

Meet John A. Mead

As attempts to erase the names of people who held and stated opinions about subjects we now regard as pernicious have become commonplace, there may be value in pausing just ahead of the erasure, if possible, to inquire deeper into the target's identity. John A. Mead was ending his only term as Vermont Governor in 1912 when he gave his retiring message to the Joint Assembly, which included remarks on eugenics and sterilization. This address has in recent years led to the removal of the name "Mead" from the chapel at Middlebury College and a lawsuit brought on behalf of Mead's descendants and heirs against the removal. Mercedes de Guardiola's new book, *"Vermont for the Vermonters" The History of Eugenics in the Green Mountain State*, published by the Vermont Historical Society this fall, identifies Mead as the founder of the public policy that led to the sterilization of hundreds of Vermonters before it was abandoned. One chapter is entitled, "Mead's Eugenics Campaign," and he is described as the catalyst of Vermont's Eugenics Program.¹

Getting to know John Abner Mead is challenging. His papers are scattered in various repositories, and there are boxes of his records as Governor at the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (VSARA) in Middlesex. He published no memoirs. We have his inaugural and retiring addresses while Governor, which give us access to his voice. But the search can be made more accessible and provide a portrait of the man in the same way most Vermonters knew him, by reviewing what Vermont newspapers reported about Mead over the years. *Newspapers.com* is the principal resource chosen to read what was written about this man over the years and take our measure of him. There are hundreds of articles that mention Mead,

and together they provide insight into his character, his business, and his politics. His name appeared frequently in the state's papers. He was a celebrity in Rutland, and much of what he did and said was reported.²

John A. Mead was rumored to be the wealthiest person in Vermont.³ Wealth alone did not define him. It was how he rose above his humble origins, with a strong will, that people regarded as his strength.

Early Life

John A. Mead was born in a one-story frame house in Fair Haven, the son of Roswell and Lydia Mead, on April 20, 1841.⁴ His mother died four months after he was born. The *Rutland Daily Herald* explained that he was “orphaned in his earliest infancy and achieved his education by his own strenuous efforts.”⁵

His father died in 1875 at the age of 55.⁶ From the papers we learn Roswell was a life member of the Vermont Missionary Society.⁷ One last appearance came in an obituary of John A. Mead in 1920, where Roswell is described as a successful merchant in Rutland. Roswell had been a poor farmer, and had apparently abandoned his son after the death of his wife.⁸

Through his mother, John A. Mead traced his lineage back to John Howland, a Mayflower passenger. Mead wrote about his family in a letter explaining his decision to build the chapel at Middlebury College. “[I]t was my great-great-grandfather, the first white settler on the Otter Creek, who brought the first copy of the Bible into this valley, and it was his wife, the mother of the first white child born in the valley, with her daughters gathered about her in an Indian wigwam ... who read by the light of a pine torch a chapter from this Bible, and the kneeling with her daughters in a circle, who offered the first prayer, so far as history or tradition teaches, ever uttered in this valley.”⁹

Col. James Mead, the great-grandfather, was the first settler of Rutland, its first Moderator, first Selectman, and first Representative to the Legislature.¹⁰ He represented Rutland at the Dorset Convention of 1776, where patriots committed to independence from New York, and he played an important role in that effort. And yet, this lineage did not provide any material benefit to Mead.

As one editor wrote of Mead upon his death in 1920, John A. Mead was “[e]ducated in the hard school of near-penury.”¹¹ During his race for Lieutenant-Governor in 1908, the *Fair Haven Era* described Mead as “schooled in adversity.”¹² Another advertisement told how Mead's "sole property inheritance was a string of sleigh bells."¹³ Yet another story described how young Mead caught fish in Lake Bomoseen and sold them to raise the money to purchase a pair of shoes to wear to school.¹⁴

He was, according to the advertisement, “The People’s Candidate.” Mead, said one editorial, “[i]s ever the man who has faced the problems, solved the questions, and borne the burdens that fall to the lot of common, everyday men.”¹⁵

Mead was educated at the common schools of Malone, N.Y. He saved money from various jobs, including farm work and quarrying to raise the money to attend Middlebury College, entering the fall of 1861.

Civil War

Mead was a sophomore at Middlebury College at the time of his enlistment. His roommate that year was Aldace F. Walker, who graduated from Middlebury College in August of 1862 as class valedictorian. Walker was late to the commencement ceremony at which he was to give the address, but when he entered the hall in his dress uniform and walked up to the dais, his talk inspired many students to join the war effort.¹⁶ Twenty-six college men immediately

volunteered, including Mead. Of these, six never returned from the war.¹⁷ Mead enlisted in Company K, 12th Vermont Volunteers, a nine-month appointment, part of the Second Vermont Brigade.¹⁸ He was a “common soldier,” a private, one of about 55 men. His company was called the Rutland Light Infantry, and many of its members were professional men.

Mead’s company was sent south by train, where it joined other units in the defense of Washington, D.C. The Second Vermont Brigade marched 5,000 strong along Pennsylvania Avenue to the tune of “The Girl I Left Behind Me.” They marched into Virginia, set up camp, spent a night or two, then tore down the tents and marched further south. The enemy was close, the weather was cold, the army constantly on the move.

John Mosby, the Confederate cavalry officer, with his raiders gave the Vermonters a good deal of trouble during those winter months. The Second Brigade was headed by Edwin H. Stoughton, who was ingloriously captured by Mosby. Stoughton was later released, but was replaced by George Stannard, who earned a hero’s reputation. The Brigade was ordered north the following June and marched 120 miles in six days to reach Gettysburg.¹⁹ It was on that march that John Sedgwick uttered the often-repeated words, “Put the Vermonters in the lead and keep the column closed up.” Mead’s Company did not engage in the fiercest fighting at Gettysburg, although other Vermont units earned honors, medals and credit for stemming Pickett’s Charge.²⁰

Along with many of the nine-month enlistees, Mead tried to re-enlist, but was denied as the ranks were already full, returning to Middlebury in the summer of 1863. He “had nothing but youth, industry, energy and a determination to succeed.” Mead graduated with his class of 1864.²¹ His junior year was apparently waived as a condition of graduation, but then he had been enrolled in the harsh school of war.²² At his graduation, he gave an oration, “The Moral Effects of the War.”²³

After the war, Mead joined other former soldiers as members of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). He served on the staff of Generals Alger, Veazey, and Gilman, as each in turn served as Commander-in-Chief of the GAR.²⁴

Mead spoke about his experience in the Civil War in 1907, at pre-memorial day exercises at Rutland's schools.

