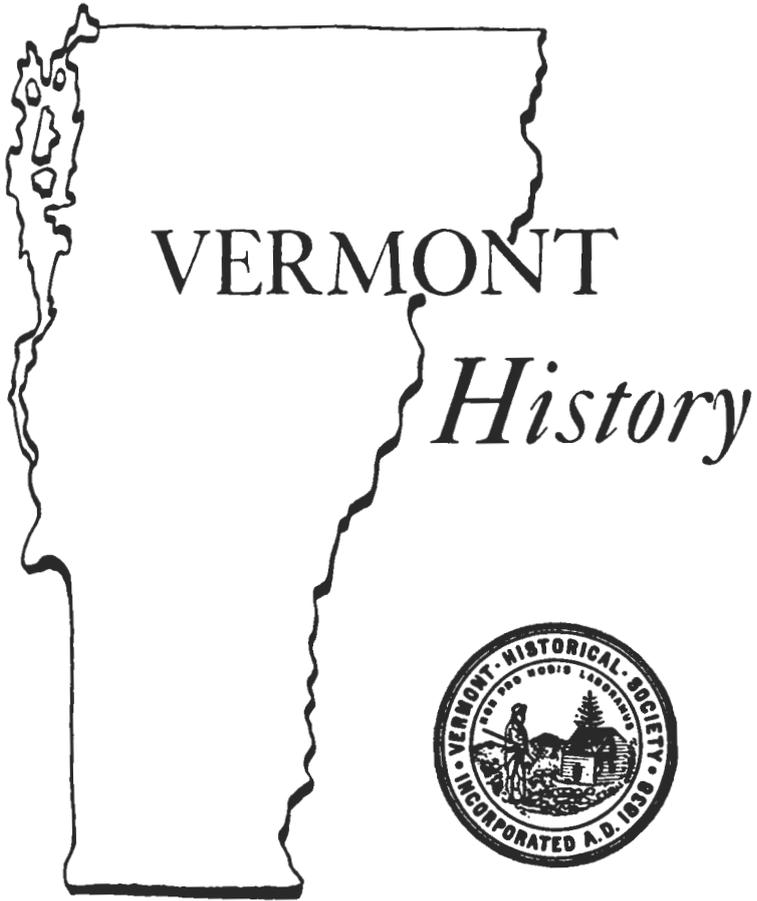


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“A faithful follower of his party, . . . Senator William Dillingham . . . practiced the politics of patronage and wielded tremendous influence in Vermont . . . through his vigorous promotion of Vermonters for government offices.”

## William Paul Dillingham: A Vermont Republican in National Politics

By LEONARD SCHLUP

Ignored by historians and largely forgotten by the people of his native Vermont, Senator William Paul Dillingham was a prominent political personality who deserves proper recognition. Born at Waterbury, Vermont, on December 12, 1843, he was the third son of Paul Dillingham (Governor of Vermont from 1865 to 1867) and his second wife, Julia Carpenter. After attending the local schools, Newbury Seminary, and Kimball Union Academy, the young man studied law in 1865 and 1866 in the office of his brother-in-law, Matthew H. Carpenter, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Admitted to the Vermont bar with his father in 1867, young Dillingham served as Secretary of Civil and Military Affairs in the last year of his father's administration. He later performed this service again during the gubernatorial administration of Asahel Peck from 1874 to 1876. In 1874, while working for Governor Peck, Dillingham married Mary Ellen Shipman, and the couple later had one son, Paul Shipman Dillingham.

Political events moved rapidly for Dillingham during the three decades following the Civil War. He twice won election as State's Attorney of Washington County in 1872 and 1874. Two years later he began the first of four terms in the Vermont legislature, representing Waterbury in the House in 1876 and 1884 and holding the position of Senator from Washington County in the 1878 and 1880 sessions. Dillingham also served as State Tax Commissioner from 1882 to 1888, when he was elected Governor of Vermont. As Governor he earned a reputation for improving Vermont's educational legislation. When

his term expired in 1890, Dillingham became President of the Waterbury National Bank and for a while served as a Trustee of the University of Vermont.

