



“Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Liquor Traffic”: Vermont’s “Wet” Congressional Campaign of 1922

Despite his much-touted viability, it seemed initially that James E. Kennedy would be the usual Democratic sacrificial lamb in the 1922 election: a candidate in name only. He shook off that assumption as the campaign season began in earnest, with an announcement concerning a topic that had consumed the state and nation for many years: prohibition.

By TYLER L. WOLANIN*

For over a century, starting in 1856, Republicans won every state-wide and federal election in Vermont. Though this streak would not be broken until the 1950s and Democrats would not be able to win consistently until the 1960s, one Democrat ran an unheralded race that almost upset the political order decades before anyone dreamed it was possible. When James E. Kennedy faced off with Frederick G. Fleetwood in 1922 for one of the state’s two congressional seats, opposition to prohibition and the Volstead Act resulted in an unexpectedly strong showing that Democrats would not replicate for years.¹

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TYLER L. WOLANIN is a legislative researcher, currently working for the Congressional Research Service. His book, *The Political Life of Reverend Roland D. Sawyer*, is forthcoming from Lexington Books in 2024. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not purport to reflect the opinions or views of the Congressional Research Service.

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Early in 1922 US Senator Carroll S. Page planned retirement, and Representative Frank L. Greene was vacating the First Congressional District, which covered the western half of the state, to run for his seat. The field to replace Greene in the House was slow to develop: It was commonly thought that Vermont would lose a seat in the next reapportionment, and nobody in the Republican Party seemed interested in starting a career in a seat that might not exist for long.² The Democrats, however, showed no such indecisiveness, and desired to “depart this year from the habit of conferring an honorary nomination on some good fellow and instead put a real candidate in the field,” in the words of the Republican *St. Albans Messenger*.³

Democrats of the era were accustomed to defeat. The party’s nominee for the US Senate in 1920 had received only 19,580 votes (22 percent), while the nominee for governor had received 18,917; the Democratic nominees for Congress received 11,398 votes in the First District (25 percent) and 9,189 in the Second District, (21 percent), respectively.⁴ On paper, however, the First District was not an unpromising target. Drawn in the 1880s, the congressional districts conformed with the “Mountain Rule” that split political power between the Connecticut River Valley in the eastern half of the state and the Champlain Valley in the west.⁵ The First District comprised Bennington, Rutland, Addison, Chittenden, Franklin, Grand Isle, and Lamoille Counties.⁶ The district’s population in the 1920 census was 175,832, and had remained constant over the prior two censuses (178,186 in 1910 and 174,375 in 1900).⁷ The district had 75,572 registered voters as of the 1922 election: 44,204 men and 31,368 women.⁸ It contained Burlington, Rutland, and Bennington, which were the largest, second-largest, and fourth-largest population centers in the state at the 1920 census, respectively, though combined they only held 13.5 percent of the state’s population.⁹

The district was also the more ethnically diverse of the two: With just under half the state’s total population, it had 55 percent of the state’s “native white with foreign parentage” population, and 51 percent of the state’s “native white with mixed-origin parentage” population (though less than 45 percent of its “foreign-born white” population).¹⁰ According to the census statistics on “foreign-born whites,” though an imperfect measure, Chittenden and Franklin Counties had high populations of immigrants from Québec by state standards, while Rutland County had a fairly large Italian population; the population of immigrants born in Ireland was more decentralized throughout the district.¹¹ This was important, as by the 1920s, the base of the Vermont Democratic Party was made up of Catholics living in the northern part of the state,¹² and the party’s leadership was largely of Irish descent with some involvement

by Franco Americans.¹³ All this gave the Democrats a useful base of support in the district.

The man that Democratic leaders had in mind to nominate was James E. Kennedy of Williston. Born in Mooers, New York, in 1870, Kennedy relocated to Williston in 1892 to work as a station agent for the Central Vermont Railroad Company. He also served as North Williston's postmaster from 1896 to 1900, at which point he left both the post office and the railroad and took up agricultural pursuits, purchasing the former Winooski Valley Creamery Company in Williston in 1912. He served as a selectman in Williston from 1905 to 1908, and was a rare Democrat elected to the Vermont Senate from Chittenden County in 1908. In 1910, he was elected to the Vermont House of Representatives from Williston.¹⁴ Such chamber-hopping and gaps in legislative service

were common at the time, often resulting from "little mountain rules" rotating offices between towns in a district.¹⁵

In a time when the legislature was overwhelmingly made up of Republicans and Protestants, Kennedy was one of thirteen Catholics in the 1910 house session (of 246 total members), and one of forty-seven Democrats.¹⁶ As a legislator, he was profiled by *Brattleboro Reformer* journalist Harry C. Shaw, who found "Plain Jim Kennedy" to be "valuable asset" who lived up to the productive history of Williston legislators. "The purebred Willistonite is shy. The only thing that will arouse one of these pink-blooded citizens is an

The Millionaire Bootlegger Is Opposed to Kennedy!



JAMES E. KENNEDY
Former Collector of Internal Revenue
and Prohibition Director
for Vermont.

INTO our social life a new type has appeared!

The Volstead law is the parent of the bootlegger—that active, elusive being who has succeeded the bartender!

But the bartender was human when compared with the bootlegger and his utter disregard and violation of law!

The bootlegger has declared himself against me in my campaign for Congressman from the First Vermont District.

We first met up with each other when I was Prohibition Enforcement Officer. He did not like me then; he does not like me now.

Could a census of the bootleggers be taken in Vermont we would all be surprised, horrified, indignant!

Under the Volstead law we have created the bootlegging millionaire. He is numerous. He fills the cellars of other millionaires with liquors brought across the Canadian line. He sells by the case or the single bottle to the man who can not afford a "cellar." He sells to the youth, the same as he sells to the grown man. It makes not the slightest difference who is his customer. All he wants is the price.

The bootlegger is not for me, but he is for the Volstead law.

Volstead has made some mighty queer bedfellows!

Do you, Vermonters, wish the bootlegger abolished?

Will you assist in his abolishment?

You can do this by voting for me on Tuesday, Nov. 7.

JAMES E. KENNEDY

Candidate for Congress in the First District

Headquarters: Rooms 258-260, Sherwood Hotel, Burlington, Vt.

Call and see me. Write anyway.

Don't be fooled into believing the Volstead Law cannot be modified!

James E. Kennedy campaign ad, Burlington Free Press, October 1, 1922.

inquiry whether bovine tuberculosis has been stamped out. You will find an answer coming and even that youthful looking slip of a Democrat, James E. Kennedy, will rise up to his full height and look you through and through, and through again.”¹⁷

Shaw found Kennedy to be unpretentious and diligent:

Get acquainted with Mr. Kennedy. Don't call him Mr. unless you meet him in the rotunda ladies' week. He is just plain Jim, the plainest kind of a Jim you ever met . . . He is one of the greatest readers in the state of Vermont. He reads the entire list of the Essex syndicate and more. He can tell you what is being done for the good of mankind in Bennington and Essex counties. He is the best listener in either branch of the assembly this session. But you have got to tell him a story with a point to it and also tell it in a way that will be of human interest else James won't wreathe his physiognomy with a grin.¹⁸

Kennedy was well-informed and patient—up to a point:

It is a pleasure to talk with Kennedy about a matter in which he is interested. He will tell you 100 of the strong points of the proposition and consume about four minutes of your time. If the proposition doesn't appeal to him he will keep mum and let you do the talking. He can look you right in the eye and act as though he was vitally interested in what you are saying and at the same time he will be wondering if you are about ready to ring off. He can fool the best of them.¹⁹

Even Kennedy's former employment by the railroad didn't bias him, as “Kennedy will listen to the railroad's side of the story and as he is an old railroader he will know how much of the story is real and just where the soft pedal should be applied. Kennedy needn't be distrusted even though he once earned his sustenance by working for the Central Vermont.”²⁰

Following his legislative term, Kennedy was elected chairman of the State Democratic Committee in 1914, where he exercised considerable influence over federal patronage. He was also the party's nominee for lieutenant governor that year, receiving 25 percent against Republican Hale K. Darling. He next served as Vermont's Democratic national committeeman from 1916 to 1919, the first Catholic to hold the post. He stepped down when appointed by President Wilson to serve as Vermont's Collector of Internal Revenue—the state's first, as Vermont had previously been grouped with New Hampshire for collection. After his replacement by the Harding Administration's appointee in 1921,²¹ Kennedy returned to business and, eventually, electoral politics.