One of the most happy instances of his life, he said, occurred while he was in camp one night with the 2d Vermont brigade during the battle of Gettysburg. Thirty-one hundred confederate soldiers were taken prisoners and were encamped in a field adjoining the camps of the Union soldiers and during the night they began singing the confederate hymn, "Maryland; My Maryland," while the federal soldiers began singing our national hymn, after which a night of good fellowship and story telling was enjoyed by both sides.²⁵

Medicine

After graduating from Middlebury, Mead studied with Dr. Joseph Perkins at the University of Vermont, graduating with an A.M.²⁶ Mead then entered a one-year program at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University, and graduated with a degree in 1868. The next three years he spent as house physician at Kings County Hospital in Flatbush, where most of the patients he treated were mentally disabled. His good friend John Thomas visited Mead and observed him at work. "The inmates that I saw were mostly insane. I was greatly impressed with his skill in handling these patients. He did not treat them as though he thought them insane. He held that it always irritated a man, sane or insane, to be told that he was mentally deranged. He listened patiently to their complaints and even humored their whims. I will not say that he believed in 'mind cure,' for the phrase has acquired unfortunate associations.

But he believed that a wise physician should always have a thought for the mental condition of his patients, and in all his later medical practice he was guided by this rule.”²⁷

Mead returned to Rutland and opened a practice of medicine and surgery, gradually building a reputation as a good physician, and becoming well known in Rutland City and surrounding towns.

Governor Redfield Proctor appointed John A. Mead as Surgeon General to the Vermont Militia in 1878.²⁸ As Surgeon General, John A. Mead held the rank of Brigadier-General.

Mead’s name regularly appeared in the local papers during the 1870s and 1880s, frequently listed as the physician treating ailing patients. He served as an expert in inquests. In 1874, he examined the body of Mrs. Freese, confirming that she had been killed by a heavy weapon.²⁹

John A. Mead and Mary M. Sherman of Greenwich, R.I. were married in 1872, and they had one child, Mary, who became the wife of Carl B. Hinsman. Mary and Carl had one son, John Abner Mead Hinsman, John A. Mead’s only grandchild.³⁰

The Howe Scale Company

John A. Mead became President of the Howe Scale Company of Rutland in 1888, giving up his medical practice for a manufacturing business. Howe Scale was bankrupt, and a former Vermont Governor John B. Page was blamed for the trouble. That year Mead had been offered the chair of the UVM Medical Department, but had declined.³¹ Newspapers don’t explain why people make the decisions that they do, but it would be so interesting to know what went into the decision to change occupations. While Mead was frequently described as “Dr. Mead” in the years to follow, he apparently turned his entire attention and energy into making the manufacturing company a success, at least until politics drew him to public office.

He reorganized the company and due “to his energetic and wise management,” it saw phenomenal growth from the time he became the company president. At one time fully one-fifth of the workers in Rutland worked at Howe. The plant grew to cover 22 acres of land and employed 600 workers. The company made one-fourth of all the scales sold in the country.³²

Mead was loyal to the city. Denying a 1901 rumor that the scale works were to be sold and moved to La Crosse, Wisconsin, he was quoted as saying, “This is my native town, and I prefer to live among the people I have known so long.”³³

As he retired from Howe after 68 years at the plant as a scale assembler, Joseph F. Cronan remembered how John A. Mead “used to like to go out into the shop and call 500 of [the men] by name.”³⁴

Howe’s profits grew from \$350,000 in 1888 to \$1.5 million in 1907.³⁵ The company had offices in New York and Chicago, and another in San Francisco. In 1905 the company shipped 30 sets of portable scales to Russia, and other products to Japan.³⁶

In 1919, the Howe Scale company adopted the eight-hour workday, a decision of its President John A. Mead.³⁷ There were a few strikes. In 1918, 500 employees of Howe went out over a pay dispute.³⁸ Mead was credited with resolving the dispute within a few days.³⁹ But throughout his 30 years at Howe Scale, the local paper said Mead “had no serious labor problems.”⁴⁰ There were lawsuits, of course. Randolph Coleman sued Ex-Gov. Mead in 1917 and was awarded \$60,000 by a jury in federal court for an unpaid commission on a stock sale.⁴¹

Mead had other businesses, including the Mead Manufacturing Company, which at the time of his death employed 200 workers.⁴² That company produced refrigerators at its Rutland plant.⁴³ In 1894 the *Argus and Patriot* reported that Mead was President of the Rutland Trust company, Howe Scale Works, Rutland Toy Company, and the Bates House company.⁴⁴

In 1906, a fire destroyed much of downtown Rutland, including buildings owned by Mead, a \$150,000 loss to him not covered by insurance. Mead suffered the worst losses from the conflagration.⁴⁵ He purchased adjacent lots, and hired Charles E. Paige to construct a four-story commercial block, which was subsequently raised to five stories, and the Mead Block remains a critical part of the downtown Rutland today.⁴⁶

Mead sold his interest in Howe Scale in 1916, but agreed to remain as President and Chairman of the Board for several years.⁴⁷ At the time the company employed 700 men at its factory and had 1,100 on its payroll, and Mead was the largest taxpayer in the city. The deal involved more than one million dollars. That fact made one Rutland editor proud. “Dr. Mead is a great captain of industry, and has built up the Howe company from a tottering concern until it is the largest in the state,” with the exception of the Fairbanks company of St. Johnsbury.⁴⁸

Agriculture

John A. Mead owned a large farm on Otter Creek. In 1908 it consisted of 125 cows, 50 to 60 of whom were milked daily. His was “one of the largest, most productive and profitable farms in the state. The same energy and sagacity that has marked his business career and his public life, has been exemplified in his farm management.”⁴⁹ His farm used the De Laval separator and the Simplex churn in the creamery. All of the products were weighed on a set of Howe scales.