Dillingham's role in national politics began in 1900 when the Vermont Legislature elected him to the United States Senate to complete the term of Justin S. Morrill. The legislature re-elected him in 1902 and 1908; following the change to direct election of United States Senators, he received a popular mandate as the Republican candidate in 1914 and 1920. A delegate to several Republican national conventions and spokesman for his party, Dillingham earned recognition for his long service on the Senate Committee on Immigration, serving as its chairman from 1903 to 1911. Espousing the quota principle of immigration restriction, which Congress enacted into law in 1921, from 1907 to 1910 the Vermont Republican chaired the United States Immigration Commission, which visited Europe and submitted a voluminous, forty-one volume report. When Senator Dillingham died at Montpelier, Vermont, on July 12, 1923, at age seventy-nine, he had established solid credentials as a respected member of the Senate. He had worked diligently for both the people of Vermont and the best interests of his nation. Following Methodist funeral services, his body was interred in the Village Cemetery at Waterbury, Vermont, thereby bringing to a close a long career in politics.<sup>1</sup>

Dillingham has remained an enigma to historians primarily because of the paucity of his political letters and the difficulty in locating what does exist. Those few pieces, however, reveal several qualities about the Vermont politician and provide scholars with material to add to his speeches published in the *Congressional Record*. His letters also merit attention because they shed light on political affairs in Vermont Republican circles.

In his letters, Dillingham reveals several outstanding characteristics. Unlike many Vermont Republicans who bolted the party in favor of Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose campaign, Dillingham was a faithful follower of his party rather than a maverick. He gained his greatest reputation in the Senate for his committee work, especially as a member of important committees on immigration and elections. Dillingham practiced the politics of patronage and wielded tremendous influence in Vermont in part through his vigorous promotions of Vermonters for government offices. The letters also suggest that Dillingham's style may not have been effective were he not a Republican living in an age dominated for the most part by his party on the national level and in Vermont. Republican control of the White House for all but

eight years of Dillingham's tenure in the Senate and his party's control of the Senate gave the Vermonter valuable seniority.

A large percentage of existing manuscript material on Dillingham deals with patronage matters. It demonstrates a determination to reward friends and enhance the interests and role of Vermont in the executive branch of the national government. Many of these letters, concerned with seemingly routine matters, reveal Dillingham attempting to increase his own power and influence in Washington by placing loyalists in positions of authority to whom he could turn when necessary. As a party stalwart, he lined up with Republican spokesmen on issues such as immigration restriction and opposition to America's entrance into the League of Nations without reservations. Even when serious intraparty problems surfaced, an uncomfortable situation, he remained true to the regulars. The most noted case occurred in 1912 when his divided party lost the presidency in a bitterly fought contest. Dillingham wholeheartedly favored the re-election of President William Howard Taft. By his decision not to support Theodore Roosevelt, Dillingham showed a preference for conservatism over the candidacy of a popular former Republican President. Historians have overlooked Dillingham's work in Vermont on behalf of Taft and have thus missed some important characteristics about the internal Republican organization in the interesting presidential election of 1912 in Vermont.

Waterbury  
December 31st, 1888

To  
Hon. Benjamin Harrison,<sup>2</sup>  
President-elect etc.  
Indianapolis, Ind.

Sir:-

Believing that you will come to New England for one of your constitutional advisers, I beg to recommend to your consideration the name of Ex Governor Redfield Proctor<sup>3</sup> of this State, in connection with the administration of one of the departments.

I have known Gov. Proctor intimately; I do not think I can be mistaken in my estimate of his ability; he is equal to any occasion. He is not merely a politician, but a large brained, thoughtful, sensible, level-headed man of business;—wise and sagacious in planning and possessing a strength and tact in executing his purposes that I have rarely seen equaled: His knowledge of men is intuitive; simple



*Marble magnate, Redfield Proctor, as governor and longtime U.S. senator, was at the center of the Republican party network that dominated Vermont politics in the post-Civil War period. Proctor and Dillingham served in the U.S. Senate together from 1900 to 1908. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont)*

in his tastes and unpretentious in manner he is able to keep in the current of public opinion and to know what the people are thinking about and what they most desire. Like the lamented Lincoln he is simple and kind but wise, strong and just; no responsibility seems too heavy for him to bear.

