

Confrontation at the White House

[*November 12, 1914*]

[Trotter] One year ago we presented a national petition, signed by Afro-Americans in thirty-eight states, protesting against the segregation of employees of the National government whose ancestry could be traced in whole or in part to Africa, as instituted under your administration in the treasury and post-office departments. We then appealed to you to undo this race segregation in accord with your duty as president and with your pre-election pledges. We stated that there could be no freedom, no respect from others, and no equality of citizenship under segregation of races, especially when applied to but one of the many racial elements in the government employ. For such placement of employees means a charge by the government of physical indecency or infection, or of being a lower order of beings, or a subjection to the prejudices of other citizens, which constitutes inferiority of status. We protested such segregation as to working positions, eating tables, dressing rooms, rest rooms, lockers and especially public toilets in government buildings. We stated that such segregation was a public humiliation and degradation, entirely unmerited, and far-reaching in its injurious effects, a gratuitous blow against ever-loyal citizens and against those many of whom aided and supported your elevation to the presidency of our common country.

At that time you stated you would investigate conditions for yourself. Now, after the lapse of a year, we have come back having found that all forms of segregation of government employees of African extraction are still practiced in the treasury and postoffice department buildings, and to a certain extent have spread into other government buildings.

Under the treasury department in the bureau of engraving and printing there is segregation not only in dressing rooms, but in working positions; Afro-American employees being herded at separate tables, in eating and in toilets. In the navy department there is herding at desks and separation in lavatories. In the post office department there is separation in work for Afro-American women in the alcove on the eighth floor, of Afro-American men in rooms on the seventh floor, with forbidding even of entrance into an adjoining room occupied by white clerks on the seventh floor, and of Afro-American men in separate rooms just instituted on the sixth floor, with separate lavatories for Afro-American men on the eighth floor; in the main treasury room in separate lavatories in the basement; in the interior department separate lavatories, which were specifically pointed out to you at our first hearing; in the state and other departments in separate lavatories; in marine hospital service building in separate lavatories, though there is but one Afro-American clerk to use it; in the war department in separate lavatories; in the postoffice department building separate lavatories; in the sewing and bindery divisions of the government printing office on the fifth floor there is herding in working conditions of Afro-American women and separation in lavatories, and

new segregation is instituted by the division chief since our first audience with you.¹ This lavatory segregation is the most degrading, most insulting of all. Afro-American employees who use the regular public lavatories on the floors where they work are cautioned and then warned by superior officers against insubordination.

We have come by vote of this league to set before you this definite continuance of race segregation and to renew the protest and to ask you to abolish segregation of Afro-American employees in the executive department.

Because we cannot believe you capable of any disregard of your pledges we have been sent by the alarmed American citizens of color. They realize that if they can be segregated and thus humiliated by the national government at the national capital the beginning is made for the spread of that persecution and prosecution which makes property and life itself insecure in the South, the foundation of the whole fabric of their citizenship is unsettled.

They have made plain enough to you their opposition to segregation last year by a national anti-segregation petition, this year by a protest registered at the polls, voting against every Democratic candidate save those outspoken against segregation.² The only Democrat elected governor in the eastern states, was Governor Walsh of Massachusetts, who appealed to you by letter to stop segregation.³ Thus have the Afro-Americans shown how they detest segregation.

In fact, so intense is their resentment that the movement to divide this solid race vote and make peace with the national Democracy, so suspiciously revived when you ran for the presidency, and which some of our families for two generations have been risking all to promote, bids fair to be undone.

Only two years ago you were heralded as perhaps the second Lincoln, and now the Afro-American leaders who supported you are hounded as false leaders and traitors to their race. What a change segregation has wrought!

You said that your "Colored fellow citizens could depend upon you for everything which would assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." Consider this pledge in the face of the continued segregation! Fellow citizenship means congregation. Segregation destroys fellowship and citizenship. Consider that any passerby on the streets of the national capital, whether he be black or white, can enter and use the public lavatories in government buildings, while citizens of color who do the work of the government are excluded.

As equal citizens and by virtue of your public promises we are entitled at your hands to freedom from discrimination, restriction, imputation and insult in government employ. Have you a "new freedom" for white Americans and a new slavery for your Afro-American fellow citizens? God forbid!

