*: WW to Thomas Brahany, January 4, 1917, reel 209, #58956, image 656, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 258 *granted Paul's request*: WW to Thomas Brahany, January 8, 1917, reel 209, #58962, image 662, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 258 *audience with Wilson: SWP*, 188–90.
- 258 *"look in his eyes"*: *Ibid.*, 190.
- 258 *"impossible" ... patronizing them: JFF*, 52–57.
- 259 *confirmed this*: Three days after the Democratic convention, Wilson wrote to NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt to confirm that the plank in the platform leaving the decision on women's right to vote to the individual states had "received my entire approval before its adoption." WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 19, 1916, *PWW*, 37:266; *SWP*, 162–63.

- 259 “coldness”: *JFF*, 57–58.
- 259 “indignation meeting”: “Suffragists Will Picket White House,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1917, 1; *JFF*, 58–60; “Pickets Posted at White House Today by Women,” *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1917, 1; Linda J. Lumsden, *Inez: The Life and Times of Inez Milholland* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 177–78.
- 259 “wait more”: *JFF*, 59.
- 259 “every kind of deputation”: *SWP*, 202.
- 259 “the Presidential eye”: “President Ignores Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1917, 13.
- 259 “peaceful protest”: *Ibid.*; “President Ignores Suffrage Sentinels,” *Washington Herald*, January 11, 1917, 10.
- 260 “unseasonably mild”: “Weather Conditions,” *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1917, 14.
- 260 “red-painted balls”: Richard W. Winans, “How President Wilson’s Health Is Guarded,” *Christian Observer*, vol. 106, no. 11 (March 13, 1918), 20; Irwin Hood Hoover, *Forty-Two Years in the White House* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 61.
- 260 “1,200 rounds”: Don Van Natta Jr., *First Off the Tee: Presidential Hackers, Duffers, and Cheaters from Taft to Bush* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 138. The 1,200 figure is a conservative estimate; the author opines that the total number of Wilson’s golf outings during his presidency may be closer to 1,600. See also John Fischer III, “The Golfing President,” The Golf Heritage Society, [golpheritage.org](http://golpheritage.org).
- 260 “stared straight ahead”: “President Ignores Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1917, 13.
- 260 “mild form of militancy”: “President Ignores Suffrage Sentinels,” *Washington Herald*, January 11, 1917, 10.
- 260 “till time passed”: Helen Woodrow Bones to Jessie Woodrow Wilson Sayre, January 16, 1917, WWP17542, Wilson Presidential Library.
- 261 “any means”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress on the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany, February 3, 1917, *PWW*, 41:108.
- 261 “yellow races”: John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 375 and n33.
- 261 “organized enemies”: “Women Proffer Services,” *Washington Times*, February 10, 1917, 10.
- 261 “British suffragists”: Paula Bartley, *Emmeline Pankhurst* (London: Routledge, 2002), 183–86.
- 261 “private dinner”: WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, February 5, 1917, box 3, reel 3, WWP.
- 261 “dinner conversation”: The Navy Secretary may also have been selected because he was open to granting voting rights to women, albeit not Black women, and not via a federal amendment. Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace—1910–1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 457.
- 261 “instant results”: *HWS*, 5:720–25. Committing to support the war even before it was declared was quite a contortion for Catt personally, given her role as a founder of the Woman’s Peace Party. In the wake of her action, she was ousted from the party of which, until then, she had been Honorary Vice Chairman. “Peace Party Ousts Mrs. Carrie Catt,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1917, 11.
- 262 “no intention”: *HWS*, 5:723.
- 262 “one purpose”: “Suffragists Deny Split,” *New York Times*, February 24, 1917, 11.
- 262 “international situation”: *SWP*, 207; “Alice Paul Heads New Suff Party,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1917, 8.
- 262 “gain adherents”: Nancy F. Cott, “Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman’s Party,” *Journal of American History*, vol. 71, no. 1 (June 1984), 43–68, at 46. In February 1917, NAWSA claimed a membership of more than two million members, while according to Paul, speaking in December 1917, the NWP’s relatively modest membership had grown to nearly 45,000 as of June that year. *HWS*, 5:723; Sidney Roderick Bland, “Techniques of Persuasion: The National Woman’s Party and Woman Suffrage, 1913–1919” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1972), 142n34.
- 262 “four cabinet members”: *HWS*, 5:724–25.
- 263 “literally impossible”: *SWP*, 202; WW to JPT, February 8, 1917, reel 209, #59137, image 852, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

## 21. The ‘Firm Hand of Stern Repression’

PAGE

- 264 *spoke with pride*: *Southern Horizons: The Autobiography of Thomas Dixon, A Critical Edition*, ed. M. Karen Crowe (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 411; David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865–1965* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 26–27.
- 265 *kiss the holy book*: “The Lord Is Our Refuge,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 3; Frederick B. Jonassen, “Kiss the Book ... You’re President ... : ‘So Help Me God’ and Kissing the Book in the Presidential Oath of Office,” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, vol. 20, no. 3 (2012), 853.
- 265 *kill his bill*: The five objecting Democratic senators were Kirby (AR); Lane (OR); O’Gorman (NY); Stone (MO); and Vardaman (MS). Six Republicans opposed the bill: Clapp (MN); Cummins (IA); Gronna (ND); La Follette (WI); Norris (NE); and Works (CA). “Bitter Wrangle As Senate Closes,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1.
- 265 *“only legislative body”*: WW statement, March 4, 1917, *PWW*, 41:318; “Text of the President’s Statement to the Public,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “Bitter Wrangle as Senate Closes,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “President Takes Oath,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1; “Armed Ship Bill Beaten,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, 1. The Senate’s decision four days later to adopt the first-ever cloture rule (making it possible to end a filibuster) was a direct response to this incident.
- 265 *one thousand marchers ... “turned them away”*: *JFF*, 75–79; *SWP*, 207–212.
- 266 *“forty centuries”*: Advertisement for Carnegie Hall lecture by Jeannette Rankin, March 2, 1917, Carnegie Hall Rose Archives. The best box seats went for \$18 (\$440 in today’s currency).
- 266 *“special duty”*: James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 140.
- 266 *“mild sensation”*: “Senate’s Sacred Precincts Invaded by Miss Rankin,” *Anaconda (MT) Standard*, April 5, 1917, 12. Until her election, Senate rules prohibited women on the floor, even as guests, for any purpose except the funeral ceremony of a senator. “Miss Rankin Stirs Senate,” *New York Sun*, December 2, 1916, 1.
- 266 *men’s sensibilities*: “Our Busy ‘Congresswoman,’” *Literary Digest*, vol. 55, no. 6, August 11, 1917, 41–44, at 44.
- 267 *discouraged her*: Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America’s Conscience* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 98–99, 109; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6, 140–43.
- 267 *“How long”*: *JFF*, 80.
- 267 *escorted to the floor ... ever witnessed*: Call of States, 55 *CR* (65th Cong., 1st Sess., April 2, 1917), 105–06; “Jeannette Rankin Pledges Her Best to Women’s Cause,” *Daily Missoulian (MT)*, April 7, 1917, 7; Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 108–110; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 141; “America’s First Woman Congress” (*sic*), *Salisbury (NC) Evening Post*, April 2, 1917, 1.
- 267 *former congressman*: “Trimble, South,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 268 *called her name*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 106–08 (election of Speaker).
- 268 *prohibition amendment*: “Institute Applauds Carrie Chapman Catt, As She Discusses Modernity and Prohibition,” *Columbia (NY) Spectator*, November 8, 1926, 1; “Prohibition Analyzed by Carrie Catt,” *Sterling (IL) Daily Gazette*, July 9, 1930, 1; 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 17, 1917), 469.
- 268 *House Joint Resolution 1*: “Public Bills, Resolutions, and Memorials,” 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 128.
- 268 *“Nature’s rarest”*: John Muir, *Nature Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1997), 813.
- 269 *“last of neutrality”*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 *Finland Station*: Joshua Hammer, “The Road to Revolution,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 10 (March 2017), 66. Lenin had been publicly calling for “armed insurrection” and “mass terror” in Russia for over a decade. Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 170–71. British suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst, who had seen firsthand the threat that Russia’s civil war posed to democracy, offered a more discerning contemporary warning. June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002), 309–11.
- 269 *“safe for democracy”*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.

- 269 *continued to play golf*: “Memorable Address Typed by Wilson Himself,” *The Butte (MT) Miner*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 269 *“preparedness” parades*: Ross A. Kennedy, “Preparedness,” in Kennedy, ed., *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson* (Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2013), 271–76; Manuel Franz, “Preparedness Revisited: Civilian Societies and the Campaign for American Defense, 1914–1920,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 17, no. 4 (October 2018), 663–76, at 670.
- 269 *Daily news reports*: H. Schulyer Foster, Jr., “Charting America’s News of the World War,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 15, no. 2 (January 1937), 311–319.
- 269 *papal appeals*: “Pope Makes Appeal for Belgian Children,” *New York Times*, December 6, 1916, 1; “Victorious Peace, Pope’s Word to Italy,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1917, 1.
- 269 *propaganda*: Edward James Thorne, “Aspects of the British and German Campaigns to Win American Sympathy, 1914–1917” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1954), 263–69.
- 269 *Lusitania*: “German Order to Sink Armed Ships Holds Up the Lusitania Settlement,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1916; “Germany Again Fails to Meet Lusitania Demands,” *New York Sun*, January 26, 1916, 1.
- 269 *saboteurs*: “Germans Ruin N.Y. Ships; Loss is \$30,000,000,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1917, 1; “German ‘Sabotage’ – Another Explosion at U.S. Powder Works,” *Manchester Courier*, January 11, 1916, 1; Dwight R. Messimer, *The Baltimore Sabotage Cell: German Agents, American Traitors, and the U–Boat Deutschland during World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2015).
- 269 *Zimmerman telegram*: “Germany Asks Mexico to Seek Alliance with Japan for War on U.S.,” *New York Tribune*, March 1, 1917, 1; “Congress Faces War Demand; Exposure of German Plot Against U.S. Expected to Arouse Nation,” *ibid.*; “Plot Awakens Congress,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1917, 1; “Senate Is Told Officially Zimmerman Note Is Authentic,” *New York Sun*, March 2, 1917, 1; Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmerman Telegram* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1958), 184, 199–200.
- 270 *his direct authority*: The three men whom Wilson appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, were at all times subject to his power to remove them. Their relationship to the president was, according to the U.S. Supreme Court, analogous to that of territorial governors, over whom presidents traditionally exerted significant influence. *District of Columbia v. Thompson*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953). Within this arrangement they held the power to “make and enforce all such reasonable and usual police regulations” for the District of Columbia “as they may deem necessary.” Joint Resolution of February 26, 1892, 27 Stat. 394.
- 270 *banned all demonstrations*: “Pacifists Get Cold Shoulder,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 3. Congress did not begin granting the District of Columbia home rule until 1967, culminating in the Home Rule Act in 1973.
- 270 *Federal law required*: Louis F. Brownlow, *A Passion for Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 584.
- 270 *Newman*: “Oliver Newman, Editor, Reporter,” *New York Times*, September 27, 1956, 35; “Oliver P. Newman Dies: Ex-D.C. Commissioner,” *Washington Post*, September 27, 1956; “‘Ideal City’ Rulers: Newman and Siddons Named District Commissioners,” *Washington Post*, June 27, 1913, 2.
- 270 *“long conversations”*: Fred C. Kelly, “Writing the News,” *Duluth Herald*, July 29, 1914, 8.
- 270 *revive the practice*: David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: George H. Doran, 1924), 81–83.
- 270 *once kept slaves*: Brownlow, *Passion for Politics*, 3–18.
- 270 *admirer and acquaintance*: *Ibid.*, 67–68.
- 270 *Wilson’s articles*: *Ibid.*, 233.
- 270 *cannot even pretend*: *Ibid.*, 82.
- 270 *“several long talks”*: *Ibid.*, 400–401.
- 271 *“very closest friend”*: *Ibid.*, 583.
- 271 *appointed them both*: *Ibid.*, 593.
- 271 *vice-chairmen*: “Washington Prepares for Wilson’s Inaugural,” *Austin American Statesman*, March 3, 1917, 5.
- 271 *“Doughnut Cabinet”*: Brownlow, *Passion for Politics*, 585–86; “Five O’Clock Tidbits,” *The Spur*, vol. 20, no. 6 (September 15, 1917), 25.
- 271 *severely beaten*: “Jeers Greet Pacifists in Washington,” *The Butte (MT) Miner*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 271 *“cowardice and disloyalty”*: 79 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 74th Cong., 1st Sess. (July 29, 1935), 12007 (remarks of Rep. Stefan, quoting letter from former Rep. Rankin).

- 271 “*all he could*”: Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 144.
- 271 “*You and I*”: Ibid., 146.
- 272 *long been active*: “Congressman Mann Speaks for Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 3.
- 272 *to vote for the*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1420, 1479 (remarks of Rep. Mann).
- 272 *joint appearance*: “Mann Pledges Support to Suffrage Amendment,” *Chicago Tribune*, October 27, 1916, 3.
- 272 “*No reply*”: Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 109.
- 272 *made matters worse*: Ibid.
- 272 *joined forty-nine*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 6, 1917), 413. The Democratic Speaker of the House, Champ Clark, also opposed the war resolution, but by tradition the Speaker does not vote.
- 272 “*war-mad moment*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 5, 1917), 332 (remarks of Rep. Kitchin).
- 272 “*cannot vote for war*”: “Casts Vote Against War, Then Miss Rankin Cries,” *Washington Times*, April 6, 1917, 9.
- 272 *Catt took pains*: “Suffrage Leaders Pardon Miss Rankin,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1917, 4.
- 272 “*a joker*”: Smith, *Jeannette Rankin*, 113 “Peace Party Ousts Mrs. Carrie Catt,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1917, 11.
- 273 *moratorium resolution*: “Democrats Shun War Prohibition,” *New York Times*, April 20, 1917, 6.
- 273 *Woman Patriot Publishing*: Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 124, 217n40.
- 273 *particularly prohibition . . . exigencies of war*: When Congress eventually passed the prohibition amendment, it did so only after declaring it a war measure, based in part on administration testimony. Wilson himself offered muted support for the prohibition amendment, having previously supported the idea of prohibition at state option as a candidate and governor in New Jersey. JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 409–12. In June 1918, Secretary Josephus Daniels, who had already banned all alcohol at Navy yards and stations and on naval vessels, testified before the Senate to “the benefits that have come to the Navy through prohibition,” offering his opinion that “similar benefits would accrue to the industries of the country if prohibition were made general.” Frank O’Hara, “Prohibition in the United States,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 7, no. 28 (December 1918), 596–606, at 596; “‘Bone Dry’ Bill Reported Out to the Senate,” *New York Tribune*, June 28, 1918, 1. In May 1917, shortly before becoming Director of the United States Food Administration, Herbert Hoover testified before the Senate Agriculture Committee in support of prohibition as a war measure. “Prohibition Urged for War by Hoover,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1917, 4. Former Secretary of State Bryan also lobbied actively for the prohibition amendment, directly tying it to the war. “Saloon Halts War Program, Says Bryan,” *Washington Herald*, December 12, 1917, 5; William Jennings Bryan, Address to the 18th National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in *The Saloon Must Go: Proceedings of the Eighteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America* (Westerville, OH: American Issue Publishing Co., 1918), 65. But three weeks after Wilson’s most severe stroke in 1919, when the eighteenth amendment had already become part of the Constitution, a veto message aimed at the Volstead Act’s enforcement of the amendment issued from the White House. “Most likely with Edith’s consent and without Wilson’s knowledge, Tumulty wrote a veto message,” surmised Wilson biographer John Milton Cooper. The brief veto message was vague about its purpose—possibly, it was an encouragement to Congress to define “intoxicating liquors” to exclude beer and wine, or to raise the alcohol content limits in the bill. Whatever its provenance and purpose, both houses of Congress swiftly overrode the veto. John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 537.
- 273 *supported the moratorium*: “Woman Suffrage and War,” in *The Case Against Woman Suffrage*, Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women (Boston: Anchor Linotype Printing, 1917), 23–24, pamphlet, University of Maine Library.
- 273 “*no patriotism*”: “Miss Rankin Assailed and Lauded by Women,” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, April 6, 1917, 3.

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## PAGE

- 274 *cold, gray Friday*: Weather forecast, (*Alexandria, VA Gazette*, April 13, 1917, 1.
- 274 *its chairman*: No one else was interviewed for the post. Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, “The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917–19,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1939), 8.
- 274 *150,000*: George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 5.
- 274 *two press conferences*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 450.
- 275 *Addressing a joint session*: WW, Third Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1915, *PWW*, 35:293.
- 275 *“ministry of propaganda”*: Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War: The Making of American Propaganda* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 75.
- 275 *“muckrakers” ... “back”*: Mark Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 60, no. 9 (November 10, 1917), 13, 36. The *New York Times* criticized the choice of a man without “any evidence of the ability, the experience, or the judicial temperament” such a sensitive post required. “Censorship and Publicity,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1917, 12.
- 275 *organized a Wilson club*: George Creel, *Rebel at Large* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1947), 148–49.
- 275 *personal correspondence*: George Creel to Cedric Larson, July 18, 1938, quoted in Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 275 *campaign book*: James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Century Co., 1926), 409.
- 275 *Jefferson, and Lincoln*: George Creel, *Wilson and the Issues* (New York: The Century Co., 1916), 123, 157.
- 275 *no criticism*: Creel devoted an entire chapter to defending Wilson’s white supremacist Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels from such imagined “offenses” as the integration of white officers and Black enlisted sailors at meals. “No such order was ever made or even contemplated,” Creel assured his readers. *Ibid.*, 91.
- 275 *“Democratic dailies”*: Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 149, 153.
- 276 *film industry*: Creel had experience working for a film studio that was later acquired by Warner Brothers. Their cowboy star, “Bronco Billy,” was a nationwide sensation. In Colorado, Creel not only wrote scenarios but acted in one of the Bronco Billy shorts, *The Heart of a Cowboy* (1910). (He played the blackhearted villain.) Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 132–41; David Kiehn, *Broncho Billy and the Essanay Film Company* (Berkeley, CA: Farwell Books, 2003), 19–20, 305. Creel’s wife was an actress who had appeared in films by Cecil B. DeMille and Paramount. “Blanche Bates,” n.d., *Internet Movie Database*, imdb.com.
- 276 *feature film*: Josh Glick, “Wilson and the War Effort: Film, Pedagogy, and the Presidency,” in Jeff Menne and Christian B. Long, eds., *Film and the American Presidency* (New York: Rutledge, 2015), 72–95, at 76. The film’s ponderous title, *Motion Picture Portrait Studies of the President of the United States and the Cabinet*, is evidence that while the campaign’s use of film was cutting-edge, its marketing techniques were not. Nonetheless, journalists of the time mentioned the film’s important role in the race. *Ibid.* The Hughes campaign produced its own feature-length film, a two-reel production more simply titled *A Reunited Party*. *Ibid.*, 91n21.
- 276 *movie theaters*: “History of Film, The Silent Years, 1910–27: Pre–World War I American cinema,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. That figure compares to fewer than 6,000 in 2019 before the 2020 pandemic resulted in the permanent closure of many U.S. theaters. National Association of Theatre Owners, “Data—Number of U.S. Cinema Sites,” www.natoonline.org. Wilson’s 1916 film appeared in over forty theaters in Chicago alone. “Forum Film in Forty Houses,” *Motography*, vol. 16, no. 18 (October 28, 1916), 959.
- 276 *endorsement*: Glick, “Wilson and the War Effort,” 91n22.
- 276 *Confederate officer*: Carla Waal and Barbara Oliver Korner, eds., *Hardship and Hope: Missouri Women Writing about Their Lives, 1820–1920* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 81.
- 276 *“two classes of men”*: Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, 13.
- 276 *pro-suffrage*: Creel, *Rebel at Large*, 145.
- 276 *“corrupt and self-seeking”*: George Creel and Ben B. Lindsey, “Measuring Up Equal Suffrage,” *The Delineator*, vol. 77, no. 2 (February 1911), 85, at 152.
- 276 *“not only to the United States”*: Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 277 *“self-censorship”*: Larson and Mock, “Lost Files of the Creel Committee,” 8.
- 277 *“The Censor”*: “Creel: An Announcement,” *Everybody’s Magazine*, vol. 40, no. 1 (January 1919), 25.

- 277 “hostility”: “Censorship and Publicity,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1917, 12.
- 277 “absolutist tendencies”: Jonathan Auerbach, *Weapons of Democracy: Propaganda, Progressivism, and American Public Opinion* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 60.
- 277 led the opposition: Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 172.
- 277 head off similar protests: Nancy Gentile Ford, *The Great War and America: Civil–Military Relations During World War I* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 29–30.
- 277 “propaganda”: Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 5, 351. Ironically, Creel’s innovations in the war for democracy furnished a model for Nazi propagandists in the 1930s. After the war, both Walter Lippman and Edward L. Bernays, who worked for the CPI in New York and at the Paris Peace Conference, published books based on their experiences with propaganda. Lippman’s work, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), recognized the dangers—explaining, for example, how during the war, propaganda convinced the public that the “racial” differences between uncivilized “Teutons” and civilized “Anglo-Saxons” or “French” were “eternal.” Nonetheless he argued for an enlightened government-led “manufacture of consent.” *Public Opinion*, 145, 248. Bernays, in *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1923), demonstrated how the CPI’s wartime approach could be used to manipulate “malleable public opinion” in peacetime. *Ibid.*, 76, and passim. In 1933, Joseph Goebbels told a reporter he was “particularly fond” of *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, kept it in his personal library, and relied upon it in constructing the Nazi Party’s propaganda campaign. Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 111. The World War, Hitler wrote, had demonstrated “the tremendous results which could be obtained by a propagandist system.” Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 176.
- 278 party of dignitaries: *SWP*, 207; Charles Hanson Towne, ed., *The Balfour Visit: How America Received Her Distinguished Guest* (New York: George H. Duran, 1917), 15–17, 26.
- 278 from Wilson’s war message: *Ibid.*
- 278 minor political parties: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, May 14, 1917, *LL*, 7:67.
- 278 endorsed the Anthony Amendment: 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), 154.
- 278 “will you not”: *JFF*, 86.
- 278 had come from NAWSA: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, May 10, 1917, *PWW*, 42:269–70; WW to Rep. Edward W. Pou, May 14, 1917, *PWW*, 42:293.
- 279 “another committee”: *JFF*, 87.
- 279 moved to Washington: “Mrs. George Bass to Head Woman’s Democratic Bureau,” *Daily Oklahoman*, February 1, 1917, 7.
- 279 Her perspective: “Elizabeth Bass,” obituary, *Manitowoc Herald Times*, August 26, 1950, 2; “Judge George Bass Dies at Chicago,” *Manitowoc Herald News*, February 21, 1930, 1.
- 279 gently nudged: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 3, 1917, *PWW*, 42:208.
- 279 child labor law: Keating–Owen Child Labor Act of 1916, Pub. L. 98–449, 39 Stat. 675.
- 280 led the NWP delegation: *JFF*, 29; Jana Brubaker, “Biography of Elizabeth Glendower Evans, 1856–1937,” in *Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States*, Thomas Dublin and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2015) (online).
- 280 “follow you wherever”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 3, 1917, *PWW*, 42:208.
- 280 “hardly necessary”: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 4, 1917, *PWW*, 42:214.
- 280 Creel’s protocols: Alan Axelrod, *Selling the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 107.
- 280 verbatim: For example, see “Espionage Bill Is Signed; Numerous Prosecutions Expected Under Its Provisions,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1917, 9; “President Signs Espionage Bill,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, June 16, 1917, 2; “President Signs Espionage Bill; Measure Regarded as Most Important Piece of Legislation Since War Started,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 16, 1917, 2; “Espionage Act Now In Effect; Prosecutions Anticipated Following President’s Approval of Bill,” *Salt Lake Herald Republican*, June 16, 1917, 5; “New Espionage Law Is Regarded As Important; Department of Justice Officials Expect Many Prosecutions Under Its Provisions,” *Idaho Daily*



- Statesman*, June 16, 1917; “Much Expected of Espionage Bill Now Signed by President,” *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 16, 1917, 1.
- 280 *detailed regulations*: Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 101–03.
- 281 *unprecedented regime*: According to the editor of the *New York World*, Wilson said privately on the evening before his war message that “every man who refused to conform would have to pay the penalty.” He thought “the Constitution would not survive it. Free speech and the right of assembly would go.” John L. Heaton, comp., Cobb of “The World” (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), 267; Memorandum in Frank I. Cobb Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 281 *“peacetime practice”*: Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 71–72.
- 281 *Division of News ... expense*: Ibid., 74; Axelrod, *Selling the Great War*, 107–108.
- 281 *“national newspaper” ... less difficult*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 126; John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 113.
- 282 *“mind of America”*: Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses*, 101.
- 282 *“censorship” ... “suppressive features”*: Ibid., 101–02 (Creel’s emphases).
- 282 *“Ambassador Extraordinary”*: “Mr. Root Envoy to Russia,” *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 43, no. 1 (January 1917), 1353.
- 282 *rejoin the war*: George F. Kennan, *Soviet–American Relations*, vol. 1, *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 21–22.
- 282 *die-hard opponent*: “Root Denounces Suffrage Agitation,” *New York Times*, September 25, 1917, 1.
- 282 *Root told the members*: Elihu Root, “Address to the Council of Ministers, Petrograd, June 15, 1917,” in *The United States and the War—The Mission to Russia—Political Addresses by Elihu Root*, Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, eds. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 98; Alton Earl Ingram, “The Root Mission to Russia, 1917” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 147–48.
- 282 *Lvov’s formal declaration*: “Declaration of the Provisional Government Reviewing Its Accomplishments and Calling for the Support and Cooperation of All the Vital Forces in the Nation,” Interim Government Meeting Records, No. 40 (April 26, 1917), 1, in *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917—Documents*, vol. 3, Robert Paul Browder and Alexander F. Kerensky, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 1249.
- 283 *one million copies*: David R. Francis to Robert Lansing, June 20, 1917, Records of Governor David Rowland Francis, 1889–1893, Office of Governor, Record Group 3.27, Missouri State Archives, cited in Alton Earl Ingram, “The Root Mission to Russia, 1917” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1970), 147–48.
- 283 *passage was quoted*: “The Real Russia,” *New York Times*, June 19, 1917, 12.
- 283 *Pankhurst met with Root*: “Mrs. Pankhurst Sees Root,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 283 *“universality”*: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 276.
- 283 *“no time for manners”*: *JFF*, 93. The words on the ten-foot sign were: “To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say we are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracies may survive. We, the Women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement. Help us make this nation truly free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim Russia as an ally.” Photograph, *To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root Are Deceiving Russia* (Harris & Ewing, 1917), Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016884713/>.
- 283 *“lined with cheering people”*: “Washington Cheers Russian Mission,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1917, 3.
- 283 *taunting*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner at White House,” *New York Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 284 *crowd rushed*: “Obnoxious Banner Is Torn to Shreds,” *Washington Evening Star*, June 20, 1917, 1.
- 284 *police did nothing ... White House usher*: Ibid.
- 284 *personally directed*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*.
- 284 *Wilson’s top aide*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*; “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 284 *pallbearers*: “R.W. Pullman Dead—Washington Police Chief Was Long a Newspaper Man,” *Editor and Publisher*, vol. 52, no. 39 (February 26, 1920), 12.