The Democrats held their convention in late June 1922, and Kennedy was nominated for Congress. He declined the nomination at first, citing business arrangements that took him out of state. Several notables made speeches on his behalf: Some said that even Republicans were demand-

ing Kennedy's candidacy. US Attorney Vernon A. Bullard said, "It is time we stirred ourselves. Now is the chance of the Democratic Party. Mr. Kennedy can carry Burlington and he can carry Chittenden County. He should not withdraw for the Democrats need him for a leader." Eventually, Kennedy accepted the will of the delegates.²²

Republicans were urged to get their affairs in order and find a candidate. The *Barre Times* cited Kennedy as the only candidate on the Democratic ticket who could win, and said that he was "by no means the strongest man in the state of Vermont either as an official or as a vote-getter, but he has given evidence of ability and has caused a feeling of confidence in him to be established which would make him a good campaigner in a free-for-all election and against a weak Republican."²³ The independent *Morrisville Messenger* said that the Republicans needed a good candidate, as "No talking machine would stand a ghost of a chance against Kennedy."²⁴

The first Republican to announce did have a reputation for loquaciousness. Three-term State Senator Martin S. Vilas of Burlington, who had once made twenty-five speeches in a single day, announced his campaign in early July on a platform of farm tariff revision and legislation to make the Eighteenth Amendment "effective with a strict observance of article IV of the Constitution" concerning searches and seizures.²⁵ The Bennington Evening Banner, an independent Republican newspaper, said, in a much-reproduced editorial, that,

If, by any chance, Vilas should get the Republican nomination, it would probably mean the election of James E. Kennedy who is to be the Democratic nominee. The Banner has only the kindest feelings for Mr. Vilas but does not think that he ought to go to congress. We have no doubt that he has cost the state of Vermont a million dollars during the past few years through his propensity to wreck everything with which he comes in contact by overmuch talk and his tendency to cloud up even a clear issue by eruptions of language. The country has too much of that sort now in congress and, if the people of the First district feel friendly to the United States, they will not send Mr. Vilas to Washington.²⁶

The party apparatus continued to work on another potential candidate, former Secretary of State Frederick G. Fleetwood of Morristown, and rumblings in the press preceded his entry. He announced his campaign on July 15, saying only that "My platform is the platform of the Republican party and of its great leader President Harding."²⁷

Fleetwood was an adopted member of the well-connected Vermont Republican elite: His stepfather, Philip K. Gleed, was a Republican leader, once president of the State Senate among other offices, and was the law partner of state Supreme Court Justice and former Congressman H. Henry Powers. Fleetwood was born in St. Johnsbury in 1868 and

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moved to Morristown in 1886 after graduating from St. Johnsbury Academy. He studied at the University of Vermont and finished his degree at Harvard in 1891. He practiced as an attorney, served as secretary to the commission on the revision of Vermont statutes from 1893 to 1894, as the Morristown town clerk from 1896 to 1900, and as Lamoille County state's attorney from 1896 to 1898. He was a Republican presidential elector in 1900 for William McKinley. In 1900 he was elected to the Vermont House, and was elected secretary of state in 1902, serving until 1908. He left that office to challenge Congressman David J. Foster in the 1908 Republican primary, without success. Following defeat, Fleetwood ran for governor in 1910 on a platform supporting direct primaries and other reforms, losing to Lieutenant Governor John A. Mead at the Republican convention; his fellow Morristown residents gave him a rousing welcome despite his defeat. After Secretary of State Guy W. Bailey resigned to head the University of Vermont, Fleetwood was appointed as his replacement in September 1917, serving until 1919. He also served on the Committee on Public Safety to handle the state's responsibilities during World War One; he was on the subcommittee on publicity. Such a background positioned him as a well-known public speaker throughout the state. Fleetwood had the resumé for a congressional candidacy: The Vermont Republican Party establishment's usual practice was to advance candidates up the "ladder" of offices after serving in lesser positions in the legislature or statewide office, though the process was less rigorously enforced for congressional seats than for the governorship or the Senate.²⁸

Vilas initially announced that Fleetwood's entry would lead to no change in his plans, but ended his campaign within a few days. "The outlook is promising to me. I very much regret to leave the field," he said, citing insufficient finances.²⁹

Republican and other newspapers reacted favorably to Fleetwood. He was "the best bet thus far" (*Middlebury Register*), had "a fine standing as a man and with abundant public experience" (*Randolph Herald*), and was "not given to bombast . . . he will not endeavor to electrify Congress or to institute great reforms forthwith but will give conservative, thoughtful consideration to the matters under consideration" (*Barre Times*).³⁰ The *Bennington Evening Banner*, which had savaged Vilas, said of Fleetwood that "the voters of this district know that they are getting a man of the highest character, keenly devoted to the public welfare, a man of sound judgement and business ability, and finally a man who can speak well when speaking is necessary and desirable but who can be relied on to keep quiet most of the time. The *Congressional Record* will never be overloaded with gush because of Mr. Fleetwood's being in

Congress.”³¹ With the consensus thus established, no other Republican candidates emerged before the filing deadline in mid August.³² Fleetwood, along with all Republicans running for statewide office and Congress, was also nominated by the Prohibition Party in early October.³³

THE CAMPAIGN

Despite his much-touted viability, it seemed initially that Kennedy would be the usual Democratic sacrificial lamb, a candidate in name only. He shook off that assumption in early October, as campaign season began in earnest, with an announcement concerning a topic that had consumed the state and nation for many years: prohibition.

Vermonters had grown used to voting on prohibition issues over the previous two decades. The state prohibited alcohol on the state level from 1853 to 1905. After much agitation, the electorate approved a referendum in 1903 that permitted limited local consumption and sale. All western counties save Grand Isle voted in favor, while all eastern counties voted against. The referendum also required all towns to vote at annual town meeting whether to allow the sale of liquor in town, and many towns voted yearly for prohibition.³⁴

Though there was some crime associated with “intemperance” under this regime, the enactment of federal prohibition in 1920 led to a new paradigm of large-scale organized crime focused on smuggling alcohol across the Canadian border for resale in the Boston, New York, and Rhode Island markets. Several smuggling routes from Québec to points south ran through mountainous northern Vermont or on Lake Champlain. For the first time, Vermont was subject to heavily armed and highly mobile gangs. Newspapers were filled with stories of raids on speakeasies and seizures of liquor shipments, though there were only a few fatalities throughout the period.³⁵ One of the lawmen pursuing smugglers, from 1919 to 1921, was Kennedy, as this responsibility fell under his duties as collector of internal revenue.³⁶

He leaned heavily into this experience on the campaign trail. As the autumn approached and the campaign season started in earnest, Kennedy said that he had “hesitated up to this time about waging a vigorous contest” but that “from now my campaign will be conducted in such a way that it will be known that a contest is being waged, at least on my part.” He stated,

My first, foremost and most emphatic declaration is that I am opposed to the Volstead act, and this on the grounds that it is not a temperance measure, that this law does not promote or foster temperance and that under it we are growing up a generation of citizens of law violators and a horde of rapidly becoming millionaire bootleggers.

I am a temperance man, not now because I am a candidate for office, but have been a temperance man always. One of my duties while filling the office of federal prohibition director of Vermont was to enforce the Volstead act. No one can claim that I did not do all that human strength could do to enforce that act. Not only did I work my staff of men to the endurance test, but I, myself, traveled the highways and the byways of the state both day and night to capture and apprehend the bootleggers. . .