We have been delegated to ask you to issue an executive order against any and all segregation of government employees because of race and color, and to ask whether you will do so. We await your reply, that we may give it to the waiting citizens of the United States of African extraction.

[Wilson] Now let me see—because, in the first place, let us leave politics out of it. If the colored people made a mistake in voting for me, they ought to correct it

and vote against me if they think so. I don't want politics brought into it at all, because I think that lowers the whole level of the thing. I am not seeking office. God knows that any man that would seek the presidency of the United States is a fool for his pains. The burden is all but intolerable, and the things that I have to do are just as much as a human spirit can carry.⁴ So that I don't care the least in the world for the political considerations involved. I want you to understand that. But we are dealing with a human problem, not a political problem. It's a human problem.

Now, I think that I am perfectly safe in stating that the American people, as a whole, sincerely desire and wish to support, in every way they can, the advancement of the Negro race in America. They rejoice in the evidences of the really extraordinary advances that the race has made—in its self-support, in its capacity for independent endeavor, in its adaptation for organization, and everything of that sort. All of that is admirable and has the sympathy of the whole country.

But we are all practical men. We know that there is a point at which there is apt to be friction, and that is in the intercourse between the two races. Because, gentlemen, we must strip this thing of sentiment and look at the facts, because the facts will get the better of us whether we wish them to or not.

Now, in my view the best way to help the Negro in America is to help him with his independence—to relieve him of his dependence upon the white element of our population, as he is relieving himself in splendid fashion. And the problem, as I have discussed it with my colleagues in the departments, is this, for I had taken it very seriously after my last interview with a committee of this organization. If you will leave with me all the instances you have just cited, I will look into them again. But the point that was put to me, in essence, was that they were seeking, not to put the Negro employees at a disadvantage, but they were seeking to make arrangements which would prevent any kind of friction between the white employees and the Negro employees.

Now, they may have been mistaken in judgement. But their objective was not to do what you gentlemen seem to assume—to put the Negro employees at an uncomfortable disadvantage—but to relieve the situation that does arise. We can't blink the fact, gentlemen, that it does arise when the two races are mixed.

Now, of course color outside is a perfectly artificial test. It is a race question. And color, so far as the proposition itself, is merely an evidence of the development from a particular continent; that is to say, from the African continent.

Now, it takes the world generations to outlive all its prejudices. Of course they are prejudices. They are prejudices which are embarrassing the Government of the United States just as much with other races, that is, some other races, as they are embarrassing us about the race that is derived from African descent. And so we must treat this thing with a recognition of its difficulties.

Now, I am perfectly willing to do anything that is just. I am not willing to do what may turn out to be unwise. Now, it is the unwise part that is debatable—whether we have acted in a wise way or not. If my colleagues have dealt with me candidly—and I think they have—they have not intended to do an injustice. they

have intended to remedy what they regarded as creating the possibility of friction, which they did not want ever to exist. They did not want any white man made uncomfortable by anything that any colored man did, or a colored man made uncomfortable by anything that a white man did in the offices of the government. That, in itself, is essentially how they feel—that a man of either race should not make the other uncomfortable. It works both ways. A white man can make a colored man uncomfortable, as a colored man can make a white man uncomfortable if there is a prejudice existing between them. And it shouldn't be allowed on either end.

Now, what makes it look like discrimination is that the colored people are in a minority as compared with the white employees. Any minority looks as if it were discriminated against. But suppose that the Negroes were in the majority in the departments in the clerkships and this segregation occurred? Then it would look like discrimination against the whites, because it is always the minority that looks discriminated against, whereas the discrimination may not be intended against anybody, but for the benefit of both.

I am not deciding this question, you understand. I am only saying that everything that has been done is just. I have not inquired into it recently enough to be sure of that. But I want to get you gentlemen to understand this thing from the point of view of those who are trying to handle it. It is a very difficult question. Nobody can be cocksure about what should be done. I am not cocksure about what should be done. I am certain that I have been dependent upon the advice of the men who were in immediate contact with the problem in the several departments. They have assured me that they have not put Negro employees at a disadvantage in regard to rooms and lighting that was inconvenient. I have put that up to them again. I haven't had time to look at the conditions myself, but I have again and again said that the thing that would distress me most would be that they should select the colored people of the departments to be given bad light or bad ventilation yet worse than the others, and inferior positions, physically considered.