In reaching his present eminence in business and as a leader of the people he has succeeded by virtue of being the stronger man; and yet, he has been so manly in his bearing, so fair in his methods and so honest in every thing that he has not only won the respect and esteem of those with whom he has had to do, but their admiration as well and, in most instances, their affection.

Possibly you are acquainted with his history:—A graduate of Dartmouth, a Colonel in the late war, a successful practitioner of the Law and the most remarkable developer of the marble industries of the State that has yet been known; his reputation for executive ability is of the very highest type.

I purposely avoid saying anything of any other New England man; I believe that the appointment of any other that has yet been named would be a great mistake; I could give my reasons for this if necessary but they have probably suggested themselves to you more than once or twice.

Wishing you all the success in your administration of the Government that your own heart can crave, and believing that you are equal to all the demands that will be made upon you, I am, with sincere respect,

Yours very truly,  
William P. Dillingham

Montpelier, Vt.  
September 27, 1901

To the President,<sup>4</sup>

Sir:

I trust that before this time Senator Proctor has seen you in person to urge the retention upon the Board of Inter-State Commerce Commissioners of Hon. Charles A. Prouty of this state. When last in conference on this subject I authorized him to say to you that I joined him in making such request.

If I am not mistaken you met Mr. Prouty the evening you were the guest of the Vermont Officers Re-union Society, and heard him speak

at the banquet, and if so must have noted his strong face, his clean cut mental methods and the peculiar force of character.

Prouty is a brilliant scholar and an exceedingly fine lawyer. His power of analysis is remarkable and the honesty and independence of his judgment has never been questioned. I speak advisedly of his abilities as I have been engaged with him and against him in the trial of causes and have had knowledge of his professional character from the beginning. The experience he has had as a member of the Commission will render his future service all the more valuable and I feel confident that the appointment is one that should be made.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,  
Wm. P. Dillingham

April 3, 1909

To  
Honorable William Howard Taft,<sup>5</sup>  
President of the United States,  
The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

I called at the White House this morning to pay my respects and to have a word with you regarding the appointment of a judge for the Northern District of Alabama. I waited for an hour and a half but, having an engagement, could not wait longer. Therefore I am writing you this note.

I suggest that the appointee should be a Republican. Beyond this I have no disposition to influence you in your choice....I have been familiar with the attitude of those opposing...confirmation and know that from the beginning to the close of the contest it was insisted by the contestants that no political element entered into their opposition....They repeatedly assured us that there were several gentlemen in the district who were not only consistent Republicans but were also able lawyers—the appointment of any one of whom would not only be satisfactory but gratifying to them. The appointment of a Democrat to this office would, in my judgment, place these gentlemen in an embarrassing position, and would at the same time serve to humiliate the Republicans of Alabama.<sup>6</sup>

Pardon the suggestion and believe me

Most sincerely yours,  
W.P. Dillingham

May 28, 1909

To  
The President [Taft]?

Sir:-

I have read Senator Page's<sup>8</sup> letter regarding General William W. Henry, Consul at Quebec,<sup>9</sup> to whom a successor has been appointed, and beg to say that unless some reason exists for dropping him from the service, which is unknown to me, I shall look upon this action as a grave injustice to a veteran of acknowledged bravery and distinguished service, who in his old age sadly needs the salary which he is now drawing and who deserves the consideration of the Government.

His record appears in the letter of Senator Page. I may only add that as a fellow townsman I knew him in my youth and have known him ever since. I regret to say that he will be, unless continued in the service, wholly dependent upon his pension,—a condition which I know Vermont will deeply regret. I sincerely hope that he may be continued in the service at some point if not at Quebec.

Respectfully,  
W.P. Dillingham

Montpelier, Vt.  
October 3, 1912

Hon. Charles D. Hilles, CHAIRMAN,<sup>10</sup>  
National Republican Committee,  
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hilles:-

Someone informed me yesterday through the 'phone of a message from you to the effect that you thought I ought to be in Washington during the sessions of the so-called Clapp<sup>11</sup> Committee. It is the habit of the Western Union company to phone messages to my house, which is some distance away, and deliver copies later. I supposed this message came from that source but, on going to the office, they informed me to the contrary. I can only conclude, therefore, that you used the Postal Company, and that the message was repeated from Burlington, forty miles away.