- 284 *military zone*: *JFF*, 93.
- 284 *direct orders*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 285 “*say the word*”: “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1; “Crowds Again Rend Suffrage Banners,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1917, 5; “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 285 *served notice*: “Crowd Destroys Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*; “Flaunt Fresh Banner,” *Washington Post*.
- 285 *carte blanche*: Donald Johnson, “Wilson, Burluson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 46–58, at 46–47.
- 285 *secret directive*: *Ibid.*, 48; Stephen Rhode, “Julian Assange, the Espionage Act of 1917, and Freedom of the Press,” *The American Prospect*, prospect.org, June 19, 2019.
- 285 “*defamatory*”: “Women’s Banner Torn to Pieces at White House,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1917, 2.
- 285 *encouraging insurrection*: “Obnoxious Banner,” *Washington Evening Star*.
- 286 “*lock them up*”: “Shut Up or Be Locked Up!,” *Chicago Day Book*, June 23, 1917, 21.
- 286 “*advertising*”: “Flaunt Fresh Banner,” *Washington Post*.

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- 287 *page-one stories*: Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, “The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917–19,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1939), 17.
- 287 “*not in the least*”: “Flaunt Fresh Banner: Suffrage White House Pickets Expect Second Battle Today,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 287 “*meant business*”: “Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden; Question of Rights to Be Fought Out in the Courts,” *Washington Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 287 “*German money*”: “Capital Police Stop Picketing,” *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 287 *news from London*: “Women Win in England—Commons Passes Electoral Reform Bill Dealing with Suffrage,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1917, 3.
- 288 *Burns and Morey*: “Police Censor Banner Mottoes of Suffragists,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1917, 2; “Police Suppress Women Rioters at White House,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1917, 1; “Mob Led by Woman Rips Suffrage Flags to Bits,” *Washington Times*, June 21, 1917, 1.
- 288 “*paled into insignificance*”: “Police Suppress Women Rioters,” *Los Angeles Times*.
- 288 *10,000 men and women*: “Police Censor Banner Mottoes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*.
- 288 “*We shall fight*”: “Two Suffragists Arrested,” *Washington Times*.
- 288 *mob rushed*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 288 *ripped the banners*: *Ibid.*; “Police Suppress Women Rioters,” *Los Angeles Times*; “Brave Third Day Riot—White House Pickets Will Fly More Banners This Morning,” *Washington Post*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 289 “*went down instantly*”: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 289 “*motion picture men*”: “Suffrage Banners Torn from Frames,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 289 “*police did not wait*”: “Police Censor Banner Mottoes,” *San Francisco Chronicle*; “Brave Third Day Riot,” *Washington Post*.
- 289 “*quickly stripped it*”: “Woman Leads Attack On White House Pickets,” *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1917, 1; “Brave Third Day Riot,” *Washington Post*.
- 289 *ultimatum*: “Suffrage Banners Torn from Frames,” *Los Angeles Times*; Raymond W. Pullman, Report of the Major and Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia (Washington, DC, 1916), 6; *JFF*, 93–94.
- 289 *disdainful lede*: “Brave Third Day Riot,” *Washington Post*.
- 289 *a “hero”*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 289 “*little short of treason*”: “A Study in Contrasts,” *Detroit Free Press*, June 22, 1917, 4.
- 289 *earlier threat ... would be arrested*: “Suffrage Banners at White House Forbidden,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 22, 1917, 1.
- 290 “*no matter what*”: “Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden; Question of Rights to Be Fought Out in the Courts,” *Washington Times*, June 22, 1917, 1.

- 290 *immediately arrested*: “Suffrage Banners at White House Forbidden,” *St. Louis Post–Dispatch*; “Two Suffragists Arrested and Picketing Forbidden,” *Washington Times*; “Boston Suffragist Put Under Arrest,” *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1917, 10; “Police Arrest Suffrage Pickets,” *Hartford Courant*, June 23, 1917, 10; “White House Pickets Gone, But Women Hint at New Move,” *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1917, 9; “Woman Arrests Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Times*, June 23, 1917, 9.
- 290 *“police were instructed”*: “Woman Arrests Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Times*.
- 290 *“White House folks are happy”*: “White House Pickets Gone, But Women Hint at New Move,” *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1917, 9.
- 290 *blockade*: “Two Suffragists Under Arrest,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 23, 1917, 5.
- 290 *obstructing traffic*: *Ibid.*
- 290 *dozen women*: “More Suffragists Booked for Trial,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 26, 1917, 3.
- 290 *nine more*: “Nine New Suffs Arrested After Charge on Police,” *Washington Times*, June 26, 1917, 1.
- 291 *“greatest obstacle”*: “Mob Led by Woman,” *Washington Times*.
- 291 *“lack of patriotism”*: “State Suffragist President Denounces Washington Pickets,” *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, June 22, 1917, 3.
- 291 *“no shadings”*: Mark Sullivan, “Creel—Censor,” *Collier’s Weekly*, vol. 60, no. 9 (November 10, 1917), 13.
- 291 *“fists, feet, fingers, teeth, nails”*: Nor did he see any need for “time-wasting with the rights and wrongs” or “fussing with facts.” *Ibid.*, 13, 37. Creel became *Collier’s* Washington editor during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s second term. Betty Houchin Winfield, *FDR and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 62.
- 291 *twenty-one more*: Catherine J. Lancot, “‘We Are at War and You Should Not Bother the President’: The Suffrage Pickets and Freedom of Speech During World War I,” Villanova University School of Law, Working Paper Series 116 (May 2008), 17.
- 291 *not in itself unlawful*: Peaceful demonstrations on public property, including sidewalks, have “from ancient times, been a part of the privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties of citizens.” *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496 (1939). The suffrage protesters had been so advised by their legal counsel. A year after the first suffragists were arrested, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals held that the suffragist protesters had been unlawfully indicted for sidewalk obstruction. *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918). See text at p. 396 and accompanying notes.
- 292 *forty-foot width*: At oral argument in the suffragists’ appeal of their convictions on January 9, 1918, Judge Josiah Van Orsdel stated that “it is commonly known there is a forty-foot sidewalk” in front of the White House. “Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 9. Washington, DC pedestrian traffic in 1917 was, of course, very light compared to the 21st century. Fifty years after the 1917 arrests, when the advent of jet travel had dramatically increased the volume of tourists in Washington, the maximum number of pedestrians using the sidewalk in front of the White House during peak summer periods was 3,260 per hour, according to a 1968 study. If demonstrators used five feet of the then 35-foot-deep sidewalk, the study determined, this would leave ample room for demonstrators as well as over 30,000 pedestrians per hour—10% of the entire population of the District of Columbia in 1917. Vasant H. Surti and Thomas J. Burke, “Investigation of the Capacity of the White House Sidewalk for Orderly Demonstrations,” Highway Research Board, Committee on Pedestrians, Washington, DC, 1968, at 22, 24.
- 292 *relevant provisions*: Police Regulations of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: July 31, 1915), §§ 40(b), (c).
- 292 *chief legal officer*: Syme’s background was similar to that of many others in the Wilson administration: his father was a volunteer infantryman for the Confederacy in the Civil War, and his mother worked for the Confederate cause “with unceasing devotion ... often incur[ring] personal danger” to do so. In Washington he worked for several years for a Democratic senator, later becoming a Democratic party officer in West Virginia and a surrogate speaker for both of Wilson’s presidential campaigns. J.R. Cole, *History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: J.R. Cole, 1917), 166–171.
- 292 *Washington correspondent*: Gilson Gardner, “Why Arresting Suffragists Is Stupid: A Word of Advice for the Administration,” reprinted in *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 7.

- 293 “*control discretion*”: Charles D. Breitel, “Controls in Criminal Law Enforcement,” *University of Chicago Law Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1960), 427–35.
- 293 “*ought not to have the vote*”: “Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 5; Prison Register, April 1917–September 1918, Washington Asylum and Jail, District of Columbia Department of Corrections, at Lucy Burns Museum, Lorton, VA.
- 293 “*admission of guilt*”: *JFF*, 95.
- 293 *established the precedent*: “An Account of the Proceedings of the Trial of Susan B. Anthony” (Rochester, NY: Daily Democrat and Chronicle Book Print, 1874), pamphlet, NAWSA Collection, Library of Congress, 84–85.
- 293 *rats*: “Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 13.
- 294 *personally promised*: Mrs. Ellis Meredith to JPT, June 28, 1917, reel 210, #59557, image 114, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 294 “*a line or two*”: *Ibid.*
- 294 *NAWSA’s latest criticism ... “their existence”*: “National Woman Suffrage Association States Its Views on Publicity Tactics That It Regards as Harmful to Real Ends Sought,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 46 (July 3, 1917), 2.
- 295 “*defying police*”: “Militants Will Picket Before White House, Defying Police,” *Washington Post*, July 4, 1917, 1.
- 295 “*attacking the president*”: “Militants in Riot; 13 Held for Trial,” *Washington Post*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Washington Crowds Menace Militants,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Hagerstown Exponent*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Injuring the Cause,” *Potter (PA) Enterprise*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Say Militants Hurt the Cause,” *Burlington Weekly Free Press*, July 5, 1917, 9; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Polk County Democrat*, July 5, 1917, 2; “Militants Forced to Wait on Court,” Camden, NJ *Morning Post*, July 5, 1917, 11; “Jail Militant Suffragists,” *Waterloo Press*, July 5, 1917, 2; “Suffragists Had No ‘Nighties,’” *Dodge City Daily Journal*, July 5, 1917, 1; “Suffragists in White House Riot,” *New Britain Herald*, July 5, 1917, 6. The narrative in this sampling is endlessly repeated in newspaper reporting across the U.S. during the first week of arrests, convictions, and incarceration. An exception was the *Des Moines Register*, which in an article headlined “Suffs Differ on Tactics” patiently laid out both sides of the story. But even it branded the protesters as “militants.” *Des Moines Register*, July 5, 1917, 4.
- 295 “*comedy riot*”: “White House Riot Broken Up By Police,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1917, 9; *JFF*, 96.
- 295 *Clayton Act*: Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, Pub. L. 63–212, 38 Stat. 730, 15 U.S.C. §§ 12–27 and 29 U.S.C. §§ 52–53.
- 295 “*militant picketing*”: Philip Price, “The Effect of the Clayton Act on Picketing,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 70, no.2 (January 1922), 101–05, at 102.
- 295 *the absurdity*: Alva Belmont, “Militancy,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 9.
- 296 *much to the advantage*: The same would be true for the over 1,900 judicial proceedings during and after the war considering issues of free speech, about half of which resulted in convictions. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States: 1829–1925* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 533–34. The Supreme Court cases were all decided after the Armistice on November 11, 1918, while government appeals of the cases it lost were still pending, so the administration effectively had its way throughout the war.
- 296 “*I can’t believe*”: “Militants Go to Jail,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 1917, 2.
- 296 *Bastille Day vigil*: “Protest for Liberty Answered with Sixteen More Suffrage Arrests,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 4.
- 296 *precisely one o’clock ... from a wedding*: “Suffrage Arrests Disappoint Crowd,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 13; *SWP*, 225–26; “60-Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1; “Protest for Liberty Answered with Sixteen More Suffrage Arrests,” *The Suffragist*.
- 297 *recently dined*: *JFF*, 110.

## 24. ‘Traitor’

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- 298 *political representative*: “Malone Nominated as Port Collector,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1913, 6.
- 298 *Malone made headlines*: “Malone Aids Fight of Anti-Draft Press,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1917, 7; “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 46–58, at 49. The New York meeting was held under the auspices of the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American

- Union Against Militarism. (The Bureau would later become the American Civil Liberties Union.) Also in attendance at the AUAM meeting in New York was Clarence Darrow, with whom Malone would pair in defending Tennessee teacher John T. Scopes against criminal charges for teaching evolution in the famous 1925 “Monkey Trial.” Opposing Malone as a member of the state’s prosecution team would be William Jennings Bryan. “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship,” 49; Jonathan K. Van Patten, “The Trial of John Scopes,” *South Dakota Law Review*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Summer 2021), 273.
- 298 *German influence*: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 76–77.
- 298 *Gregory spotted Malone*: *JFF*, 116–117. Gregory, who did not recognize Stevens until Malone introduced her, began the conversation by addressing Malone: “I see you were mixed up with the suffragettes yesterday.” *Ibid*.
- 298 *pro se counsel ... “squirmed”*: “Blames Capitol Police,” *New York Times*, July 17, 1917, 9.
- 299 *“treasonable and seditious”*: “The United States Government on Trial,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 78 (July 21, 1917), 7.
- 299 *Mullowney declared*: *SWP*, 233.
- 299 *two months*: “Sixteen Militants Begin 60-Day Term,” *Washington Post*, July 18, 1917, 1; “Suffragists Take 60–Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 299 *maximum penalty*: “Suffragettes Sent to Occoquan,” *Washington Times*, July 17, 1917, 1.
- 299 *city prosecutor ... sharing a box*: “Police Judge Alexander R. Mullowney,” *Washington Law Reporter*, vol. 33, no. 41 (October 13, 1905); “Named by President,” *Richmond News Leader*, October 6, 1905, 5; “Heard and Seen at the Ball Game,” *Washington Post*, April 13, 1911, 2. Mullowney shared a box with Assistant Corporation Counsel Gus Schuldt.
- 299 *prison workhouse*: “Suffragists Take 60-Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 300 *the very day*: “Pickets Amuse Court ... Dudley Field Malone a Witness,” *Washington Post*, July 17, 1917, 12; “Suffragists Take 60–Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 300 *Creel could at least*: “Malone Aids Fight of Anti–Draft Press,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1917, 6.
- 300 *form letter*: Donald Johnson, “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (February 1962), 50.
- 300 *“well-intentioned people”*: *LL*, 7:165n1.
- 300 *They had done much*: Eastman publicly supported Wilson in 1916 because he was committed to “keeping out of war.” “Max Eastman for Wilson,” *Times and Democrat* (Orangeburg, SC), October 17, 1916, 1.
- 300 *AUAM was outraged*: Max Eastman, Amos Pinchot, and John Reed to WW, July 12, 1917, *PWW*, 43:165–66.
- 300 *emergency meeting*: “Amos Pinchot: Rebel Prince,” *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 66, no. 2 (Spring 1999), 166–198, at 189–193.
- 300 *pledged to Pinchot*: WW to Amos Pinchot, July 13, 1917, *PWW*, 43:164.
- 301 *“sincere men”*: WW to Albert Burleson, July 13, 1917, *PWW*, 43:164.
- 301 *prepared a letter*: WW to Amos Pinchot, July 17, 1917, *PWW*, 43:193; Albert Burleson to WW, July 16, 1917, *PWW*, 43:187.
- 301 *“shut off steam”*: “Limited to Tariff,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 8, 1913, 9. “He spent no more than four or five hours a day on his work,” according to biographer Gene Smith’s description of the routine Wilson established his first year in office, and “he did not work on Saturdays or Sundays,” preferring to follow a “schoolboy schedule.” Gene Smith, *When the Cheering Stopped* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1964), 5.
- 301 *“nervous energy”*: “Suffragists Take 60–Day Sentence,” *New York Times*.
- 301 *forty–five minutes*: *Ibid*.
- 301 *extraordinary confrontation*: We know the details of this White House meeting because Malone recounted them in person in a ninety-minute session with Colonel House, who in turn recorded them in his diary the same night, and because Malone dictated an even more extensive account in dialogue form, which Doris Stevens published in 1921. EMH Diary, July 26, 1917, *PWW*, 43:290; *JFF*, 158–62. Words within quotation marks are reproduced from Malone’s account verbatim, except that first person pronouns are used and verb tenses changed to the present, where appropriate to represent dialogue.
- 303 *“you do know”*: *SWP*, 227 (Malone’s emphasis).

- 305 “*Everything that you do*”: WW to Dudley Field Malone, June 22, 1916, *PWW*, 37:283.
- 306 *Lost in thought*: “16 Suffragists Sent to Jail for 60 Days,” *New York Tribune*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 306 *upstairs to Edith*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 138; Alden Hatch, *Edith Bolling Wilson, First Lady Extraordinary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), 80.
- 306 “*did not sleep*”: EMH to Dudley Field Malone, July 31, 1917, box 76, folder 2562, House Papers, MS 466, Yale University Library.
- 306 *front and center*: “Suffragists Take 60 Day Sentence; Won’t Pay Fines,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 306 *two lines of type*: “Dudley Field Malone May Quit for Suffrage,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1917, 1.
- 307 *Wilson told him*: Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity*, 78.
- 307 *on leave ... Newman’s replacement*: “To Act Promptly on D.C. Vacancy,” *Washington Evening Star*, July 16, 1917, 1; “Gen. Knight Takes Oath of Office,” *ibid.*
- 307 *directly through*: Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity*, 79.
- 307 *side by side*: “March of Home Defense League’s Red Cross Unit of 1,050 Government Clerks for Review by Wilson,” *Washington Post*, July 7, 1917, 2.
- 307 *he told Wilson ... “take further action”*: Brownlow, *Passion for Anonymity*, 78–79. Brownlow said Wilson instructed him to report in advance whenever “I, knowing of his dissent, nevertheless intended to take further action.” Brownlow in turn agreed “to accept full responsibility.” *Ibid.*
- 307 *recorded the encounter*: “Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants, May Advocate ‘Votes for Women’ as Part of War Emergency Program,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1917, 1.
- 308 “*a dirty workhouse*”: *JFF*, 110.
- 308 “*outrageous and farcical*”: “Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants,” *New York Times*.
- 308 “*the only solution*”: *JFF*, 111.
- 308 “*absolutely guiltless*”: J. A. H. Hopkins to Edwin Webb, August 9, 1917, box I:73, reel 46, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; “Quotes Wilson’s Views,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1917, 9.
- 308 *continued to press ... results*: “Militants Freed at Wilson’s Word,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 308 “*a day or two*”: *Ibid.*

## 25. ‘The Blood Be On Your Head’

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- 309 *positive headlines*: “Wilson, Shocked at Jailing Militants, May Advocate ‘Votes for Women’ as Part of War Emergency Program,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1917, 1.
- 309 *rode beside him*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 138; Millard West., Jr., “Interview with Millard West., Jr.,” by Marjorie Zapruder and Joan Marsh, Chevy Chase Historical Society Oral History Project, April 19, 1986.
- 310 *pardon order*: Pardon Order, July 19, 1917, box I:72, reel 46, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 310 “[*put*] the hose on ‘em”]: *JFF*, 117.
- 310 *return home*: According to unnamed Wilson “friends” quoted in the *Post* story, the fact that some of the women “had small children at home needing their care” had been “the determining influence with him.” “Fight of Militants Taken to Congress,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 310 “*patriotic action*”: “Pardon Pleases Dr. Shaw,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 5.
- 310 *piggyback*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, July 19, 1917, reel 210, #59594, image 153, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 310 “*sudden surrender*”: “The Pickets and the President,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 79 (July 28, 1917), 6.
- 310 *Malone seemed happy*: “Fight of the Pardoned Militants, Before Congress Next, Seems Lost,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 5.
- 310 “*devils in the workhouse*”: Alden Hatch, *Edith Bolling Wilson, First Lady Extraordinary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1961), 80.
- 310 *Alice Hay Wadsworth*: “New Head for the ‘Antis,’” *New York Times*, July 1, 1917, 5.