And it is the experience that I personally had in my endeavor to enforce the Volstead law that now causes me to declare that it is impossible of enforcement, and that under it we are losing out rapidly as a nation of law-abiding citizens, the great majority of whom desire temperance, but see no hope in the Volstead act.³⁷

Kennedy said that he “firmly believe[d] that a great majority of the voters of the first district desire a modification of the Volstead law, a return to the good old days of law and order,” and promised to “conduct a campaign in the interest of temperance, but opposed to the Volstead act and with the hope of winning in November.”³⁸ Specifically, Kennedy was in favor of modifying the Volstead Act to allow for beer and light wine, which were “in fact and in truth non-intoxicating, and therefore not honestly within the scope of the amendment.” This would, he said, deprive the bootleggers of most of their customers.³⁹

Kennedy was not alone in seeing political potential in opposition to prohibition. The 1922 midterm elections largely saw local and parochial issues take preeminence over national concerns, as voters soured on the Republican Congress, but the Democrats did not put forth a unified nationwide program of their own. The exception to this was prohibition: although the Eighteenth Amendment was not yet threatened by repeal, passionate supporters and opponents were driven to express their opinions on enforcement (whether the federal Volstead Act or otherwise), light wines and beers, and other ancillary items in state and federal races across the country.⁴⁰

The *Bennington Evening Banner* said that “Probably Mr. Kennedy is taking a rosy view of his chances but there is no question about the popular rebellion against the Volstead act. The Volstead law is an injury to the cause of temperance and all it does is to attach a hundred thousand or less grafters to the public pay roll.”⁴¹ The independent *Burlington Daily News* said that it was unfair to consider the vote a referendum on the prohibition issue, predicting that “Thousands of Republicans who are strongly against the Volstead Act will hesitate to change their national politics for Mr. Kennedy because his platform contains that one plank which they favor.”⁴² Regular Republican newspapers

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were even less supportive. The *Fair Haven Era*, for example, wrote that Kennedy:

knows full well that the members of his own party, a hopeless minority in this state can do but little for him in realizing his ambitions, so he is making an appeal to disgruntled republicans the district over, to help him ride in to office over the back of the well-qualified, law abiding and law supporting candidate of the Republican Party. Perhaps Jim can make a go of it, he seems to think he can and be elected to Congress. Perhaps when he gets there he can work wonders, do things that brighter and smarter men have attempted to do and failed. Any way Jim does not lack assurance but we are not so sure.⁴³

Kennedy, as promised, launched an active campaign. He opened a headquarters at the Sherwood Hotel in Burlington, telling supporters that he was “pleased, yes, really surprised, at the large number of congratulatory letters, telephone messages and verbal declarations that have come to me from all over the district. Strange, but nevertheless true, most of these words of approval come from Republicans, many of whom I do not know.”⁴⁴ He started running copious newspaper ads, and Kennedy Clubs organized themselves in places like Essex Junction, where a group formed and adopted a resolution stating that “So many are the good qualities of Mr. Kennedy, that we have resolved to forget partisan politics and give him our support in the campaign he is conducting.”⁴⁵

Fleetwood, meanwhile, had engaged in “little, if any” campaigning by mid-October.⁴⁶ At a Republican luncheon in Rutland, alongside other candidates, he pled for the ability, as a congressman, to “give his mind a chance to work” rather than make campaign-season pledges, which he clearly resented. “This is becoming a government by questionnaire, and it is getting a long way from the traditions of our fathers when so many persons and organizations seem to want a congressman to be placarded with pledges before he is even elected.” He pledged to reflect the views of his constituents, while not being a “rubber stamp.” He did, however, pledge to support and enforce the Volstead Act, saying, “We must stand by the constitution. Therein lies the way of safety, law and order. I am not in favor of any legislation that negatives or nullifies that amendment.” He said that he supported the Republican platform, while Kennedy campaigned on only a single issue.⁴⁷

Kennedy, indeed, mentioned few other issues on the trail. He had some opinions: In answer to a Vermont League of Women Voters questionnaire, beyond opposing prohibition, he supported U.S. leadership on international cooperation to end war, independent citizenship for married women, and an antilynching bill. He opposed creation of new welfare bureaus for women and children (“the established bureaus that are showing efficiency and are of benefit should be continued”), and federal

efforts to decrease illiteracy (“Let the states deal with their educational matters themselves”).⁴⁸ But at a rally in Fair Haven, he told the crowd that while he had been advised to expand his platform, “I do not propose to surround that single [prohibition] plank with others, even though other planks I might adopt are important.” He did, however, slip in that a tax on beer and wine could pay for the soldier bonus, a popular though divisive issue in the aftermath of World War One.⁴⁹ Other than supporting prohibition, Fleetwood took essentially the same positions as Kennedy on the League of Women Voters questionnaire, though supporting efforts to end illiteracy and responding to the question asked on welfare funding by saying simply that he was “in favor of adequate funding.” He thought that “most of these matters were embodied in the Republican Party platform which I have adopted.”⁵⁰

Kennedy’s prohibition position attracted allies and enemies. The main “wet” organization, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, announced its support of Kennedy in late October. The state Women’s Christian Temperance Union, meanwhile, opposed Kennedy; their president, Elsie Pease Barney, said that “We are going to see to it, Mr. Kennedy, that men such as you do not get a chance to ruin the enforcement law.” Though the League of Women Voters did not endorse a candidate, they reported later that they had “made a particular fight” against Kennedy.⁵¹

Nevertheless, Republicans started to worry. The Republican *Rutland News* found “men of more or less influence in Republican circles” saying that Kennedy would make the strongest run of any Democrat in “many years.” The newspaper analyzed that as Kennedy had once won the Vermont Senate race in Chittenden County “without any particularly striking issue,” this combined with the popularity of his prohibition stance would allow him to “leave the Chittenden County polls with a substantial lead,” that he would carry Rutland, and “he has a 50-50 lead on the entire county.” If Kennedy won Rutland and Chittenden counties handily “he will become a real menace to Mr. Fleetwood’s aspirations, although only the most sanguine Democrats believe that the former can win.”⁵²

In an interview, Kennedy agreed with this analysis, adding that he expected “a handsome vote” in Bennington and Addison counties, though he was careful to predict only “a considerable shock” rather than victory. In his busy campaign office, he said that people had criticized Fleetwood’s position to him, even when “his own county [Lamoille] was never so wet not even in old prohibition days or when we had the local option law... I am afraid that Fleetwood has made a serious blunder in taking the stand he has.”⁵³ The Republican *Bristol Herald* cynically analyzed that Kennedy “does not expect to be elected. He is dis-

counting the future. He wants to poll the largest vote possible for a democratic candidate that he may be in position to claim a political plum should the national administration change in two years.”⁵⁴

Throughout the campaign, Kennedy took heavy fire from the mainly Republican Vermont press, which often reprinted and circulated editorials such as those cited above, and frequently printed such letters to the editor as one in the *Middlebury Register* that declared that “the voters of the First District can see behind the smoke screen that Mr. Kennedy has erected . . . Mr. Kennedy had an opportunity to serve the people of Vermont [in enforcing the prohibition law]. He failed, and he admits it! Are the voters of the First Vermont District sending failures to Congress? . . . As citizens of this great commonwealth they can do no greater service to their state and nation than by defeating James E. Kennedy, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Liquor Traffic.”⁵⁵

Some papers, though, came to his defense. The *Middlebury Record*, after a long editorial noting how Kennedy’s positions were held by others that Republicans would presumably find respectable, wrote that “We hold no brief for Mr. Kennedy. He is not of our political faith. But we do believe that those Republicans who are publicly treating him with sneers and contempt because he does not believe the Volstead act is something sacred, something not to be approached save with unshod feet, are following a course which is not calculated to add to the Republican majority in the first congressional district of Vermont.”⁵⁶

At a “red hot” campaign rally in Manchester, Kennedy criticized Fleetwood for his generic “law and order” stance on prohibition enforcement: “In Heaven’s name where do we find a good American citizen who does not stand for law and order!” He continued,

Let us see if this same Mr. Fleetwood believes in law and order in his own town. I have it on unquestionable authority that he defends, as a lawyer, the bootlegger and the rum runner. It is related that his principal business since the enactment of the Volstead Law, is to act as the attorney for the violators of the law in his own county. . . .

He tells you he has received questionnaires on all sorts of things, on many things he has heard of before. I suggest to Mr. Fleetwood that he take a course in the kindergarten and become posted on what is taking place in this great country of ours. I, too, have received the same questionnaires and I have replied to every one of them . . . But, apparently, Mr. Fleetwood does not believe the people are entitled to know how he stands on the questions he is asked to reply to.⁵⁷

Leaning into his agrarian roots, Kennedy said that he was disappointed that “my old-time friend, the senator-to-be, Congressman Frank L. Greene,” had “deserted the farmers” by voting for a tax on potash.