It is utterly impossible for me to go to Washington this week owing to the fact that our legislature convened yesterday and Montpelier is filled with prominent men of all parties, who are planning the work of the [Presidential] campaign [of 1912].<sup>12</sup> There is no question

but that the Democrats will make a vigorous effort to carry Vermont, and many of them believe they will succeed. The Roosevelt party<sup>13</sup> is active in season and out of season, and is forming clubs in all the smaller towns. It is undoubtedly true that there are 110 clubs already formed and they are doing quiet but persistent work in securing signatures. The Republicans are so much depressed over the situation that many are disposed to vote for [Woodrow] Wilson [Democratic nominee] for the sole purpose of preventing Roosevelt from carrying the State.

Upon the invitation of our State Committee, a considerable number of prominent men met them for conference last evening and the reports from different parts of the State were discouraging in the extreme. The result was that a determination was reached to make as aggressive a fight as possible, and a committee was appointed to act with the State Committee in raising a campaign fund from our own citizens, to co-operate with the Vermont newspapers in disseminating truth and to advise with the State Committee regarding other features of the campaign.

Prior to the September election, the campaign was conducted almost wholly upon State issues under the mistaken idea that most of the Roosevelt men would vote for the Republican candidates for State office, and it was thought best not to antagonize them by having National issues vigorously discussed. The results show that this was a mistake and the consequence has been that we not only lost the votes but we lost the opportunity to bring President Taft to the front and to show the strong, patriotic and consistent work he has done for the party and, I am sorry to say, there is now no enthusiasm for him among the rank and file of the people and he is not even receiving justice at their hands. I am delighted to know that you are to flood the State with copies of the [New York] Tribune but whether the powers that be will determine upon a speaking campaign, I do not know.

I am writing all this that you may understand how necessary it seems to me to remain at home for the present. Having appointed an efficient Subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, I should hesitate, as chairman of the full committee, to arbitrarily interfere with their work or attempt to control it. I do not know that this was what you had in mind, in fact I have no clear conception of what you thought the advantage would be were I able to be present at the hearings. For this reason, may I ask you to write me clearly and definitely what is in your mind. I have positive engagements

up to and including Tuesday forenoon next, and this will give ample time in which to hear from you.

I have telegraphed Senator Jones<sup>14</sup> to know if it will not be possible for him to join the Committee. He is a strong candid man, and one of the most efficient cross-examiners of witnesses among my acquaintances. With him present, the Committee would be complete.

Sincerely yours,  
Wm. P. Dillingham

Address before the United States Senate, August 17, 1916<sup>15</sup>

I have been connected with the Committee on Immigration pretty much all the time since I entered the Senate, and for several years I was chairman of the committee. In 1907 I had the honor of presenting the bill which became the law and which is now upon the statute books. . . .

Referring to what we term new immigration, those coming since 1882 to work in our factories, let us inquire where they have gone and where they can be found. . . . I find . . . that substantially 75 per cent of this great male population . . . have gone to the cities of the United States. . . . If the number of those coming to the country should be reasonably reduced it would give a better opportunity to those who are here. . . . We saw at once that if we adopted the educational test, it would substantially decrease the volume of that stream [from eastern and southern European nations] 30 percent. . . . It would not very much affect western Europe, from which we received those first splendid bodies of people that have done so much to upbuild our country. . . . We want to reach the Asiatic nations and do away with the Japanese irritation. . . . The races coming here without their families and moving. . . in racial groups are so constituted that they will not go into the country and work as individuals. I do not think it possible to get individuals of the modern immigration to aid in the agriculture of America unless they are taken in colonies to some community where cottages for them have been prepared in which they can live their own lives instead of entering American families. . . .



*As U.S. senator, Dillingham was best known for his work on immigration. The Dillingham Commission published its report in forty-one volumes in 1911. The Dillingham report influenced legislative thinking on immigration well into the next generation.*

Washington, D.C.  
March 14, 1917

To the President, [Wilson]<sup>16</sup>  
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I respectfully recommend executive clemency in the case of F. Drew Caminetti who stands convicted under the so-called White Slave Traffic Act.

I was Chairman of the United States Immigration Commission whose investigations first uncovered the system of traffic in immoral women brought from foreign countries to the United States where in the different cities of our country they were held under such conditions as to cause them to be termed white slaves. It was upon the evidence furnished by the Commission to the United States District Attorney in Chicago that those in that City who were engaged in such traffic were convicted and the system broken up.