There was one serious problem. In 1917, Arthur Graham, a worker at the farm and a carrier of Scarlet Fever, infected at least 43 people with the disease through the milk supplied by the farm. Most of the cases were mild, but Rutland closed its schools for a period to prevent further spread.⁵⁰ The numbers continued to rise before the crisis abated. Disinfecting the school houses took several days.⁵¹

Mead was the first in his county to purchase and use a milking machine.⁵² He was progressive in this way, and not reluctant to embrace new ideas. His purchase of a six-cylinder Winton automobile in 1908 also made the news, bought during his recent trip to Boston.⁵³

Political Life

John A. Mead was the last Civil War Governor of Vermont. Preceding him were ten other Vermonters who served in that war and went on to the State's highest office.⁵⁴ The experience of war carried a special advantage to Vermonters in public life, in particular. Mead was never reluctant to remind voters he had served, and it made a difference.

The City of Rutland owes its origin to John A. Mead. As Rutland State Senator in 1892 he is credited with having overseen the passage of the draft city charter into law.⁵⁵ The next year he was elected the first Mayor of Rutland City.⁵⁶

Mayor Mead's political future was the subject of gossip. In 1893 *The Cambridge Transcript* reported "the beginnings of a governorship in the interest of Dr. John A. Mead, mayor of that youthful but ambitious city. The boom is as yet only a young thing, scarcely old enough to be interesting but it may grow. It is said to be confined at present principally to the Howe scale works, of which the mayor is the business head."⁵⁷ But later, the *Fair Haven Era* suggested the boom was premature. "Why, bless your heart, the boom got started away back in May—so early in fact that it got a chill from which it has never recovered."⁵⁸

Mead attended the Rutland City caucus in the summer of 1894, where he made 'persistence insistence' that he should be elected chairman, but a "majority of the party thought otherwise, alleging that he was in a measure responsible for the candidacy of Mr. Spellman, in an effort to defeat the party nominees at the city election. He is said to have a large gubernatorial

bee in his bonnet.”⁵⁹ Spellman had run for mayor as an independent candidate, which was regarded by the caucus as an act of disloyalty on the part of Mead.

His first attempt at statewide office in 1904 was a failure. As the *Rutland Daily Herald* explained in 1908, Mead trusted “blindly to the promises of the Proctors,” only to lose at the Republican caucus. “Grieved and betrayed, he saw himself traded off, saw the faith of his fathers rudely destroyed and himself a mere discarded pawn in the great political game.”⁶⁰ But the *Springfield Reporter* called him “one of those hardy perennials ... [who] would bloom in Greenland or on a rock in the middle of the Atlantic—always knows how to look out for Mead—but for executive capacity he has few equals in Vermont.”⁶¹ After his loss, the *Burlington Free Press* concluded that at least now he had a statewide reputation. “Nobody will hereafter be asking, ‘Who is Dr. Mead.’”⁶²

In 1906 Mead announced an interest in becoming Rutland City Representative. The *Rutland Daily Herald* wondered “that Mead could have been induced to enter so hopeless a race.”⁶³ He thought about withdrawing, but then agreed with his friend that “it is better for him to be knocked down than to run away. He is in an awkward position, but he should take his medicine.”⁶⁴ The editor of the *Brattleboro Phoenix* wrote, “he is a man of courage. In 1904 he fell outside the breastworks when he tried to be nominated lieutenant-governor. At the rate of progress suggested if knocked down in 1906 for governorship he might become a presidential candidate in 1908.”⁶⁵

Mead earned the *Herald’s* endorsement for Lieutenant-Governor in 1908. “Like Shylock, he has borne the opprobrium of submissive politics with ‘a patient shrug,’ for ‘sufferance is the bane of all’ his tribe.”⁶⁶

Mead did not sail through the campaign for Lieutenant-Governor in 1908 without criticism. The *Bennington Evening Banner*'s editor wrote, "But, and we dislike to speak of it though it is perfectly proper when he becomes a candidate for public office, did Dr. Mead ever do anything unless from it there was a chance of some advantage of Dr. Mead?"⁶⁷ Harsher criticism came from the *St. Albans Messenger*, who accused Mead of violating the campaign finance law by paying agents to promote his candidacy. The Vermont law at the time forbade candidates from spending anything on campaigns.

Mead received far better support from other papers. *The Fair Haven Era* said that while "up-country papers" were accusing Mead of "manipulating things political," its editor "saw nothing of the kind ... at this end of the game." From what he knew of Mead, he wrote, the campaign "is as clean and above reproach as the man's record in business and this is as spotless as it is possible to have a record in times of stress such as those in which we now live."⁶⁸

A month before election day in 1908, Mead was quoted in the newspapers of the state as declaring "he wants nothing more in politics and is satisfied" with an election to the office of Lieutenant-Governor. "He will have reached the height of his ambition in this office."⁶⁹

The *Barre Daily Times* wrote in 1908 that if John A. Mead "were to depend on his published picture for support in his fight for lieutenant-governor, he would lose, hands down. Really he isn't so bad as he is pictured."⁷⁰ The picture wasn't a distraction after all. Mead won the office of Lieutenant-Governor in September, easily besting his Democratic opponent J.W. Thurston.⁷¹

During the 1910 campaign for Governor, *The Enosburgh Standard* was one of the hardest on Dr. Mead. The editor said he was "compelled to believe that the demonstrations made in favor of Dr. Mead at different times during the past six months have not been genuine evidence of

friendship and esteem, but almost wholly artificial.” He noted the large number of Mead supporters at the dairymen’s meeting in Burlington where some had said their expenses were paid by “Mead’s lieutenants.”

“Some of Dr. Mead’s supporters, who were associated with him in the Senate of 1909 and now advocate his claims to the governorship, were outspoken in denouncing him as being entirely unfit for this high office, and we have failed to note their giving any good and substantial reasons for changing their minds.” In that opinion, the editor noted that “there has been no spontaneous support of Dr. Mead’s candidacy by any of the substantial and prominent citizens of the state.”

The Montpelier Journal mocked the political platform of Dr. Mead. “The summing up of what he is said to stand for is in effect so broad that it might well be declared—He stands for everything that is good and for nothing that is bad.” “What a humbug,” its editor declared.⁷²

“Dr. Mead has never done anything of a public character, never has been identified with progressive legislation, never shown any sympathy with high ideals for civil betterment, in state, county, or town, that would warrant his advancement to the high office of governor. He has the one talent of money getting to recommend him—no other, and from our view point this is not sufficient.” He “has never had the confidence and support of the best citizenship of his city or county, which, for a man of his age and business connections, shows a woeful deficient in those elements that are essential in a governor such as the people demand.”⁷³

The *St. Albans Messenger and Addison County Journal* editor wrote Mead “had too strong a reputation as a money shark to ever be very popular with rank and file.”⁷⁴

Mead's platform for governor included a hope that the legislature would enact a law requiring publicity of campaign expenses, which the editor of the *Enosburgh Standard* regarded as a travesty when the candidate refused to reveal his own campaign finances.