“I might add that the farmers would never have been disappointed in my vote on the question of taxing potash, the chemical so necessary to give value to their fertilizer. I have been a farmer the greater part of my life, and I am a farmer still. And I believe that the farmers of Vermont should have a farmer representative at Washington and break away from professional representation, which fails to represent.”⁵⁸

Similar messaging prevailed in his newspaper ads, with pro-agrarian stances creeping in alongside opposition to prohibition. One said of “Where Kennedy Stands” that he was:

FOR real temperance—and an enforceable temperance law.

AGAINST the Volstead ‘Enforcement’ law—it is impossible of enforcement.

FOR light wines and beers—obtainable under the strictest governmental regulation.

AGAINST anything approaching a return to the open saloon.

FOR first, a sane temperance law—then airtight enforcement.

AGAINST the bootlegger and rum runner that flourish under Volsteadism.

FOR the interests of ALL classes of Vermonters—not of ONE class against another.

AGAINST the idea that the crying needs of Vermont farmers can be flagrantly disregarded.⁵⁹

Kennedy told a crowd in Middlebury a week before the election that “I’m going to surprise you Republicans,” and predicted that he’d carry the district’s cities and large towns and get a “generous” vote in “outlying districts” despite them being “problematical.” “I’ve got ’em on the run, you wait and see.”⁶⁰ Kennedy also spoke in Milton on the same day, saying that Fleetwood was “as elusive as a bootlegger and the most silent man who ever came out of Lamoille County. He has, however, climbed upon the Volstead booze wagon, and for all I know, there he sticks.” Stretching to find connections, he wondered if Fleetwood’s hometown newspaper’s tying Fleetwood to Greene meant that farmers would decline to support him, as “That means that Mr. Fleetwood would have voted a tax on potash the same as Mr. Greene voted . . . and if Mr. Fleetwood is the pupil of Mr. Greene then, if he is elected, Mr. Greene will have to tell him what to do.”⁶¹

Fleetwood’s allies counterattacked by mobilizing the “dry clergy” during the final week of the campaign: Several Burlington pastors also signed a letter urging a vote against Kennedy after Fleetwood confirmed to them that he was in favor of the Volstead Act and opposed to beer and light wine.⁶² Kennedy was challenged to a last-minute debate on Vol-

stead modification by Rev. Ralph Stody of the Methodist church in St. Albans; Kennedy first said that as he was “not a public man” he would need time to prepare, and that as he was not an attorney, he would likely not acquit himself well; Moody replied that this was the central issue of his campaign, and he should be willing to discuss it. Kennedy was tempted by the publicity, but ultimately said that his schedule was too full, and put out that “His services are so much in demand he is all tired out, anyway.”⁶³

As the campaign drew to a close, the *Bennington Evening Banner* wrote that “Were the issue simply between Republican and Democrat, the Republican would win by 3 or 4 to one, but Kennedy’s promise to devote himself to the wet issue has rallied to his support all those of all stages of dampness. Even this wouldn’t make any difference with the result except that Kennedy’s support is the kind that will go to the polls even if it is rainy or chilly or the wind blows while a good part of those who in theory support Fleetwood never do vote and will not tomorrow.” Nonvoters from the city of Bennington alone, they wrote, could swing the election.⁶⁴ Republican papers were sure to get their pro-Fleetwood editorials in: representative is the *Vermont Tribune*, which said that “[Kennedy] declares that the Volstead Act is unenforceable and we believe him. He says that public opinion is not behind this piece of legislation and again we agree, but when he says that his stand on the question is sufficient reason for sending him to Congress we stand on the other shore.” The *Vermont Tribune* and several other papers predicted that women voters, especially, would reject Kennedy.⁶⁵

RESULTS, ANALYSIS, AND AFTERMATH

The vote was on November 7, 1922, and there were few incidents to report. In Fair Haven, in Rutland County, the *Rutland News* reported that “With automobiles enlisted by the old time liquor interests carrying every wet voter possible to the polls,” perhaps in response, “about 11 o’clock the women, presumably representing an overwhelmingly ‘dry’ sentiment, began to arrive in unusual numbers; although the first part of the morning gave indications that the female vote would be light.”⁶⁶

The *St. Albans Daily Messenger* described the scene at Kennedy headquarters on election night as the larger cities and towns, which Kennedy won, reported early and the campaign felt optimistic of a narrow victory. They became discouraged, however, and the Republicans encouraged, as the smaller towns came in later, especially from Fleetwood’s home Lamoille County. Kennedy did not concede until midnight, after results from Addison County combined with Lamoille to erase his lead.⁶⁷

When all the votes were counted, Fleetwood had eked out a victory with 19,359 to Kennedy's 17,821, 52 percent to 48 percent. Of Fleetwood's total, 1,378 votes were on the Prohibition Party ballot line.⁶⁸ Kennedy far outpaced the rest of the Democratic ticket: He received almost 5,500 more votes in the district's seven counties than William B. Mayo, the nominee for US senator, did; and Mayo had the best state-wide performance of any Democrat, taking 30 percent of the vote while the party's other nominees topped out at 25 percent. Kennedy received almost 8,000 more votes than the Democratic candidate for governor did in the district's counties.⁶⁹ Nor did Kennedy have his own coattails: The Republicans picked up a net of one state senate seat and three state house seats in the towns and counties of the district, including the house seat in the new city of Winooski.⁷⁰ The county-level results were as follows:

County	Kennedy	Fleetwood
Addison	1,265	2,543
Bennington	2,692	2,520
Chittenden	4,506	3,902
Franklin	2,811	2,768
Grand Isle	789	614
Lamoille	872	1,956
Rutland	4,886	5,056

Fleetwood reported spending \$500 on his campaign; Kennedy spent \$2,391.60,⁷¹ a considerable sum at the time, considering that many congressional campaigns in this period, outside of major metropolitan centers, were run on less than a thousand dollars.⁷²

The *Rutland News* called Kennedy's result "unprecedented," and said that leaders of both parties (the Republicans behind closed doors) admitted "the recognition of a hitherto unrecognized existence of a large independent vote in Vermont," which had otherwise voted Republican "because, with the exception of Kennedy, no Democratic candidate had either issues or strength." The newspaper concluded that,

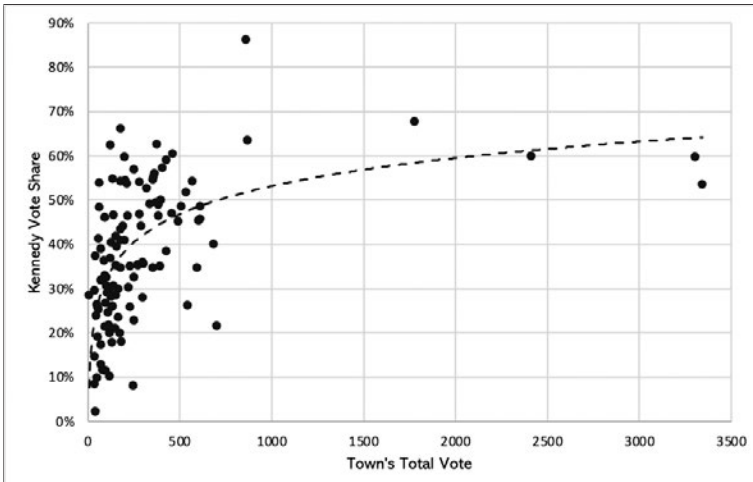
Fleetwood was saved, even Republican leaders admit, only by the overwhelming majority with which he carried virtually all the smaller and inaccessible towns of the state which Kennedy, fighting his fight without any state organization worthy of the name, was entirely powerless to reach. . . . The main theme of the Republican spell-binders, among whom were many experienced campaigners, was a plea for those who had usually voted the Republican ticket not to desert Fleetwood for a man with one issue. Beyond the shadow of a doubt this campaign, against which the Democrats had no organization to cope, kept several

thousand voters in line for Fleetwood which were distinctly of this wavering variety and some of which—probably enough to have changed the result—a more highly organized campaign would have brought into the Kennedy camp.⁷³

Indeed, Kennedy carried only 26 of the district's 115 cities and towns, though some town electorates were so small that a Kennedy or Fleetwood lead was a matter of only a handful of votes. Kennedy carried all four of the cities where more than a thousand people voted (Burlington, Rutland, Bennington, and St. Albans). Splitting the cities and towns into quartiles based on total votes cast shows that the *Rutland News* was right: Kennedy carried fewer cities and “smaller, inaccessible” towns with small electorates (1st and 2nd quartiles) and more cities and towns with large electorates (3rd and 4th quartiles):⁷⁴