- 310 “*magnanimity*”: Alice Hay Wadsworth to WW, July 23, 1917, reel 210, #59623, image 185, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 310 *whip count*: A. J. H. Hopkins to WW, July 18, 1917, PWW, 43:212–13.
- 311 *second opinion*: WW to Albert S. Burluson, July 19, 1917, reel 210, #59591, image 150, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 311 *unattributed “poll”*: “Defeat of Suffrage Amendment in Senate Shown by a Poll,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 311 *sink it*: The one-third estimate was a vast understatement, as would be demonstrated even before the next year’s midterm election, when the Senate would come within one vote of the needed two-thirds. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987–88.
- 311 *two-thirds of the House*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200).
- 311 *taken “to himself”*: 53 Cong. Rec. pt. 12, 64th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 8, 1916), 12276 (remarks of Sen. Cummins).
- 311 “application of force”: WW, “Leaders of Men,” June 17, 1890, PWW, 6:661 (emphasis in original).
- 312 *generous boost*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 *younger brother*: “Theodore Noyes, Washington Star Editor, Succumbs,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 5, 1946, 2.
- 312 “*suppress anything*”: Mrs. Ellis Meredith to JPT, June 28, 1917, reel 210, #59557, image 114, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 *Brisbane explained ... “to the letter”*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 312 “*one-time socialist*”: W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York: Scribner’s, 1961), 390.
- 313 *assassination*: Oliver Carlson, *Brisbane* (New York: Stackpole Sons, 1937), 128–29.
- 313 *moral responsibility*: Patricia O’Toole, *The Moralist* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), xv.
- 313 “*My own suggestion*”: JPT to WW, WW to JPT, both July 21, 1917, reel 210, ##59602–03, images 162–63, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. The July 20 incoming letter from Brisbane is stamped “ack’d July 21, 1917,” indicating it had been answered, though not necessarily in writing. Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917.
- 313 *largest crowds*: SWP, 229.
- 313 *back pages*: “On the Suffrage Firing Line,” *Lexington Herald*, August 6, 1917, 10.
- 313 *Brisbane had urged*: Arthur Brisbane to WW, July 20, 1917, reel 210, #59601, images 160–61, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 313 “*several years*”: “Fight of Militants Taken To Congress,” *Washington Post*, July 20, 1917, 1.
- 314 *to do “nothing”*: SWP, 229.
- 314 *until midnight ... “on the brink”*: EMH to WW, July 26, 1917, PWW, 43:283; EMH Diary, July 26, 1917, PWW, 43:290.
- 315 *the day he met with House*: Surveillance began on July 25. Leo Stanton Rowe to McAdoo, memorandum dated August 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 315 *chiefly counterfeiting*: “William H. Moran, Aided Presidents; Secret Service Ex-Chief Dies—Counterfeit Expert Had Been With Agency 54 Years,” *New York Times*, September 11, 1946, 7.
- 315 *executive order*: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “The U.S. Secret Service During the First World War,” World War I Centennial series, vol. 4 (2017).
- 315 *\$100 million*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 9, 1917), 496–98 (remarks of Rep. Mann); Herbert F. Margulies, *Reconciliation and Revival: James R. Mann and the House Republicans in the Wilson Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 178.
- 315 *William J. Flynn*: By 1919, near the end of the Wilson administration, Flynn was head of the Bureau of Investigation within the Department of Justice. At the same time, 24-year-old lawyer J. Edgar Hoover was appointed assistant director of the newly created General Intelligence Division. Steven A. Stinson, “The Federal Bureau of Investigation: Its History, Organization, Functions and Publications,” *Government Publications Review*, vol. 6, no. 3 (October 1978), 213–39.

- 315 *personally ordered*: Leo Stanton Rowe to William G. McAdoo, memoranda dated July 30, August 6, August 13, August 20, August 27, and August 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 315 *sent Wilson a report*: M.B. Claggett to WW, September 7, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Wilson may not have needed these official reports since McAdoo, who married Wilson's daughter Eleanor two years before, was a regular at the White House.
- 315 *stays at the Shoreham*: Secret Service report, July 30, 1917, listing Malone arrivals and departures at Shoreham Hotel, Washington, DC, November 1913–July 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The task of collecting this information entirely in secret was challenging. The Chief of the Division of Customs within the Treasury Department, who acted as liaison with the Secret Service special agent in charge of the Malone investigation, complained that it seemed “practically impossible” to accomplish the background investigation “without the Collector learning of it.” F. M. Halstead to Leo Stanton Rowe, July 30, 1917, *ibid*.
- 315 *surveilling the NWP*: Investigative report, George Lillard, June 20, 1917, file #25025 (microfilm), Records Group 65.2.2, National Archives. The pursuers had one surprising source of background information on their prey. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leo Stanton Rowe, who provided several of the agents' reports to McAdoo, was Alice Paul's professor when she was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania. Rowe to McAdoo, August 6, 13, 20, 27, 31, 1917, box 187, William Gibbs McAdoo Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; [archives.upenn.edu/digitized-resources/docs-pubs/alice-paul/alice-paul-transcript](http://archives.upenn.edu/digitized-resources/docs-pubs/alice-paul/alice-paul-transcript).
- 316 *negotiate directly ... daily basis*: Minutes of meeting, National Executive Committee, NWP, August 10, 1917, box 4:4, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 127.
- 316 *“Kaiser Wilson”*: “Banner Torn from Hands of Picket at White House,” *Washington Post*, August 10, 1917, 12.
- 316 *“type of government” ... “liar or thief”*: Lucy Burns to Aline E. Solomons, August 13, 1917, reel 46, National Woman's Party records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 317 *to his face*: “Quotes Wilson's Views,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1917, 9.
- 317 *“the autocratic ruler”*: Suffragists Ask A Picketing Law,” *New York Times*, August 10, 1917, 8.
- 317 *rushed at Burns*: “Banner at White House Torn from Standard in Afternoon,” *Washington Post*, August 11, 1917, 4.
- 318 *off the front pages*: “Tears Suffrage Banner,” *New York Times*, August 11, 1917, 16.
- 318 *following day ... No arrests*: “Suffragettes Lose Two More Banners,” *New York Times*, August 12, 1917, 6.
- 318 *“four men” ... “did not interfere”*: *Ibid*. (“With one exception, the offenders were sailors in uniform. The exception was James Delaney”).
- 318 *wore the uniform*: “President Onlooker at Mob Attack on Suffragists,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 82 (August 18, 1917), 7.
- 318 *reach the sidewalk ... “bowed to the crowd”*: “Three More Banners Lost by Suffragists,” *New York Times*, August 14, 1917, 9.
- 318 *“Men in uniform”*: “Washington Crowd Eggs Suffragettes,” *New York Times*, August 15, 1917, 3.
- 319 *.38 caliber round*: JFF, 126.
- 319 *“policemen watched”*: “Naval Reservists Attack Suffrage Banner Bearers,” *Washington Times*, August 15, 1917, 3.
- 319 *kidney ailment*: The diagnosis was subsequently changed to idiopathic digestive ailment. Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 270.
- 319 *lone policeman*: “Washington Crowd Eggs Suffragettes,” *New York Times*.
- 319 *“jeering mob”*: “Suffs' Buy Gun and 50 Bullets; Militants Take Measures for Defense Following Riot at Cameron House,” *Washington Herald*, August 16, 1917, 1.
- 319 *graduation ceremony*: “Three More Banners Lost by Suffragists,” *New York Times*.
- 319 *twice that week*: “Pickets' Comic Riot a Regular Feature,” *New York Evening Post*, August 17, 1917, 3.
- 320 *fifth day ... “no specific information”*: “Suffs' Buy Gun and 50 Bullets,” *Washington Herald*.



- 320 *five thousand*: “Suffrage Banners Seized by Throng,” *Washington Post*, August 17, 1917, 7; “Pickets’ Comic Riot,” *New York Evening Post*.
- 320 *phoned Wilson*: Brownlow, more than 40 years later, wrote “I do not recall” the exact date of this phone call. Since the subject of the call was his intention to make arrests, it stands to reason it was at or near the time that arrests resumed. It was assuredly beforehand. Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 79.
- 320 *“several members of the cabinet”*: Ibid., 77.
- 320 *“do something”*: Ibid.; Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 274.
- 320 *green light*: Brownlow, *Passion for Anonymity*, 79.
- 320 *ordered the arrests*: “Suffrage Banners Seized by Throng,” *Washington Post*, August 17, 1917, 7; “Six Suffragists Arrested,” *New York Times*, August 18, 1917, 3.
- 320 *“blocking traffic”*: “Six Suffragists Arrested,” *New York Times*.
- 320 *crime to insult the president*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (August 18, 1914), 6145 (introduction of S. 2810 by Sen. Myers); “Asks Special Law to Stop Picketing,” *New York Times*, August 19, 1917, 1. The bill did not become law.
- 320 *government version*: “Senate,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 86, August 20, 1917, 5.
- 320 *Democratic bill*: “House,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 40, June 26, 1917, 5.
- 321 *simply quoting*: *SWP*, 236–37.
- 321 *twenty-two more*: The first six women were sentenced to 30 days on August 18. “Pickets at Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, August 19, 1917, 1. Another half-dozen were sentenced on August 24, also to 30 days. “Six Pickets Are Sentenced,” *New York Times*, August 25, 1917, 7. On August 28, four more women (along with the previous half-dozen, who were out on bail pending appeal) were sentenced to 30 days. On September 4, twelve more women were arrested, and subsequently sentenced to 60 days. (A thirteenth woman included in this sentencing had already been arrested on August 23; she was given the longer sentence.) *SWP*, 238.
- 321 *“family of Democrats”*: “Pickets at Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, August 19, 1917, 1.
- 321 *committee to investigate*: H. Res. 130, “To Investigate Mob Violence in Washington, D.C.,” 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (August 17, 1917), 6144 (introduced by Rep. Baer).
- 321 *began lobbying*: “Hopkins Pleads for Suffragists,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 22, 1917, 4. The article was distributed widely via the *New York Times* wire service.
- 322 *counseled his readers*: Charles A. Lindbergh, *Why Is Your Country at War and What Happens to You after the War, and Related Subjects* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1917), 6. Lindbergh’s resume in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* states that in 1916, he “was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate on the Non-Partisan League ticket.” But because the Non-Partisan League was not then sufficiently organized in Minnesota to field its own slate, Lindbergh ran as a peace candidate in the Republican primary. He finished fourth in a field of four candidates.. “Lindbergh, Charles August,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998); “Minnesota Politics,” *Minneapolis Journal*, July 3, 1916, 6; Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1998), 45.
- 322 *“happened to be in the City”*: Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. to WW, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:108.
- 323 *final chapter*: Lindbergh, *Why Is Your Country at War*, 195–99.
- 323 *“very little confidence” ... “or not”*: WW to Newton Diehl Baker, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:108. While in Congress, Lindbergh had taken another political position that irritated Wilson. He had been in the minority that voted against arming merchant ships. 54 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 64th Cong., 2nd Sess., March 1, 1917, 4692 (roll call on H.R. 544). And while he had voted in support of the creation of the Federal Reserve, 50 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 1st Sess., September 18, 1913, 5129 (roll call on H.R. 7837), he argued in *Why Is Your Country at War* that it was the “money trust” dominated by New York bankers, now enshrined as the Federal Reserve, that most benefitted from the war. Therefore, despite his call for patriotic support of America in the war, and his stated purpose “to avoid the discussion of any subject that might give any satisfaction to our military foe” (*Why Is Your Country at War*, 8), the Wilson administration decided to ban his book. As recounted in the introduction to the second edition of the book when it was finally printed under a different title nearly two decades later, federal agents appeared at the offices of the National Capital Press in Washington in the spring of 1918 and demanded

that the publisher destroy “all the Lindbergh plates in your plant.” Charles A. Lindbergh, *Your Country at War and What Happens to You after a War* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1934), 7. Forced to comply, the publisher destroyed the plates for not only *Why Is Your Country at War* but also Lindbergh’s earlier book, *Banking and Currency and the Money Trust* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1913).

## 26. ‘A Dangerous Man to Cross’

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- 324 “*No man*”: WW, Address on the Occasion of Robert E. Lee’s Birthday, January 19, 1909, University of North Carolina, reprinted as “Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation,” in *Journal of Social Forces*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1924), 321–328. Wilson was the president of Princeton University at the time of the address.
- 324 *resignation*: Dudley Field Malone to WW, September 7, 1917, *PWW*, 44:167.
- 324 *front pages*: “Malone Resigns to Aid Suffrage,” *Boston Globe*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Resigns As Collector to Aid Suffrage,” *New York Times*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Suffragists’ Champion Resigns Big Federal Job,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Collector Job,” *Washington Herald*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits; Suffrage Plea Ignored, Cause,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Rich Office as Rebuke to President,” *Arizona Republic*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Job to Battle for Suffrage,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Dudley Malone Quits,” *Wichita Beacon*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Champion of Suffragist Movement Resigns,” *El Paso Times*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Customs Collector Peeved, Censures President Wilson,” *Shreveport Journal*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Suffragette Champion; Collector Malone Resigns,” *Vicksburg Herald*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Office to Aid Suffragists,” *Nashville Tennessean*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Dudley Field Malone Resigns,” *Orlando Sentinel*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Collector Malone, Suffrage Champion, Quits as Protest,” *Philadelphia Enquirer*, September 8, 1917, 1; “Malone Quits Office as Collector of Ports to Fight for Suffrage,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*, September 8, 1917, 1.
- 324 “*Dear Mr. President*”: “Malone Resigns As Collector to Aid Suffrage,” *New York Times*.
- 325 *same schedule*: “Wilson at Gloucester Takes a Motor Drive; Col. and Mrs. House Dine with President and Wife on the Mayflower,” *New York Times*, September 10, 1917, 12; “President Sees Sights of Salem,” *Boston Globe*, September 11, 1917, 1.
- 325 “*hub of the universe*”: John Hays Hammond, *The Autobiography*, vol. 2 (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1935), 653; Lisa Peek Ramos, *Magnolia, A Brief History* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 26.
- 325 *pose ... “not himself”*: EMH Diary, September 10, 1917, *PWW*, 44:184.
- 326 “*President’s phrase*”: “The Pickets Jailed,” *Washington Herald*, August 19, 1917, 6.
- 326 *hospital*: “Suff” Pickets Go to Hospital,” *Washington Herald*, August 31, 1917, 7.
- 327 *99.9 percent*: “Militants Win Re-Trial Order,” *Washington Herald*, August 28, 1917, 2 (noting that in the last quarter century, only 65 of the more than 35,000 appeals had been granted).
- 327 “*If there should be*”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917, *PWW*, 41:519; “Text of the President’s Address,” *New York Times*, April 3, 1917, 1.
- 327 *terse letter*: WW to Dudley Field Malone, September 12, 1917, *PWW*, 44:190.
- 327 *Rankin rose*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7372 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 327 “*do not expect action*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7370–71 (remarks of Rep. Pou).
- 328 “*Federal intermeddling*”: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7375 (remarks of Rep. Huddleston).
- 328 *three committees*: The new House rule created jurisdiction over women’s suffrage in the new committee, but did not amend the existing rule describing the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, which had long embraced the subject. Nor did it deal with the fact that the Anthony Amendment had already been referred to the Judiciary Committee. H.Res. 12 (H. Rept. No. 163), 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7369. Ultimately the Anthony Amendment did not come to the House floor until both the Judiciary Committee and the Woman Suffrage Committee had reported it out. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 15, 1917), 345–49 (debate regarding competing jurisdiction of Judiciary and Woman Suffrage committees); “The Tide Turns,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 98 [100] (December 22, 1917), 5.

- 328 “*old suff mossbacks*”: James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 135.
- 328 *her close friends*: Ibid., 142; Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin: America’s Conscience* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 121.
- 328 *Worms in the soup*: *JFF*, 141–46; *SWP*, 268.
- 329 *Harvey Wiley*: “Dr. Wiley Protests at Treatment of Picket Prisoners,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 93 (November 3, 1917), 9; *JFF*, 149–51.
- 329 *sworn affidavits ... “cries and blows”*: *JFF*, 144–48.
- 329 *exonerated him*: “Whittaker Keeps Job,” *Washington Post*, October 12, 1917, 4. The perfunctory “inquiry” that exonerated Whittaker was conducted by the Board of Charities, which reported to the Board of Commissioners, and refused to allow Malone or any other counsel for the inmates the opportunity to appear and present evidence. *JFF*, 230–32.
- 329 “*not made up of suffragists*”: “Woman Leader in Loan Campaign Is A Portland Visitor,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, October 29, 1917, 3.
- 330 *investigate conditions*: “Pickets Condemn Food,” *Washington Post*, August 26, 1917, 7; “Investigation of Occoquan,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 91 (October 20, 1917), 4; 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), 238.
- 330 “*In all my years*”: *JFF*, 142.
- 330 *sound the alarm*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 12, 1917), 7062 (remarks of Rep. Timberlake); “The West Interprets the ‘Militant’ Picket,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 80 (August 4, 1917), 4.
- 330 *her resolution*: H. Res. 171, 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 5, 1917), 7872.
- 330 “*not a war measure*”: *JFF*, 171; “Proceedings of the Congress of the United States Briefly Told,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 72, August 8, 1917, 5.
- 330 “*side by side*”: *JFF*, 109.
- 331 *fellow inmates ... “treason”*: Ibid., 111–14.
- 331 *enforcers*: Ibid., 155.
- 331 “*hope you get it*”: Ibid., 112. The author’s inexpert attempt at dialect is omitted.
- 331 *daughter, Phyllis*: Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 128. When Terrell’s husband, Robert Heberton Terrell, was appointed as a judge on the District of Columbia municipal court, he became the first Black federal judge in the United States. An honors graduate of Harvard, he was reappointed by Wilson in 1914 only after a nationwide campaign was mounted in his behalf. “Judge Terrell,” *The Crisis*, vol. 16, no. 2 (June 1, 1918), 66; M. Sammy Miller, “An Unpublished Letter from Dr. Charles B. Purvis to Judge Robert Heberton Terrell,” *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 63, no. 3 (July 1978), 235.
- 331 *200,000 members*: Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 90–93. By 1916, the National Association of Colored Women included some 300 clubs. Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women and Gender in the New South: 1865–1945* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 90.
- 331 *Fifth Avenue*: “Negroes in Protest March in Fifth Av.,” *New York Times*, July 29, 1917, 12.
- 332 “*Another great class*” ... “*all the people*”: “Negro Unrest,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 83 (August 25, 1917), 3.
- 332 “*East St. Louis riots*”: “Anti-Negro Riots Due to Labor Causes,” *New York Times*, July 8, 1917, 67.
- 332 *another sentencing hearing ... left civilization*: “Militants Given 6 Months in Jail,” *Washington Post*, October 17, 1917, 10; “Pickets Get Maximum Sentence from Administration,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 91 (October 20, 1917), 4; Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 189–90.
- 332 *Three times*: *SWP*, 238–48.
- 333 *traffic ordinance*: Police Regulations of the District of Columbia (Washington, DC: July 31, 1915), §§ 40(b), (c).
- 333 *novel legal theory*: “Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 76 (July 7, 1917), 5.

- 333 *“this obstruction clause” ... “We shall continue”*: Transcript of Proceedings, Police Court for the District of Columbia, October 21 [22], 1917, reel 50, National Woman’s Party records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 333 *Three days later ... longest sentences yet*: Ibid.; “Militants Jailed for Seven Months,” *Boston Daily Globe*, October 23, 1917, 1.
- 334 *his own crackdown ... for this purpose*: “Militants Jailed for Seven Months,” *Boston Daily Globe*, October 23, 1917, 1; “Seven Months Sentence for National Suffrage Leader,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 92 (October 27, 1917), 4; “Political Prisoners,” *The Suffragist*, *ibid.*, 8.
- 334 *Burns in solitary*: JFF, 177.
- 334 *Winslow squatted ... “psychopathic ward”*: JFF, 188–89.
- 335 *malnutrition ... “choking down”*: “Horrors of Jail Life Revealed by Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1917, 1; SWP, 263; Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 282–83.
- 335 *no prison riots*: “‘Like Rat in a Trap,’ Says Jailed Militant,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1917, 1; “Jail Horrors,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 4, 1917, 21; SWP, 284–85; “Why They Put Alice Paul in Solitary Confinement,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 94 (November 10, 1917), 7.
- 335 *“No, indeed” ... “Revoluting”*: Alice Paul Talks, *Philadelphia Tribune*, January 10, 1910, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, NAWSA Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress.
- 335 *released from jail*: “The November Tenth Protest,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5., no. 93 (November 3, 1917), 5.
- 335 *begin a hunger strike*: “Miss Alice Paul on Hunger Strike,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1917, 13; “Will Use Force to Feed Suff,” *Washington Herald*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 336 *devised other means*: Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 285.
- 336 *letters and telegrams*: Reel 210, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP, *passim*.

## 27. Unshaken

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- 337 *Winslow joined*: “Pickets in Jail Hospital Go on a Hunger Strike,” *Washington Herald*, November 7, 1917, 3; “2 Suffragettes Go on Hunger Strike,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 7, 1917, 1. “Alice Paul Starts Jail Hunger Strike,” *Boston Globe*, November 7, 1917, 18.
- 337 *every borough*: Rusty C. Tobin, “Who Voted for Woman Suffrage,” *New York History*, vol. 98, no. 3/4 (Summer/Fall 2017), 422–40, at 435n5, 436.
- 337 *multi-partisan roster*: Brooke Kroeger, *The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 222–31.
- 337 *“the many men”*: James Lees Laidlaw, “Men’s Leagues—Why,” *St. John’s (New Brunswick) Globe*, May 17, 1912, quoted in Kroeger, *Suffragents*, 101.
- 337 *Earlier this year*: “Presidential Suffrage for Michigan Women—Full Suffrage in 1918,” *The Michigan Suffragist*, vol. 4, no. 3 (April 1917), 1; “Partial Suffrage Passes in Senate,” *Lincoln Daily News*, April 21, 1917, 1; “Suffrage Measures Signed,” *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, January 24, 1917, 1; “Presidential Suffrage for Rhode Island,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 1917, 16. Ohio and Indiana also enacted presidential suffrage in 1917, but both laws were overturned the same year: Ohio’s in a voter referendum, and Indiana’s in court.
- 337 *did not endorse*: Wilson wrote a brief note of congratulations to North Dakota’s governor after the fact. WW to Lynn Joseph Frazier, January 23, 1917, PWW, 40:549; WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, January 25, 1917, PWW, 41:13. He also wrote briefly to the president of the Tennessee Senate offering his support for a state suffrage bill there, after the state assembly had already approved it. “Wilson for Suff Bill,” *New York Sun*, March 4, 1917, 8. The Senate defeated the measure anyway.
- 338 *two sentences*: WW to Deborah Knox Livingston, September 4, 1917, PWW, 44:144.
- 338 *no observable impact*: “A Message from President Wilson to Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston,” *Brunswick (ME) Record*, September 7, 1917, 1; S.D. 117, Resolves 1917, c. 4, Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution Granting Suffrage to Women Upon Equal Terms with Men, Maine State Legislature, 78th session (1917). The results of the balloting were: Yes, 20,604; No, 38,838.