One feature of the race for Governor in 1910 was the idea that John A. Mead's campaign was independent of the established order of Republican politics. "The people are not being led by the bosses this year," stated the *Bristol Journal*. "They are reading and thinking for themselves and will stand by the old soldier who, by his own exertions and ability, has risen from a poor boy to become one of Vermont's leading businessmen. As governor, he will give the state a strictly business administration. He will be governor, not the tool of any clique or machine."⁷⁵

Mead was nominated by the Republican state caucus, and the *Burlington Free Press* celebrated the candidate for the way he conducted his campaign. "Wherever men and women converse all over the state there is condemnation of the long campaign of scurrility that he had to undergo. Through it all however the victim never made complaint, never returned abuse for abuse." He was going to be elected. This was a Republican state, as it would be for another 50 years. "His ideals will be simplicity, democracy of the affairs of this the most democratic state in the Union—the ideal of the fathers and the torch bearer of democracy, at a time when plutocracy is taking tribute and power from the rest of the world. In all affairs he has touched, John A. Mead has been a leader—as a physician the most successful in his home town; as a financier, a master; in business a captail; in politics a winner."⁷⁶

As Governor

In his 1910 Inaugural, Governor Mead outlined his agenda for the legislative session.⁷⁷ First among them was the need to improve agricultural education, noting that Vermont was the

only State “largely interested in agricultural pursuits which has not even one agricultural college where thorough, practical farming is taught.” He proposed creating an agricultural high school course to provide that practical experience.

He called dogs “one of the special evils or pests of farm life,” as they drove sheep from the hillsides and forced many farmers to concentrate on cattle. The situation had forced many farmers into dairy farming. Dogs should be taxed, compelled to wear collars, and bonded, to allow injured parties to realize their losses from the dogs’ owners. Greater commitment to the law requiring killing of unlicensed dogs would also be of benefit to the State.

Tax reduction or exemption could also help in promoting the forest industry. The 1904 forestry law had accomplished “great good,” according to the Governor, pointing to the three million seedlings now growing on land furnished by UVM and the 1906 appointment of Vermont’s first professional forester. Mead also recommended creating game reserves, where fish and game could propagate naturally, in tracts of land that also would serve as forest reserves.

The high cost of paying farmers for lost cattle on account of tuberculosis troubled him, particularly as the destruction of herds had not “exterminated this dreaded disease.” Better to stem the disease he called the “white plague” by treating young cows with antitoxins, which were then just becoming available. Better ventilation and light in barns would also benefit the health of the herds.

“Cattle were evidently created for outdoor life; their hoofs, thick skins and heavy coats all indicate this fact. It is a well known fact that cattle kind readily contract tubercular disease; and why should not the same treatment be applied to them that benefits human kind? It is now a well established fact that the most efficient remedy for this affection in human beings is pure air, and should not the same conditions apply to our cattle? Our progressive farmers are awakening

to this fact and more good sheds opening to the south or east are being used every year. If our State is to join with the farmers in an effort to free Vermont cattle of this plague, should they not exercise good judgment and the care of their cattle?" Mead encouraged the legislature to provide the cattle commissioner with authority to adopt rules regulating the care of cattle.

He also encouraged reform of the tax system. The last two legislatures had tried, but failed. Change was needed to address double taxation and to ensure that the "burden of support of the government [falls] equitably among all men," quoting the tax commission's report (and echoed in the Republican state platform). Taxation of personal property should not be levied using the same rate as that levied on real estate. Loans, bonds, mortgages and credits were taxed at a lower rate.

Mead pointed to the pending appeal in *State v. Clement National Bank* then before the Vermont Supreme Court, which would provide an answer to whether the Vermont Constitution requires uniform taxation. Deposits in savings banks and trust companies and the property of railroads and other public utilities all ought to be taxed on the same basis to ensure that each category of property "contributes approximately in fair proportion to the support of State government." The Governor also urged laws that give the State Commissioner of Taxes "a proper degree of authority and oversight" of the administration at the town level.

He was convinced, as had his recent predecessors in the high office, that it was time to enact labor legislation. "If it is your wish to avoid the worst forms of socialism and anarchism, let us treat all classes alike," including wage earners, he said. Farmers had benefited from special laws, as had members of all the professions. He urged enactment of the "ten dollar exemption bill" and an employers' liability bill, and favored enacting a law providing a form of arbitration

in labor difficulties, similar to the Canadian law. The mining and manufacturing industries and their laborers would benefit greatly from such laws.

Seventy-eight percent of Vermont's teachers were untrained, and students in rural schools were at risk. "The children are the subjects of our ambition, and the teacher is the instrument of their betterment." Vermont had three normal schools, but this was insufficient, and Governor Mead suggested training courses be available in the principal high schools and academies, with the state paying a proportionate amount for their support. He also proposed a large, centrally-located normal school.

He concluded his remarks with a common theme. "You will accomplish most in my judgment by undertaking little. In the short space of a single session, you will find it impossible to correct all the mistakes of the past and enact all the wise legislation which the present and future require. Let me advise, then, that from this day until adjournment you direct your entire attention to a few large matters that imperatively demand your consideration and action."