Total Votes Cast:	1st Quartile	2nd Quartile	3rd Quartile	4th Quartile
Fleetwood	28	24	22	15
Kennedy	1	4	7	14

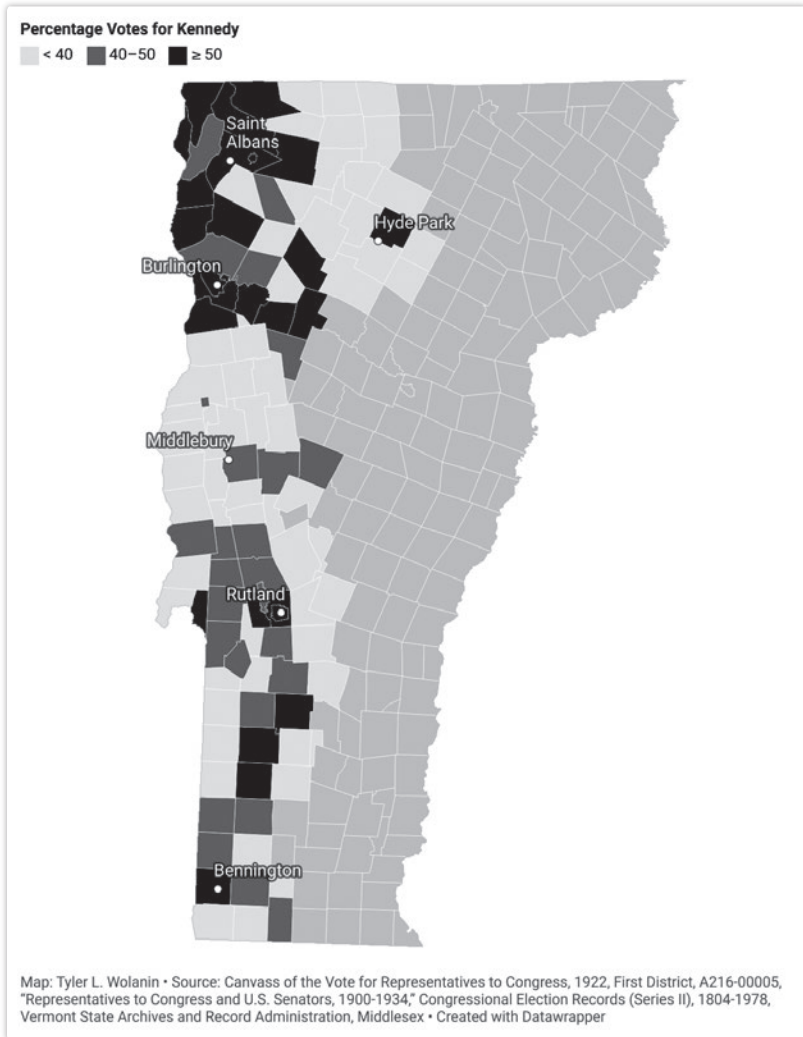
Plotting individual towns by Kennedy vote share shows that Kennedy won an increasing percentage of votes the larger a city or town's electorate:



It is difficult to ascertain the success of Kennedy's efforts to appeal to the agricultural vote. In the district's 51 towns that could be reasonably identified as agricultural, Fleetwood won 38 with a total of 6,891 votes, while Kennedy won 13 with a total of 4,786 votes, thus winning 41 percent of the vote in agricultural towns. Kennedy's victories came in cities and a few industrial, marble, or quarry towns.⁷⁵ Kennedy's most dra-

matic win was in newly incorporated Winooski, which he carried with 86 percent, 741 to 118, accounting for more than his margin of victory in Chittenden County. Fleetwood's biggest win was in his hometown of Morristown, which he carried with 78 percent, 548 to 152.

Kennedy appears to have won votes across ethnic lines, with support from Vermonters of Irish, French, and Italian origin or ancestry. This was pronounced in Burlington: Kennedy won resoundingly in two of the



Results by towns, Vermont 1st Congressional District, 1922. Map by Tyler L. Wolanin.

city's three "melting pot" wards, Wards 3 and 4, made up of Franco American (the largest bloc), Jewish, Irish, and Italian communities, though he lost the similarly constituted Ward 2. The combined vote in these wards was 982 for Kennedy to 571 for Fleetwood; Kennedy won 63 percent. Meanwhile, in "old stock" Wards 1, 5, and 6, with more Yankee populations, Kennedy kept the vote close, carrying none of the three but losing the combined total by only 978 to 810; Kennedy won 45 percent.⁷⁶ This comported with local trends observed a decade later, when the Democrats carried the city while winning only Wards 3 and 4. A study of Burlington in the 1930s found that the Irish, a heavily Democratic constituency, thought of themselves as the champions of more recent immigrants, and that they had worked on gradually winning over Franco Americans to the party from the factory bosses who had often "convinced" them to vote Republican. This resulted in an eventual alignment of newer immigrants in the Democratic Party against "older" Yankees, the backbone of the Republican Party.⁷⁷ These trends are in line with regional voting patterns: Franco Americans in New England did not vote as an ethnic bloc but often tended to act as a counterweight to either the Democratic Irish or the Yankee Republicans, depending on who had more power. In Vermont, where the Democratic Party was far weaker and the Republicans tended to be nativist, Franco Americans leaned Democratic.⁷⁸ Winooski, the site of Kennedy's biggest win, was heavily Franco American.⁷⁹ Kennedy also won 60 percent in Rutland, with a large Italian marble worker population, 1,978 to 1,325; Italians, too, were regarded as traditionally Democratic voters.⁸⁰

Both Kennedy and his Republican interlocutors thought that the prohibition issue explained the results.⁸¹ Senator-Elect Greene called Fleetwood's win "gratifying," and said that the close result was not "indicative of any personal feeling against him," but was purely due to antiprohibition protest. Kennedy was "a popular man" who "cleverly capitalized a more or less catchy 'issue' at a time when party ties were held lightly and unsettled."⁸² Kennedy trumpeted the reaction against the Volstead Act in his postelection statement. "A great moral victory was won," he said.

Could party lines have been entirely eliminated—and they were to a marked degree—disapproval of the Volstead law would have been shown by a tremendous majority. Nothing stands out more prominently after the election than the fact that the people of the first Vermont congressional district desire a better temperance law than we have at present—a law that will win our respect and therefore be possible of enforcement.⁸³

Wet towns can be identified using town meeting votes for local licenses to sell liquor from 1917 to 1919,⁸⁴ the last three years prior to the passage of the Volstead Act. Kennedy and Fleetwood map onto wet and dry towns as follows:

Voted for License 1917–1919	Zero	Once	Twice	Thrice
Kennedy Towns	12	6	3	4
Fleetwood Towns	79	7	1	2

Kennedy won 9,227 votes from wet towns, and 8,531 from dry towns. Fleetwood won 6,898 votes from wet towns and 12,462 from dry towns. Thus, Kennedy won 57 percent of the wet-town vote, but only 41 percent of the dry-town vote.

The *Rutland News* wrote that the “true story of political conditions in Vermont lies in an interpretation of the outstanding fight, the contest between Fleetwood and Kennedy. Political unrest, dissatisfaction with the existing order and a desire for change are manifestly in the air, but there is no adequate organization to direct this sentiment.” “The only conclusion that can be drawn” the paper wrote, “is that a majority of Vermonters are strongly opposed to the present prohibition enforcement act.” More broadly, newspapers scrutinized the state election and found that many “men who had been expected to take a leading part in the shaping of measures at the coming sessions [of the state legislature] as well as possible candidates for the speakership” had been defeated. Malaise was in the political air. “Even in Vermont,” wrote the *Barre Times*, “somewhat removed from the influences which stir the national political whirlpool, there was an uneasiness among the voters which betokens none too well for the Republican party in the nation as a whole.” Vermonters had tried electing a reformist governor, engineer James Hartness in 1920, but his reform efforts based on principles of scientific management had foundered in the legislature. Before the 1922 returns had even come in, the *Burlington Free Press* had written that “If the Republicans do not go to Montpelier only two months hence determined to carry out a real program of genuine reform and retrenchment, we can almost safely promise them that exactly two years hence, in November, they will see a citizens’ ticket or some other movement rolling up a large vote. . . . A real Democratic campaign this year on state issues would have cut a tremendous figure.”⁸⁵