The success of prosecutions in Chicago undoubtedly caused Congress to adopt the "White Slave Traffic Act" under which Mr. Caminetti was convicted.

It has always been questionable in my mind whether cases of naked immorality without any element of commerce or coercion in them came within the province of this legislation. I assume that Mr. Caminetti entertained the same doubt. It is certainly clear that there was no element of commerce or coercion in his act.

Without any desire to criticize the decision of the court on this question I venture to suggest that the case is much less serious in character than those which were cited when this legislation was adopted and that the prosecution of Mr. Caminetti has already served its purpose.

In the publicity which has attached to such prosecution and in the suffering which has come to him and his family as a consequence of his action he has already met with a punishment adequate to the offense which he committed. For this reason I recommend clemency.

Respectfully,  
W.P. Dillingham

Washington, D.C.  
March 26, 1919

Herbert G. Tupper, Esq.,<sup>17</sup>  
Springfield, Vermont.

My dear Mr. Tupper:-

I am a good deal surprised and very much pleased over the contents of your letter of the 22nd instant which this moment reached me.

I had received letters . . . strongly criticizing my course upon the League of Nations and in a courteous note . . . had been informed that the rank and file of the people of Springfield seemed to be in favor of the League of Nations.

That I am pleased that such a debate has been had and that it resulted as it did I need not assure you. I have expected and still expect that it will take an immense amount of effort to bring to the American mind a full understanding of this most important question and a proper conception of the magnitude of its importance. But I have never for a moment doubted that when it is fully understood the American people will approach it thoughtfully and considerately and will express themselves sanely.

I have hoped that it could be discussed without being made a Party question. I still hope so because some of the ablest Democrats in the Senate are as strongly opposed to the proposition as it has been presented to us, as any of the Republicans can be but I fear that the President's [Wilson's] determined purpose to force this illy digested scheme upon the Nation will compel us to speak plainly regarding some things which we would much prefer to omit, and I need not assure you that material for this purpose is not wanting.

I want to thank you for the suggestions which occurred to you as a result of this debate. I had wondered what the effect would be if direct criticism of the President was to be made. You, of course, have observed that in no one of his public utterances has he ever discussed the proposed Constitution from a practical or from a legal standpoint. He has never broached the question of the degree or extent of the surrender of our sovereignty which we must make if we become a party to this draft, and I am inclined to think that the time has come when he ought to be sharply taken to account for his failure to be frank with the American people, to discuss with them the sacrifices that we as a Nation shall make and the obligations which we shall be compelled to assume. He ought also to demonstrate clearly and practically, if possible, that for which he has always insisted as a precedent, viz., that the peace to be perpetuated is one which is worth perpetuating. This, of course, would raise both directly and



*Dillingham served his political apprenticeship in a number of local and state offices. In these positions, young politicians often learned important lessons about loyalty and patronage. Circa 1874.*

indirectly the issue of Internationalism vs Americanism and it is one, the depth and breath of which cannot be understood without broad reading and close consideration. I am glad to know that if you were to debate the question again you would take up those subjects. I hope that the good work you have begun in Springfield you will follow up in other places.

I keenly feel the responsibility which rests upon me as a Senator. The Framers of our Government did not intend that this Nation should become embroiled in European politics at the behest of any one man. The theory upon which the Constitution was adopted was that, while the President might negotiate a treaty it should not become binding upon us until two-thirds of the sovereign States composing the Union had consented to its ratification through their Representatives in the Senate. I have affirmed that I never can vote for the proposed constitution (and that word is most suggestive) and I thought it only fair that the Peace Conference should be informed in advance that a controlling number of Senators were of the same mind. I do not know how the proposition will be presented in the next instance. I fear it will come to us in the form of an old bottle filled with new wine and I am reserving the right to pass intelligent judgment upon it as it shall then appear.

My greatest fear at this moment is that the delay which President Wilson has caused in the legitimate work of the Peace Conference has resulted in a condition in Europe which it will be difficult to overcome. Had the terms of peace been definitely settled and the status of the interested Nations established we should then have been in condition to meet this question intelligently. Today we are wholly at sea. The most that we can seem to hope for will be to

secure a balance of power. It is not even certain that Italy and Japan will join Great Britain, France and the United States in such a movement.