- 338 *43 percent*: Rusty C. Tobin, “Who Voted for Woman Suffrage,” *New York History*, vol. 98, no. ¾ (Summer/Fall 2017), 422–40, at 423.
- 338 *early enough*: WW to Vira Boarman Whitehouse, August 14, 1917, *PWW*, 43:462.
- 338 *lobbied Colonel House ... Wilson responded*: *Ibid.*; Vira Boarman Whitehouse to WW, August 10, 1917, *PWW*, 43:462n2.
- 338 *two more sentences*: WW to Vira Boarman Whitehouse, August 27, 1917, *PWW*, 44:62.
- 338 *endorsement from Wilson*: WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, October 13, 1917, *PWW*, 44:372.
- 338 *only white voters*: Writing for a Black audience, Catt and Shaw did not mention Wilson. Carrie Chapman Catt, “Votes for All,” *The Crisis*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Special Suffrage Number, November 1917), 19–21; Anna Howard Shaw, “Votes for All,” *ibid.*, 19.
- 338 *“so good an example”*: *Ibid.*, 43.
- 339 *page-one headline*: “‘Now, the Nation,’ Is Suff’s Slogan,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 7, 1917, 1.
- 339 *victory celebration*: “Women Citizens Pledge Votes to Nation’s Welfare,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 339 *“inevitable”*: *Chicago Sunday Herald*, November 18, 1917, reproduced in *The Suffragist*, vol.5, no. 98 (December 8, 1917), 14.
- 339 *“renew our appeal”*: “Women Citizens Pledge Votes to Nation’s Welfare,” *New York Times*.
- 339 *Malone took the stage*: “Talk of Dropping Capital Pickets,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1917, 13.
- 340 *“obeying an order”*: “Court Decides Dr. Zinkhan Exceeded Law,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 7, 1917, 1; “Verdict of \$2,500 Against Zinkhan,” *Washington Post*, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 340 *“must pay penalty”*: Josephus Daniels Diary, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:556.
- 341 *press statement*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, November 30, 1917, reel 210, ##59820–21, images 400–01, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 341 *“everything that he can”*: “Wilson Unshaken in Suffrage View,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1917, 1.
- 341 *“very harshly”*: JPT to WW, October 26, 1917, reel 210, #59743, image 314, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 341 *“condition of mind”*: JPT to WW, October 26, 1917, reel 210, #59744, image 315, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 341 *whitewash*: Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 287.
- 342 *six-page letter*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 342 *“Don’t you think”*: WW to JPT, c. November 10, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 342 *very next day*: JPT to Lillian D. Wald, November 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:39. Evidence of the transmittal to both women is a handwritten notation on the original of Gardiner’s letter to WW, “Copy sent Mrs. Amos Pinchot & Miss L.D. Wald Nov 13/17.”
- 342 *recent appointee*: “President Names Gardiner to Take Place of Newman,” *Washington Times*, September 29, 1917, 2.
- 342 *seeking a job*: “J.E. Laskey Named District Attorney; Nomination by President Ends Contest for Place With W. Gwynn Gardiner,” *Washington Times*, August 21, 1914, 4; “William Gwynn Gardiner,” *Washington Post*, June 12, 1912, 55; “Gardiner, W. Gwynn,” *Who’s Who in the Nation’s Capital*, 1921–22 (Washington, DC: Consolidated Publishing Co., 1921), 144.
- 342 *Jim Crow*: The changes to the Anthony Amendment that Sen. Lee endorsed would have repealed the 15th Amendment’s ban on voting restrictions based on “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1914), 5091, 5097 (remarks of Sen. Lee).
- 342 *Gardiner’s report*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 342 *St. Elizabeth’s*: Congress originally named the facility the Government Hospital for the Insane. 10 Stat. 682 (Act of March 3, 1855). By the 20th century it was frequently referred to as St. Elizabeth’s, after the name of the land on which the hospital was constructed. The year before Alice Paul’s ordeal, Congress officially redesignated it St. Elizabeth’s Hospital, 39 Stat. 309 (Act of July 1, 1916), but it continued to be referred to by its original name or a combination of the two for several years thereafter. See, for example, *Malone v. Overholzer*, 93 F. Supp. 647 (D.D.C. 1950).

- 343 *fifty years later*: 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), 225.
- 343 *“considerable time”*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 343 *leading questions*: *JFF*, 220–223.
- 343 *sixty pounds*: “To Bring Suit for Treatment of Miss Paul,” *Buffalo Evening News*, November 16, 1917, 1.
- 343 *“very frail”*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 343 *“Go ahead”*: *JFF*, 220–23.
- 343 *Kussmaul*: Theodore H. Bast, *The Life and Time of Adolf Kussmaul* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1926), 110–11; Ray Clarke, “The Pioneers of Endoscopy and the Sword Swallowers,” *ENT & Audiology News*, March 3, 2021.
- 344 *intense debate ... patients who objected*: Ian Miller, *A History of Force Feeding: Hunger Strikes, Prisons and Medical Ethics, 1909–1974* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 38.
- 344 *fully in command*: “W. Gwynn Gardiner Sworn In,” *Washington Times*, October 9, 1917, 1.
- 344 *“publicity scheme”*: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 77–79.
- 344 *“force if necessary”*: William Gwynn Gardiner to WW, November 9, 1917, *PWW*, 44:559.
- 344 *“grossly exaggerated”*: WW to JPT, c. November 10, 1917, reel 210, #59807, #59807, image 384, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 345 *single sentence*: “Hunger Striker Is Forcibly Fed,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1917, 13.
- 345 *prisoner access*: Lucy Burns to Members of the Woman’s Party, November 9, 1917, box I:80, reel 52, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 345 *“kill my sister”*: “Hunger Striker Is Forcibly Fed,” *New York Times*.
- 345 *“you are human”*: *SWP*, 58–59.
- 345 *“bad day”*: *SWP*, 283–84.
- 346 *make a statement*: *JFF*, 192.
- 346 *new recruits*: Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 72–73; *JFF*, 192–94.
- 346 *permanently denied*: John Sayer, “Art and Politics, Dissent and Repression: The Masses Magazine versus the Government, 1917–1918,” *American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1988), 42–78, at 55. When Eastman appealed to his friend the president, Wilson personally rejected his arguments. Max Eastman to WW, September 8, 1917, *PWW*, 44:169; WW to Max Eastman, September 18, 1917, *PWW*, 44:210. Shortly afterward, Eastman, four other editors, and the business manager of *The Masses* were criminally charged under the Espionage Act. “7 on ‘Masses’ Staff Indicted for Sedition,” *New York Tribune*, November 20, 1917, 14.
- 346 *journalist’s knack*: Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 73; “Arrest 41 Pickets for Suffrage at the White House,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1917, 1; “Police Net 40 Pickets,” *Washington Post*, November 11, 1917, 2; *JFF*, 192–94.
- 346 *paid their bond*: “Arrest 41 Pickets for Suffrage at the White House,” *New York Times*.
- 346 *“fast as they appeared”*: “Suffragist Pickets Get Arrested Again,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1917, 4.
- 347 *“crowds poured out”*: “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, 6; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 72–73.
- 347 *All of the women*: “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 73.
- 347 *“got to live”*: “A Note from Alice Paul,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 6; *JFF*, 224.
- 347 *publicly preached*: “Soothing Effect of News,” *Popular Mechanics* (January 1912), advertising section, 138.
- 347 *another rebuff*: Dora Lewis to Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, November 13, 1917, box I:80, reel 52, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 347 *listened patiently*: “The Government Holds ‘The Ringleader,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 5; “Banners Torn From Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, 4.
- 348 *“make himself famous”*: Helen Paul to Tacie Paul, November 13, 1917, Papers of Alice Paul, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

- 348 *bedside*: Gertrude Hunter, “The Legal Aspect of the Suffrage Case,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 85 (September 8, 1917), 7; Matthew E. O’Brien to Alice Paul, August 27, 1917, box I:74, reel 47, NWP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 348 *across the country*: “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, 6; “Malone Sees Hunger Strikers After Habeas Corpus Action,” *Boston Globe*, November 14, 1917, 10; “Throngs Angered by Women Pickets,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1917, 2; “Suffragist Pickets Riot; 31 Arrested,” *San Francisco Examiner*, November 14, 1917, 3; “Banners Torn From Women,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, 4.
- 348 *prison uniforms*: “Prison Styles for Washington Suffragists,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 19, 1917, 5; “How the Suffragettes Look After Their Jail Terms,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, 4.
- 348 *Malone told reporters*: “The Government Holds ‘The Ringleader,’” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 5; “White House Pickets Held Without Bail,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, 6.
- 349 *“Six months”*: “31 Militants Sent Back to Occoquan,” *Washington Post*, November 15, 1917, 11; “31 More Pickets Sent to Workhouse,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1917, 6.
- 349 *at the District Jail*: *JFF*, 235. Because the prisoners were immediately transferred to Occoquan, the newspapers inaccurately reported they were “sentenced” there. The fact they were actually sentenced to jail would be the basis for a subsequent court determination that they were illegally imprisoned.

## 28. Terror

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- 350 *Four hours later ... “all afraid”*: Dorothy Day, *The Long Loneliness: The Autobiography of Dorothy Day* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 74.
- 350 *Before they arrived*: *Ibid.*, 75.
- 351 *At seven thirty ... her memoir*: *JFF*, 196–97; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 75–76.
- 351 *“bell let loose”*: *SWP*, 276 (account of Paula Jakobi).
- 352 *“like a sack” ... human waste*: *SWP*, 273–78; *JFF*, 197–99; Day, *The Long Loneliness*, 75–77.
- 352 *detachment of U.S. Marines*: *SWP*, 278; *JFF*, 199; “A Week of the Women’s Revolution,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 96 (November 24, 1917), 4.
- 353 *“no one could see them”*: “A Week of the Women’s Revolution,” *The Suffragist*, 4.
- 353 *half mile*: *Ibid.*; *JFF*, 199.
- 353 *targeted Lewis and Burns*: “A Week of the Women’s Revolution,” *The Suffragist*, 5.
- 353 *third prisoner*: Affidavit of Elizabeth McShane, November 28, 1917, NWP Records, 110.00.00, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 353 *prisoners’ legal counsel*: Matthew O’Brien, whom Dudley Malone had associated as co-counsel for the prisoners, was twice turned away by the Marines when he attempted to see his clients inside the Occoquan prison. *JFF*, 199.
- 353 *one of the Marines ... rejected the offer*: *JFF*, 199–202, 206–08, 234, 279–80.
- 355 *former U.S. Attorney*: “Waddill, Jr., Edmund,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 355 *“distressed”*: Vira Boarman Whitehouse to JPT, November 16, 1917, reel 210, ##59833–36, images 413–417, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 355 *“time is soon coming”*: JPT to WW, November 19, 1917, reel 210, #59837, image 418, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 355 *“no real harshness”*: WW to JPT, November 21, 1917, reel 210, #59838, image 419, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 355 *day before the hearing*: “Dr. Shaw Severe in Blaming Pickets,” *New York Times*, November 23, 1917, 5.
- 356 *watched in disbelief ... original sentences*: “Pickets Remanded to District Jail,” *Washington Post*, November 25, 1917, 3; “Move Militants from Workhouse,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1917, 6; *SWP*, 279–82, 290; *JFF*, 201, 232–240; “Government Forced to Release Suffrage Prisoners from Occoquan,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 97 (December 1, 1917), 4.

- 357 *“iron-jawed angels”*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7378 (remarks of Rep. Walsh).
- 357 *through her nostril*: *JFF*, 201–02.
- 358 *“result in their deaths”*: “Move Militants from Workhouse,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1917, 6. On April 30, 1918, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit overruled the District Court decision that the suffrage prisoners’ transfer from the District Jail to Occoquan was illegal, holding that “both institutions were arms of the same penal institution.” “White House Pickets Lose Case on Appeal,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 1, 1918, 12. By then, however, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals had ruled that the arrests were illegal. In the face of that decision, the women were “asked by the government not to appear” to complete their sentences. “Suffrage Pickets Due at Occoquan,” *Washington Herald*, July 9, 1918, 5. The District’s acknowledgement of the binding precedent of the D.C. Court of Appeals was the final step in establishing the legality of the silent sentinels’ picketing. “White House Pickets Not to Return,” (*Annapolis*) *Evening Capital*, July 12, 1918, 1.
- 358 *“Permission has been granted”*: “Baltimoreans to View Occoquan,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 25, 1917, 4.
- 358 *ghastly mistreatment*: “Suffragists Transferred by U.S. Court,” *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, November 26, 1917, sec. 2, 2.
- 358 *“kill the story”*: Lawrence C. Woods to JPT, November 26, 1917, reel 210, #59854, image 436, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WW Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 359 *already on the case ... “violating rules”*: “For and Against Suffrage Pickets,” *New York Evening Post*, November 27, 1917, 1.
- 359 *other topics*: *SWP*, 254–55; *JFF*, 226–28.
- 360 *Zinkhan requested*: L.F. Zinkhan to Alexander R. Mullowney, November 27, 1917, in Donald L. Haggerty, ed., *National Woman’s Party Papers: The Suffrage Years, 1913–1920* (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1981), Microfilm 18,276–97P, Part II, Series 1, Section B; Zinkhan to Mullowney, November 28, 1917, *ibid.*
- 360 *“convene next week”*: “Hunger Strike Wins Freedom for Picketers,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 28, 1917, 13.
- 360 *“heroine picketers”*: “22 Militants Are Released Very Suddenly,” *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, November 28, 1917, 1.

## 29. ‘Any Direction Fraught’

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- 361 *shortly after noon*: WW, Annual Message on the State of the Union, December 4, 1917, *PWW*, 45:194; “Wilson, Urging War on Austria-Hungary, Says U.S. Will Fight Till Wrongs Are Ended,” *Baltimore Sun*, December 4, 1917, 1. In addition to ignoring her repeated pleas for help on the Anthony Amendment, Wilson had recently rebuffed Bass’s efforts to include a woman on his Peace Commission. Elizabeth Bass to WW, November 18, 1918, *PWW*, 53:125; WW to Bass, November 19, 1918, *PWW*, 53:129.
- 362 *“virtually adopted”*: “House Will Follow Wilson’s Program,” *New York Times*, December 6, 1917, 4.
- 362 *That very day*: “House Resolution Provides War Upon Austria-Hungary,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 1; “Congress May Extend Price-Fixing Power,” *New York Times*, December 5, 1917, 2; “Act Quickly on President’s Proposal in House,” *Santa Ana Register*, December 5, 1917, 1; “Unlimited Control of Prices Forecast,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 3.
- 362 *the following Tuesday*: “To Vote on Amendments,” *New York Times*, December 5, 1917, 6.
- 362 *Kitchin further promised*: “Chairman Kitchin Outlines Program,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 5, 1917, 1; “Suffrage and Dry Vote Dec. 19 and 20,” *New York Sun*, December 5, 1917, 14.
- 362 *more than a month*: “Close of Suffrage Battle Predicted,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 98 (December 8, 1917), 6; “President Wilson Endorses National Suffrage,” *ibid.*, 6. The five states granting voting rights to women in 1917 were New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Arkansas (primary suffrage only), and Rhode Island (presidential suffrage).
- 362 *planning its national convention*: “Pre-Convention Activities,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 2 (December 8, 1917), 28; “Program for the Great Washington Convention,” *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 1 (December 1, 1917), 9.



- 363 *“the coming session”*: “Acknowledgements,” *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 25 (November 17, 1917), 469.
- 363 *since January*: “National Advisory Council Organizes,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 5, no. 99 (December 15, 1917), 5.
- 363 *no useful data*: Maud May Wood Park to Helen Hamilton Gardener, November 24, 1917, *PWW*, 45:121.
- 363 *Wilson was grateful*: WW to Maud May Wood Park, November 27, 1917, *PWW*, 45:129.
- 363 *“the right hands”* ... *“what theaters”*: Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century in Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 2:406.
- 364 *party measures*: Randall B. Ripley, “The Party Whip Organizations in the United States House of Representatives,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 58, no. 3 (September 1964), 561–76, at 562 and n8. In fact, herding members into the party position, as opposed to simply counting votes yea and nay, was the quintessential function of the whip organization. The term “whip” came from the British parliament, where it originated as a metaphor borrowed from fox hunting. (The “whipper-in” was the man responsible for keeping the hounds from leaving the pack.)
- 364 *infected*: Since Oscar Underwood of Alabama became the first Democratic Whip when the post was created in 1900, the organization had grown to its current size and stature under southern Democratic management. Ripley, “Party Whip Organizations,” 562–64.
- 364 *current majority whip*: “Tube Appropriation Is Passed by House,” *Boston Globe*, January 17, 1917, 16; “Democratic Whip Indicates Chances for Extra Session,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 2, 1917, 1; “Tariff Increase on Sugar Is Again Up as Suggestion,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 17, 1917; “Rouse Made Assistant Whip by Speaker Clark,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 16, 1917, 3. Each of these articles identifies Bell as Democratic whip in the 64th and 65th Congresses.
- 364 *“political equality”* ... *anti-lynching*: U.S. House of Representatives, Report of the Committee on the Judiciary to Accompany H.R. 13, 67th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Digest*, vol. 1, no. 6 (October 31, 1921), 11 (minority views of Rep. Bell of Georgia).
- 364 *Bell had led a division*: “Harrison Again Heads Veterans,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 8, 1917, 1.
- 364 *“had it classified”* ... *“party expediency”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 7, 1917, *PWW*, 45:242.
- 365 *“I realize the circumstances”*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, December 8, 1917, *PWW*, 45:242.
- 365 *brief note*: WW to Albert S. Burleson, December 8, 1917, Reel 210, #59874, image 458, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 365 *“next week”*: “Reports Suffrage and ‘Dry’ Measures,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1917, 9.
- 365 *hopes of defeating it*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 365 *poorly drafted*: 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 7, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (September 24, 1917), 7369 (text of H. Res. 12, creating Woman Suffrage Committee), 7384–85 (roll call on H. Res. 12).
- 366 *“delay a vote”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, December 12, 1917, *PWW*, 45:277.
- 366 *“no direct aid”*: “Women to Make War on Foes at Polls,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1917, 9; “Suffragists Resolve on Drive at Polls,” *New York Times*, December 11, 1917, 15.
- 367 *“never mentioned”*: “Congress Warned by Suffrage Leader,” *New York Times*, December 14, 1917, 13.
- 367 *friendly terms*: Anti-suffragists jealously guarded the president’s public support of their anti-Anthony Amendment position. Three days before Christmas, the NOAWS wrote Wilson to complain of intimations “that the President of the United States ‘secretly favors’ suffrage methods he has publicly condemned.” Minnie Bronson to WW, December 22, 1917, Reel 210, ##59891, image 476, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 367 *Kitchin announced*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 13, 1917), 258 (remarks of Rep. Kitchin). The Democratic members were John Raker (CA), chairman; Edward W. Saunders (VA); Frank Clark (FL); Benjamin C. Hilliard (CO); James H. Mays (UT); Christopher D. Sullivan (NY); and Thomas L. Blanton (TX).
- 367 *voted against*: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1). Clark voted no, and Saunders was paired against.
- 367 *pledged to his Texas constituents*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 787 (remarks of Rep. Blanton).

- 367 *six members*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 13, 1917), 258 (remarks of Rep. Gillett). The Republican members were Jeannette Rankin (WY); Frank Mondell (WY); William H. Carter (MA), Jacob E. Meeker (MO), Edward C. Little (KS), and Richard N. Elliott (IN).
- 367 *“chief Father”*: “Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist, Part Two,” *McCall’s Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 2 (October 1919), 12.
- 368 *result was a shock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 18, 1917), 514–15.
- 368 *steering committee ... “how much weight”*: *FDL*, images 151–52, MS 188–89.
- 368 *major development*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (December 18, 1917), 515; “Vote on Suffrage in House on Jan. 10,” *New York Times*, December 19, 1917, 5.

## PART IV

## VICTORY AND DEFEAT

## 30. Death Warrant

## PAGE

- 371 *proclamation*: Proclamation 1419—Government Assumption of Control of Transportation Systems, December 26, 1917, *PWW*, 45:358.
- 371 *“control every industry”*: “Government Takes Over the Railroads,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 27, 1917, 1.
- 371 *“noisy feminine demonstrations”*: “Southern Democrats and Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 14.
- 372 *congratulatory letter*: Minnie Bronson to WW, January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59910, image 486, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 372 *Tumulty had forgotten ... “control of the House”*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59117–18, images 492–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*.
- 373 *“quiet canvass”*: “House Test Shows Suffrage Gains,” *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 13.
- 373 *Since Friday*: EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:550.
- 373 *released statements*: Carrie Chapman Catt to William Gibbs McAdoo, January 7, 1918, reel 210, #59939, image 516, Executive Office File, 1912–21, *WWP*; “Hope for Victory in House Greater,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 1918, 1; “Suffrage Measure Reported to House,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1918, 12; *HWS*, 5:590. Ten days earlier, Wilson had advised that each cabinet secretary should “feel free to write his own views” on the subject. E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), entry for December 28, 1917, 257.
- 373 *round of golf*: “President’s Visit to Capitol Comes as Utter Surprise,” *Washington Times*, January 8, 1918, 2; Edmund W. Starling and Thomas Sugrue, *Starling of the White House* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 101.
- 373 *notify Speaker*: “President’s Visit to Capitol,” *Washington Times*; EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:550, 555.
- 374 *urgent phone calls ... “precipitate manner”* “President’s Visit to Capitol,” *Washington Times*.
- 374 *beginning of December*: EMH Diary, January 9, 1918, *PWW*, 45:558.
- 374 *“speculated”*: *Ibid.*, *PWW*, 45:550, 555.
- 374 *Bolsheviks seized control*: Leon Trotsky, “Publication of the Secret Treaties,” *Izvestia*, no. 221, November 23, 1917, 4, in *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1928, Documents and Materials*, James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 243–44.
- 374 *known about some*: Mary Reno Frear, “Did President Wilson Contradict Himself on the Secret Treaties?,” *Current History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (June 1, 1929), 435–43.

- 374 Pravda *published an article*: Under the terms of the treaty, Italy would receive large swaths of Trieste and Dalmatia in the Balkans as well as the Alpine territory of Tyrol, all of which were currently part of Austria-Hungary. V. I. Lenin, “One of the Secret Treaties,” *Pravda*, no. 53, May 23 [10], 1917, trans. Bernard Isaacs, in *Lenin: Collected Works*, 45 vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 24:380.
- 375 “colonial thieves”: Abdul Qadir, Zahir Mengal, Pervaiz Ahmed, and Shazia Jaffar, “Arab Revolt of 1916,” *Journal of Education and Humanities Research*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2017), 53.
- 375 *November 23*: By this time Yakov Sverdlov, chairman of the Bolshevik Party’s Central Executive Committee, had taken over as editor of *Pravda*. Angus Roxburgh, *Pravda: Inside the Soviet News Machine* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1987), 282.
- 375 *translated and published*: “Jordan-Syria Boundary,” *International Boundary Study No. 94* (Washington: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1969), 9; F. Seymour Cocks, ed., *The Secret Treaties and Understandings: Text of the Available Documents* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1918), 18.
- 375 *another secret agreement*: James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, eds., *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1928, Documents and Materials* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 24. Other secret agreements among the Allies included the Treaty of Bucharest (1916), by which Romania agreed to join the war; the Treaty of Saint Jean de Maurienne (1917), partitioning Asiatic Turkey; various agreements between France and Russia concerning German borders; and notes between Japan, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy awarding Japan certain Pacific islands and Shantung in China. Mary Reno Frear, “Did President Wilson Contradict Himself on the Secret Treaties?,” *Current History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (June 1, 1929), 435–443.
- 375 “keyed upon the secret treaties” ... “conceded”: Walter Lippmann, “The Reminiscences of Walter Lippmann,” Columbia University Oral History Collection, Columbia University Library, pt. 2, no. 118, 108; Godfrey Hodgson, *Woodrow Wilson’s Right Hand: The Life of Colonel Edward M. House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 163 (quoting the “Reminiscences”); Mark Thomas Edwards, *Walter Lippmann: American Skeptic, American Pastor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 73.
- 375 “Open covenants”: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:534.
- 375 “delusion”: Hodgson, *Right Hand*, 173.
- 375 *morning after*: “Tyranny and Crime Reign in Petrograd,” *Washington Post*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 375 *separate peace*: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918, in U.S. Department of State, *Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference*, Texts of the Russian “Peace” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 13–21.
- 376 *other themes*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45:534.
- 376 *Emery Building*: The court occupied temporary quarters there between November 1916 and the fall of 1919. “Courts Well Fixed in Emery Building,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 30, 1916, 18; Washington Topham, “First Railroad into Washington and Its Three Depots,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 27 (1925), 175–247, at 243; F. Regis Noel, “The Court-House of the District of Columbia,” *Journal of the District of Columbia Bar Association*, vol. 5, no. 2 (February 1938), 47–88, at 82; Theodore R. Newman, Jr., “The State of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals,” *Catholic University Law Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Spring 1978), 453–68, at 453–54 and n3; “District of Columbia Courthouse,” Form 10–300 (July 1969), National Register of Historic Places, Record Group 79, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC.
- 376 *like brothers ... judicial wisdom*: Photograph of Judges of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, 1917, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 376 *oldest judge*: “Justice C. J. Smyth,” *New York Times*, April 16, 1924, 23; “Constantine Joseph Smyth,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 377 *youngest judge*: “Mr. Justice Charles H. Robb,” *Washington Law Reporter*, vol. 34, no. 41 (October 12, 1916), 637; “Charles Henry Robb,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit.
- 377 *other senior judge*: “Josiah Van Orsdel, U.S. Justice, Dead,” *New York Times*, August 8, 1937, 40; “Josiah Van Orsdel,” biography and portrait, Historical Society of the District of Columbia Circuit. Van Orsdel’s service in the Wyoming state legislature commenced in 1894, four years after the territory’s admission to statehood. Only beginning with statehood in 1890 could women vote in presidential and congressional elections, although as the

- first territory in the U.S. to enact women's suffrage in 1869, Wyoming had long given women the right to vote in elections for the territorial legislature.
- 377 *an extensive brief*: Hunter v. District of Columbia, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918) (summary of brief for plaintiffs in error).
- 377 *"forty-foot sidewalk" ... disbelief*: "Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals," *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 9.
- 378 *left him a memo*: JPT to WW, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59961, image 540, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 378 *note from Elizabeth Bass*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, January 8, 1918, PWW, 45:542.
- 378 *positive headlines*: "President Specifies Terms as Basis for World Peace," *New York Times*, January 8, 1918, 1; "Freedom of World Is U.S. Aim in War, Wilson Tells Congress," *Washington Post*, January 9, 1918, 1; "Memorable Speech Delivered by Executive to Congress in Joint Session," *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1918, 1; "United States Will Continue in Fight to End," *Houston Post*, January 9, 1918, 1; JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 153.
- 379 *Billy Sunday*: "Women Share Burdens; Give Them the Vote, Says Billy," *Washington Times*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *page one*: "Suffrage Will Pass the House," *Buffalo Enquirer*, January 9, 1918, 4; "Suffrage Will Win in House, Say Leaders," *Dayton Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1; "Suffrage Likely to Win in the House," *Allentown Leader*, January 9, 1918, 1; "Suffrage May Be Enacted; House Practically Certain to Vote in Favor of Bill; Senate Not So Sure," *Huntington Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *twenty-two states*: "Suffrage Measure Reported to House ... Passage Thursday Likely," *New York Times*, January 9, 1918, 12. In the actual voting the next day, 25 states unanimously supported the Anthony Amendment. See Appendix 2.
- 379 *Conspicuously absent*: "Forces Line Up for Big Suff Fight," *Montgomery Times*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *"called a conference"*: "Suffrage Bill Goes to House with O.K. Tag," *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 1918, 8.
- 379 *"dozen votes"*: "Says Suffrage Will Win in House Tomorrow," *New York Evening World*, January 9, 1918, 7; "House to Vote Tomorrow Afternoon on Suffrage," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 2.
- 379 *"every member"*: "Suffrage May Be Enacted," *Huntington Herald*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 379 *two letters*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, January 9, 1918, PWW, 45:545; WW to Rep. Jouett Shouse, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59960, image 539, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 379 *seeking the president's answer*: Rep. Jouett Shouse to WW, January 8, 1918, reel 210, #59944, image 521, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 380 *"without getting any encouragement"*: "Congress Warned by Suffrage Leader," *New York Times*, December 14, 1917, 13.
- 380 *"you may readily conjecture"*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, January 9, 1918, PWW, 45:545.
- 380 *urging a decision*: JPT to WW, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59961, image 540, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 380 *close of business*: Ibid. Wilson handwrote "OK" on the memo; Tumulty handwrote "5:00 today the 9th."