Such dissatisfaction with Republicans was not limited to Vermont: the Democrats picked up 76 seats in the US House of Representatives (leaving the Republicans an 18-seat majority) despite a lack of resources, organization, and a nationwide message, winning on the back

of widespread popular discontent and focus on a myriad of local issues. Several prominent Democratic victories were laid to the unpopularity of prohibition, though these were mostly in areas where the issue had already been unpopular and weren't considered representative of a major nationwide change on the subject.⁸⁶

In his postelection statement, Kennedy had said, "I wish it known that the fight has just begun against the Volstead act, and I wish to serve notice on advocates of the law that I shall continue my opposition to it and increase my effort to bring about modification . . . The principle on which I waged my fight is right, and with an ever-determined purpose to go ahead we must eventually win."⁸⁷ Regardless of Kennedy's sentiments after the election, there was no encore performance by him in 1924, or indeed by any of the candidates. Fleetwood did not run for a second term; it was reported that he "does not like living in Washington . . . and does not enjoy service in Congress."⁸⁸ Additionally, he had been hit by a truck and almost killed. Though the state's Republican press regretted his departure, they also wrote that he "has not as yet 'learned the ropes,' to say nothing of making much of a stir," and that "He has not been in office long enough to prove his worth, as it takes more than one term to gain that in Congress, but he certainly was giving evidence of meeting the requirements of the position."⁸⁹ Western Vermont elected Republican Elbert S. Brigham to replace him with the usual three-quarters of the vote.⁹⁰ Fleetwood returned to his legal career and dabbled in banking; he died in Morristown in 1938.⁹¹

Although Kennedy declined to run for office immediately, he was the Democratic nominee against Senator Porter Dale in 1926. Considering his impressive performance four years earlier, his defeat by Dale, though expected, was "unexpectedly severe," according to the *Boston Globe*; Dale won 73 percent of the vote.⁹² During the Depression, Kennedy involved himself in Democratic Party politics, supporting Al Smith's nomination in 1932 even after the Vermont Democratic Committee came out in support of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Despite Kennedy's efforts, the state Democrats elected a Roosevelt delegation.⁹³

Kennedy made a more successful return to prominence several years later, when he was elected once again to the Vermont Senate from Chittenden County in 1936 and reelected in 1938. He was the chair of the Committee on Claims in his first term, and of the Committee on Taxation in his second; he was also the senator chosen to join the president pro tempore and the lieutenant governor in assigning senate committee memberships in his second term.⁹⁴ After leaving the senate, he became a director of the Green Mountain Power Corporation. He died in 1949 at age 77.⁹⁵

Republicans quickly reverted to their usual vote share in the next election. Some of the state's political malaise was addressed by both Governor Redfield Proctor Jr., who successfully reorganized and consolidated the executive branch; and by the new legislature, which embarked upon a "back to the town movement" to reduce the power and spending of state government in areas such as education and public health.⁹⁶ In contrast to these political changes, Vermont politicians came around slowly on prohibition: A decade after the contest, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment was still unsuccessfully supporting Democratic candidates against Republican officeholders who opposed repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The furthest that Republicans went while campaigning was to favor resubmission of the question to the states, or an ambiguous stance.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the Kennedy campaign was an important milestone in the history of the slow climb to power of the Vermont Democratic Party and in Vermonters' evolving attitudes toward prohibition.

NOTES

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¹ For a list of US representatives and senators from Vermont, see Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, Appendices D and E to *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 632–642. For the next close Democratic showing in the era of Republican dominance, see George T. Mazuzan, "Vermont's Traditional Republicanism vs. the New Deal: Warren R. Austin and the Election of 1934," *Vermont History* 39, no. 2 (Spring 1971): 128–141.

² *Rutland Daily Herald*, "Wanted: A Congressman," *St. Albans Daily Messenger* (reprinted), 18 May 1922.

³ "First District Democrats," *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 16 May 1922; Charles S. Forbes, "History of Vermont Newspapers," *Vermont* 11, no. 1 (August 1905). Unless otherwise noted, all notations of newspaper partisan alignment are sourced from this publication's supplement.

⁴ Vermont Secretary of State, *Elections Results Archive*, accessed online, December 22, 2022, https://electionarchive.vermont.gov/elections/search/year_from:1920/year_to:1920.

⁵ Samuel B. Hand, "Mountain Rule Revisited," *Vermont History* 71, no. 3/4 (Summer/Fall 2003): 143–145.

⁶ Hiram A. Huse, Clarence H. Pitkin, and Ashton R. Willard, *The Revised Laws of Vermont, 1880: With the Public Acts of 1880, and the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Vermont* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle & Company, 1881), 82.

⁷ United States Census Bureau, *1920 Census: Volume 1: Population, Number and Distribution of Inhabitants* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 645–647.

⁸ Vermont Secretary of State, *Vermont Legislative Directory: Biennial Session 1923* (Montpelier, VT: Secretary of State, 1923), 248–254.

⁹ Sherman, Sessions, and Potash, Appendix B to *Freedom and Unity*, 627–628.

¹⁰ United States Census Bureau, *1920 Census: Volume 3: Population, Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 1050–1051.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1053. Chittenden County had almost 3,000 individuals from French Canada (and over 1,500 from Anglophone Canada), while Franklin County had just over 2,500. Rutland County had over 1,000 individuals from Italy, the second-highest count in the state. Note that this is only a tally of residents born outside of the United States, not descendants of immigrants.

¹² Samuel B. Hand, *The Star that Set: The Vermont Republican Party, 1854–1974* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002), 104–05.

¹³ Duane Lockard, *New England State Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), 31.

¹⁴ *Manual of the Legislature of Vermont for the Years 1908–09* (St. Albans, VT: St. Albans Messenger Co., 1908), 79; Guy W. Bailey, *Vermont Legislative Directory: Biennial Session 1910* (Montpelier, VT: Capital City Press, 1910), 513; Richard H. Allen, *North Williston: Down Depot Hill* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011), 106.

¹⁵ Samuel B. Hand, Jeffrey D. Marshall, and D. Gregory Sanford, "'Little Republics' The Structure of State Politics in Vermont, 1854–1920," *Vermont History* 53, no. 3 (Summer 1985): 144.

¹⁶ Hand, *The Star that Set*, 102–103, 309.

¹⁷ Harry C. Shaw, *Legislative Luminaries* (Brattleboro: Vermont Printing Company, 1910), 11–12. The *Brattleboro Reformer* was considered a Democratic newspaper. See John J. Duffy, Samuel B. Hand, and Ralph H. Orth, "Brattleboro Reformer," *The Vermont Encyclopedia* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2003), 63; Hand, *The Star that Set*, 54n32.

¹⁸ Shaw, *Legislative Luminaries* 12–13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 14–15.

²¹ "Martin A. Brown Out of Politics," *Burlington Suburban List*, 5 November 1914; Vermont Secretary of State, *1914 Lieutenant Governor General Election*, accessed online, December 22, 2022, <https://electionarchive.vermont.gov/elections/view/83112/>; Hand, *The Star that Set*, 105; "National Committee," *Bennington Evening Banner*, 14 August 1919; "Collector Kennedy Welcome," *National Union-Journal*, 15 October 1919; "McCuen Named for Big Federal Post," *Vermont Journal*, 19 August 1921.

²² "Vermont Democrats Name J. H. Jackson," *Barre Daily Times*, 22 June 1922; "State Democrats Select Ticket," *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 22 June 1922.

²³ *Barre Times*, "Burlington Contemporary Considers Democratic Nominee for Congress, 1st Dist., Serious Contender," *Rutland Daily Herald* (reprinted), 24 June 1922. A partisan alignment in this period could not be located for the *Barre Times*.

²⁴ "Editorial," *Morrisville Messenger*, 28 June 1922.

²⁵ "Martin S. Vilas Says He is Now Cong. Candidate," *Bennington Evening Banner*, 1 July 1922.

²⁶ Editorial, *Bennington Evening Banner*, 3 July 1922.

²⁷ "Fleetwood Out for Congress," *Burlington Free Press*, 17 July 1922.