During these four months of delay Bolshevism has honeycombed Northern and Eastern Europe and complicated the whole situation. The Armies of Europe have been kept from the work of rehabilitation while the United States has maintained abroad an army of 1,700,000 men at an expense which is staggering and the industries of the United States have been deprived of their strength and energy. I am free to admit that the outlook troubles me very much.

I want to congratulate you upon your success in the debate and to tell you how pleased I am with your account of the same and with the suggestions you make. I shall bear them in mind when I have occasion to speak upon this subject. If anything else occurs to you I hope you will write me very freely and if I can be of service to you along any particular line I shall esteem it a favor if you will allow me to serve you. Please remember me with best regards . . . and believe me

Always sincerely yours,  
W.P. Dillingham

Washington, D.C.  
May 11, 1920

Hon. John G. Foster,<sup>18</sup>  
United States Consul General,  
Ottawa, Canada.

My dear Foster:-

Since I received your letter of April 30th I have tried to secure information regarding the matter of Canadian representation in the United States and United States representation in Canada, but have not been very successful.

That the matter is under consideration in the State Department there can be no doubt. I learn through Senator [Henry Cabot] Lodge that he has been consulted regarding the matter and favors the proposition in a general way. But even he, I think, is not informed regarding details, though he did express himself as believing that whoever is appointed to represent Canadian interests will become a part of the British Embassy and have a place there.

Without having any personal acquaintance with you he knows you by reputation and esteems you highly. Of course I helped him as far as I was able to do to esteem you still more highly. He cited several places in Europe where the Consular Officers are clothed with diplo-

matic power but we were interrupted and I was unable to go into that subject in detail.

It strikes me that we must await developments and when the time comes do what we can to secure your appointment. I am somewhat troubled about the matter should it come up during the present Administration. The President [Wilson] is a hidebound Democrat, one who sees no good in any person who retains a Republican faith. In those cases where he is compelled to appoint some person not a member of the Democratic Party he never selects a fair representative of the Republican Party but invariably selects one who is so radical that the Party cannot contain him or one who has been so disloyal to his Party that it cannot recognize him. . . . I am saying this for the purpose of directing your thought to the question of how best to reach the President in the event that the appointment comes under this Administration. Have you any friends among the prominent Democrats of the country who would champion your cause? If so, it would be of great advantage. You understand, of course, that I stand ready to do anything in my power to help and I am only making these suggestions that you may be thinking the matter over and be planning for the occasion should it come.

I agree with you that whether you remain Consul General or whether you enter the Diplomatic Corps that Government should own a home for its representative in Quebec but to secure the purchase of such a place is next to an impossibility. An attempt has been made among the disagreeing forces to secure an agreement that a certain number of purchases shall be made each year for the housing of our Diplomatic Corps in Europe but nothing has come of it. If we secure the provision for some such purchase annually we have to be content, when we secure more than that we count ourselves fortunate. I discussed the subject pretty fully with Lodge and while he is sympathetic he doubts the success of any effort we may make to carry out your suggestion at this time.

We are in a terrible mix up over the question of the proposed bonuses to soldiers. The subject ought not to have been forced upon us at this time and vigorous protests are coming from service men throughout the country.

I like your suggestion but I think it would be indignantly spurned by that large element in our armies who want the money and want it now and who will proceed to spend it at the first opportunity.

Please keep me posted regarding anything I should know.

Cordially yours,  
W.P. Dillingham

Washington, D.C.  
December 6, 1920

John Spargo, Esq.,<sup>19</sup>  
Old Bennington, Vermont.

My dear Mr. Spargo:-

I am just now in receipt of your communication of the first instant in which you call attention to an active and widespread propaganda of anti-Semitism in this country and I quite agree with you that this is a dangerous poison to be injected into our national life, but especially at the present critical period of our history and civilization.

I have long been of the opinion that the prejudice which has been so largely entertained against those of Hebrew descent is in large part an inheritance and to a considerable extent thoughtless as well as cruel. But, on the other hand, it seems certain that an organized campaign of prejudice has been launched against the race which is wholly incompatible with intelligent American citizenship. I do not hesitate to say that I have no sympathy with this action and regret that such an untimed and unjustified movement has received so much support.