Now, they have not intended to do that, I am quite sure, from the assurances of many of the cabinet. It may be that some have been taking information from their subordinates without going to look at what was actually done. But, at any rate, that is the spirit of the heads of the departments, for I consulted with them very gravely about this, and I think their spirit is mine in the matter.

I want to help the colored people in every way I can, but there are some ways, some things that I could do myself that would hurt them more than it would help them.

Now, you may differ with me in judgement. It is going to take generations to work this thing out. And mark these pages, it will come quickest if these questions aren't raised. It will come quickest if you men go about the work of your race, if you will go about it and see that the race makes good and nobody can say that there is any kind of work that they can't do as well as anybody else.

That is the way to solve this thing. It is not a question of intrinsic equality, because we all have human souls. We are absolutely equal in that respect. It is just

at the present a question of economic equality—whether the Negro can do the same things with equal efficiency. Now, I think they are proving that they can. After they have proved it, a lot of things are going to solve themselves.

Now, that is the whole thing. We must not misunderstand one another in these things. We must not allow feelings to get the upper hands of our judgements. We must try to do what judgement demands now, as has been said to Mr. Trotter. I think you have the memoranda, and I will look into it again. I will look into it, and I accept the assurances that were given me, and I have repeated them to you. That is all I can do.

[Trotter] May I ask one question, Mr. President? What do you think about the result of this present condition in the departments, where it has already operated to the detriment of so many of the employees, where some of them have been placed in a position where they are now humiliated and indisposed as a result of this humiliating condition: having to go so far from their work to the toilet rooms, and then the condition also where employees in the government have not only been reduced from clerkships to laborers, but have next been forced right out of the departments entirely.

[Wilson] I haven't known of such incidents. My question would be this: If you think that you gentlemen, as an organization, and all other Negro citizens of the country, that you are being humiliated, you will believe it. If you take it as a humiliation, which it is not intended as, and sow the seed of that impression all over the country, why the consequences will be very serious. But if you should take it in the spirit in which I have presented it to you, it wouldn't have serious consequences. Now, that is what I think about it. It is the misunderstanding, as I honestly believe it to be, that is going to be serious, much more serious than the facts justify.

Now, as for demotions and things of that sort, I haven't taken them up. I didn't know about that.

[An unknown person] Mr. President, these colored clerks, and clerks of other nationalities, have been working together side by side, in peace and harmony and friendship for fifty years without distinction and separation based upon their race. Mr. President, it is entirely untenable to say that race feeling or race friction necessitates any of this separation of Afro-American clerks. It is absolutely contrary to the facts of the case. Mr. Trotter has told you that, even under a Democratic administration, it was not found to be necessary to separate clerks.

[Trotter] We are not here as wards. We are not here as dependents. We are not here looking for charity or help. We are here as full-fledged American citizens, vouchsafed equality of citizenship by the federal Constitution. Separation and distinction marking, because of a certain kind of blood in our veins, when it is not made against other different races, is something that must be a humiliation. It creates in the minds of others that there is something the matter with us—that we are not their equals, that we are not their brothers, that we are so different that we cannot work at a desk beside them, that we cannot eat at a table beside them, that we cannot go into the dressing room where they go, that we cannot use a locker beside them, that we cannot even go into a public toilet with them.

Think of it, Mr. President, that any pedestrian walking the streets of the national capital, whether he be white or black, can enter and use any of these public toilets in the government buildings, and that Americans of color who are doing the work of the government cannot do so.

Now, Mr. President, there cannot be any friction with regard to going into a public toilet. They have been going into the public toilets for fifty years. They were going into the public toilets when your administration came in. When your administration came in, under Mr. John Skelton Williams, a drastic segregation was put into effect almost at once.

Mr. President, we insist that the facts in the case bear us out in truth—that this segregation is not due to any friction between the races, but is due to race prejudice on the part of the official who puts it into operation.

Mr. President, citizens, as they are picked out, especially in a country where there are many races and many nationalities—and everyone is picked out to be subjected to a prejudice of theirs—they are going to be subjected to all kinds of mistreatment and persecution everywhere throughout the country. They are necessarily objects of contempt and scorn, because segregation is not only a natural order of things, but it is the way of progression and more segregation.* The very fact of any racial element of government employees being by themselves is an invitation in the public mind. That fact cannot be denied nor disputed.