²⁸ Hand, *The Star that Set*, 39, 53n22; Aaron H. Grout, *Vermont Legislative Directory: Biennial Session 1925* (Montpelier, VT: Secretary of State, 1925), 565; "Fleetwood, Frederick Glead," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, accessed online, December 22, 2022: <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/F000194>; "Vermont Politics: Cong. Foster Not in Line for Senate," *Boston Daily Globe*, 7 June 1908; "Former Secretary is Out for Vermont Governorship," *Christian Science Monitor*, 14 February 1910; "Mead Wins in Vermont," *New York Times*, 1 July 1910; Anna L. Mower, *History of Morrisville, Vermont* (Morrisville, VT: Messenger-Sentinel Company, 1935), 148, 275–276, republished in *Morrisville Two Times* (Morrisville, VT: Morrisville Historical Society, 1982); "F. G. Fleetwood Sec. of State," *Burlington Free Press*, 14 August 1917; Frank M. Bryan, *Yankee Politics in Rural Vermont* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1974), 62.

²⁹ "Former Secretary of State to Seek Greene's Place," *Burlington Daily News*, 17 July 1922; "Vilas is Out of Fight," *Rutland News*, 20 July 1922.

³⁰ "Fleetwood and the State Press," *Morrisville News and Citizen*, 26 July 1922. This article quotes from articles in the *Middlebury Register*, *Randolph Herald*, and *Barre Times*.

³¹ "Frederick G. Fleetwood," *Bennington Evening Banner*, 31 July 1922.

³² "All Candidates File Papers," *Burlington Daily News*, 14 August 1922.

³³ "'Dry' Party Approves Republican Ticket," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 5 October 1922.

³⁴ "1903: Regulating the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquor," *Vermont State Archives and Records Administration* (VSARA), accessed online: <https://sos.vermont.gov/vsara/learn/general-assembly/referendum/history/1903/>.

³⁵ Adam Krakowski, *Vermont Prohibition: Teetotalers, Bootleggers & Corruption* (Charleston, SC: American Palate, 2016), 96–111; Sean T. Moore, "National Prohibition in Northern New York," *New York History* 77, no. 2 (April 1996), 184–187; Duffy, Hand, and Orth, "Prohibition," *Vermont Encyclopedia*, 242–243. For liquor smuggling on Lake Champlain, see A. Bradley Soule, "The United States Custom Boat Patrol on Lake Champlain During the Prohibition Era," *Vermont History* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 133–143. For a memoir of the prosecution of one such fatal run, see Consuelo

Northrop Bailey, *Leaves Before the Wind: The Autobiography of Vermont's Own Daughter* (Burlington, VT: G. Little Press, 1976), 9–12.

³⁶ “To Regulate Alcohol,” *Brattleboro Reformer*, 7 November 1919; “McCuen Named for Big Federal Post,” *Vermont Journal*. The Harding Administration later appointed a separate collector of internal revenue and prohibition enforcement officer.

³⁷ “Will Campaign to Defeat the Volstead Law,” *Bennington Evening Banner*, 9 October 1922.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ “Kennedy Declares Volstead Dry Law Can Be Modified,” *Burlington Daily News*, 11 October 1922.

⁴⁰ Edward Ranson, *The American Mid-Term Elections of 1922: An Unexpected Shift in Political Power* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 155–156, 193–196, 206.

⁴¹ Editorial, *Bennington Evening Banner*, 12 October 1922.

⁴² Editorial, *Burlington Daily News*, 10 October 1922. The *Burlington Daily News* “frequently endorsed Democratic candidates” though the owner later ran for office as a Republican (see “Burlington Daily News,” Paul Searls, in Duffy, Hand, and Orth, *Vermont Encyclopedia*, 73).

⁴³ “James E. Kennedy, He,” *Fair Haven Era*, 12 October 1922.

⁴⁴ “Kennedy Opens Campaign Headquarters in City,” *Burlington Daily News*, 13 October 1922.

⁴⁵ “Kennedy’s Townsmen Form Booster Club,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 20 October 1922.

⁴⁶ *Barre Times*, “Fleetwood Is Challenged,” *Rutland Daily Herald* (reprinted), 19 October 1922.

⁴⁷ “Fleetwood Indorses [sic] All of Volstead Act at Republican Gathering While Kennedy, at Fair Haven, Promises to Help Amend It,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 21 October 1922; “Defends Policies of Republicans,” *Burlington Free Press*, 21 October 1922.

⁴⁸ “James Kennedy Answers Women,” *Rutland News*, 10 October 1922.

⁴⁹ “Kennedy Promises to Help End Prohibition Law,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 21 October 1922; Ranson, *American Mid-Term Elections of 1922*, 31–37.

⁵⁰ “Fleetwood Answers,” *Middlebury Record*, 7 September 1922.

⁵¹ “Kennedy Backed in Washington,” *Burlington Daily News*, 21 October 1922; “State W.C.T.U. Opens Convention,” *Burlington Free Press*, 25 October 1922; Ida Clyde Clark and Laura Miller, *Women of 1923 International* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1923), 99.

⁵² “G.O.P. Worries Over Kennedy,” *Rutland News*, 23 October 1922.

⁵³ “Kennedy Victory Near,” *Rutland News*, 24 October 1922.

⁵⁴ “Purely Buncombe,” *Bristol Herald*, 2 November 1922.

⁵⁵ D. Haydn Parry, “Why Elect Kennedy?” *Middlebury Register*, 3 November 1922.

⁵⁶ “Mr. Kennedy’s Campaign,” *Middlebury Record*, 26 October 1922.

⁵⁷ “Kennedy Rally at Manchester Turns Out Red Hot Event,” *Rutland Daily Herald*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Kennedy ad, *Rutland Daily Herald*, 3 November 1922.

⁶⁰ “Will Surprise All Vermonsters Claims Kennedy,” *Middlebury Register*, 3 November 1922.

⁶¹ “Kennedy Makes Bitter Attacks,” *Burlington Daily News*.

⁶² “Protestant Clergy Work for Fleetwood,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 4 November 1922.

⁶³ “James Kennedy Challenged to Joint Debate,” *St. Johnsbury Caledonian Record*, 4 November 1922; “Kennedy Rejects Debate Challenge,” *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 4 November 1922.

⁶⁴ “Election Doubt Depends on Vote Cast Tomorrow,” *Bennington Evening Banner*, 6 November 1922. It did indeed rain on election day; the *St. Albans Messenger* wondered how Kennedy campaign manager Lynn S. Hayes would have pontificated on the effect on voter turnout (see Editorial, *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 7 November 1922).

⁶⁵ “The Election,” *Vermont Tribune*, 3 November 1922. For another prediction of female support of Fleetwood, see *Bristol Herald*, “Fleetwood,” *Rutland Daily Herald* (reprinted), 28 October 1922.

⁶⁶ “Liquor Man’s Activities Feature Fair Haven’s Election Day Excitement,” *Rutland News*, 7 November 1922. This was only the second federal election following the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, guaranteeing women the right to vote.

⁶⁷ “Vermont True to Tradition but G.O.P. Bears Many Marks of Battle,” *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 8 November 1922.

⁶⁸ *Canvass of Votes for Representatives to 68th Congress*, A216-00009, “Representatives to Congress, 1872–1958; U.S. Senators, 1914–1958 (Compilation by R.L. Hagerman),” 644, Congressional Election Records (Series II), 1804–1978, VSARA, Middlesex. For the Prohibition Party count, see *Canvass of the Vote for Representatives to Congress, 1922, First District*, A216-00005, “Representatives to Congress and U.S. Senators, 1900–1934,” Congressional Election Records (Series II), 1804–1978, VSARA. There was some indication that Fleetwood’s vote should have been higher, perhaps by

a count of several thousand, because of voters who marked his name in both the Prohibition Party and the Republican Party columns and thus spoiled their ballots. This was not, however, pursued by Fleetwood (see "Claims That Ballots Were Not Defective," *Burlington Free Press*, 9 November 1922; "Fleetwood Not Going to Seek Election Again," *Bennington Evening Banner*, 26 May 1924).

⁶⁹ *Canvass of Votes for Representatives to 68th Congress*, 646. Vermont Secretary of State, *Vermont Legislative Directory: Biennial Session 1923*, 245. In the Second District's seven counties, Mayo received 12,327 votes to Greene's 23,786; gubernatorial nominee J. Holmes Jackson received 10,763 votes to Redfield Proctor Jr.'s 24,110.