This class of citizenship have come to the front both in the professions and in the business life of the country. Their children are among the most active and earnest in our public schools and my observation leads me to the belief that they avail themselves more fully of the opportunities offered by the State for the education of their children than any other class. They constitute an element which should be utilized rather than rejected in the development of our Nation and are entitled to the same welcome and the same consideration which the American people have accorded to other classes of industrious and progressive races.

I am glad you called my attention to the subject and I am

Most sincerely yours,  
W.P. Dillingham

Dillingham's long political career came to a close with his death in July, 1923. From a lawyer's office in Vermont to a senatorial chair in Washington, he had traveled a road which took him through local, state, and national politics. During a half century as a public figure, Dillingham acquired a reputation as both a reformer on some issues and a party regular on others. He functioned as a stalwart member of his party during Reconstruction, the Gilded Age, the Progressive Era,

and the return to normalcy. These manuscripts and speeches suggest directions for scholars and others to explore about Senator Dillingham and the Republican politics in Vermont and the nation.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>General information pertaining to Dillingham can be located in standard biographical directories of Congress, dictionaries of prominent American politicians, obituaries, and local histories. See, for example, Jacob G. Ullery, comp., *Biographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont* (Brattleboro, Vermont: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), and Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State* (Five vols., New York: The Century History Company, Inc., 1923), V, 406-8.

<sup>2</sup>Benjamin Harrison Papers, William Paul Dillingham to Benjamin Harrison, December 31, 1888, Division of Manuscripts, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>3</sup>Redfield Proctor served as Governor of Vermont (1878-1880), Secretary of War (1889-1891) in the Cabinet of President Benjamin Harrison, and United States Senator from Vermont (1891-1908).

<sup>4</sup>Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Dillingham to Theodore Roosevelt, September 27, 1901, Division of Manuscripts, The Library of Congress

<sup>5</sup>William Howard Taft Papers, Dillingham to William Howard Taft, April 3, 1909, Division of Manuscripts, The Library of Congress.

<sup>6</sup>Dillingham apparently did not want to divulge names and remained consistently nebulous and careful in his choice of words.

<sup>7</sup>Taft Papers, Dillingham to Taft, May 28, 1909.

<sup>8</sup>Carroll Smalley Page served as Governor of Vermont (1890-1892) and United States Senator from Vermont (1908-1923).

<sup>9</sup>General William W. Henry (1831-1915) of Waterbury served in the Civil War in the Eighth Vermont with Dillingham. As commander of the Tenth Vermont he stopped early in the wilderness. After the war he served as Senator from Washington County. After moving to Burlington, Henry remained active in veteran's affairs, and he won election as Senator for Chittenden County in 1874 and as United States Marshal (1879-1885).

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, Dillingham to Charles D. Hilles, October 3, 1912.

<sup>11</sup>Moses Edwin Clapp, Republican United States Senator from Minnesota.

<sup>12</sup>Dillingham served as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections at this time.

<sup>13</sup>Theodore Roosevelt campaigned for the presidency in the election of 1912 as the nominee of the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party. President Taft carried the electoral vote of Vermont in 1912.

<sup>14</sup>Wesley Livsey Jones, Republican from Washington.

<sup>15</sup>U.S., *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., August 17, 1916, LIII, Part 13, pp. 12769-77.

<sup>16</sup>Woodrow Wilson Papers, Dillingham to Woodrow Wilson, March 14, 1917, Division of Manuscripts, The Library of Congress.

<sup>17</sup>William Paul Dillingham MSS, Dillingham to Herbert G. Tupper, March 26, 1919, Collection of the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

<sup>18</sup>John Gilman Foster MSS, Dillingham to John G. Foster, May 11, 1920, Wilbur Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

<sup>19</sup>John Spargo, MSS, Dillingham to John Spargo, December 6, 1920, Wilbur Collection. Spargo (1876-1966), British-born American reformer, socialist, and writer, resigned from the Socialist Party in 1917 over its attitude on World War I. With Samuel Gompers he founded the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy (1917). In Vermont Spargo served as Director of the Bennington Museum and published on topics such as the Battle of Bennington.