Now, Mr. President, this is a very serious thing with us. We are sorely disappointed that you take the position that the separation itself is not wrong, is not injurious, is not rightly offensive to you. You hold us responsible for the feeling that the colored people of the country have—that it is an insult and an injustice; but that is not in accord with the facts, Mr. President. We, if anything, lag behind. Why, Mr. President, two years ago, among our people, and last year, you were thought to be perhaps the second Abraham Lincoln.

[Wilson] Please leave me out. Let me say this, if you will, that if this organization wishes to approach me again, it must choose another spokesman. I have enjoyed listening to these other gentlemen. They have shown a spirit in the matter that I have appreciated, but your tone, sir, offends me.⁵ You are an American citizen, as fully an American citizen as I am, but you are the only American citizen that has ever come into this office who has talked to me in a tone with a background of passion that was evident. Now, I want to say that if this association comes again, it must have another spokesman. You wouldn't do me, then, a possible injustice.

[Trotter] I am from a part of the people, Mr. President.

[Wilson] You have spoiled the whole cause for which you came.

*The accuracy of this statement is in doubt. Charles L. Swem, the President's shorthand secretary who took notes of the meeting, may have misquoted Trotter, who almost certainly did not believe that segregation was the natural order of things.

[Trotter] Mr. President, I am sorry for that. Mr. President, America that professes to be Christian cannot condemn that which [blank].

[Wilson] I expect those who profess to be Christians to come to me in a Christian spirit.

[Trotter] Mr. President, I have—now, don't misunderstand me, I have not condemned the Christian spirit. I am pleading for simple justice. Mr. President, I am from a part of the people. If my tone has seemed so contentious, why my tone has been misunderstood. I am from a part of the people, and I would like to be able to say, and do so [that you are] without prejudice.

[Wilson] Please leave me out and argue the case.

[Trotter] I was simply trying to show how my people feel, Mr. President, because it is the truth that we who led in this movement are today, among our people, branded as traitors to our race on segregation.

[Wilson] As traitors to your race?

[Trotter] As traitors to our race, because we advised the colored people to support the ticket. That is the reason we do it. I am sincere in this feeling. I want to show, Mr. President, their feeling in the matter, not my feeling. I am telling you the truth. We ought to be truthful, Mr. President. We ought to be frank and truthful. I hope you want to be frank and true and not be false to your faith. Now, Mr. President, you know it would be an unmanly thing to appear to be false.

[Wilson] These other gentlemen are not . . .

[Trotter] Believe me because I have been in the midst, and I work in this cause. And we have tried to get the colored people to reason in this matter. Their feeling is more [intense on this matter] than on others. Any portrayal, we found, led them to resent this thing. No, Mr. President, that is God's earnest truth, that we are as we seem to be, Mr. President—that we cannot be respected by our fellow citizens if we are to be segregated by the federal government. Our plea to you, Mr. President, from the bottom of my heart, is not to have the federal government make concessions to the prejudices of anybody.

We grew up in this country, and we know these various racial elements—the Latin, the Slavic, the Oriental, the differences, the conglomeration of races. And when they look around, they find we are treated differently from the way they are treated. I have given my life to this work of trying to relieve [the lot of] our people. God knows I want to relieve it, but I am trying to find the right way.

Mr. President, my whole desire is to let you know the truth we know. We see how it is impossible to make you feel what this thing is like, which injures. And they feel alienated by bringing any kind of separation in the public service. Because Mr. President, it has been taken as an example in our every turn of our daily lives, in every turn of it. The government employees, if it were possible to have a separation without humiliation—if that position is adopted outside these limits—then for us, you know this, if that is the position that is adopted, it is going to be inconceivable for colored clerks to concur with that separation.

There are great dangers, Mr. President, far more than there are advantages. We of course—of course, we do feel that there is political aspect of the case, because,

you know, we felt that there might be a question about this thing, and you know that we went on your declaration and things that you said. And, as I say, we are simply asking that conditions obtain that have obtained before. We would be false, Mr. President, false to ourselves and false to you, if we went out and led you to believe that we could convince the colored people that there was anything but degradation.

[Wilson] I don't think it's degradation. That is your interpretation of it.