⁷⁰ Republicans held 29 Vermont Senate seats in the 1921 session; in 1922 they flipped the 30th seat in Grand Isle County. The Vermont House delegation from the towns of the First Congressional District prior to the election comprised 96 Republicans, 1 Progressive Republican, 3 Independents, 13 Democrats, and 1 Independent Democrat; after the election it was 100 Republicans, 1 Independent, 1 member with no party listed, and 13 Democrats. Within the district's delegation, 28 total state house seats changed parties. (Vermont Secretary of State, *Vermont Legislative Directory: Biennial Session 1923*, 403–461; Harry A. Black, *Vermont Legislative Directory: Biennial Session 1921* (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Secretary of State, 1921), 507–565). Statewide, the Democrats gained 15 seats in the Vermont House in 1922 (see Hand, *The Star that Set*, 309).

⁷¹ Vermont, First District; *Candidates' Campaign Expenses, 1922*, 419, Office of the Clerk of the House, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, RG 233, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁷² Louise Overacker, *Money in Elections* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), 60.

⁷³ "Democrats Scare G.O.P.," *Rutland News*, 8 November 1922.

⁷⁴ All municipal vote totals are from *Canvass of the Vote for Representatives to Congress, 1922, First District*. Data is split into quartiles by ordering it and dividing it into four quarters of equal size. Thus, the towns in the 1st quartile are the quarter of towns in the district that cast the smallest total vote; the towns in the 4th quartile are the quarter of towns that cast the largest total vote, and so on. Towns in the 1st quartile cast between 7 and 101 total votes (excluding blanks), towns in the 2nd quartile cast between 103 and 178 total votes, towns in the 3rd quartile cast between 178 and 357 total votes, and towns in the 4th quartile cast between 362 and 3,342 total votes.

⁷⁵ For this purpose, municipalities were identified by reference to agriculture, industries, or other descriptors in their entries in Duffy, Hand, and Orth, *Vermont Encyclopedia*.

⁷⁶ Elin L. Anderson, *We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 36–38, 214. According to the newspapers, the vote in Burlington was:

Ward 1: Fleetwood 336, Kennedy 210

Ward 2: Fleetwood 411, Kennedy 334

Ward 3: Fleetwood 98, Kennedy 327

Ward 4: Fleetwood 62, Kennedy 321

Ward 5: Fleetwood 348, Kennedy 334

Ward 6: Fleetwood 294, Kennedy 266. (See "Smith and Kennedy," *Burlington Free Press*, 8 November 1922. This newspaper total is slightly different from the official count). The *Burlington Clipper*, Republican but pro-Kennedy, called it a "disappointment" that more Democrats were not turned out in the city (see "Walloped," *Burlington Clipper*, 16 November 1922).

⁷⁷ Anderson, *We Americans*, 209–212. The Irish and Yankees were, furthermore, the most likely voters to turn out, while only half of French and Italians, and three-quarters of the smaller populations of Jews and Germans, were likely to vote, with Franco American and Italian American women especially less likely to vote.

⁷⁸ David B. Walker, "The Presidential Politics of the Franco-Americans," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue Canadienne d'Economique et de Science politique* 28, no. 3 (August 1962): 356.

⁷⁹ Norman Sepenuk, "A Profile of Franco-American Political Attitudes in New England," in *A Franco-American Overview*, ed. Madeleine Giguere (Cambridge, MA: Lesley Press, 1981), 3: 216.

⁸⁰ Vincent Feeney and Brendan Keleher, "Burlington's Ethnic Communities, 1860–1900," *Vermont History* 86, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2018): 156–158; Amanda Thibault, "This Place in History: Italian American Club of Rutland," *MyChamplainValley.com*, October 26, 2017, accessed online: <https://www.mychamplainvalley.com/news/this-place-in-history-italian-american-club-of-rutland/>.

⁸¹ For Republican newspaper examples, see "Kennedy Defeated by Fleetwood by Very Small Margin," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 8 November 1922; *Poultney Journal*, "Rum Did It," *Rutland Daily Herald* (reprinted), 11 November 1922.

⁸² “Slump in Vote for Greene is Charged to Labor’s Enmity,” *Burlington Free Press*, 9 November 1922.

⁸³ “Kennedy, by No Means Dismayed by Defeat, Says He Will Keep Up Fight Against Volstead Law,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 10 November 1922. In the *Burlington Daily News*, this statement was reported under the headline “Kennedy Denies Any Outside Aid,” as Kennedy refuted claims that he had received funds from liquor interests, saying that only \$25 had been donated to his campaign, all by individuals.

⁸⁴ Compiled from *Returns of Votes Relative to the Sale of Liquor, 1917–1956*, PRA-00615, VSARA. Kennedy won the wet cities and towns of Bennington, Burlington, Dorset, Fair Haven, Grand Isle, Highgate, Isle La Motte, Mt. Tabor, Rutland City, Shelburne, St. Albans, Swanton, and West Rutland; and the dry cities and towns of Alburg, Bolton, Fairfield, Hyde Park, Manchester, Milton, Richmond, Rutland Town, South Burlington, St. Albans Town, Underhill, and Williston. Fleetwood won the wet cities and towns of Castleton, Colchester, Danby, Hubbardton, Lincoln, Sandgate, Searsburg, Shoreham, St. George, and Vergennes. All other towns were dry and won by Fleetwood; Winooski, incorporated in 1921, is counted as neither wet nor dry, and was won by Kennedy.

⁸⁵ [Untitled], *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 10 November 1922; Hand, *The Star that Set*, 111.

⁸⁶ Ranson, *American Mid-Term Elections of 1922*, 224–232, 254–258.

⁸⁷ “Kennedy, by No Means Dismayed by Defeat, Says He Will Keep Up Fight Against Volstead Law,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 10 November 1922.

⁸⁸ “Fleetwood Not Going to Seek Election Again,” *Bennington Evening Banner*, 26 May 1924.

⁸⁹ “Press Comment,” *Morrisville Messenger*, 4 June 1924.

⁹⁰ *Canvass of Votes for Representatives to 69th Congress*, 655. Brigham was unopposed in the primary.

⁹¹ “Fleetwood, Frederick Glead,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*.

⁹² “Weeks is Elected 2 to 1 in Vermont,” *Boston Globe*, 4 November 1926.

⁹³ Untitled, *Brattleboro Reformer*, 12 February 1932; “Franklin D. Roosevelt the Choice of Vermont Democrats,” *Burlington Free Press*, 19 May 1932. The Vermont Democrats elected a dozen delegates pledged to Roosevelt with eight votes between them at their convention in May of 1932; the only contest was for the fourth seat between Kennedy (with strong support from urban delegates from Burlington and Winooski) and Roosevelt supporter Timothy E. Conklin of Rutland, who won by 533 votes to Kennedy’s 361.

⁹⁴ Rawson C. Myrick, *Vermont Legislative Directory 1937* (Brattleboro: Vermont Printing Company, 1937), 421, 457; Rawson C. Myrick, *Vermont Legislative Directory 1939* (Brattleboro: Vermont Printing Company, 1939), 396, 433; “Elect Shepard Speaker of Legislature,” *Caledonian Record*, 4 January 1939.

⁹⁵ “James E. Kennedy of Essex Junction Dead at Age of 77,” *Essex Junction Suburban List*, 30 October 1947.

⁹⁶ Hand, *The Star that Set*, 113–14.

⁹⁷ Senator Porter H. Dale took an ambiguous stance during his 1932 reelection campaign against Fred C. Martin (see “Dale Details Stand on Submission Issue,” *Boston Globe*, 7 October 1932). Warren R. Austin, elected to replace Senator William P. Dillingham, took an ambiguous stand against the “dry” appointed incumbent, Frank C. Partridge, in the 1931 special election primary (see Mazuzan, “Vermont’s Traditional Republicanism vs. the New Deal,” 129). Congressman Ernest W. Gibson favored resubmission of the question in his successful 1932 primary, while opponent Loren R. Pierce favored repeal (see “Democrats Ready for Vermont Fight,” *Washington Post*, 15 September 1932). In his 1930 primary campaign for Congress, Governor John E. Weeks was opposed by Harvey M. Drennan on the prohibition issue (see “A Real Fight,” *Vergennes Enterprise and Vermonter*, 29 August 1930). Gibson and Austin ultimately voted in favor of repeal in February 1933, while Dale and Weeks voted against (see S.J. Res. 211, 72st Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 76, 4: 4138, 4516).