The legislative session of 1910 responded modestly to the inaugural. The board of agriculture was abolished, replaced by a commissioner of agriculture in its place.⁷⁸ The taxes on savings banks and trust companies were increased.⁷⁹ Mead's request for enhanced powers of the commissioner of taxes was approved, including an obligation to conduct training of town listers, oversight of the inventory process, and the duty to provide forms to listers to ensure uniform administration of the property tax.⁸⁰ The excess of debts over bonds, stocks and loans was exempted from taxation.⁸¹

The legislature authorized the state board of education to establish a state normal school at Johnson. A dormitory would be built on land, to be leased for 99 years. The town was to vote to furnish water and sewer and electricity free of charge for the school. The state board was also

empowered to purchase real estate in Castleton for a second normal school.⁸² Local school boards were allowed to establish and maintain teacher training courses at high schools or academies, appointing a superintendent of education for each program.⁸³ A state school of agriculture was also created, its board of trustees authorized to select a site for the school. The trustees of the normal school at Randolph, which was to be closed, were to sell or lease the land in that town to raise funds for the agriculture school.⁸⁴ Towns might vote pensions for teachers who have taught at least 30 years.⁸⁵

Child labor laws were amended, requiring all children 16 years or younger to complete at least nine years of elementary education as a prerequisite to employment in work connected with railroading, mining, manufacturing or quarrying, hotels and bowling alleys, or delivering messages, nor be able to be employed after 8:00 p.m.⁸⁶ Minimum age limits were established for work in certain industries.⁸⁷

The laws on vicious dogs were amended. Selectmen were authorized to order such dogs killed, muzzled or chained if they were found to have bitten a person or become a menace to travel in the highway.⁸⁸

The Governor's other proposals were not acted on by the legislature.

In his 1912 Retiring Message, Governor Mead noted the "wise legislation" that passed during his two years "as to education and agricultural life and the betterment of our roads."⁸⁹ He celebrated the strong and progressive measures that raised the school age to 16, strengthening the child labor laws and laws mandating school attendance. The state school of agriculture had been created at Randolph Center. But the rural schools were still in need of attention. The normal schools could not train the teachers needed to serve in those schools. The teacher training courses offered in the schools were the best hope.

Mead recommended fully insuring state buildings to “protect the property of our State in an economical and businesslike manner.” He also asked the legislature to improve the laws relating to fire control.

As the subject of recent criticism of Mead, his retiring address suggested laws dealing with “our degenerates,” which he defined as “a class of individuals in which mental or nervous construction there is something lacking.” Intermarriages were part of the problem between “defective parents.” Marriage laws should be more restrictive, and vasectomies used to control this population.

Mead supported a policy of paroling prisoners when they have reached the date of the minimum sentence for their crimes, and urged the 1912 session to increase the time between the minimum and maximum sentences.

The retiring governor pointed out the opportunities to Vermont to further develop its “white coal,” as he termed it, promoting hydro-electric development, “free from smoke, soot, and cinders, attended with no fire risk,” the state’s streams and rivers, particularly the Connecticut River, with a great potential to avoid the high costs of power created by burning coal. “It would make Vermont the most progressive of states, in the development and conservation of her natural resources.”

He said, “Vermont has been progressive . . . but not sufficiently so.” He reiterated his support for labor legislation, to protect workers; tax reform to ensure equity; and laws to require arbitration to resolve labor disputes. He championed the direct primary, to end the era of the political boss, and laws restricting campaign expenditures by candidates for office, to ensure that the average citizen could “aspire to any position in the government.”⁹⁰

As he ended, Mead underscored that the state and the nation were “passing through a period of intense political unrest, greater than we have experienced at any time during the last half-century,” and advised the legislators to continue its progressive progress, to ensure “that Vermont may continued to be regarded as one of the best governed states of our union.”

John A. Mead did not stand for reelection. That would have been a violation of the unwritten rule in place at the time that governors serve only one two-year term. But his name was mentioned after he left office as a possible candidate for various offices. He was considered the leading candidate to fill the seat of Congressman David J. Foster in 1914, according to the *Boston Herald*.⁹¹ This proved to be a mistake. Frank L. Greene, editor of the *St. Albans Messenger*, was elected to the position in the fall. At the Republican National Convention in 1916, Mead was a candidate for Vice-President on the Taft ticket. Taft won the nomination, but the incumbent James S. Sherman was his Vice-Presidential choice.⁹² In May of 1918, Mead was “intimated” as contemplating standing to contest the U.S. Senate seat then held by Carroll S. Page.⁹³ That year the first Vermont Primary was held, but former Governor Mead was not among the candidates listed on the ballot.⁹⁴

Philanthropy

In one of the eulogies printed after Dr. Mead’s death, the President of Middlebury College wrote, “Delaying his major benevolences until late in life, Governor Mead bestowed upon them the same shrewd judgment, the same painstaking care in plan and execution which he exercises invariably in business matters. It is no easy matter to give away money usefully. Wise benevolence is a difficult art.”⁹⁵

In 1908, Mead purchased 11,000 black bass from the government hatchery in St. Johnsbury, that were released into Lake Bomoseen, where the Mead family often vacationed.⁹⁶

In 1909, as Lieutenant-Governor, John A. Mead loaned the State of Vermont more than \$30,000 to keep State government operating given a shortfall in appropriations for jailers and officers. The loan was repaid, without interest, after the end of the legislative session.⁹⁷ The *St. Albans Weekly Messenger* argued, “It does not much matter to the Messenger whether Lieutenant-Governor Mead or any other man makes this advance, so long as it must be made by somebody. It is fortunate for Mr. Mead that he has plenty of money and can make such an advance” “No man can loan the state of Vermont \$35,000 and take the governorship on a chattel mortgage.” If Mead is to become governor, “it must be, it will be, in spite of this transaction and not because of it.” “We have not pledged our governorship in any financier’s pawnshop.”⁹⁸

John A. Mead’s most publicized gift of a memorial chapel to Middlebury College. In his letter accompanying the gift, Mead wrote, “it has been my hope and prayer that I might be able and permitted to build for this college a suitable place for divine worship and that it might rise from the highest point on its campus as a symbol of the position, most prominent in every respect, which Christian character and religious faith should always maintain its work for our youth.” He wrote that he desired to erect the chapel “to be known as ‘the Mead Memorial Chapel.’”⁹⁹ The “Mead” memorialized by the chapel was his ancestors, not himself.

John Mead paid for the chapel, rather than giving the college the funds to construct it. Once the organ and other furnishings were installed the chapel was valued at \$75,000. When the chapel’s bells were first rung in January of 1916, Mrs. Mead gathered with friends at their home in Rutland and heard the bells over the telephone, 33 miles away.¹⁰⁰ Each bell was inscribed with a note:

Ring in the valiant men and free,

The larger heart, the kindlier hand,
 Ring out the darkness of the land,
 Ring in the Christ that is to be.