### 31. Who Will Get the Credit?

#### PAGE

- 381 *ice-cold*: "Weather," *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 10, 1918, 1.
- 381 *Green Room ... "write it himself"*: William J. Cochran to JPT, January 22, 1918 (enclosing interview with Rep. Taylor as draft press release), reel 210, ##59970–71, images 550–554, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; "Women Win Wilson's Indorsement for the Federal Amendment," *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1; "President Favors 'Vote' Amendment," *Washington Star*, January 10, 1918, 3; "Wilson Declares in Favor of Woman Suffrage," *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1918, 1; "President Wilson Urges Congress to Vote for Suffrage," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 10, 1918, 1; "Give Women Vote—Wilson," *Chicago Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1; "Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage," *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 381 *introduced the group*: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).

- 381 *his first campaign*: HWS, 5:356.
- 381 “no” votes in 1915: 52 Cong. Rec. pt. 2, 63rd Cong., 3rd Sess. (January 12, 1915), 1483–84 (roll call on H.J. Res. 1).
- 381 *steering committee*: FDL, images 151–52, MS 188–89.
- 381 *close to the vest ... John Jones*: The fact that Taylor “had not been able to get any Democratic opponents to go” to the White House indicates that Brumbaugh and Jones, along with the others in the group, were supporters by the time they attended the meeting. FDL, image 158, MS 145. But neither had publicly announced his conversion. “Ohio Total for Suffrage,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 9, 1918, 7; “Only Two Texans Favor Suffrage; to Vote Thursday,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 8, 1918, 8.
- 382 *recent convert*: Linthicum had been listed as a likely opponent as recently as early December 1917. “Maryland’s Vote Split,” *Baltimore Sun*, December 3, 1917, 1. He announced his conversion on the first of January. “Linthicum with Suff,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1918, 2.
- 382 *future U.S. senator*: “Carraway, Hattie Wyatt,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 382 *House saw as a fault*: EMH Diary, January 13, 1918, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 6:20.
- 382 “statement as to his position”: “Wilson Favors Suffrage Vote,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Says Wilson Is Won to Suffragist Amendment,” January 3, 1918, reel 210, #59942, image 519, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 382 *urged every Democrat*: “Suffrage Bill Goes to House with O.K. Tag,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 1918, 8.
- 382 “claiming credit”: “Women Expect Big Majority for Suffrage,” *Buffalo Evening News*, January 9, 1918, 13; “Hope for Victory in House Greater,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 9, 1918, 1.
- 383 “every other official action”: The 1916 Democratic platform touted Wilson’s “he kept us out of war” slogan. South Trimble, ed., *Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856–1916, Inclusive* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 204. While support for war grew in the months between the adoption of the Democratic platform in mid-1916 and Wilson’s war message in early 1917, his departure from this neutrality policy is an obvious omission in Wilson’s assertion that he had strayed from the platform only once.
- 383 “seem to be requesting” ... “Democratic opponents”: FDL, image 158, MS 145.
- 383 *discussion continued*: The quoted dialog from this point forward is from a press release drafted by the DNC Publicity Department two weeks later, providing additional detail on what Wilson said in the meeting, based on Rep. Taylor’s recollection. The reconstruction accounts for only a few minutes’ dialog, but crucially it describes how Wilson eventually made the leap. William J. Cochran to JPT, January 22, 1918 (enclosing interview with Rep. Taylor as draft press release), reel 210, ##59970–71, images 550–554, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 383 *Since July*: J. A. H. Hopkins to WW, July 18, 1917, PWW, 43:212; WW to Albert Burleson, July 19, 1917, PWW, 43:212; Maud Wood Park to WW, November 30, 1917, PWW, 45:169; JPT to WW, December 12, 1917, PWW, 45:277.
- 383 “policy, not a principle”: “Wilson Favors Suffrage Vote,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 384 “write it himself”: Ibid.
- 384 “The committee found”: WW, Statement to Democratic Members of Congress, January 9, 1918, reel 210, #59962, image 541, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 384 “his game of golf”: “Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist, Part Two,” *McCall’s Magazine*, vol. 47, no. 2 (October 1919), 12.
- 384 *persistence of Tumulty*: Tumulty, who had long prodded Wilson on the subject, had been a supporter of women’s suffrage since his days at the capitol in Trenton. Delight W. Dodyk, “Education and Agitation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in New Jersey” (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1997), 343n52.
- 384 *opening prayer*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 761–62.
- 384 *raised millions*: Lyle W. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2004), 33–38, 64; Robert F. Martin, *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862–1935* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), xiii, 121. Sunday’s charitable donations to

- the war effort in 1917 alone were more than \$120,500, equivalent to \$3 million in today's currency. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday*, 60.
- 385 “*destroy the Democratic Party*”: “Today: Woman’s Day – Justice at Last – Advice to Representatives – Respect Your Mothers,” *Washington Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 “*go over in droves*”: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 “*unanimous vote*”: “Wilson Out for Federal Amendment on Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 “*give Republicans credit*”: “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 385 *Cantrill*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 764 (remarks of Rep. Cantrill).
- 385 *Moon*: Ibid., 765–67 (remarks of Rep. Moon).
- 386 *Hersey*: Ibid., 777 (remarks of Rep. Hersey).
- 386 *Norton*: Ibid., 801 (remarks of Rep. Norton).
- 386 *Lenroot*: Ibid., 768 (remarks of Rep. Lenroot).
- 386 *Langley*: Ibid., 780–81 (remarks of Rep. Langley).
- 386 *Clark*: Ibid., 781–86 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Florida).
- 387 *Mansfield*: Ibid., 800 (remarks of Rep. Mansfield).
- 387 “*I don’t believe it*”: Ibid., 784–85 (remarks of Rep. Clark of Florida).
- 387 *Greene*: Ibid., 768 (remarks of Rep. Greene).
- 388 “*pale and weak*” ... “*joy be unconfined*”: “The Story of January Tenth,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 8 (January 19, 1918), 148.
- 388 “*Brother Mann*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 804 (remarks of Speaker Clark).
- 388 “*since the Declaration*” ... “*every conceivable point*”: Ibid., 773 (remarks of Rep. Raker).
- 388 “*women of California*”: Ibid., 773 (remarks of Rep. Kearns).
- 388 “*For 70 years*”: Ibid., 771–72 (remarks of Rep. Rankin).
- 389 “*glorious day*”: Ibid., 804 (remarks of Rep. Mondell).
- 389 *Clyde Kelly*: Ibid., 769; “Kelly, Melville Clyde,” BD.
- 389 *often quoted it*: Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 14, 162, 219, 242, 326, 416, 418–19, 532, 593.
- 389 *Richard Elliott*: “Elliott, Richard Nash,” BD; “Elliott Makes Maiden Speech for Suffrage,” *Richmond Palladium and Sun-Telegram*, January 14, 1918, 3.
- 390 “*divided politically*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 789 (remarks of Rep. Elliott).
- 390 *passed the House*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200).
- 390 *did not mention*: *Official Bulletin—Complete Topical Index from January 2, 1918, to June 29, 1918, Inclusive* (Washington: Committee on Public Information, 1918), 1–35. One of the few official announcements the White House did make that day was the president’s reappointment of Louis Brownlow to preside over the affairs of the District of Columbia. It was a decision, the wire service report said, that was “justified by ... what the chief executive regards as excellent service.” “Lewis Brownlow Named Commissioner of District,” *Nashville Tennessean*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *easy win*: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage; Victory on House Vote Today Expected as Result of His Belated Conversion,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1; “President for Suffrage—Victory Sure,” *Washington Herald*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Wilson Out for Federal Amendment On Suffrage ... Victory for the Anthony Amendment in Senate to Follow, Is Belief,” *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1918, 1; “Weight of President Wilson’s Suffrage Statement Is Likely to Carry Proposed Amendment,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 10, 1918, 4; “Women Win Wilson’s Indorsement for the Federal Amendment ... Safe Majority Certain,” *New York Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 390 *nearly called upon*: “House for Suffrage, 274 to 136, Exact Two-Thirds Vote Required, With Clark’s Ballot in Reserve,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *featured tables*: “How Suffrage Vote Was Distributed,” *New York Times*, January 13, 1918; “Revised Suffrage Vote in Congress,” *New York Times*, January 14, 1918, 12; “How the House Voted on Suffrage,” *New York Tribune*, January 11, 1918, 2. Among Democrats, 104 of 206 members voted in favor; among Republicans, 165

- of 198 members voted in favor. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (January 10, 1918), 810 (roll call on H.J. Res. 200). See Appendix 2 for a detailed breakdown of the vote in the House.
- 390 *page-one headline*: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 11, 1918, 1.
- 390 *six-column headline*: “Republican Votes Chiefly Responsible for Women’s Victory,” *New York Sun*, January 11, 1918, 4.
- 390 *each passing day*: “House for Suffrage, 274 to 136, Exact Two-Thirds Vote Required, With Clark’s Ballot in Reserve,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1918, 1; “Woman Suffrage Wins in House by One Vote,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1918; “Suffrage Barely Wins; House Votes 274–136; Victory After 70 Years,” *New York Sun*, January 11, 1918, 1; “Women’s Victory in House Result of Long Struggle,” *New York Tribune*, January 11, 1918, 2; “The President as Party Leader,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 12, 1918; “Suffragists Celebrate at Luncheon,” *San Francisco Examiner*, January 12, 1918, 7; “Thank Wilson for Aiding Suffrage,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 12, 1918, 4; “The Suffrage Victory,” *Oakland Tribune*, January 13, 1918, 36; “What Will the Lady Do to the Tiger?,” *Buffalo Times*, January 13, 1918, 6; “Woman’s Party Storm Bound, Works by Wire,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 13, 1918, 6.
- 390 *“saved his party”*: David Lawrence, “Suffragists Had Faith in Wilson,” *New York Evening Post*, January 10, 1918, 1. A few months’ time would prove Lawrence’s election prediction wrong, as congressional Democrats suffered an historic defeat.
- 391 *“psychological moment”*: Lawrence likely talked with Helen Gardener after Wilson’s announcement, because in her letter to Tumulty on the night of the vote, she credited the president with acting “at the psychological moment.” Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 10, 1918, PWW, 45:565. Lawrence used these precise words in his article.
- 391 *NAWSA had publicly declared*: “See Victory for Suffrage If No Opposition Comes From the Administration,” *Washington Evening Star*, January 3, 1918, 1.
- 391 *“succumbed to the pickets”*: “The Suffrage Amendment,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 391 *“undoubtedly will follow”*: “Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1918, 1.
- 391 *credit Wilson*: “Suffrage Wins in House,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 2 (January 12, 1918), 10.
- 392 *“no one party”*: “House Adopts Suffrage Bill by One Vote Margin,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 11, 1918, 3.
- 392 *“whether we were sure”*: FDL, image 176, MS 163; “Suffragists Thank Wilson,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1918, 12.
- 392 *“now to the Senate”*: “Woman Suffrage Wins in House by One Vote,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1918, 5.
- 392 *danger signs*: “The Suffrage Outlook in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 3 (January 19, 1918), 10.
- 392 *“would result in defeat”*: “Suffrage Drive for Senate Vote Grows Intense,” *New York Evening World*, January 14, 1918, 10.

## 32. The Long Fortnight

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- 393 *“archenemy”*: “The Senate Prospect,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 8 (January 19, 1918), 145.
- 393 *“counting their chickens”*: “Better Late,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 3 (January 19, 1918), 4.
- 393 *“Unless the advocacy”*: “Suffragists Must Gain Four Votes to Win Victory for Amendment in Senate,” *New York Evening World*, January 11, 1918, 7.
- 394 *his “bully pulpit”*: “Democratic Tide Turns in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 4 (January 30, 1918), 5.
- 394 *rallies*: “Roosevelt Centre of Suffrage Host,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1913, 1.
- 394 *Gardener asked Wilson*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, January 20, 1918, reel 210, #59964–65, images 543–45, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 394 *“not at all be willing”*: JPT to WW, January 23, 1918, reel 210, #59973, image 555, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; WW to JPT, *ibid.*, #59974, image 556.
- 394 *parties were whipping*: “Suffragists Must Gain Four Votes to Win Victory for Amendment in Senate,” *New York Evening World*, January 11, 1918, 7. The story provides the breakdown of commitments for and against by party,

- and states that the amendment was “seven votes short of two-thirds.” The seven vote gain could be accomplished with as few as four more votes if they came from senators switching from yes to no.
- 394 “*anything is being started*”: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), 290.
- 394 “*pressure*”: Elizabeth Bass to WW, February 15, 1918 (summary of correspondence), reel 210, #59978, image 560, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 395 *did not ask*: WW to Ollie James, June 24, 1918, *PWW*, 48:404. Wilson asked James only to “give up your pair.” A pair was used by senators who anticipated missing the vote. One absent senator in support of a bill would pair with another absent senator who was opposed. The theory was that since their votes would cancel out, the outcome was unaffected when neither voted. But pairs posed a problem for the Anthony Amendment. Because a two-thirds majority was required to pass a constitutional amendment, it took two senators in favor to cancel out one senator against. The absence of a single senator opposed to the Anthony Amendment would prevent the two senators paired with him from voting “yes,” even though, on the day of the voting, they might be present. For an example of this, see the note *room for doubt* accompanying the text at p. 398.
- 395 *losing his influence*: Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 290–91.
- 395 *infectious diseases*: Eric Sezekorn, “Disease and Dissent: Progressives, Congress, and the WW I Army Training Camp Crisis,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, vol. 21, no. 2 (April 2022), 93–110.
- 395 *all manufacturing*: “Garfield’s Regime Staked on Order,” *New York Times*, January 21, 1918, 2.
- 395 “*financial problems*”: “Want to Keep Up Idle Mondays,” *New York Times*, February 5, 1918, 1.
- 395 “*shifting the coal cars*”: “Reasons for Coal Crisis,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1918, 63.
- 395 *Jim Crow rules*: “The ‘Jim Crow’ Car,” *Hartford Courant*, January 14, 1918, 8; Mia Bay, *Traveling Black* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021), 104.
- 395 *cost of food*: Tom G. Hall, “Wilson and the Food Crisis: Agricultural Price Control During World War I,” *Agricultural History*, vol. 47, no. 1 (January 1973), 25, citing *U.S. War Industries Board, Price Bulletin Number 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 52, and Milton Friedman and A.J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 205–12.
- 396 “*influence is going*”: Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 290.
- 396 *page-one headline*: “Suffrage Pickets Win on Appeal,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1918, 1.
- 396 “*hardly be contended*”: *Hunter v. District of Columbia*, 47 App. D.C. 406 (1918).
- 396 *the court understood*: In two more months Wilson would sign the Sedition Act, effectively criminalizing *lèse-majesté*, but as of March 1918 the nation had no such law prohibiting criticism of the president. Sedition Act of 1918, Pub. L. 65–150, 40 Stat. 553 (May 16, 1918). The administration aggressively enforced both the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act, bringing over 1,000 cases to conviction in a matter of two years. Henry N. Scheiber, *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), Appendix, 63.
- 396 “*few men in America*”: Ernestine Evans, “A Suggestion for Mr. Creel,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 11 (March 26, 1918), 5.
- 397 *pushing for a floor vote*: “Gallinger Espouses Suffrage Resolution,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 28, 1918, 2; “Senator Gallinger Supports Suffrage,” *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1918, 2; “The Progress of the Amendment in 1918,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 12 (March 30, 1918), 8.
- 397 “*If I were satisfied*”: “Senator Martin’s Denial,” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 30, 1918, 2.
- 397 *Employees Union*: “Federal Employees Back Suffrage Cause,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 11, 1918, 11.
- 397 *note to Wilson*: JPT to WW, March 12, 1918, reel 210, #59990, image 572, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; “Sees Victory for Suffrage with Senate,” *Washington Herald*, March 11, 1918, 10.
- 397 *pressure on Florida’s senators*: “The Strategic South for Federal Suffrage,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 11 (March 26, 1918), 10.
- 397 *replied to Tumulty*: WW to JPT, c. March 12, 1918, reel 210, #59991, image 573, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. At the request of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association, Wilson wrote a brief letter on March 8 supporting that state’s primary suffrage bill (incorporating Jim Crow strictures to prevent Black women from voting). WW to Elizabeth Herndon Potter, March 8, 1918, Jane Y. McCallum Collection, Austin History



- Center, Austin Public Library. He congratulated the group with a telegram when the bill was signed into law. “Wilson Congratulated Suffrage Leaders,” *Houston Post*, March 27, 1918, 12.
- 398 *within two votes*: Irvine Lenroot (R-WI) was elected on April 18 to fill a vacancy. William Stone (D-MO) had been a pickup for the pro-Anthony Amendment forces only weeks before he died on April 14; NAWSA judged his appointed successor, Xenophon Wilfley, to be in favor. Peter Gerry (D-RI) committed after the state legislature formally urged his support. Charles Culberson (D-TX) privately switched in favor after Texas granted women primary suffrage on March 26. Carroll Page (R-VT) committed to NAWSA in April. *FDL*, images 193, 212, MS 180, 198; “Early Skirmish in Senate Shows Suffrage Views,” (*Fall River, MA*) *Evening Herald*, May 8, 1918, 8; “Woman Suffrage Bill Was Signed,” *Houston Post*, March 27, 1918, 5; “Culberson Voted With Sheppard,” *Houston Post*, May 7, 1918, 7. Culberson had long extolled the virtues of the “white primary” for Democrats, because it would be “uninfluenced by the chicanery and intrigue which heretofore defeated the will of the people.” “Satisfactory in Texas,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 26, 1906, 12.
- 398 *a rancher*: “Andrieus Aristeus Jones,” *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January 1, 1928), 112.
- 398 *gained the floor*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (May 6, 1918), 6096–97; “Suffrage Motion Beaten in Senate,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1918, 24.
- 398 *room for doubt*: In addition to the many absences, three senators who were present in the chamber refrained from voting to honor their pairs: Porter McCumber (R-ND), Charles McNary (R-OR), and Charles Thomas (D-CO). All three were Anthony Amendment supporters, so the vote of any one of them would have put the Jones motion over the top. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 6, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (May 6, 1918), 6097.
- 398 *offering to meet*: JPT to WW, May 7, 1918 (includes WW handwritten note to JPT), reel 210, ##60016–17, images 600–01, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 398 *Kent followed up*: Elizabeth T. Kent to WW, May 8, 1918, reel 210, ##60020–22, images 604–06, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *Catt called*: Staff Memorandum for the President, May 8, 1918, reel 210, #60018, image 602, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, May 8–31, 1918, box 3, reel 3, WWP (reflecting no meetings with Catt).
- 399 *All four men*: John Beckham to WW, May 9, 1918, *PWW*, 47:580; Benjamin Tillman to WW, May 10, 1918, *PWW*, 47:597; Duncan Upshaw Fletcher to WW, May 11, 1918, *PWW*, 47:609; Park Trammell to WW, May 16, 1918, *PWW*, 48:43.
- 399 *Wilson agreed*: WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, May 8, 1918, box 3, reel 3, WWP.
- 399 *“postponed indefinitely”*: “Puts Off Senate Vote on Suffrage Question,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1918, 9; *FDL*, images 212–216, MS 198–202.
- 399 *“more disturbed”*: Elizabeth Bass to WW, May 21, 1918, reel 210, #60038, image 621, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *“left nothing undone”*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60041, image 627, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 399 *“literally impossible”*: JPT to Florence Bayard Hilles, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60042, image 628, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *“overwhelmed with business”*: WW to JPT, May 25, 1918, reel 210, #60050, image 636, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *meet with Bass*: WW to Elizabeth Bass, May 22, 1918, reel 210, #60041 image 627, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *reinforcement he needed*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 2013), 300–01; Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 320–21. Wilson would keep up his routine of daily automobile rides almost until his death. Though he never learned to drive, he thoroughly enjoyed being chauffeured in the Pierce-Arrows that he used in the White House years and the post–presidency. And with good reason: the top-end Pierce–Arrows made available to him were at the time arguably the finest automobiles in the world. The 825-cubic inch engine of the 1916 Pierce-Arrow 66 A-4 was the largest ever in any production passenger car, before or since. Its cast aluminum body, aluminum crankcase, and 93-inch wheelbase made it the limousine of choice, with a 1916 price tag of \$7,213 (approximately

- \$208,000 in current dollars)—more than ten times the average annual household income in America at the time. Wilson took delivery of two of them in 1917, replacing his earlier version. In 1919 he would acquire a newer model, the Series 51; Wilson friends purchased it for his personal use in the post-presidency. Marc Ralston, *Pierce-Arrow* (San Diego: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1980), 87; “Pierce-Arrow Limousine,” Wilson Presidential Library (online); Richard F. Weingrof, “On the Road with President Woodrow Wilson,” *Highway History* (Washington, DC: Federal Highway Administration, n.d.) (online).
- 400 *May 28*: David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 227–32.
- 400 *Belleau Wood*: Ibid., 248–49.
- 400 *Catt pressed*: Staff Memorandum to the President, June 10, 1918 (relaying NAWSA request for “a sentence” recommending that the Senate “act at this session”), reel 210, #60073, image 661, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 400 *“my earnest hope”*: WW to Carrie Chapman Catt, June 13, 1918, *PWW*, 48:303 and n1; “Wilson Spurs Fight for Women’s Vote,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1918, 10; Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 292.
- 400 *briefly reported*: “Wilson Spurs Fight for Women’s Vote,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1918, 10.
- 401 *notifying the Senate*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 20, 1918), 8040–41 (remarks of Sen. Hollis).
- 401 *pressed him to meet*: JPT to WW, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60105, image 694, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *rejected the idea*: WW to JPT, c. June 22, 1918, reel 210, #60106, image 695, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *agreed to write*: WW to John Shields, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60104, images 692–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *ibid.* #60115–17, images 705–07; WW to Shields, June 26, 1918, *ibid.* #60120, image 710.
- 401 *“I have said so much”*: WW to Helen Hamilton Gardener, June 24, 1918, reel 210, #60109, image 698, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 401 *forced to withdraw*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 9, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (July 13, 1918), 8343–55.
- 401 *“most important measure”*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 27, 1918), 8355 (remarks of Sen. Shafroth).
- 401 *adjourned at four o’clock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 8, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (June 26, 1918), 8310.
- 401 *“unwise”*: WW to Helen Hamilton Gardener, June 24, 1918, reel 210, #60109, image 698, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Far from honoring women’s war service, the Wilson administration on February 5, 1917 revoked the only Medal of Honor ever bestowed on a woman. It was on President Lincoln’s recommendation that honors medical school graduate Mary Edwards Walker received the award for her service as a battlefield surgeon in Civil War campaigns from Bull Run to Chickamauga and for her work as a Union spy, captured and imprisoned for four months as a POW in one of the Confederacy’s most notoriously harsh prisons. After Lincoln’s assassination, Andrew Johnson signed the formal citation. Historians have long speculated whether Walker’s suffrage activism, her testimony before Congress, and her criticism of Wilson’s war policies played a role in her inclusion on a long list of non-meritorious winners first compiled in 1916—especially since several white males who saw no combat were allowed to keep their medals. In 1977, during the Carter administration, the Army reviewed the matter, found Walker displayed “front-line gallantry and bravery” at Bull Run and Gettysburg, stated explicitly that she had been a victim of sex discrimination, and restored her to the list of winners. She remains to this day the only woman ever to receive the Medal of Honor. Act of March 3, 1863, 12 Stat. 751, sec. 6 (setting forth the standard in place when her medal was granted, restricting it to those who “most distinguish themselves in action”); “Medal Restored!,” *Boston Globe*, June 3, 1977, 2; “Battlefield Surgeon Vindicated,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 30, 1977, 36; Sharon M. Harris, *Dr. Mary Walker: An American Radical, 1832-1919* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009) 12, 58, 72-73.
- 401 *“not to take a recess”*: “The Suffrage Measure,” *Washington Post*, July 2, 1918, 6.
- 402 *deny permission*: After Tumulty privately told a suffragist in Tennessee that Wilson had asked Tennessee’s U.S. senator John K. Shields to vote for the amendment, she wrote asking Wilson’s permission to publicize the fact.