[Trotter] Mr. President, as for your expression about having the two races work together without the dissatisfaction of either party, I want just to ask this question: If I am appointed to a government position, and a white man is in the same office, and either one becomes dissatisfied with the other, without any reason for it, should either be considered? Should it not be ignored simply as a dispute? Unless all those things occur in the abstract.

[Wilson] That is, if you do the work being done. If you harm the one, you are doing injury to the other. It seems to me that is the situation.

Well, I am very much obliged to you. I will look into it again.

[Trotter] Mr. President, I hope that you don't feel toward me as you did a little while ago. I think you made a mistake. I assume great responsibility in the whole matter.

[Wilson] But that part we must leave out. Politics must be left out, because don't you see, to put it plainly, that is a form of blackmail. I am only saying that you are conscious of that, or that you would tell me contrary to that. But you must reflect that, when you call upon an officer and say that you can't get certain votes if you don't do certain things, that is the kind of course which ought never to be attempted. I would resent it from one set of men as from another. You can vote as you please, provided I am perfectly sure that I am doing the right thing at the right time.

[Trotter] Just one word, Mr. President. We were trying to bring about racial harmony throughout the country.⁶

JRT transcript of CLS sh (WC, NJP).

¹The charges brought by Trotter are not yet confirmed as to specificity. It is unlikely that he would have presented Wilson with a list of particulars for which there was no basis in fact, and no one in the administration denied their accuracy. As has already been noted, segregation did persist in governmental departments; it is quite probable that, as the publicity surrounding the first meeting and subsequent "investigation" tapered off, new encroachments were made.

²Although Trotter had requested this meeting prior to the elections of 1914, it is doubtful that the results would have been significantly different had the request been honored. The Democrats did suffer severe losses in 1914, both in the House, where their majority decreased from seventy-three seats to twenty-five, and in the states where Republicans won the governorship in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kansas, New Jersey, Connecticut, Wisconsin, and South Dakota. Democratic candidates suffered as a result of wide-spread dissatisfaction with a progressive program that appeared to be falling far short of its promise. Even so, very few white voters would have credited the segrega-

tion issue with influencing their vote, while the black vote, for the most part, remained loyal to the Republican party. Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era 1910–1917* (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 78.

³David Ignatius Walsh to W. Wilson, Oct. 26, 1914, WP, DLC.

⁴It is worth noting here that Wilson was under a great deal of personal strain at this time. His wife and confidant of thirty years, Ellen Axson Wilson, had died on August 6, 1914, and Wilson was still in deep depression over his loss at the time of the Trotter meeting. Indeed, diary entries made by his advisor, Colonel Edward M. House, are quite revealing. House noted on November 6, 1914, that Wilson had expressed to him the feeling that he was “broken in spirit,” and “not fit to be President.” On November 14, 1914, Wilson reached the nadir of his despair when he spoke of desiring to be assassinated as a means of ending his agony. Link, *The New Freedom*, pp. 463–465.

⁵Most accounts of the Trotter-Wilson confrontation chide Trotter for losing his temper, while Wilson is alternately credited with, or accused of, demanding that Trotter leave his office. Though Trotter was noted for his volatile personality, he consistently denied having lost his temper on this occasion. Joseph P. Tumulty, Wilson’s private secretary, later said that Trotter’s presentation had been “most eloquent,” and Wilson himself realized almost immediately that he had not handled the situation very well. “Daniels,” he later said to his Secretary of the Navy, “never raise an incident into an issue. When the negro [*sic*] delegate threatened me, I was damn fool enough to lose my temper and to point them to the door. What I ought to have done would have been to have listened, restrained my resentment, and, when they had finished, to have said to them that, of course, their petition would receive consideration. They would have then withdrawn quietly and no more would have been heard about the matter. But I lost my temper and played the fool. I raised that incident into an issue that will be hard to down.” Pausing, Wilson added, “Daniels, I advise you never to raise an incident into an issue.” J. Daniels to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, June 10, 1933, copy in WC, NJP.