The Springfield Reporter declared Hon. John A. Mead “the happiest man in Vermont” in July of 1914, when he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from Middlebury College, by laying the foundation for the chapel. “The accumulation of riches is not given to many of us and we sometimes envy our neighbor’s prosperity, but when a generous gift is chronicled we all rejoice.”¹⁰¹

Mead was a dedicated member of the Rutland Congregational Church. In 1908, he assumed the office of superintendent of the church’s Sabbath school.¹⁰² In 1917, he was elected a Deacon.¹⁰³

In 1904, Mead gave Middlebury College \$1,000 to assist the D.K. Pearson fund for the erection of a women’s college.¹⁰⁴ He gave the City of Rutland \$10,000 in 1916 to build a new gymnasium, to “be equipped with the most modern paraphernalia,” an indoor running track, and a stage, with bathrooms, a billiard room, and kitchen.¹⁰⁵ Commenting on his generosity, the *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal* stated that Mead “had to make great sacrifices for his own education and his duties have never left him much time for recreation. There is something quite affecting, therefore, in his gifts to provide for others privileges beyond those which he himself was permitted to enjoy.”¹⁰⁶

Supporting the war effort, John A. Mead purchased \$50,000 in liberty bonds in 1917.¹⁰⁷ Supporting the deployment of Company A of the First Cavalry, Vermont National Guard, all of Rutland turned out for their departure. John A. Mead led 490 workers of the Howe Scale Company parading through the city streets.¹⁰⁸

Governor Mead left a legacy in his will of \$50,000 to the society of the Congregational Church, the income to be used to continue the Community House, provided a similar amount was raised by the society. Mead had previously purchased the land and construct the building at his own expense.¹⁰⁹ He also bequeathed \$50,000 for the continued maintenance of Congregational churches in Rutland County. Envious, the *News and Advertiser* (Northfield) dreamed of a similar generous gift as Rutland had experienced. Mead “may not know it, but he had made a monument to himself, as we think one of the best among his many good works.”¹¹⁰

The will also left \$50,000 in bonds to his grandson John Abner Mead Hinman, provided he did not drink or smoke, and attended military training and after that technical school, before he reached the age of 25.¹¹¹

John A. Mead is buried in the Rutland’s Evergreen Cemetery, where a large Mead stone has been laid, and the words “A Christian and a Philanthropist” are inscribed on its face.¹¹² In 1913, when the monument was built, it was the largest stone in the Northeast. Mead had gathered the remains of twelve of his ancestors to be reinterred in Rutland.¹¹³

Final Judgment

Before and after his two years as Governor, John A. Mead remained a public person. He was quoted in advertising. He wrote a forward to an autobiography of George Haddad, one of his close friends, extolling the success of Haddad’s restaurant in Rutland. Haddad’s story relates his early years in Lebanon and his emigration to Rutland.¹¹⁴

John A. Mead’s life was a model for others. “He was not brilliant,” wrote the editor of the *Herald and News*, “but hard-headed, common-sensed and persistent in the pursuit of whatever he undertook—qualities of high order and worth of emulation—qualities that can be acquired in large measure by whomsoever will.”¹¹⁵

Mead's success in business was directly related by editors to his character. "Dr. Mead started in life without a dollar and owes his success to constant effort rather than to any brilliant stroke."¹¹⁶ That he left an estate of a million dollars gave the editor of the *Bennington Evening Banner* the opportunity to use Mead's success as an inspiration to others. "Nearly all this fortune he accumulated after he was 50 years old, but he learned the habits of thrift, industry and common sense early in life or he would never have risen above the average in his later years."¹¹⁷

In his eulogy, Dr. John M. Thomas, President of Middlebury College and a lifetime friend of John A. Mead, characterized "the force and the will that were back of those quiet eyes and that kindly smiling face"¹¹⁸ "If every town in Vermont had this day a man of power like Dr. Mead, our good State would double its population and wealth in twenty years."

"He had the ability to read between the lines and beneath the words in public announcements and in the addresses of eminent men, which enabled him to discern the inwardness of things to a degree almost unusual. These faculties made his conversation delightful and instructive in any company."

"Governor Mead was remarkably successful in calling to his aid able men competent to special duties from all parts of the State, and during his administration our public affairs were conducted smoothly and efficiently with entire absence of partisan or personal strife." "Vermont is a better state today for John A. Mead's services."¹¹⁹

Five years after Governor Mead's death, the *Burlington Free Press* remembered Mead's retiring address and his recommendation of "the adoption by Vermont of the plan of sterilization of defectives and criminals." Governor Mead, the editor wrote, "was merely in advance of his time," and supported passage of a eugenics law.¹²⁰ Nearly a century later, John A. Mead is regarded far more critically because of his views of this sensitive subject, his family name

stripped from the chapel he paid to be build and finish, his reputation smeared as a result of the present age's horror that anyone could have supported such a program.

Governor Mead would likely be shocked to learn how his reputation has been maligned because of what he believed to be a legitimate scientific procedure, a position at that time regarded as progressive. He was progressive in other ways, favoring child labor legislation, the statewide primary, agricultural policy changes, among other policies. But today it's his position on eugenics that colors our memory of him. History has proven that this was wrong, and properly so, and it has been abandoned legally and morally by Vermont and the nation.

Yet perhaps we go too far in blaming one governor for saying what many believed, what Middlebury College and other colleges taught and promoted, what shocked or offended no official or scientist at the time. John A. Mead deserves better. He was a good man and Vermont was better for what he did with his life.

Paul S. Gillies

April 12, 2024

¹ Mercedes De Guardiola, "*Vermont for the Vermonter*" *The History of Eugenics in the Green Mountain State* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2023), 23, 29, 41.

² When the Artist Concerts came to Rutland in 1917, the newspaper notice included a quote from the Ex-Governor. "I do not pretend to know much about music," he said, "but I do enjoy hearing artists such as you have coming to Rutland. You have our support." *The Fair Haven Era*, 11 January 1917, 8.