- The senator was running for reelection on the strength of his support for the president. Lucy L. Branham to WW, July 17, 1918, reel 210, ## 60151–53, images 741–42, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Wilson said no to this request. WW to JPT, July 19, 1918, reel 210, #60153, image 743, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP. Later, however, Senator Shields himself published Wilson’s letter to him. “Suffrage Is World Issue, Wilson Says,” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 2, 1918, 3. Even after that, Wilson authorized Tumulty to state only this: “The President has written Senator Shields as he has written other senators.” The statement carefully avoided any mention of the Anthony Amendment. JPT to WW (including WW notations), July 30, 1918, reel 210, #60166, image 757, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 402 *Senate adjourned*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 9, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (July 13, 1918), 9096.
- 402 *final offensive*: David Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 277–91.
- 402 “*protest the continued delay*”: Alice Paul, “Dear Suffragist” letter, July 28, 1918, reel 210, ##60176–77, images 767–68, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 402 *Wilson had successfully insisted*: “Congress Recess Held Up by Fight on Wire Control,” *New York Times*, July 7, 1918, 1.
- 402 *This demonstration*: SWP, 355–56.
- 403 “*does not seem likely*”: Paul, “Dear Suffragist” letter.
- 403 “*prevent this*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener to Rudolph Forster, August 2, 1918, reel 210, #60175, image 766, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 403 “*most helpful*”: FDL, image 188, MS 175.
- 403 *police informed them*: “Women’s Protest Against Disfranchisement Broken Up by Federal Police,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 30 (August 17, 1918), 5; “What Did Ben Lindsey Mean?,” *The Woman Patriot*, vol. 1, no. 18 (August 24, 1918), 5; JFF, 272.
- 403 *sixty-eight more ... District Workhouse*: SWP, 356–63; JFF, 272.
- 404 “*the next bunch*”: Louis Brownlow, *A Passion for Anonymity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 80.
- 404 *Brownlow claimed*: Ibid.; SWP, 359–60.
- 404 *more publicity*: “Suffragettes in Prison Ill,” *San Francisco Examiner*, August 19, 1918, 4; “22 Suffragettes Go on Hunger Strike, Held Incommunicado, No Visitors Being Allowed,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 17, 1918, 4; “Suffragettes in Jail Begin Hunger Strike,” *Washington Herald*, August 17, 1918, 1.
- 404 *congressional outrage*: “Women Protest Against Action of Democrats,” *Evansville Journal*, August 17, 1918, 2.
- 404 “*withdraw the orders*”: JFF, 274–75.
- 404 *abruptly released*: “Free 23 Suffragists After Six-Day Fast,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1918, 9.
- 404 “*Too Weak to Stand*”: “Suffragists Are Given Freedom—Too Weak to Stand,” *Trenton Evening Times*, August 21, 1918, 10.
- 404 *stood at the pulpit*: “Cabot Lodge Delivers Eulogy,” *Portsmouth Herald*, August 21, 1918, 2; “Gallinger’s Body in State,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1918, 9.
- 404 *sixty-one*: FDL, images 224–25, MS 210–11.
- 404 *four days later*: “Lodge Demands a Dictated Peace, Won by Victory,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1918, 1.
- 405 “*out of respect*”: Writing in 1922, the authors of *History of Woman Suffrage* described the appointed senator, Irving Drew, as “an avowed ‘anti.’” HWS, 6:406. But this only became clear on the eve of the vote, when to the surprise of Republican whips he declared against the amendment. FDL, images 224–25, MS 210–11.
- 405 “*liberal views*” ... *Amendment was won*: FDL, images 224–25, MS 210–11. Tillman of South Carolina was succeeded by Christie Benet; James of Kentucky was succeeded by George B. Martin.
- 405 “*Senate will soon end*”: “The September Suffrage Demonstrations,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 34 (September 14, 1918), 7.
- 405 *her appointment ... “he would not”*: SWP, 363.
- 405 “*all that I can*”: Ibid.; “Women Will Open Vote Drive Today at the White House,” *New York Tribune*, September 16, 1918, 7.
- 405 *Lafayette’s statue ... allowed this protest*: SWP, 363–65.

- 406 “*great crowd cheering*”: “Wilson Words Empty, Charge Suffragists,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 17, 1918, 3.
- 406 *changed his mind*: FDL, image 225, MS 211.
- 406 *Jones rose*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 10, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 17, 1918), 10407.

### 33. Toujours de l’Audace

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- 407 *deadliest battle*: Robert H. Ferrell, *America’s Deadliest Battle: Meuse-Argonne, 1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), xi. Death came not only from machine gun and rifle fire, hand-to-hand combat, and poison gas, but also the deadly “Spanish flu.” Some 70,000 of Pershing’s force at Meuse-Argonne became infected with the virus, many of them dying in makeshift hospitals. John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1931), vol. 2, 327.
- 407 *369th Infantry . . . entire unit*: Peter Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle: The Harlem Hellfighters’ Struggle for Freedom in WWI and Equality at Home* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009), 104–09, 203–05.
- 407 *proudly reported*: “Privates Bill and Needham,” *Pottsville Republican*, May 27, 1918, 4.
- 407 *1.5 million women*: Valerie J. Conner, “The Mothers of the Race in World War I: The National War Labor Board and Women in Industry,” in Nancy F. Cott, ed., *History of Women in the United States* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1993), 15:147.
- 407 *Black women now worked . . . training camps*: Alice Dunbar-Nelson, “Negro Women in War Work,” in Emmett J. Scott, *Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (Chicago: Homewood Press, 1919), 374–97, at 376–77, 379, 396.
- 408 *her daughter . . . perspectives and experiences*: Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (Washington, DC: National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, 1968), 143–47, 318–28; Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 128.
- 408 *War Camp Community Service*: “Democracy and the Colored Soldier: War Camp Community Service for the Colored Soldier, Sailor and Marine,” *Playground Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 3 (September 1919), W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.
- 408 *into men’s positions*: “Democracy for Colored Women,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 24 (September 14, 1918), 3. Paul had proven on previous occasions that she needed Terrell’s reminders. Jill Diane Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 137–41.
- 408 *first words spoken*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 26, 1918), 10769–70.
- 409 *intellectual . . . biographer*: Shortly after Wilson’s election to the presidency, Williams published a book on Thomas Jefferson, using its preface to honor Wilson. John Sharp Williams, *Thomas Jefferson, His Permanent Influence on American Institutions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), vii. He viewed himself as an intellectual. George C. Osborn, “The Home Life of a Plantation Statesman, John Sharp Williams,” *Agricultural History*, vol. 15, no. 3 (July 1941), 129–136; “John Sharp Williams Retired to Live at Home Among Books,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1932, 10. James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate for president in 1920, hyperbolically declared Williams one of “the two most scholarly men in the history of the United States Congress”—the other in his estimation being John Quincy Adams. Cox, *Journey through My Years* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946), 103.
- 409 *Wilson’s presidential ambitions*: H. C. F. Bell, *Woodrow Wilson and the People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Duran and Co., 1945), 86.
- 409 *“irreparable loss”*: WW to John Sharp Williams, August 2, 1917, *PWW*, 43:344.
- 409 *he would boast*: William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 78.
- 409 *Williams’s recommendation*: Edmond Boudreaux, Jr., *Legends and Lore of the Mississippi Golden Gulf Coast* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 131–38.
- 409 *“doggerel”*: John Sharp Williams to WW, October 4, 1918, box 2, John Sharp Williams Papers, 1902–24, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
- 409 *apology*: WW to John Sharp Williams, April 2, 1914, *PWW*, 29:394.

- 409 “*white man’s Government*”: 51 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (March 19, 1914), 5104 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*Is it not far better*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener, Address to Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference, New Orleans, November 11, 1913, at *ibid.*, 5091 (appended to remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*My good friend and yours*”: Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, June 23, 1918, reel 210, ##6107–08, images 696–97, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 410 “*the word white*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 26, 1918), 10790 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 410 “*eliminate the negro*”: *Ibid.*, 10771–72 (remarks of Sen. Vardaman).
- 410 *his own proposal*: *Ibid.*, 10777 (remarks of Sen. Fletcher).
- 410 *Pomerene rose*: *Ibid.*, 10788 (remarks of Sen. Pomerene).
- 410 “*petticoat brigade*”: *Ibid.*, 10848–49 (remarks of Sen. Reed).
- 411 “*earliest possible moment*”: *Ibid.*, 10842–45 (remarks of Sen. Pittman).
- 411 “*would mean the defeat*”: *Ibid.*, 10790 (remarks of Sen. Jones).
- 411 “*without debate*”: *Ibid.*, 10857 (remarks of Sen. Thomas).
- 411 *take Sunday off*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 28, 1918), 10903.
- 411 “*the President desires*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10924 (remarks of Sen. Martin).
- 411 *not his idea ... major headlines*: William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 496–98.
- 411 *that morning*: “President Asks Senate to Adopt Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, September 30, 1918, 1.
- 412 *urgent note*: Carrie Chapman Catt to WW, September 29, 1918, *PWW*, 51:155.
- 412 *private notes*: John Beckham to WW, May 9, 1918, *PWW*, 47:580; Benjamin Tillman to WW, May 10, 1918, *PWW*, 47:597; Lee Slater Overman to WW, May 21, 1918, *PWW*, 48:110; WW to John Shields, June 20, 1918, reel 210, #60104, images 692–93, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *ibid.*, #60115–17, images 705–07; WW to Shields, June 26, 1918, *ibid.*, #60120, image 710; WW to David Baird, July 30, 1918, *ibid.*, #60170, image 761; Baird to WW, August 5, 1918, *ibid.*, ##60184–85, images 775–76; WW to Christie Benet, September 26, 1918, *ibid.*, #60239, image 841.
- 412 “*almost a fatality*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10924; “Wilson Fails to Win Senate for Suffrage,” *New York Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 412 *treated the occasion*: “Wilson Fails to Win Senate for Suffrage,” *New York Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1; “President Asks Senate to Vote for Suffrage as Aid to Winning War,” *Meriden Morning Record*, October 1, 1918, 7 (Associated Press wire story); “Mrs. Wilson and White House Party Hear President’s Suffrage Speech,” *Washington Times*, September 30, 1918, 13.
- 413 *ten-minute speech ... left the chamber*: “President Asks Senate to Adopt Woman Suffrage,” *Washington Evening Star*, September 30, 1918, 1; WW, Address to the Senate, 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10928.
- 413 *cold water*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10931 (remarks of Sen. Underwood).
- 413 *time-sensitive*: Samuel McGowan to JPT, October 1, 1918, reel 210, ##60251–52, images 855–56, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 413 *only a month*: “Both Parties Still Claim Victory in the Elections,” (*Greenwood, SC*) *Evening Index*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 413 *last-minute gesture*: Atlee Pomerene to WW, October 1, 1918, *PWW*, 51:176. An Associated Press report stated that Wilson sent “letters” on October 1, but the letter to Pomerene is the only one reflected in the White House records. “Sends Letters to Senators,” *Corsicana (TX) Daily Sun*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 414 *73 percent*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10984.
- 414 *began voting*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987.

- 414 “*they say we lack*”: “Courageous Act, Says Mrs. Bass of Pres. Wilson,” *Buffalo Evening Times*, October 1, 1918, 2.
- 414 “*Long before*”: Rose Young, “Our Own Congressional Record,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 19, October 5, 1918, 368–377, at 377.
- 414 “*unhesitatingly*”: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 28, 1918), 10892 (remarks of Sen. Benet).
- 414 “*made no change*”: “Equal Suffrage Lost by Margin of Two Votes,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, October 2, 1918, 11.
- 414 *recorded vote*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987–88; “Defeat of Suffrage,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 1918, 1. The final vote was 63% in favor. Including Jones as a yes vote, the tally would have been 54–30 (still 63%). The party breakdown (including Jones as a yes) was Republicans 73% yes, 27% no (27–10); Democrats 57% yes, 43% no (27–20). Twelve senators did not vote; all had arranged pairs. Adding the pairs, the vote would have been 63–33 (65%) in favor. See Appendix 3 for details.
- 414 *gas mask*: Cover, *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 38 (October 12, 1918).
- 414 *Inadvertent criticism*: David Lawrence, “Democratic Control of Senate in Peril,” *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1918, 1.
- 415 “*Wilson’s urgent message*”: “Suffrage Beaten by the Senate,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1918, 1.
- 415 *heart of the matter*: Editorial, *New York Evening Post*, October 2, 1918, 8.
- 415 *Paul personally signed*: “The Defeat in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 38 (October 12, 1918), 4.
- 416 “*toujours de l’audace*”: Editorial, *New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1918, 8.
- 416 *met the guillotine*: George-Jacques Danton was a leading force in overthrowing the French monarchy, and president of the notorious Committee of Public Safety. He eventually lost his head in the Reign of Terror that his audacious approach unleashed. Robert Christophe, *Danton: A Biography*, trans. Peter M. Green (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967). He was immortalized in Victor Hugo’s last novel, first published in 1874. Hugo, *Ninety-Three*, trans. Lowell Bair (New York: Bantam Books, 1962).
- 416 *union’s ban on women*: “Conductorets Lose Jobs,” *Cincinnati Post*, September 23, 1918, 1; “Car Women Fight Ousting at Gathering,” September 24, 1918, 1, “Car Women Hear Stand Applauded,” September 25, 1918, 1, “Suffrage Leader Aids Car Protest,” September 27, 1918, 3 (all *Cleveland Plain Dealer*). One week before the November 5 election, the Labor Department suspended its termination order, promising to rule definitively after the election. “Car Women Given Delay of Month,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 28, 1918, 1. It then reissued the termination order less than a month after the election. “U.S. Asks Dismissal of Car Women,” December 4, 1918, 1, “Labor Board’s Recommendation for Dismissal of Conductors,” December 4, 1918, 1, “Strike May Set Women’s Status,” December 12, 1918, 4 (all *Cleveland Plain Dealer*). The following year, after the women’s legal appeals, the War Labor Board reversed itself. But even then the women did not regain their jobs. When the union threatened to strike again to prevent the rehiring of women conductors, the railroad met the union’s demands, and the administration did not enforce its new order. “Company Will Not Reinstale Conductorets,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 19, 1919, 1; “Conductorets Will Not Get Old Jobs Back,” *Springfield Daily News*, March 19, 1919, 18. Finally, in 1921 the Labor Department issued an “emphatic” report determining that “women can be employed on street railways successfully, safely and with due regard to their health and well being.” “Reports Car Work Safe for Women; U.S. Labor Bureau Declares Conductor Job Is Healthful,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 28, 1921, 14; “Conductors’ Strike of 1918-1919,” *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* (Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 2022) (online).
- 416 *Revenue Act of 1918*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 10, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 20, 1918), 10548 (roll call on House passage of H.R. 12863).
- 416 *election-year shock*: When voters went to the polls, the retroactive 1918 bill had passed the House but not yet the Senate, where some changes would be made. But the steeper rates were well publicized and the sticker shock was real. Wilson signed the retroactive tax increases into law on February 24, 1919. Roy Gillespie Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, *The Federal Income Tax* (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, 2006), 167, 185–86. Beginning with Wilson’s first year in office, the lowest bracket started with incomes of \$23,000 (including a personal exemption of \$3,000). That is equivalent to \$730,000 in 2024 dollars. The top rate of 7% kicked in at a taxable income of

- \$500,000, equal to \$16 million in today's dollars. Thereafter income tax rates rose continuously and increasingly hit middle- and low-income workers. The Revenue Act of 1918 dropped the bottom bracket to reach taxable incomes beginning at \$1,000, equivalent to \$20,806 in current dollars, and slashed the personal exemption by two-thirds. Revenue Act of 1913, Pub. Law 63–16, 38 Stat. 114; Revenue Act of 1916, Pub. Law 64–271, 39 Stat. 756; Revenue Act of 1917, Pub. Law 65–50, 40 Stat. 300; Revenue Act of 1918, Public Law 65–254, 40 Stat. 1062; Data Release, “Personal Exemptions and Individual Income Tax Rates, 1913–2002” (Washington, DC: Internal Revenue Service, 2002); Statistics of Income, Appendix to Selected Historical and Other Data Tables, Table 23, U.S. Individual Income Tax: Personal Exemptions and Lowest and Highest Bracket Tax Rates, and Tax Base for Regular Tax, 1913–2018 (Washington, DC: Internal Revenue Service, 2024).
- 416 *annual inflation*: U.S. Historical Consumer Price Index for all Urban Consumers (CPI-U): U.S. City Average, All Items (Washington, DC: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019); 1918 CPI and Inflation Rate for the United States, [cpiinflationcalculator.com](http://cpiinflationcalculator.com); Kristijan Gavranic and Dejan Miletic, “U.S. Dollar Stability and the Global Currency Reserves,” *Eurasian Journal of Economics and Finance*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 2016), 14–24, at 19.
- 416 *food prices*: “Yearly Price Changes in the United States, 1890-1919,” U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 270, Retail Prices and Cost of Living Series, in H.Doc. 835, Serial Set vol. 7867, no. 3 (66th Cong., 3rd Sess., February 1921), 50.
- 417 *most likely to die*: John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza* (New York: Viking, 2004), 238–40. Worldwide, the 1918–19 influenza pandemic killed vastly more than the COVID-19 pandemic of 2019–23. According to Nancy K. Bristow, *American Pandemic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–4, the “Spanish flu” killed more than 50 million people globally. Barry cites a modern epidemiological study that placed the death toll from the 1918–19 pandemic “in the order of 50 million” but noted that possibly “as many as 100 million died.” *The Great Influenza*, 96–98, 397, 453–56. In comparison, the 2019–23 pandemic resulted in nearly 7 million deaths. WHO Covid-19 Dashboard, December 31, 2023; “WHO Chief Declares End to COVID-19 as a Global Health Emergency,” *United Nations News*, May 5, 2023.
- 417 *ignoring the advice ... mere minutes*: Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 303–06. Often men without dog tags died anonymously because they were “too sick and too delirious to identify themselves” before they succumbed. Alfred W. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 129.
- 417 *groans and cries*: Account of Col. Ernest W. Gibson Sr., commander of the 57th Pioneer Infantry, quoted in John T. Cushing and Arthur F. Stone, eds., *Vermont and the World War, 1917-1919* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Co., 1928), 6.
- 417 *dumped into the ocean*: The military requirement that those who died at sea be returned to America was abandoned of necessity. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 124; Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 306.
- 417 *instruct him to obey*: Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 306–08.
- 417 *not been on the job*: *Ibid.*, 316.
- 418 *worst month*: *Ibid.*, 313.
- 418 *bedridden*: “Champ Clark, Kitchin Catch Spanish Flu,” *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, September 28, 1918, 1.
- 418 *a “heavy cold”*: “J. F. C. Talbott Dies at Home,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1918, 16.
- 418 *alarming proportions*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 7, 1918), 11164 (remarks of Rep. Rainey).