⁶Trotter’s disappointment with Wilson and the Democracy did not abate. He left the party in 1916 and supported Charles Evans Hughes for the presidency. He did not, however, abandon his struggle for equal rights. Trotter’s biographer, Stephen Fox, states that by 1910 “he had made the bulk of his historical contribution to the black liberation movement.” (P. 146) Such an assessment misses the significance of Trotter’s efforts between 1910 and 1914. Not only did he secure two personal interviews with Wilson, forcing the President, at the very least, to acknowledge the problem publicly, he also catapulted the issue into the national consciousness. A storm of protest against segregation blew up in the press as a result of the controversial Wilson-Trotter meeting. The *New Republic* scored Wilson for his “inaction in a moral crisis,” adding that it seemed apparent that the President’s pre-election pledges “meant nothing.” The *Independent* disputed Wilson’s justification of segregation as a means of eliminating friction, noting tersely, “There will be ‘friction,’ and there ought to be friction, if any race, black, yellow, or brown, is humiliated and insulted by the government.” The *Nation* called segregation “a sad blot upon the Wilson Administration,” and the *Congregationalist and Christian World* stated bluntly that “all who seek justice and equal opportunity in the country had a right to expect better treatment at the hands of Woodrow Wilson.”

The daily newspapers were no less critical of the Administration. In particular, Frank Cobb of the *New York World* wrote an editorial that received wide circulation. Entitled “No Jim-Crow Government,” the editorial named McAdoo and Burleson as the two administration figures most responsible for the wide-spread segregation. “No President ever suffered more from the foolish indiscretions of members of his cabinet than has Wilson,” Cobb wrote. He went on, however, to place the final blame squarely upon Wilson’s shoulders, stating that “the President should have foreseen this unfortunate issue.” Cobb also took issue with Wilson’s view of segregation. “Whether the President thinks so or not, the segregation rule was promulgated as a deliberate discrimination against Negro employees. Worse still,” Cobb continued, “it is a small, mean, petty discrimination, and Mr. Wilson ought to have set his heel upon this presumptuous Jim-Crow government the moment it was established. He ought to set his heel upon it now. It is a reproach to his Administration and to the great political principles which he represents.”

It is difficult to speculate on how far segregation might have spread during the Wilson years had it not been for Trotter’s persistence. He certainly deserves much of the credit for whatever backtracking

the administration did in the winter of 1913–1914. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that the administration may have found it politically expedient to retreat even further following the celebrated 1914 meeting. McAdoo, for example, felt some fence-mending was in order, particularly in the case of Frank Cobb, who until then, had been extremely sympathetic to the Wilson administration. After suggesting to the President that he invite Cobb to Washington to discuss the matter, McAdoo himself wrote the *World* editor on November 26, 1914. In an effort to counter some of Trotter's charges, and redeem both himself and the administration in the eyes of their critics, McAdoo noted that in the Treasury Department "In the past 1 yr. & 8 mos. of Democratic Adm. the total number of negroes [*sic*] promoted was 294," an increase of thirty-one compared to the last two years of the Taft administration. In addition, while the Republicans had appointed 145 blacks to Treasury Department jobs, "In the past 1 yr. & 8 mos. of Democratic Adm. the total number of negroes [*sic*] appointed was 398." McAdoo also pointed to the Hamlin plan as further proof of their efforts to be fair in dealing with black employees, and suggested that Cobb go to Washington, if he had not already, and see for himself how much truth there was to the segregation charges.

Segregation did not disappear in the federal government; indeed, the more recalcitrant civil servants may merely have redirected their efforts—in discriminatory hiring practices, for example—to accomplish the same ends. But between November 1914, and the election of 1916, the black press no longer reported upon widespread federal segregation as it had prior to the 1914 meeting. To whatever extent discrimination abated in this one respect, Trotter deserves full credit.

Finally, it is no small tribute to Trotter that he had the courage to stand up to the President of the United States, given the tenor of the times, and the vulnerability of black Americans. Professor Arthur S. Link was perhaps not exaggerating when, in a personal conversation with the author, he described Trotter as "the most courageous American of his time." *New Republic*, I (Nov. 21, 1914), 5; *The Independent*, LXXX (Nov. 23, 1914), 269; *The Nation*, XCIX (Nov. 19, 1914), 595; *Congregationalist and Christian World*, XCIX (Nov. 19, 1914), 682; the *New York World*, Nov. 13, 1914; W. G. McAdoo to W. Wilson, Nov. 28, 1914, copy in WP, WC, NJP; W. G. McAdoo to F. Cobb, Nov. 28, 1914, copy in WC, NJP.