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- ³ *St. Albans Weekly Messenger and Addison County Journal*, 12 September 1901, 1.
- ⁴ Harriet Merrick, "The Fair Haven of the Past," *The Fair Haven Era*, 31 October 1907, 1.
- ⁵ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 7 May 1908, 5; *Middlebury Record*, 2 June 1920, 5.
- ⁶ *The Manchester Journal*, 15 January 1920, 1.
- ⁷ *Rutland Daily Globe*, 25 December 1873, 1; *Rutland Weekly Herald*, 16 April 1875.
- ⁸ *The Fair Haven Era*, 3 February 1910, 8.
- ⁹ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 24 June 1914, 2.
- ¹⁰ *Burlington Free Press*, 3 April 1893, 1.
- ¹¹ "John Abner Mead—The Place He Made," *Rutland News*, 19 January 1920, 4.
- ¹² *Fair Haven Era*, 11 June 1908, 4.
- ¹³ *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 10 June 1910, 5.
- ¹⁴ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 16 January 1920, 5.
- ¹⁵ *The Poultney Journal*, 3 June 1910, 7.
- ¹⁶ Aldace F. Walker went to national prominence as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887 and later President of the Aitchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway. He served in the Civil War, promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel by the time he was mustered out of the service, and he wrote *The Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association: 1869). Jacob Ullery, *Men of Vermont: An Illustrated Biographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), 163-165.
- ¹⁷ *Middlebury Register and Addison County Weekly*, 16 January 1920, 5.
- ¹⁸ *The Manchester Journal*, 15 January 1920, 1.
- ¹⁹ *Swanton Courier*, 15 January 1920, 1.
- ²⁰ Howard Coffin, *Full Duty: Vermonters in the Civil War* (Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1993), 117, 157-163, 183-188.
- ²¹ John A. Thomas, *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal*, 19 January 1920, 1, 5.
- ²² "Press Comment on Ex-Gov. Mead Will," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 25 February 1920, 12.
- ²³ "Middlebury Commencement," *Vermont Record*, 19 August 1864, 3.
- ²⁴ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 12 January 1920, 1.
- ²⁵ "Exercises in the Schools," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 30 May 1907, 5.
- ²⁶ "Castleton," *Rutland Independent*, 13 January 1872, 1. Dr. Perkins had practiced in Castleton for 51 years, teaching at the Castleton Medical College, and was a founder of the Vermont Medical Society. In 1857, Perkins left Castleton for the Medical Department of the University of Vermont, holding the chair of Professor of Materia Medica. He died in 1872. *Rutland Weekly Herald*, 11 January 1872, 3.
- ²⁷ John A. Thomas, *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal*, 19 January 1920, 1, 5.
- ²⁸ 1872, No. 1, R.L. Sec. 3752; 1917, G.L., Sec. 6021. This office, created by legislation in 1872, was essentially repealed in 1917 with the adoption of the *General Laws*.
- ²⁹ Charles W. Conner, "100 Years This Week," *Rutland Daily News*, 8 July 1974, 12.
- ³⁰ *The Manchester Journal*, 15 January 1920, 1.
- ³¹ *Barre Daily Times*, 18 February 1908, 3.
- ³² "Ex-Gov. Mead Dies in His 79th Year," *Burlington Free Press*, 13 January 1920, 3.
- ³³ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 31 January 1901, 4.
- ³⁴ "Retired Howe Scale Worker Has Impressive Record of Service," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 19 June 1948, 6.
- ³⁵ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 14 August 1969, 19.
- ³⁶ *Springfield Reporter*, 6 January 1905, 1.
- ³⁷ "Howe Scale Co. on 8 Hours," *The Brattleboro Reformer*, 9 July 1919, 1.
- ³⁸ "Have Not Reached Settlement," *St. Albans Weekly Messenger*, 20 June 1918, 2.
- ³⁹ "Scale Men's Strike Likely to End Today," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 15 June 1918, 2.
- ⁴⁰ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 29 August 1916, 4.
- ⁴¹ *The Bristol Courier*, 1 November 1917, 7.
- ⁴² "Ex-Gov. J.A. Mead, Prominent Citizen, Dies at Home Here," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 12 January 1920, 1.
- ⁴³ "Howe Scale Co. Will Make Refrigerators," *Rutland Daily Herald*, 27 November 1917, 7.
- ⁴⁴ *Argus and Patriot*, 24 October 1894, 4.
- ⁴⁵ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 9 February 1906, 1.

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- ⁴⁶ Glenn M. Andres and Curtis B. Johnson, *Buildings of Vermont* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 84.
- ⁴⁷ *The Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 19 August 1916, 2.
- ⁴⁸ *Essex County Herald*, 15 April 1916, 4; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 7 May 1908, 5.
- ⁴⁹ “Otter Creek Farm,” *The Brattleboro New England Farmer*, 2 May 1908, 7.
- ⁵⁰ “Scarlet Fever Cases Due to One Milk Source,” *Rutland News*, 12 February 1917, 5.
- ⁵¹ “Schools Are Closed for Fumigation,” *Rutland News*, 13 February 1917, 1.
- ⁵² *Rutland Daily Herald*, 3 April 1907, 2.
- ⁵³ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 25 May 1908, 8.
- ⁵⁴ They were Peter T. Washburn, Redfield Proctor, Roswell Farnum, Samuel Pingree, Ebenezer Ormsbee, Caroll S. Page, Levi Fuller, Urban Woodbury, Josiah Grout, and Charles J. Bell.
- ⁵⁵ “The City of Rutland,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 28 November 1892, 2.
- ⁵⁶ “Formal Inauguration of Mayor Mead,” *Vermont Phoenix*, 7 April 1893, 3.
- ⁵⁷ *The Cambridge Transcript*, 20 October 1893, 2.
- ⁵⁸ *Fair Haven Era*, 28 October 1893, 1.
- ⁵⁹ “Rutland Caucus,” *Vermont Journal*, 15 June 1894, 1.
- ⁶⁰ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 7 May 1908, 4.
- ⁶¹ *Springfield Reporter*, 20 May 1904, 2.
- ⁶² *Burlington Free Press*, 4 July 1904, 4.
- ⁶³ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 16 June 1906, 4.
- ⁶⁴ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 20 June 1906, 4.
- ⁶⁵ “This is Sarcastic, Apparently,” *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 26 June 1906, 5.
- ⁶⁶ *Id.*
- ⁶⁷ *Bennington Evening Banner*, 13 June 1908, 2.
- ⁶⁸ “Mead’s All Right,” *The Fair Haven Era*, 11 June 1908, 4.
- ⁶⁹ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 7 July 1908, 4.
- ⁷⁰ *Barre Daily Times*, 2 June 1908, 4.
- ⁷¹ “Ovation for Mead,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 15 October 1908, 4. The paper’s editor responded to the spontaneous three cheers for Mead at his inauguration: “The world is full of detractors who seek to find in this delicate and natural tribute to an old soldier ulterior and sinister motives. The Journal professes to believe that it was the love and affection of old soldiers breaking over all restraint and even smashing tradition by committing the most dignified body of legislators in Vermont to an emotional expression that was for a few hours the sensation of the capitol.”
- ⁷² *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 10 June 1910, 5.
- ⁷³ *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal*, 8 April 1910, 4.
- ⁷⁴ *St. Albans Messenger and Addison County Journal*, 11 June 1908, 5.
- ⁷⁵ *The Bristol Herald*, 26 May 1910, 2.
- ⁷⁶ *Burlington Free Press*, 2 July 1910, 4.
- ⁷⁷ John A. Mead, “Inaugural Message,” *Journal of the Joint Assembly, in Journal of the Senate of the State of Vermont 1910*, 612-628.
- ⁷⁸ “An act to amend sections six and eleven of number eleven of the acts of 1908, entitled, ‘an act to abolish the board of agriculture and creating a board of agriculture and forestry,’” *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at the Twenty-first Biennial Session, 1910* (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Press, 1911), 10-11.
- ⁷⁹ “An act to amend sections 744, 745, 746, 510, 512, 537 and 549 and to repeal section 584 of the Public Statutes relating to taxation of deposits in savings banks and trust companies, and to amend section 64 of an act entitled, ‘An act to revise the law relating to savings banks and trust companies,’ approved January 27, 1911,” *ibid.*, 25-28.
- ⁸⁰ “An act conferring additional powers relating to general taxation upon the commissioner of state taxes and changes his official designation to commissioner of taxes,” *ibid.*, 30-34.
- ⁸¹ “An act to amend section 549 of the Public Statutes relating to exemptions from taxation on account of debts owing,” *ibid.*, 38.
- ⁸² “An act providing for the location and establishment of a state normal school,” *ibid.*, 64-66.
- ⁸³ “An act providing teacher training in high schools and academies,” *ibid.*, 66-67.