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- 419 *heroic proportions ... “campaign button”*: John Maxwell Hamilton, *Manipulating the Masses: Woodrow Wilson and the Birth of American Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 425–29.
- 419 *enormous leverage*: James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), 138–41.
- 420 *six million women*: “Population—Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States,” *14th Census of the United States*, vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), Table 9, 21–33. The states in which

- women could vote in House and Senate races in 1918 were California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, South Dakota, Michigan, and New York.
- 420 *She herself*: “McCormick, Ruth Hanna,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998).
- 421 *women had achieved*: WW, Address to the Senate, 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (September 30, 1918), 10928.
- 421 *Wilson himself had put it*: WW, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 68.
- 421 *“uncompromising partisan”*: WW, Private Address to Members of the Democratic National Committee, February 28, 1919, in JPT, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 332–34.
- 421 *encouraged it*: *Ibid.*, 326.
- 421 *“boldly ask”*: *Ibid.*
- 421 *“appeal to the country”*: “Text of President Wilson’s Appeal,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, 1.
- 421 *“not a dignified thing”*: EBW to Ray Stannard Baker, in *LL*, 8:510 and n1. Unsurprisingly, Creel would be one of the few to defend it. George Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 133–47.
- 422 *over-the-top*: *LL*, 8:487 and notes 1, 2.
- 422 *“repudiation”*: “Text of President Wilson’s Appeal,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1918, 1.
- 422 *unwelcome headlines*: “Congress Won by Republicans,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1918, 1; “House and Senate Won by Republicans,” *New York Sun*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 422 *“we had an election”*: Franklin Lane, “Cabinet Notes,” November 6, 1918, in *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political*, Anne Wintermute Lane and Louis Herrick Wall, eds. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), 299.
- 422 *revolution*: Newton Diehl Baker to WW, November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:607.
- 422 *“Russian people themselves”*: WW, aide-mémoire, July 17, 1918, in George F. Kennan, *The Decision to Intervene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 482–485; John M. House and Daniel P. Curzon, *The Russian Expeditions 1917–1920* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2019), 7, 22–23, 41–43, 61–65; Eugene P. Trani, “Woodrow Wilson and the Decision to Intervene in Russia: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 48, no. 3 (September 1976), 440–461. Wilson’s decision to intervene in Russia came three weeks after corresponding with Thomas Dixon about the wisdom of doing so. Dixon had strongly urged that course of action. *LL*, 8:233.
- 422 *“practically bankrupt”*: Frank Irving Cobb, memorandum c. November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:613.
- 422 *laying down markers*: Robert Lansing to Hans Sulzer, November 5, 1918, quoting memorandum from Allied governments, in “Text of President Wilson’s Note to Germany,” *New York Times*, November 6, 1918, 1.
- 423 *“friendship and admiration”*: Jouett Shouse to WW, November 7, 1918, *PWW*, 51:623.
- 423 *“It distresses me”*: WW to Charles William Eliot, November 8, 1918, *PWW*, 51:637.
- 423 *“sick at heart”*: Key Pittman to WW, November 6, 1918, *PWW*, 51:611.
- 423 *“unfair burden”*: WW to Key Pittman, November 7, 1918, *PWW*, 51:620.
- 423 *“no longer have been entitled”*: David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 349.
- 423 *“talked almost continuously”*: Homer Cummings to WW, November 8 or 9, 1918, *PWW*, 51:646.
- 423 *to-do list*: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920,” memorandum to WW, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:23.
- 424 *enough new Anthony Amendment supporters*: As of election day, the changes at the margin that made the difference in the Senate were the victories of Walter Edge (R-NJ), L. Heisler Ball (R-DE), and David Walsh (D-MA), all Anthony Amendment supporters who replaced opponents; and the victories of Pat Harrison (D-MS) and Nathaniel Dial (D-SC), both Anthony Amendment opponents who replaced supporters. The net result was that the amendment picked up the one additional supporter needed. *FDL*, images 254–55, MS 240–41. Before the new Congress voted on the Anthony Amendment in June 1919, William Harris (D-GA) and Eugene Hale (R-ME), both of whom replaced amendment opponents, also publicly committed to vote yes, further increasing the



- Anthony Amendment supermajority. The final, successful vote would be 56–25, representing 69% in favor. 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 4, 1919), 635.
- 424 *detailed analysis*: JPT, “Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920.”
- 424 *“almost certain”*: EMH to WW and Robert Lansing, telegram no. 74, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:4–5.
- 425 *3:00 a.m.*: “World War Ends as Germany Signs Armistice,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1918, 1; “Armistice Is Signed; War Is Over,” *New York Sun*, November 11, 1918, 1.
- 425 *Three telegrams*: EMH to WW, telegrams nos. 85–87, November 11, 1918, *PWW*, 53:33–34.
- 425 *one o’clock*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (November 11, 1918), 11541–43.
- 425 *Pedestrians cheered him ... took a bow*: “Truce Electrifies Congress,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1; “Truce Leaves Germany Helpless,” *New York Sun*, November 12, 1918, 1.
- 425 *empty seats*: The Associated Press photo of Wilson addressing the chamber shows approximately one-third of the seats on the floor empty.
- 426 *“no small anxiety”*: WW, Address to a Joint Session of Congress, speaking copy, November 11, 1918, *PWW*, 53:35.
- 426 *himself as chairman*: WW to EMH, telegram no. 14, *PWW*, 53:66.
- 426 *who might be appointed*: Bipartisan representation, the *Tribune* said, would ensure that the “Senate was not asked to approve a document of which its members know nothing” and that they were “not left out in the cold.” “America at the Peace Table,” *New York Tribune*, November 11, 1918, 8.
- 427 *“presented”*: U.S. Const., art. I, sec. 7, cl. 2–3.
- 427 *parchment*: This remains the custom today, except in extraordinary cases. *Jefferson’s Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, H.R. Doc. No. 110–162, § 573, 301 (2009), provides that “When a bill has passed both Houses of Congress, the House last acting on it notifies its passage to the other, and delivers the bill to the joint committee of enrollment, who see that it is truly enrolled in parchment.” Despite the rapid development of technology throughout the 20th century, the presentment clause was not definitively interpreted to allow the use of electronic facsimiles until the second decade of the 21st century. “Whether Bills May Be Presented by Congress and Returned by the President by Electronic Means,” Memorandum Opinion for the Counsel to the President, May 3, 2011, 35 Op. O.L.C., at 8–9 (2011).
- 427 *met with his cabinet*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 427 *“unwise”*: Robert Lansing, State Department memorandum, November 12, 1918, *PWW*, 53:65–66.
- 427 *“domestic affairs would suffer”*: Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson: World Prophet* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 206.
- 427 *“Chief Executive abroad”*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 427 *definitely leaving*: “Text of the Official Announcement of the President’s Plan to Go to Europe,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1918, 1. The CPI announcement indicated that Wilson would not participate in the formal peace conference itself or serve as a delegate on the U.S. Peace Commission, but that he would participate only in preliminary discussions concerning the “greater outlines” of the eventual treaty before returning to the United States.
- 428 *“who will be in charge”*: “President Going to Europe for Peace Preliminaries,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1918, 1.
- 428 *“organ of Wilsonianism”*: “The Ebb Tide,” *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1918, 8.
- 428 *lengthy critique*: “Wilson Faces Crisis in His Leadership,” *New York Post*, November 25, 1918, 1.
- 428 *“practically demanding”*: “Wilson Urged to Go Abroad,” *New York Sun*, November 13, 1918, 1.
- 428 *“practically unanimous”*: EMH to WW, November 14, 1918, *PWW*, 53:71.
- 428 *two to one*: “On Wilson at the Peace Table the ‘Noes’ Have It,” *New York Times*, November 15, 1918, 1.
- 429 *“Just destroy”*: Helen Hamilton Gardener to JPT, November 27, 1918, reel 210, ##60307, image 912, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP; Helen Hamilton Gardener to WW, November 27, 1918, *ibid.*, ##60308–09, images 914–915.
- 429 *“what shall we say”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 2, 1918), 13.
- 429 *“I welcome this occasion”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (December 2, 1918), 15.
- 429 *“cool reception”*: “Address Fails to Stir,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1.

- 430 *pick up the phone*: “Wilson Guards His Speech,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1918, 1.
- 430 *“Bitter resentment”*: “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 1; “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*, December 4, 1918, 1.
- 430 *Senate observers*: “Would Vacate Wilson’s Office,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1; “Wilson Guards His Speech,” *New York Times*; “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*.
- 430 *“executive sabotage”*: “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*.
- 430 *Republican defenders*: “Taft Defends Wilson’s Trip as Essential,” *St. Louis Star*, December 5, 1918, 1; WW to James R. Mann, December 3, 1918, *PWW*, 53:308 and n1.
- 430 *Marshall as president*: The Senate debated but did not adopt a resolution offered by Senator Lawrence Sherman of Illinois declaring Wilson’s purposeful long absence from the country while Congress was in session an “inability to discharge the powers and duties” of the presidency within the meaning of the Constitution and the Presidential Succession Act. 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 3d Sess. (December 3, 1918), 23, 24–31; “Senators Clash Over Trip,” *New York Times*; “Would Vacate Wilson’s Office,” *New York Times*.
- 430 *“No one in America”*: EMH Diary, October 13, 1918, Yale University Library, MS 466, Edward Mandell House Papers, Series II, Diaries, 5:307.

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- 431 *honeymoon*: “Bridal Pair Is Hidden,” *Washington Post*, November 27, 1913, 1.
- 431 *troop transport*: Albert Gleaves, *A History of the Transport Service: Adventures and Experiences of United States Transports and Cruisers in the World War* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921), 93–101, 240–46, 264, 294. The passenger capacity was 2,700, the highest of any U.S.-registered ship.
- 431 *“pleasantest voyages”*: WW, epigraph, *The Hatchet of the U.S.S. George Washington* (New York: J.J. Little & Ives Co., 1919).
- 431 *Husband and wife ... a thousand*: EBW, *My Memoir* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 172–75; “Nation Awaits Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 1.
- 432 *Louis Seres*: “Wilson Sails Tomorrow,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1918, 1; “Louis G. Seres, Chef to President Wilson,” *New York Times*, November 27, 1948, 17; Stephen T. Moskey, “The Pilgrim’s Passage,” *White House History Quarterly*, no. 51 (Fall 2018), 39–53, at 47.
- 432 *three-hour nap ... “undisturbed”*: EBW, *My Memoir*, 173.
- 432 *frequently slept in*: Daily logs, December 4–13, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP. Even so, Edith would claim years later that the president “worked every morning.” EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 432 *“guests to lunch”*: EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 432 *“Fourteen Specific Articles”*: “Fourteen Points Urged for Race,” *Washington Star*, December 7, 1918, 10; John R. Hawkins, “What Does the Negro Want: Fourteen Articles Setting Forth What the American Negro Expects after Helping to Win the War for Democracy,” pamphlet (Washington, DC: NAACP, 1918), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
- 432 *Democracy Congress*: “City Briefs,” *Washington Post*, December 17, 1918, 8.
- 432 *southern-born educator*: Hawkins also served as chief financial officer of Washington, DC’s African Methodist Episcopal Church, the head of its Department of Education, and editor of its *Centennial Encyclopedia*. “History of John R. Hawkins,” [thejohnrhawkins.org/about-us](http://thejohnrhawkins.org/about-us).
- 432 *observer*: “Race Congress Appoints Peace Meeting Delegates,” *Washington Herald*, December 4, 1918, 3; “Names Delegates to Paris,” *Washington Star*, December 4, 1918, 19.
- 432 *“What does the Negro want?”*: “Fourteen Points Urged for Race,” *Washington Star*
- 433 *quickly lost touch*: An indication of the extreme time lag for communications with Wilson is a letter from Jeannette Rankin, written a few days before the president left Washington. It was not stamped “received” until more than a month later, on January 9. Wilson may never have seen her request for him to speak “in this last hour” with the “many doubting Members” on the Anthony Amendment, as he did not reply. Jeannette Rankin to WW, December 8, 1918, reel 210, #60313, image 920, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.

- 433 *Fosdick ... "went on with his story"*: Raymond Blaine Fosdick Diary, December 8, 1918, *PWW*, 53:340–41. Fosdick later became president of the Rockefeller Foundation. "Raymond B. Fosdick Dies at 89," *New York Times*, July 19, 1972, 41. On his return voyage to Washington, Wilson frequently entertained the members of the ship's crew with "stories in negro dialect." "Mrs. Wilson Says Trip to Europe Was 'Lots of Fun,'" *Boston Globe*, February 26, 1919, 2.
- 433 *"determine this question"*: JPT, "Things to Be Attended to At Once—Program for 1920," memorandum to WW, November 9, 1918, *PWW*, 53:23.
- 433 *"profound convictions"*: John K. Shields to WW, June 25, 1918, *PWW*, 48:427.
- 433 *"disposed to vote"*: Richard I. Manning to WW, October 14, 1918, *PWW*, 51:337. Pollock had assured NWP representatives in South Carolina that he would support the Anthony Amendment. *SWP*, 330, 404; "Another Suffrage Vote," *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 41 (November 2, 1918), 7.
- 434 *twenty-five years*: Elna C. Green, "Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–189, at 179.
- 434 *"intimate friends"*: "Colonel Ewing, Publisher, Dead," *New York Times*, April 28, 1931, 27. He is not to be confused with Judge Robert Ewing of Nashville, TN, Ellen Wilson's cousin who featured in the 1912 *Harper's Weekly* drama. EAW to Robert Ewing, January 12, 1912, *PWW*, 24:40; "Editors' Break With Wilson Is Explained," *Nashville Banner*, January 19, 1912, 1.
- 434 *Ewing was instrumental*: "Robert Ewing Dies Suddenly," *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 28, 1931, 1; "Robert Ewing," *Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*, Carl A. Brasseaux and James D. Wilson, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association, 1999).
- 434 *"You know Senator Gay"*: WW to Robert Ewing, December 2, 1918, *PWW*, 53:287.
- 434 *state constitutional amendment*: B.H. Gilley, "Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 303.
- 434 *"concise way of expressing"*: Kate Gordon to Laura Clay, December 3, 1908, Laura Clay Papers, 1906-1920, box 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Libraries.
- 434 *lost narrowly*: Report of the Secretary of State to His Excellency the Governor of Louisiana, January 1, 1919 (Baton Rouge, 1919), 275; "Republicans Get House; Senate Doubtful," (*Alexandria, LA*) *Weekly Town Talk*, November 9, 1918, 1; "New Orleans Kills Woman Suffrage," *New Iberia (LA) Enterprise*, November 9, 1918, 3.
- 434 *"white female"*: B. H. Gilley, "Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 24, no. 3 (Summer 1983), 289–306, at 296.
- 435 *"pull its teeth out"*: Kate Gordon to Laura Clay, November 13, 1918, Laura Clay Papers, Special Collections, University of Kentucky Library.
- 435 *remained a member*: Despite occasional ruptures in the relationship, both Gordon sisters were life members of NAWSA. Gilley, "Kate Gordon and Louisiana Suffrage," 289–306, at 304 and n61; Kenneth Johnson, "Kate Gordon and the Woman-Suffrage Movement in the South," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 38, no. 3 (August 1972), 365–392, at 391.
- 435 *"entirely out"*: *HWS*, 6:224.
- 435 *Harper dutifully reported ... "save the situation"*: Ida Husted Harper to Kate Gordon, November 18, 1918, Laura Clay Papers, 1906-1920, box 3, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Libraries.
- 436 *"looked very fit"*: "President Wilson Welcomed at Brest," *New York Times*, December 14, 1918, 1.
- 436 *"a real holiday"*: EBW, *My Memoir*, 174.
- 436 *"All these movies"*: Michael Sragow, *Victor Fleming: An American Movie Master* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 66–74.
- 436 *"go to Paris"*: George Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 152, 156.
- 436 *"why George Creel"*: "Wilson Faces Crisis in His Leadership," *New York Evening Post*, November 25, 1918, 1.
- 436 *planned Wilson visits*: Sragow, *Victor Fleming*, 66–67 and n71.
- 436 *Wilson's tour*: Daily logs, December 14-29, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915-1924, WWP; "Wilson Fete Outdoes Armistice Night," *New York Times*, December 15, 1918, 2; "Paris Welcomes Wilson," *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1918, 1; "Wilson Sorbonne Guest," *New York Times*, December 22, 1918, 1.

- 437 *touring the palace*: “President Wilson Makes Visit to Versailles; Makes Arrangements to Play Golf as Often as Time Will Permit During Peace Conference,” *Deseret News*, December 17, 1918, 1; “President Breaks Two Precedents,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 1.
- 437 *Trotter arrived ... Wells-Barnett*: “Colored Men Choose Peace Table Envoys,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, December 17, 1918, 5; “Appoints 11 to Versailles,” *Washington Post*, December 20, 1918, 5; “Boston Delegates to Big Colored Congress Return,” *Boston Globe*, December 22, 1918, 6; “Colored Peace Envoys,” *The (St. Paul, MN) Appeal*, December 28, 1918, 2; Kerri K. Greenidge, *Black Radical: The Life and Times of William Monroe Trotter* (New York: Liveright, 2020), 261–62.
- 437 *under surveillance*: Theodore Kornweible, Jr., *‘Investigate Everything’: Federal Efforts to Ensure Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 50, 60, 270–71; A’Lelia Bundles, *On Her Own Ground: The Life and Times of Madam C. J. Walker* (New York: Scribner, 2002), 264.
- 437 *State Department denied*: Greenidge, *Black Radical*, 263.
- 437 *“immediate threat”*: Act of May 22, 1918, 40 Stat. 559, chap. 81.
- 437 *executive order*: Executive Order 2932 (August 8, 1918), reprinted in 12 *American Journal of International Law*, Supp. (1918), 331–43; Presidential Proclamation No. 65, 40 Stat. 1829 (1918).
- 437 *refused passports*: Jeffrey D. Kahn, “International Travel and the Constitution,” 56 *UCLA L. Rev.* 271 (2008), at 313–14. To evade these restrictions, Trotter shaved his trademark mustache and traveled to France disguised as a ship’s cook using a laborer’s passport under a false name. Even so, he did not arrive in time for the conclusion of the peace agreement. Greenidge, *Black Radical*, 265–66. The Wilson administration did issue passports to the NAACP’s W. E. B. Du Bois and Robert Russa Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington as president of the Tuskegee Institute, to attend the second Pan-African Congress that was taking place in Paris alongside the peace conference. *Black Radical*, 262.
- 437 *summarily revoked ... “embarrassed”*: Clara Wold, “Making Paris Safe for the President,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 6–7.
- 438 *three hundred ... “this old fight”*: Kate Heffelfinger, “The Demonstration,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 6, no. 49 (December 28, 1918), 5; “Wilson’s Words Are Burned by Suffragists,” *New York Tribune*, December 17, 1918, 7; “Burn Wilson’s Messages,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 12.
- 438 *“how hollow”*: “Women Burn Wilson Book and Speeches,” *Minneapolis Journal*, December 17, 1918, 14.
- 438 *another suffrage story*: “All Voters in Britain—Equal Suffrage Is Established,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1918, 1.
- 438 *England*: Representation of the People Act, February 6, 1918, 8 Geo. 5 chap. 64 (Eng.). The law enfranchised women over 30, subject to certain other requirements.
- 438 *Australia*: Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 (Cth) no. 8 (Austl.).
- 438 *New Zealand*: Electoral Act of 1893, 57 Vict., no. 8 (N.Z.). New Zealand was the first democracy in the world to grant women’s suffrage on a national basis.
- 438 *Canada*: An Act to Confer the Electoral Franchise upon Women, S.C. 1918, c. 20 (Can.). Uruguay was also cited by suffragists at the time as having granted women’s suffrage in 1918. But while Article 10 of the 1918 Constitution made explicit provision for women’s right to vote, it specifically required implementation by statute, which did not occur until 1932. Andrea Scoseria Katz, “*La Suiza de América*: Direct Democracy, Anti-presidentialism, and Constitutional Entrenchment in Uruguay’s Constitution of 1918,” *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 19, no. 3 (July 2021), 997–1019, at 1008n46.
- 438 *more than twenty*: Prior to 1919 limited or full voting rights were granted to women in Sweden (1734, expanded 1862, 1918); Tuscany (1848); Denmark (1898, expanded 1908, 1915); Latvia (1905, 1917); Finland (1906); Norway (1913); Belarusian People’s Republic, Estonia, Russian Republic, Ukrainian People’s Republic, and Crimean People’s Republic (all 1917); Netherlands, Democratic Republic of Georgia, Austria, Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, Germany, Hungarian Republic, Poland, Serbia (province of Banat, Bačka and Baranja), Russian SFSR, and Kirghiz SSR (all 1918).
- 438 *shopping with Edith*: Daily log, December 24, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.

- 438 *every bit as regal*: “London Gives Wilson Surpassing Popular Welcome,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1918, 1; “Wilson Explains Plans,” *Boston Globe*, December 27, 1918, 1; Cary T. Grayson, *Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), 62–63.
- 439 *page-one headline*: “Like A King Is Wilson—First Commoner to Use Regal Suite,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 1918, 1. The article noted that the disgraced Kaiser Wilhelm—Queen Victoria’s grandson and the first cousin of England’s current sovereign, King George V—had preceded Wilson as a guest in these same royal apartments shortly before the war.
- 439 *dined alone*: “President and King Have a Long Talk Alone,” *Boston Globe*, December 27, 1918, 2.
- 439 *had met once*: Wilson convened the meeting after prodding by a member of the group, who buttonholed the president in the ship’s movie theater. William C. Bullitt Diary, December 9 [10], 1918, *PWW*, 53:350.
- 439 *While in Paris*: Daily logs, December 14–29, 1918, WW Appointment Books 1915–1924, WWP.
- 439 *In England he conferred*: “President Closeted Five Hours with Lloyd George and Balfour,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1918, 1.
- 439 *Tumultly prodded*: JPT to WW, December 29, 1918, *PWW*, 53:542.
- 439 *continued to demonstrate*: “Burn Wilson’s Messages,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1918, 12.
- 439 *visit the chapel*: “President Speaks in Carlisle Church,” *Washington Post*, December 30, 1918, 1.
- 439 *“Is there anything else”*: WW to JPT, January 10, 1919, *PWW*, 53:711.
- 439 *crowds in Italy*: “Must Organize Friendship of World, President Tells Acclaiming Romans,” *New York Times*, January 4, 1919; “Brilliant First Day for Wilson in Rome,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 2; “Wilson Confers with Pope, Leaves Rome for Genoa,” *New York Times*, January 5, 1919, 1; “Rome’s Demonstration Is Wilson’s Greatest,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 1919, 1; “The Visit of President Woodrow Wilson to Italy, January 3, 1919,” National Archives at College Park, MD, U.S. Department of Defense, Historical Films, Record Group 111: Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860–1985, reels 1 and 2; “Citizenship of Rome Conferred on Wilson,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 1919, 2.
- 440 *“apex of my glory”*: Grayson, *Intimate Memoir*, 66.
- 440 *“Paris to rest”*: “Italian Cities Give President Amazing Greeting,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1919, 1.
- 440 *“two-thirds of the time”*: Edith Benham Diary, January 12, 1919, *PWW*, 54:34.
- 440 *first two days*: “Allied Unity Marks Opening of the Peace Congress; Clemenceau Made Chairman,” *New York Times*, January 19, 1919, 1.
- 440 *roster of nations*: “Says Allies Won’t ‘Confer’ With Reds,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 3; “Letts State Terms for Conference,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1919, 2. Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and several other countries later joined the Paris conference as national representatives. But they would later join the United States in the category of non-signatories.
- 440 *considered resigning*: Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), 3, 87.
- 440 *“unwelcome”*: *Ibid.*, 87.
- 441 *he could present it*: “Printed Draft Presented,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1919, 1.
- 441 *immediate disagreements*: “League of Nations with Reservations,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, 1; “Wants Guarantees of France’s Safety,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1919, 2; Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: John Murray, 2002), 101–03.
- 441 *first week of February*: “Sign of Peace Conference Unity Seen in Lloyd George’s Decision to Go to London,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1919, 1; “Lloyd George Is Leaving Today; Orlando Going Back to Rome,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1919, 1.
- 441 *could not go*: “Wilson in Charge of Conference Work Where Big Issues Now Wait on League; Drops Belgian Trip to Complete Plan,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1919, 1.
- 441 *leave for home*: “French Ask World Army,” *New York Times*, February 12, 1919, 1.

### 36. Sex, Race, and Paris

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442 *joint meeting*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 9, 1919), 3038–3046.