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- ⁸⁴ “An act to create a state school of agriculture,” *ibid.*, 67-70.
- ⁸⁵ “An act to pension teachers,” *ibid.*, 76.
- ⁸⁶ “An act in amendment of the laws relating to school attendance and child employment,” *ibid.*, 79-80.
- ⁸⁷ “An act in addition to Chapter 50 of the Public Statutes relating to employment of child labor,” *ibid.*, 81-82.
- ⁸⁸ “An act to amend section 5651 of the Public Statutes, relating to the killing, muzzling or chaining of dogs,” *ibid.*, 236-237.
- ⁸⁹ John A. Mead, Retiring Message, *Journal of the Joint Assembly of the State of Vermont, in Journal of the Senate of the State of Vermont Biennial Session, 1912* (Montpelier, Vt.: Capital City Press, 1913), 995-1017.
- ⁹⁰ The first Vermont Primary was held in 1916, based on legislation passed that year.
- ⁹¹ “Vermont Sends Her Best,” *The Bridport Sun*, 28 March 1912, 2.
- ⁹² “Fifty Years Ago,” *Brattleboro Reformer*, 16 June 1962, 4.
- ⁹³ *Northfield News*, 30 May 1916, 2; “The Friends of Page, Gates, Fletcher and Mead All Creeping Around to See How Their Men Stand,” *The Vermont Standard*, 25 March 1916, 1.
- ⁹⁴ *Vermont Elections 1789-1989* (Montpelier, Vt.: Secretary of State, 1989), 78.
- ⁹⁵ *Middlebury Register and Addison County Weekly*, 16 January 1920, 5.
- ⁹⁶ “Black Bass for Bomoseen,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 10 June 1908, 5.
- ⁹⁷ “Arrangement Practically Made at Meeting with Auditor and Attorney General,” *Burlington Daily News*, 11 June 1909, 5.
- ⁹⁸ “No Need of Worry,” *St. Albans Weekly Messenger*, 17 June 1909, 1.
- ⁹⁹ *Rutland Daily Herald*, 16 January 1920, 5.
- ¹⁰⁰ “Muse of Mead Chime in Town at Middlebury Heard in Rutland,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 5 January 1916, 1.
- ¹⁰¹ “Happiest Man in Vermont,” *The Springfield Reporter*, 26 June 1914, 2.
- ¹⁰² *Rutland Daily Herald*, 19 February 1908, 2.
- ¹⁰³ “Congregationalists Now 915 in Number,” *Rutland Daily News*, 9 January 1917, 3.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal*, 4 April 1924, 3.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Vermont Standard*, 4 May 1916, 5.
- ¹⁰⁶ “Ex-Gov. Mead’s Gift,” *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal*, 31 December 1915, 4.
- ¹⁰⁷ “Vermont News,” *Middlebury Register and Addison County Journal*, 22 June 1917, 4.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 12 April 1917, 7.
- ¹⁰⁹ *The Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 25 June 1920, 2. The Community House was eventually sold to the City. *Rutland Daily Herald*, 8 January 1963, 8.
- ¹¹⁰ *News and Advertiser*, 9 December 1919, 2.
- ¹¹¹ “Press Comment on Ex-Gov. Mead Will,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 25 February 1920, 12.
- ¹¹² “Oh death, where is they sting? O grave where is thy victory,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 19 November 1978, 24.
- ¹¹³ “Mead Memorial,” *The Orwell Citizen*, 28 August 1913, 6.
- ¹¹⁴ George Haddad, *Mt. Lebanon to Vermont* (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Co., 1916).
- ¹¹⁵ *Herald and News*, 16 January 1920, 2.
- ¹¹⁶ *Bennington Banner*, 16 September 1916, *Middlebury Register and Addison County Weekly*, 16 January 1920, 5.
- ¹¹⁷ *The Bennington Evening Banner*, 18 February 1920, 2.
- ¹¹⁸ “Tributes Paid Late Ex-Gov. Mead,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 16 January 1920, 4.
- ¹¹⁹ *The Enterprise and Vermonter*, 10 October 1912, 2.
- ¹²⁰ “Sterilization of Criminals,” *Burlington Free Press*, 9 March 1925, 4.