- 442 “national ceremonies”: “Nation Honors the Life Work of Col. Roosevelt,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 1; “Lodge Eulogy Stirs Congress,” *New York Sun*, February 10, 1919, 1.
- 442 *his own blueprint*: “Mr. Roosevelt’s Nobel Address on International Peace,” *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1910), 700–03, at 702; “Roosevelt Wants League of Peace,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1910, 4.
- 442 “anything or nothing”: Theodore Roosevelt, “The League of Nations,” *Metropolitan Magazine* (January 1919), in William Griffith, ed., *Newer Roosevelt Messages*, vol. 3 (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1919), 1046–51, at 1046–47. In private correspondence with Rudyard Kipling he was more direct: Wilson’s ideas for the League were “a sloppy sea of universal mush.” Theodore Roosevelt to Rudyard Kipling, quoted in Peter Vansittart, ed., *Voices from the Great War* (London: Frankline Watts, 1984), 259.
- 442 *risen dramatically*: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 38.
- 443 *briefest of messages*: WW to John Sharp Williams, January 14, 1919, *PWW*, 54:56.
- 443 “please rebuke me”: WW to Williams, November 29, 1918, *PWW*, 53:244.
- 443 *stood pat*: Williams to WW, January 15, 1919, *PWW*, 54:90.
- 443 *Daniels cabled*: Josephus Daniels to WW, January 26, 1919, *PWW*, 54:281.
- 443 *terse sentences*: WW to Trammell, January 27, 1919, *PWW*, 54:302.
- 443 *fell short*: Wilson had previously sent a brief cable to Trammell on January 14, the same day he wrote Williams. *PWW*, 54:56. Neither that nor Wilson’s two sentences on January 27 changed Trammell’s position.
- 443 *understood why*: Williams, like his other southern Democratic colleagues, remained opposed on racial grounds, as he repeatedly explained on the Senate floor. But choosing to avoid that fundamental objection in his cabled reply to Wilson, he blamed the NWP demonstrations at Lafayette Square for his opposition—as if denying voting rights to the women of Mississippi were a logical way to punish the protestors in Washington with whom he was upset. John Sharp Williams to WW, January 15, 1919, *PWW*, 54:90.
- 443 “force action”: JPT to WW, February 4 [3], 1919, *PWW*, 54:471.
- 443 *a week’s notice*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 3, 1919), 2591 (remarks of Sen. Jones).
- 443 “do not fail us”: JPT to WW, telegram no. 37, February 7, 1919, *PWW*, 54:555 (Tumulty’s emphasis).
- 443 “strong letter” ... “main defender”: JPT to WW, February 6, 1919, *PWW*, 54:519.
- 444 “on the fence”: JPT to WW, telegram no. 42, February 8 [7], 1919, *PWW*, 54:555.
- 444 *already said no*: WW to JPT, January 25, 1919, *PWW*, 54:274.
- 444 “real possibility” ... *two telegrams*: JPT to WW, telegram no. 37, February 7, 1919, and JPT to WW, telegram no. 42, February 8 [7], 1919, both *PWW*, 54:555.
- 444 “pardon me”: WW to Lee Slater Overman, February 9, 1919, *PWW*, 55:37.
- 444 *over two hours*: “Balk Democratic Test on Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, 1.
- 445 *Pollock ... endorsement*: Ibid.; “Bourbons Dodge Suffrage Vote,” *Salt Lake Herald*, February 6, 1919, 4; *HWS*, 5:565–66; “Democrats Have Trouble,” (*Waterloo, IA*) *Evening Courier and Reporter*, February 10, 1919, 4.
- 445 *one vote shy*: “Suffs Shy One Vote in Senate,” *Washington Herald*, February 9, 1919, 4; “Suffrage Needs One Vote,” *Kansas City Star*, February 9, 1919, 3; “Suffrage Before Senate Tomorrow,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 9, 1919, 3.
- 445 *more than forty ... Police Court*: “Suffragists Burn Wilson in Effigy; Many Locked Up,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1919, 1; “Sixty-Five Women Held for Burning Wilson in Effigy,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1919, 2.
- 445 *statutory authority*: D. M. Corrigan, “Military Police Authority Over Civilians—They Look Like Police, They Act Like Police, But Are They the Police?” (MMAS thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1978), *passim*.
- 445 *voted “no” the last time*: The seven were Saulsbury and Wolcott of Delaware; Smith of Maryland; Reed of Missouri; Hitchcock of Nebraska; Pomerene of Ohio; and King of Utah. The latter was paired against. 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10987.
- 445 *Pollock rose ... “any race question”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3052–55 (remarks of Sen. Pollock on H.J. Res. 200).

- 446 *keep them apart*: “Senate Again Beats Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 11, 1919, 1.
- 446 *prickly response*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3052–55 (remarks of Sen. Williams).
- 447 *“great speech”*: FDL, images 272, 274, MS 259, 261.
- 447 *speech in full*: “Senator Pollock’s Idea of State Rights,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 42 (March 15, 1919), 868.
- 448 *considerable length*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3056–60 (remarks of Sen. Frelinghuysen).
- 448 *“friendly influence”*: WW to Robert Ewing, December 2, 1918, *PWW*, 53:287.
- 448 *“still optimistic”*: “Women Not Discouraged by Attitude of Senator Gay,” *Bogalusa Enterprise and American*, January 2, 1919, 3; “Louisiana Branch Holds Suffrage Conference,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 5.
- 448 *“I favor”*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3061 (remarks of Sen. Gay on H.J. Res. 200); “Senate Again Beats Suffrage,” *New York Times*, February 11, 1919, 1.
- 448 *eleven southern Democrats*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 3, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 10, 1919), 3062 (roll call on H. J. Res. 200). See Appendix 4 for the partisan breakdown of the vote.
- 448 *Tuesday in Paris*: JPT to WW, February 11, 1919, *PWW*, 55:94.
- 448 *the Official Bulletin*: “Proceedings of the Congress of the United States Briefly Told,” *Official Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 535, February 11, 1919, 5.
- 449 *floated an idea*: “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *Shreveport Times*, February 12, 1919, 2; “News Nubs for Hasty Reading: Louisiana,” *Bossier (LA) Banner*, February 13, 1919, 1; “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” (*Monroe, LA) Weekly News-Star*, February 13, 1919, 1.
- 449 *“to the hilt”*: Interview with Harry Gamble Jr., item 19, side A, July 28, 1988 (New Orleans: Tulane University, Amistad Research Center). In this interview, Gamble Jr. speaks of his father, who served as assistant attorney general in the administration of Louisiana Governor Ruffin G. Pleasant.
- 449 *“Open Letter”*: Harry Gamble, “An Open Letter to U.S. Senator Ransdell Opposing the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage,” January 26, 1918, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Women’s Suffrage and Equal Rights Collection, box 3, folder 16; “Senatorial Bee Buzzes Around Harry J. Gamble,” *Shreveport Times*, February 3, 1918, 1; Elna C. Green, “The Rest of the Story: Kate Gordon and the Opposition to the Nineteenth Amendment in the South,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Spring 1992), 171–189, at 182–83.
- 449 *“happy time”*: “Suggests Compromise of Suffrage Question,” *Shreveport Times*, February 12, 1919, 2.
- 449 *“instantly accept”*: Ibid.
- 449 *“double-headed articles”*... *“mass meeting”*: Florence Murphy Cooley to JPT, February 17, 1919, reel 210, #60324, image 934, Executive Office File, 1912–21, WWP.
- 449 *two dozen veterans ... unanimously*: “Suffragists Off in ‘Prison Special,’” *New York Times*, February 16, 1919, 16; “Charleston Crowds Hear Suffragettes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 17, 1919, 10; “Columbia Suffragists Will Not Hear Members of Woman’s Party Speak,” *Columbia Record*, February 17, 1919, 5; Julius Cahn, *Julius Cahn’s Official Theatrical Guide*, vol. 3 (New York: Empire Theater Publication Office, 1898), 620. This contemporary theatrical guide lists the capacity of Charleston’s Owens Academy of Music at 1,400.
- 450 *“30 years”*: “Democracy Drowned in the Senate,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 38 (February 15, 1919), 777–78.
- 450 *editorial comments*: “The Democrats’ Blunder,” *The Woman Citizen*, vol. 2, no. 41 (March 8, 1919), 837–38.
- 450 *parade*: JPT to WW, February 11, 1919, *PWW*, 55:94; JPT to Cary T. Grayson, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:218; WW to JPT, February 21, 1919, *PWW*, 55:222.
- 450 *“Democratic city”*: “Wilson to Lead Big Parade and Make a Speech,” *New York Sun*, February 24, 1919, 1.
- 450 *friendly crowd*: Newton D. Baker to WW, January 1, 1919, *PWW*, 53:580–81; JPT to WW, January 6, 1919, *PWW*, 53:625–26; EMH Diary, February 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:193–94; James J. Kenneally, “‘I Want to Go to Jail’: The Woman’s Party Reception for President Wilson in Boston, 1919,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Winter 2017), 102–133, at 106.
- 451 *for the first time*: Hankey’s Notes of a Meeting of the Council of Ten, January 22, 1919, *PWW*, 54:204.

- 451 *paid little attention ... “against racial prejudice”*: Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 1998), 16–17 and n19.
- 451 *getting time with Wilson*: Ibid., 17.
- 451 *“I took occasion”*: Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, vol. 4 (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1928), 320–21.
- 451 *“amour-propre”*: Ibid., 323.
- 452 *drafted a proposal ... abandoned the idea*: Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 17–21 and n33. Wilson’s unwillingness to devote serious time to the proposal reflected, as historian Mary Renda put it in connection with Wilson’s military interventions in Mexico and Haiti, the fact that he shared “basic assumptions about white racial superiority with European imperialists.” Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 113.
- 452 *new language ... “not proposed”*: Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 20.
- 452 *“absurdly mild”*: Ray Stannard Baker Diary, March 8, 1919, *PWW*, 55:463.
- 453 *Times had already warned*: “Delays May Force Wilson to Sail Without League Plans,” *New York Times*, February 12, 1918, 1.
- 453 *The same day ... unanimous*: “Draft to Conference Today,” *New York Times*, February 14, 1919, 1; Shimazu, *Japan, Race, and Equality*, 21 and n46.
- 453 *foundational principle*: The insult to Japanese national pride provoked widespread public hostility to Wilson in Japan, “exposing the hypocrisy and emptiness of Wilson’s slogans on the equality of nations.” Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 182.

### 37. Adulterating Anthony

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- 454 *climbed the gangway*: “Scene at Commonwealth Pier as Wilson Landed,” *Boston Globe*, February 24, 1919, 11; “Mayor Peters’ Committee,” *Boston Globe*, February 20, 1919, 5; “President Cheered from Pier to Hotel,” “Wilson Welcomed on Way from Boston,” both *New York Times*, February 25, 1919, 2.
- 454 *“Army can take care” ... “seven minutes”*: “Solid Line of Troops to Guard Wilson’s Route,” *Boston Globe*, February 20, 1919, 1; “Arrest of 22 Suffragettes,” *Boston Globe*, February 24, 1919, 1; “Reminding the President When He Landed in Boston,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 9, March 1, 1919, 6; “Women Jailed in Boston,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 4–5; *JFF*, 320–22.
- 455 *roses*: “Wilsons Receive Women’s Delegation,” *Boston Globe*, February 24, 1919, 13; “Cheered by 20,000 in Copley Square,” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1919, 8.
- 455 *fiery address*: “Challenge to His Critics,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1919, 1. If Wilson’s objective was to antagonize the incoming Senate Majority Leader and chairman of the committee responsible for treaty ratifications, he succeeded. John A. Garraty, *Henry Cabot Lodge: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 351.
- 455 *equal prominence*: “19 Suffragettes Spend Night in Jail,” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1919, 1; “Wilson’s Speech Plan,” *ibid.*
- 455 *twenty-eight bills*: “Will Camp at Capitol,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1919, 1.
- 455 *speech before the Senate*: Ibid.; “Wilson to Speak Early in Congress,” *New York Times*, February 21, 1919, 1.
- 455 *House’s suggestion*: WW to JPT, February 14, 1919, *PWW*, 55:184; JPT to John Sharp Williams, February 15, 1919, *PWW*, 55:198; JPT to WW, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:197; Edward M. House to WW, February 20, 1919, *PWW*, 55:221.
- 455 *At 8 o’clock ... article by article*: “World Despair If League Fails, Is President’s View,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 27, 1919, 12.
- 456 *“No modification”*: “Wilson Tells League Plans,” *Boston Globe*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 456 *no converts*: “President Expounds League of Nations to Dinner Guests ... Republicans Unconvinced,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 456 *“abandoned whatever hope”*: “Insists on Naval Bill ... President Gives Up Hope for Expression of Approval from Congress,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 27, 1919, 1.



- 456 *Peace Monument ... no one from Congress*: “Roster of Parade,” *Washington Times*, February 27, 1919, 1; “Thousands Cheer Soldiers and President,” *Washington Times*, February 27, 1919 (Final Edition), 1; “District War Heroes Cheered as President Leads Them in Parade,” *Washington Evening Star*, February 27, 1919, 1; “President Marches With D.C. Heroes,” *Washington Post*, February 28, 1919, 1; “President Leads Parade of Victors,” *New York Sun*, February 28, 1919, 4.
- 457 *“never communicated”*: “Frelinghuysen’s Views,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1919, 2.
- 457 *3:30 p.m.*: “President Holds Levee at Capitol,” *New York Times*, February 28, 1919, 1.
- 457 *“keen regret”*: “President Spends Two Hours at Capitol in Conferences,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 28, 1919, 1.
- 457 *he had announced*: “Women Lose Out on Suffrage; Louisiana Senator Casts the Deciding Vote Against Votes for Women,” (*Opelousas, LA*) *Star-Progress*, February 15, 1919, 14.
- 457 *new amendment*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 4, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 18, 1919), 3636 (remarks of Sen. Gay introducing S.J. Res. 224); “Susan B. Anthony Amendment Reintroduced,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 22, 1919), 9.
- 458 *“the point desired” ... Williams, too*: “Central Figure in New Suffrage Turn,” (*Washington Parish, LA*) *Era-Leader*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 458 *“contrary, in spirit” ... “sixty-four votes”*: “New Attempt to Push Suffrage Through Senate,” *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1919, 11; “Little Chance Seen to Pass Suffrage in This Congress,” *New York Tribune*, February 23, 1919, D3.
- 458 *from Robert Ewing*: “Gay Amendment To Win, Is Belief,” *Alexandria (LA) Daily Town Talk*, March 6, 1919, 1.
- 458 *“only to the extent”*: “Suffrage Compromise Planned in Senate,” *New York Times*, February 19, 1919, 4.
- 458 *“denying it to the colored women”*: “Compromises on the Suffrage Amendment,” *New York Age*, March 1, 1919, 4.
- 458 *Jones expected*: “Suffrage Seems Assured Now by Gaining Senator,” *Atlanta Journal*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Champions of Woman Suffrage Take Hope,” *Washington Star*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Woman Suffrage May Pass Soon,” *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1919, 3; “Senator Gay of Louisiana Announces That He Will Support New Compromise Resolution,” *Miami News*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Hope for Federal Vote for Women Raised by Action of Senator Gay,” *Shreveport Journal*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Suffrage Hopes Again Raised,” *Knoxville (TN) Sentinel*, March 1, 1919, 2; “Suffragists Gain Hope with Convert,” *Barre (VT) Daily Times*, March 1, 1919, 1; “New Vote May Bring Success for Suffrage,” *Madison (WI) Capitol Times*, March 1, 1919, 9; “Senator Gay Goes Over to Side of Suffragists,” (*Rock Hill, SC*) *Herald*, March 1, 1919, 1; Interview with Harry Gamble Jr., item 19, side A, July 28, 1988 (New Orleans: Tulane University, Amistad Research Center).
- 458 *“passed at this session”*: “President Spends Two Hours,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 28, 1919, 1; “Renew Suffrage Fight in Senate,” *Washington Post*, March 1, 1919, 1; “Equal Suffrage Measure May be Called at Once,” *Albuquerque Journal*, March 1, 1919, 6.
- 459 *Gay walked in*: “President Holds Levee at Capitol,” *New York Times*.
- 459 *introduced it*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (February 28, 1919), 4519 (remarks of Sen. Jones introducing S.J. Res. 230).
- 459 *support of NAWSA*: HWS, 6:228–29.
- 459 *formal approval*: “Name Cummings Chief,” *Washington Post*, February 27, 1919, 4; “Democratic National Committee Urges Immediate Action in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 7; “Cummings As Party Leader Sees Victory,” *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 27, 1919, 1.
- 460 *“sanctified by age”*: 56 Cong. Rec. pt. 11, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess. (October 1, 1918), 10984 (remarks of Sen. Andrieus Jones).
- 460 *half of the members*: In addition to Pou, the members of the Rules Committee opposed to the Anthony Amendment were Democrats Finis Garrett of Tennessee, Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and Daniel Riordan of New York. 55 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 65th Cong., 1st Sess. (April 2, 1917), 115 (listing members of Rules Committee for 65th Congress); 58 Cong. Rec. pt. 1, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (June 4, 1919), 93–94 (roll call on H.J.Res. 1).
- 461 *queued up*: “War Congress Ends; Many Big Bills Unpassed,” *New York Sun*, March 5, 1919, 1.
- 461 *waved it through*: “For Suffrage Compromise,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1919, 3. Senate rules normally required advance public notice for a hearing or markup.

- 461 *made his move*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 1, 1919), 4716 (statements of Senators Shafroth, Jones, and Wadsworth).
- 462 *“take away”*: Herman Frank Holthusen, *James W. Wadsworth, Jr.: A Biographical Sketch* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1926), 208.
- 462 *For the moment*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 1, 1919), 4716; “Gay’s Vote to Give Majority, Suffis Believe,” *Shreveport Times*, March 2, 1919, 1.
- 462 *La Follette held the floor*: “Filibuster On in Senate,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1919, 1.
- 462 *attempted filibuster*: “Filibuster Fails; Loan Bill Passed,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1919, 1.
- 462 *Jones was stymied*: “Woman Suffrage,” 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 3, 1919), 4872.
- 463 *Jones pleaded*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 4, 1919), 5006 (statements of Sens. Sherman and Jones, and Vice President Marshall).
- 463 *last moments*: Ibid., 5018 (conclusion of remarks of Sen. Sherman).
- 463 *gave up the ghost*: “Another Suffrage Resolution Introduced in the Senate,” *The Suffragist*, vol. 7, no. 10 (March 8, 1919), 7.
- 463 *died at last*: While NAWSA endorsed the changes to the Anthony Amendment, the NWP did not formally endorse the Jones substitute. But the *Suffragist* at the time called the Jones substitute “practically as acceptable as the original.” Ibid. And in telegrams to NWP chapters across the country on the day of Gay’s announcement, perhaps composed before the import of the new language was understood, Paul urged supporters to “Please have telegrams sent president, urging him to not lose this last opportunity.” “Telegram Causes Rejoicing Here,” *Dayton (OH) Daily News*, March 2, 1919, 6; “Suffragettes Dance with Delight When Happy News Comes,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, March 2, 1919, 18. In a 1973 oral history, however, Alice Paul stated that when the Anthony Amendment was changed to satisfy Senator Gay, the National Woman’s Party “would have nothing to do with it.” 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), 247.
- 463 *“sine Deo”*: “Congress Ends,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1919, 1.
- 463 *did not report*: 57 Cong. Rec. pt. 5, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess. (March 4, 1919), 5021 (remarks of Vice President Marshall).
- 464 *decorated soldier*: “Hero of ‘Black Devils’ to Be Buried at Old Home,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1919, 9.

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- 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.

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- 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 Moralists* (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; Zucchini, *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.
- 482 *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.

- 483 “*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.
- 483 “*different personality*”: “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.
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- 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.
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- 487 “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

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- 488 *Virginia*: J. Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht, *Counting Women’s Votes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 98–99.
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- 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](http://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.

## Epilogue

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- 491 *a decade after*: In February 1924, *The Birth of a Nation* was still setting attendance records in Chicago. James Hart, ed., *The Man Who Invented Hollywood: The Autobiography of D.W. Griffith* (Louisville: Touchstone Publishing Co., 1972), 143.

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- 491 *signing ceremony ... buried there*: “Kennedy Signs Bill to Establish Memorial to Woodrow Wilson,” *New York Times*, October 5, 1961, 22; “Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, 89, Dies on the Birthday of Her Husband,” *New York Times*, December 29, 1961, 1; “Rites for Mrs. Wilson,” *New York Times*, January 2, 1962, 29.
- 491 *surgery*: “Mrs. Sayre Dies After Operation,” *Boston Globe*, January 16, 1933, 4; “Mrs. Jessie Sayre, Wilson’s Daughter, Dies in Bay State,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 16, 1933, 1.
- 491 *never return*: “Dishta of Pondicherry,” *Time*, vol. 41, no. 6 (February 8, 1943), 50–52; “Wilson’s Eldest Daughter Called by Death in India,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 1944, 15.
- 491 *“mental cruelty”*: “Eleanor Wilson McAdoo Divorces Senator at Five-Minute Hearing on Incompatibility,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1934, 1; “McAdoo Writ Made Final,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1935, pt. 2, 2.
- 491 *two books*: Eleanor Wilson McAdoo and Margaret Y. Gaffey, *The Woodrow Wilsons* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937); Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, ed., *The Priceless Gift* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962). In 1946 she also wrote a novel, *Julia and the White House*, the story of “a young girl growing up in the White House.” The unpublished manuscript is part of the Wilson-McAdoo Collection, Bernath Mss 18, Department of Special Collections, Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.
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- 491 *\$3 million*: U.S. Senate, “Leases Upon Naval Oil Reserves,” Hearings Before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, 67th Cong., 4th Sess., pt. 5 (February 1, 1924), 1939–40 (testimony of E. L. Doheny); *ibid.* (February 11, 1924), 2063, 2069 (testimony of William G. McAdoo). Doheny testified the nominal (1924) amount was \$250,000 (\$4.6 million in current dollars); McAdoo testified it was \$170,000 (\$3.1 million), of which \$100,000 (\$1.84 million) was paid to his three-man law firm and the remainder separately to him.
- 491 *unsuccessful attempts ... heart attack*: “William G. McAdoo Dies in the Capital of a Heart Attack,” *New York Times*, February 2, 1941, 1.
- 492 *directly implicated*: U.S. Senate, “Leases Upon Naval Oil Reserves,” Hearings Before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, 67th Cong., 4th Sess., pt. 5 (February 1, 1924), 1918–60, at 1957 (testimony of E. L. Doheny); *ibid.* (February 12, 1924), 2123–44, at 2123, 2125–26 (testimony of Mr. Creel). The scandal became an issue in Creel’s gubernatorial primary campaign in California, contributing to his loss to novelist Sinclair Lewis. “Teapot Dome Oil Scandal Injected into Rivals’ Race,” *Oakland Tribune*, July 25, 1934, 1; “Creel Charged by Wardell With Accepting \$5000 in Famed Teapot Dome Scandal,” *Santa Ana Register*, July 25, 1934, 2; “George Creel and Teapot Dome,” *Newhall (CA) Signal*, August 23, 1934, 5. Creel and McAdoo weren’t the only top-ranking Wilson men to go to work for Doheny. During the last year of the Wilson administration, one month after Congress opened up certain government oil lands for leasing, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane resigned his position to work for Doheny at a salary of \$50,000 per year (more than three-quarters of a million dollars today). Thomas B. Silver, *Coolidge and the Historians* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1982), 150.
- 492 *mid-level bureaucrat*: “Creel Has Operation,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1953, 31; “George Creel, 76, Is Dead on Coast,” *New York Times*, October 3, 1953, 17.
- 492 *benign dictatorship*: EMH, *Philip Dru, Administrator: A Story of Tomorrow, 1920–1935* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1912); EMH, “Does America Need a Dictator?,” *Liberty Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 1 (January 7, 1933), 4–6; “Colonel House Dies Here at Age of 79,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1938, 1.
- 492 *ran unsuccessfully*: “Malone Tops State,” *New York Times*, July 30, 1920, 2; “Republican Lead Up State 500,000,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1920, 43. Malone had left the Democratic Party at the height of the arrests and prison abuses in mid-November, at the time joining the Socialist Party. “Pen Points,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1917, part 2, 4. His political split with Wilson deepened two years later when he testified before Congress in favor of amending the Versailles Peace Treaty. Treaty of Peace with Germany: Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1919), Statement of Mr. Dudley Field Malone, August 23, 1919, 750–56.
- 492 *divorced*: “Dudley Field Malone Divorced in Paris; Decree Obtained by Wife Just Revealed,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1921, 1; “Malone Weds, Sails for Europe Today,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1921, 4.

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- 492 *infidelities on both sides ... physical abuse*: Mary K. Trigg, *Feminism as Life’s Work: Four Modern American Women through Two World Wars* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 124; Doris Stevens Diary, May 14, 1924, Papers of Doris Stevens, MC 546, box 6, folder 182, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
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